

BULLETIN

THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC SECURITY IN MARÉ

5TH EDITION • 2020

16 

POLICE OPERATIONS

59% reduction compared to 2019, mainly due to the determination of the Supreme Court in an injunction to ADPF 635.

26 

FIRE WEAPON WOUNDS

17 people injured in police operations, 9 people injured in confrontations between armed groups.

19 

DEATHS BY FIREARMS

61% reduction in the total of deaths in Maré, since 2019.

03 

DAYS OF SUSPENDED ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOLS

as a result of police operations while classes were still in person. Even in the context of remote classes, students from Maré continue to be affected by police actions in their respective slums of residence.

08 

DAYS OF SUSPENDED ACTIVITIES IN HEALTH UNITS

in a context of reduced police operations.

Presentation

Over the past five years, the bulletin ‘**The Right to Public Security in Maré**’ has released data on armed violence in the set of favelas of Maré, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The objective is to give visibility to the various dimensions of urban violence, supported by a security model of public confrontation that prevails in Rio de Janeiro, and its harmful impacts to the population of Maré. What we understand as **Public Security** in the state of Rio de Janeiro produces a series of **insecurity effects** in the regions of the city where the poorest and mostly black population resides.

Several indicators point to this contradiction. In addition to the alarming lethality rates in Maré and other favelas in Rio de Janeiro, we highlight in this bulletin that residents are subjected to conditions of control, coercion and insecurity brought by different actors. Although the numbers reveal an extremely unfair reality, the naturalization of armed violence in the favela by society does not allow an understanding of public security as a right of everyone. Police actions, which should protect the local population, usually leave a trail of violations of rights and abuses of authority, with a very different way of acting than they do in other neighborhoods in the city¹. Still, the favela population, which corresponds to 22.3% of the city of Rio de Janeiro², do not have access to basic rights to face the injustices they suffer: investigations into crimes in these regions are non-existent, agents of the justice system do not even enter the territory, forensics and investigations are not conducted, precautionary measures are not verified.

The scenario of violence seems to grow with its military and militarized model of public security. It is this logic that we seek to break, by monitoring and making increasingly evident its extremely damaging impacts on the population of Maré. This monitoring is carried out by the project “Eyes on Maré”, developed by the Right to Public Security and Access to Justice axis of **Redes da Maré**. Each year, the project team keeps track of situations of armed violence that occur throughout the territory of Maré, seeking to understand how these affect the daily lives of people in the region.

1. Understanding Maré as a neighborhood of the city seems to be a challenge. Maré is a neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro since the 90s, made official by Municipal Law nº2,119 of January 19, 1994. However, there is an insistent stigma on the favela as a place of informality, where rights are not valid.

2. According to the 2010 Census of IBGE, about 1,393,314 people lived in 763 slums registered, which corresponded to 22% of the population.

The data collection methodology involves five sources:

- i** The direct action of researchers and professionals from Redes da Maré accompanying armed confrontations on the spot, with shifts, records, receiving complaints and following up on their developments;
- ii** Articulation of a network of employees with 197 residents and 21 organizations in the favelas of Maré, who contribute by reporting and validating evidence about the violence that occurred;
- iii** Collection of official data in conjunction to the municipal and state government departments, in addition to the police and research institutes, which is the case of Instituto de Segurança Pública (ISP), communication consultants of Military and Civil Police and Municipal Departments of Health and Education of Rio de Janeiro;
- iv** Survey in the media and social networks about the events taking place in the region;
- v** Departure of the 'Eyes on Maré' team to the field, up to 48 hours after the armed confrontation, to confirm the veracity of the informations received.

These records are organized in a database for the creation of indicators about rights violations. The result of this gathering of data has allowed, over the years, a comparison of trends that help us to identify effective measures to rethink public security policy as a right, not as a threat to the population of Maré. It is in this sense that the year 2020 presents important evidence. It was a difficult year, marked by a pandemic that affected favelas disproportionately to other areas of Rio de Janeiro. But, precisely, this context promoted significant institutional changes on the guidelines of public security in Rio de Janeiro. Similar to what happened in 2017 with the 'Public Civil Action of Maré', in 2020, a determination of the Supreme Court in the "ADPF das favelas" favored historical ruptures that demonstrate, in practice, the positive effects of the suspension of the confrontation policy. The data from 2020, therefore, confirm the favorable impacts on the life of the population of Maré when police operations are reduced or limited - a reorientation that favela movements and civil society organizations have demanded for decades. We invite everyone to this reflection, seeking to build paths for even more expressive social transformations.

Pandemic and Public Security in Maré

The pandemic that began in 2020 impacted all the different dimensions of society, politics and economics. Brazil recorded the first case of Covid-19 in February and the cases quickly multiplied to a point that the capitals of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo had already registered community transmission in March. At this time, the first social isolation measures began in the main Brazilian cities. If the effects of the pandemic go beyond the area of individual health and affect society as a whole, in the context of slums, these effects are even more complex, intensifying historical injustices and social inequalities.



Despite the initially alleged indistinction contagion flows, very quickly the unequal impact of the pandemic became apparent as a direct result of the lack of investment in public health, precarious infrastructure and difficulty in the access to basic sanitation in certain territories.

Studies show that the poorest part of the population was disproportionately affected by having limited prevention conditions³. Since the beginning of the restriction measures, residents and institutions of Maré denounced the negligence of the government over a series of factors that make it difficult to access essential rights for the control of the pandemic, such as: lack of equipment in health services, precariousness in water supply, inefficiency of social assistance policies to guarantee isolation and security policy actions that contradict the virus prevention guidelines.

The world is approaching two million deaths caused by Covid-19. In Brazil, the number of registered cases continues to increase. According to the Covid-19 monitoring panel of the University Johns Hopkins⁴, until December 31, 2020, the country remained in 3rd place in number of cases and in 2nd place in number of deaths.

In the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, according to the Rio Covid-19 Panel (5), 175,079 confirmed cases and 14,860 deaths were recorded. Of these, 1,264 cases and 140 deaths were from residents of Maré. Among the great slum neighborhoods in Rio, Maré ended the year 2020 with the highest number of contaminated and deaths, exceeding the Rocinha, in the last weeks of 2020.

³. See the editions of the Bulletin **“De olho no Corona!”** produced by Redes da Maré - available at: <https://www.redesdamare.org.br/br/publicacoes.observatorio-covid-19>

⁴. Available at: <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/map.html>

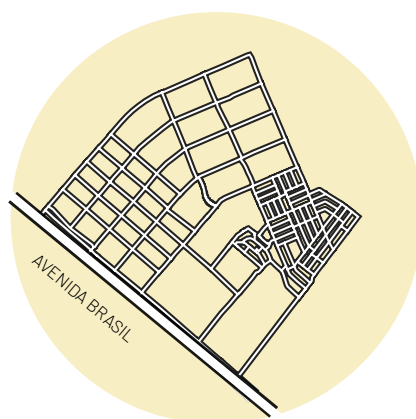
About the public security policy in Maré during the pandemic, it was possible to observe, in the first months, the maintenance of police operations even with the new situation that demanded restricted circulation by the local population.



Between March and April, a period in which the municipality of Rio de Janeiro and Maré came close to the first peak of contamination by the coronavirus, there were five police operations in Maré favelas, a higher frequency than the same period in 2018 and 2019.

These actions, in addition to make the isolation of the residents unfeasible, put State agents themselves in a condition of non-compliance with the guidelines to avoid spreading the virus, causing agglomerations and invading homes without the use of minimal protective equipment such as masks. One of the reported cases occurred in Marcílio Dias, on March 27, when the residents of the region were awakened, around 7 in the morning, by firearms and by military police officers who entered a building without a court order. Residents reported to our team that about 10 police officers, without any protective equipment, searched houses with elderly people, belonging to the risk group, who were in isolation at home. This operation resulted in three people injured and one death. On this day, João Cândido Municipal Health Center, responsible for monitoring patients with Covid-19 in Marcílio Dias, had its operation suspended.

Another case occurred on April 6, when an armored vehicle of the Military Police entered favela Parque União, starting an operation. Redes da Maré received a report of eight home invasions, as well as cases of belongings subtraction and psychological violence. During the pandemic, the damage brought on by police operations is even more harmful because of the interruption of initiatives and campaigns to combat coronavirus. Thus, as a result of this action of public security, about 100 food baskets of the campaign “Maré



MARCÍLIO DIAS

27.03.2020

3

PEOPLE WOUNDED

1

PEOPLE KILLED

Says NO to Coronavirus” were not delivered on this day. In the same sense, Family Clinic Jeremias Moraes da Silva and Diniz Batista, responsible for the assistance of more than 40 thousand families in Maré, had the activities suspended. The interruption of activities in health facilities is a very serious consequence, because in addition to health promotion and prevention actions, the aforementioned units monitor and follow up suspected and confirmed cases of Covid-19.

Faced with this scenario, favelas residents, collectives, organizations and social movements demanded, more than ever, the suspension of operations. In June, the Minister of the Supreme Federal Court (STF), Edson Fachin, ordered the suspension of the police operations in favelas of Rio de Janeiro during the pandemic period, except in extenuating cases, duly informed and monitored by the Public Ministry. This decision was taken as a preliminary, within the scope of the ‘non-compliance with a fundamental precept’ (ADPF) 635 or “Favelas ADPF”, filed in November 2019. According to this decision, in the exceptional cases of operations carried out during the pandemic, measures must be taken to



avoid putting the population at even greater risk, nor the provision of public health services and humanitarian aid activities carried out by residents and organizations operating in these territories.

As a result of the determination of STF, the data collected by “Eyes on Maré” identified a considerable reduction in operations in Maré, as well as the negative impacts that these operations historically bring to the territory. It is important to note that a similar effect of reduction in the rate of violations and lethality was observed in 2017 with the so-called “Public Civil Action of Maré”. These experiences indicate an effectiveness of legal mechanisms built together with organizations and social movements, in order to promote immediate changes, even if they have not been fully complied in practice.

Health impacts of police operations in times of pandemic

Among family clinics and municipal health centers, Maré has seven health units. Between 2017 and 2020, Redes da Maré registered 79 days without activities in the health units because of police operations. Specifically in 2019, activities were suspended for 25 days, which resulted in about 15 thousand calls prevented from being carried out by health professionals. In 2020, with the decrease in police operations, the number of days with interrupted health



PARQUE UNIÃO

06.04.2020



8

COMPLAINTS OF HOME INVASIONS WITHOUT WARRANT



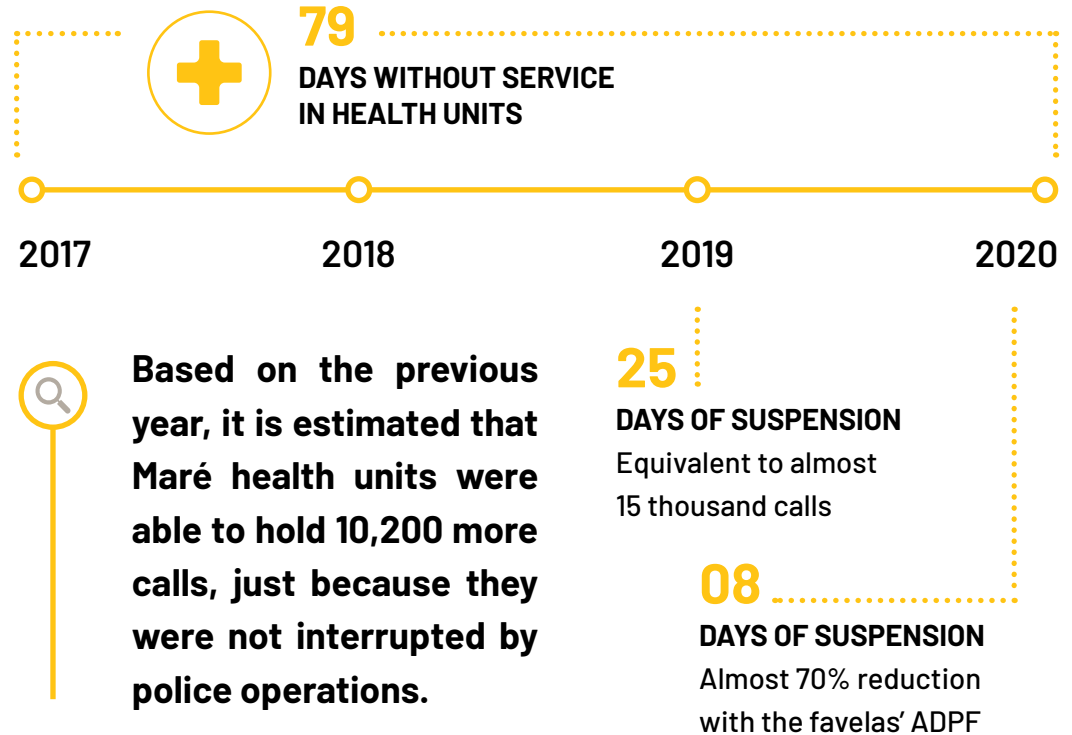
CASES OF BELONGINGS SUBTRACTION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE



100

FOOD BASKETS NOT DELIVERED ON THE CAMPAIGN “MARÉ SAYS NO TO CORONAVIRUS” BETWEEN PARQUE UNIÃO AND NOVA MARÉ

care activities reduced to 08 (an important reduction of 68% directly related to the discontinuation of police operations).



In the midst of the global crisis triggered by the coronavirus, this data is very important, as each day of maintained service is extremely important for the containment of the pandemic. But even though the decrease in the number of police operations, after the determination of STF, has brought the direct reduction of negative impacts on Maré, public security actions that happened in this period continued to bring considerable damage. On October 27, for example, an operation by the Civil Police reached five of the 16 favelas of Maré. According to the Civil Police, the action was planned as a task force of five police stations that, for three months, gathered around 100 arrest warrants to serve in the set of favelas of Maré. Of these, 19 people were located and sent to the police station.

Even though it was a planned action, its execution did not avoid the impacts in the territory, as expected in the event of an exception to the suspension determined by the STF. The operation started around five o'clock in the morning, it lasted 11 hours, with 300 agents of the State circulating for five slums, most of them without a mask or any other equipment of individual protection, having as impact: three health units closed, a closed testing center, five allegations of damage to property, nine home invasions without a warrant, two counts of belongings subtraction and one report of physical violence. As a result, two people were injured, including a 20-year-old pregnant woman who was hit in

the belly at Parque União, needing hospitalization and, as a consequence, the pregnancy was interrupted.

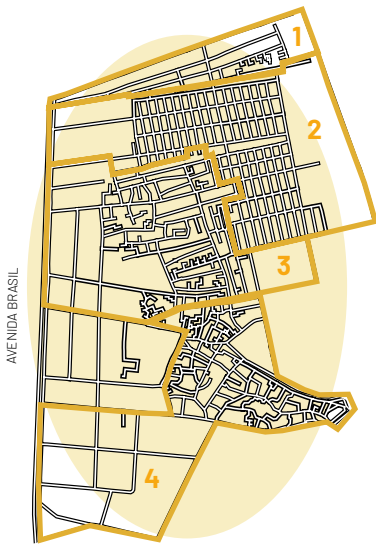
Additionally, with Covid-19 cases still on the rise, at least 110 tests for Covid-19 stopped being carried out, on this day, in the Testing Center of Maré. Likewise, sick people followed up by the Safe Isolation Program of the 'Conexão Saúde'⁶ project were not able to receive the food kit available by the program

	THE OPERATION STARTED AT 5AM WITH 11 HOURS OF DURATION		INVASIONS OF RESIDENCE
	300 AGENTS CIRCULATING		DAMAGE TO PATRIMONY ALLEGATIONS
	THE TESTING CENTER WAS CLOSED		3 HEALTH UNITS CLOSED
	SUBTRACTIONS OF BELONGINGS AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE		2 PEOPLE WOUNDED

The impacts of police operations on education in times of pandemic

In order to understand the impacts that armed violence has on the education of children and teenagers from Maré, between 2017 and 2019, the “Eyes on Maré!” recorded 69 days without classes as a result of police operations in the region. In 2020, the project identified that for three days schools were closed for account of these actions. These interruptions to classes took place only in the first two months of the school year, before the restriction measures imposed online classes. For this reason, when comparing with the year 2019, it is possible to observe a reduction of 87.5% of days without classes, in 2020. Of course, from a methodological point of view, the very change to a model of remote classes already has an effect on closing the schools during police operations. But it is important to highlight that students are still being individually affected by armed violence in their residences, occurrences that could not be measured by this project.

6. The 'Conexão Saúde' is a project created for coping with the pandemic in slums and popular territories that resulted from the union of efforts and experiences of Redes da Maré, Dados do Bem, Fiocruz, SAS Brasil, Conselho Comunitário de Manguinhos and União Rio, with support from Red Cross, City Hall of Rio de Janeiro and Stater and funding by Todos pela Saúde. The objective of the project is to connect people, organizations and institutions to expand the access of residents to health and care services during the pandemic, seeking to ensure the protection of life through an integrated model of confrontation to Covid-19, with social assistance, education, surveillance and health care.



**RUBENS VAZ¹,
NOVA HOLANDA²,
PARQUE MARÉ³
AND BAIXA DO
SAPATEIRO⁴**

**WERE ALSO
AFFECTED BY THE
POLICE OPERATION
OF OCTOBER 27,
STARTED AT 5 AM
WITH 11 HOURS OF
DURATION.**

In specific terms to the pandemic context, other particular impacts call for our attention. According to the Maré Census, in the 16 favelas of Maré, there are 33,407 school-age children and adolescents, between 4 and 17 years old. The Municipal Secretariat of Education informed Redes da Maré that only in municipal schools in Maré, there were 16,692 students enrolled in 2020 who had to adapt to the new reality of teaching posed by the coronavirus pandemic. Remote pedagogical activities appear as one of the only alternatives to continue the learning process for children and young people. However, they run into a series of limits, for students and guardians as well as for educators.

Children, adolescents and their guardians had to adapt their homes and their routines to absorb the contents from the digital communication tools. Families that do not have access to the internet and equipment were excluded from school monitoring during that period and, in addition to this fact, the dynamics of armed violence imposes an extremely adverse scenario for carrying out pedagogical activities. Although not quantifiable, it is necessary to highlight that the dynamics of violence that permeate daily life of this territory appear as another complicating factor in the educational process of the children and adolescents of Maré.

Additionally, considering the historical precariousness of the education environment in peripheral neighborhoods, it is important to point out the effects of closed schools when it is not accompanied by basic maintenance measures and security. The physical deterioration of schools that remained closed for many months presents itself as a new challenge for Maré when classes return.

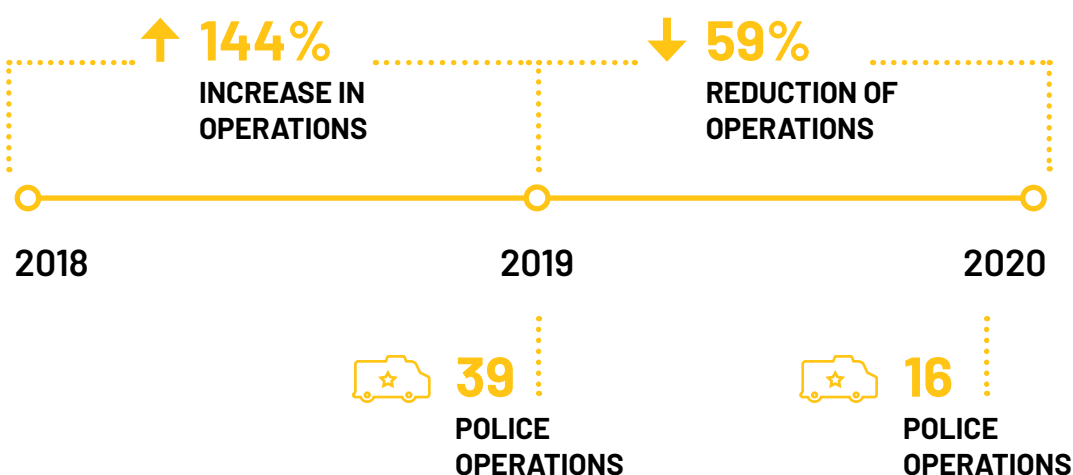
A general reading on the 2020 data: police actions



Historically, public security policy has focused on slums and peripheries through extremely violent and militarized actions that disregard the value of life of those who live in these spaces.

Despite specific community policing initiatives in favelas, police operations, over the years, have been the main actions of police forces in these territories. In 2019, with the rise of extreme right administrations in the various spheres of public power, we observed the recrudescence of bellicose confrontation against crime in the favelas, accompanied by an increase in police operations, characterized by the expansion of the military apparatus and the excessive use of force.

The data from the 4th edition of the 'Bulletin Right to Public Security in Maré' pointed an increase of almost 144% in the number of police operations in 2019, compared to the previous year. In the first quarter of 2020, we observed the continuation of this standard with an average of 2.6 police operations a month. However, with the determination to suspend police operations within the scope of the "ADPF das Favelas", this trend was directly impacted throughout the state of Rio de Janeiro and, particularly, in Maré. As demonstrated in Graph 1 below, there were two months (August and September) without registration of police operations in Maré, although there are records of operations that took place in other peripheral regions of the state⁷. Consequently,



⁷ See, for example, the survey presented in the newsletter 'Right to Memory and Racial Justice' that demonstrates the occurrence of police operations at Baixada Fluminense, even in face of the ban by STF. Available at: <https://dmjracial.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/boletim-vii-2020-1.pdf>

while in 2019, 39 police operations were registered in Maré, in 2020 there were 16, a 59% reduction. When comparing the number of planned police operations, the reduction was even greater. If in 2019, there were 25 planned operations, in 2020, 8 were registered, representing a reduction of 68%.

Regarding the differentiation between planned and emergency operations, some notes are necessary:



PLANNED POLICE OPERATIONS are typically triggered by information from the police itself, through denunciations. These tactical actions characteristically use warlike equipment in large quantity, with strong armament, besides cars and armored helicopter, causing long and intense clashes that directly affect the lives of local residents.



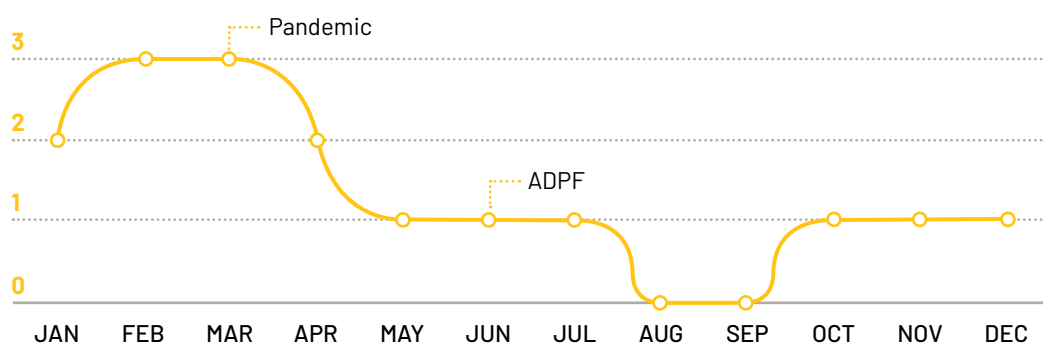
EMERGENCY POLICE OPERATIONS are one-off actions generally performed in situations that theoretically would justify immediate action, such as a flagrant offense, a persecution or, still, the recovery of some asset or cargo stolen. This model of tactical action does not typically involve an ongoing judicial process or investigation. It is characteristic of this type of incursion that there are shots and confrontations with a limited duration.

It is assumed, in any form of action by state agents, that the evaluation of risk to third parties is a central aspect for decision-making on the necessity and efficiency of the action. A logical thinking would indicate that planned actions would bring this assessment to its core with an objective of promoting public security for all and, above all, safeguarding lives. However, the data seems to demonstrate that planned actions tend to be more lethal and damaging in terms of impacts on residents, then those carried out on emergency basis.

A determining factor for this is its prolonged duration, while emergency actions are significantly shorter. In other words, the duration of police remaining in the favela determines the quantity of violations, regardless of whether they result from planned or immediate actions. Since both are guided by the same dynamics of confrontation, it is not the nature of the action, but its duration that impacts more or less the lives and safety of residents.

It is with this observation that becomes evident the warlike and militarized project that public security takes over in Rio de Janeiro. Violation of rights in favelas and peripheries seems to be its goal and not its side effects. The violent confrontation reveals itself as the agenda that guides police actions and even sustains its “success indicators” disseminated in the mainstream media.

POLICE OPERATIONS PER MONTH



Graph 1: Number of Police Operations in the Set of Favelas of Maré per month

The reduced number of police operations has a direct impact on reducing violations of the rights of residents of Maré, especially in the violent lethality records in days of action by public security agents. The previous edition of this bulletin highlighted that, in 2019, “Eyes on Maré!” registered 34 deaths on days of police operation. In 2020, the number of deaths was reduced to five, as shown in Graph 2, representing a decrease of more than 85%. Although not represented in the graph below as a death, it is worth remembering that the mentioned pregnancy interrupted by a police act occurred in October.

This reduction in the number of deaths in a pandemic year allows us to estimate that the decrease in police operations saved 29 lives of residents da Maré, if we build on the previous year. So, 2020 was an atypical year in the history of Rio de Janeiro and the everyday reality of Maré.

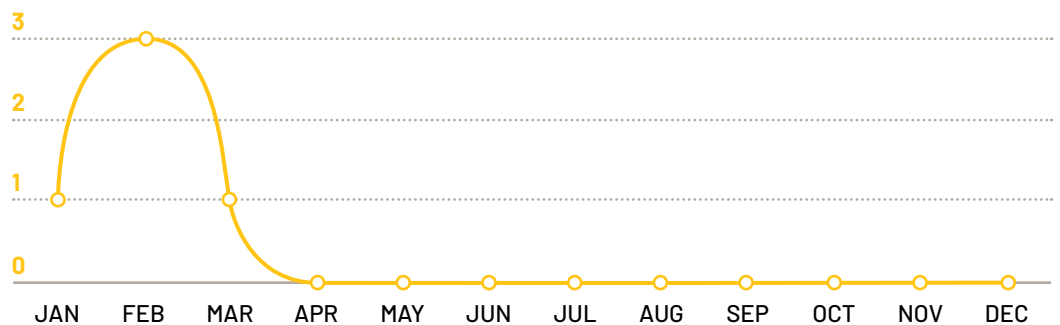


Although the logic of devaluation of life remains - and every life matters - the experience of reductions in police operations allows a privileged analysis on myths supported by the current security model of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

The main myth that we can debunk with this data is about the efficiency of the warlike and militarized model of public security in favelas. Common sense seems to trust that, although this model has not dismantled crime af-

ter decades of public investment, a possible retraction of these investments and a change in orientation would automatically result in a runaway explosion of crime throughout the territory of Rio de Janeiro. If 2019 showed a significant increase of the military apparatus in police operations, 2020 shows a significant decrease. In both cases, the activities of the armed groups that dominate Maré followed relatively stable, as we will see below.

DEATHS IN POLICE OPERATIONS PER MONTH



Graph 2: Number of deaths in Police Operations at Maré per month

As for the supposed efficiency of these operations, in terms of the number of arrests and seizures that they effectively comply with, Graph 3 details this proportion adding up all planned and emergency operations in 2020. These numbers turn out to be small when related to the impacts caused by operations, something that is repeated every year of monitoring.



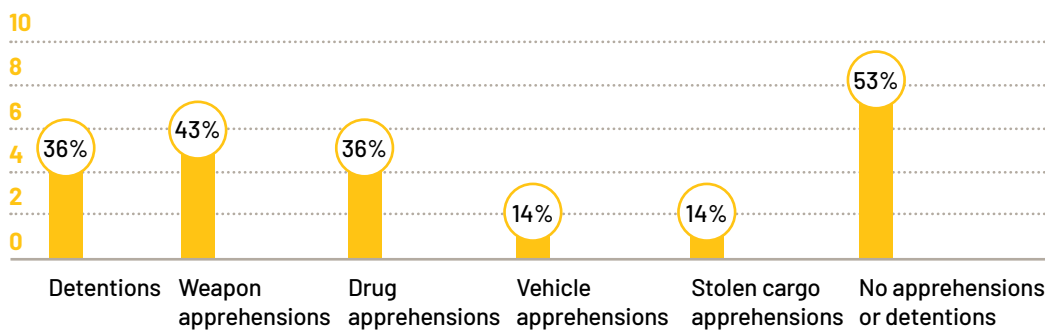
In 2019, for example, according to information from the police communications office, only 36% of the 25 planned operations resulted in arrests, 32% in seizure of weapons and / or drugs, 8% in apprehension of stolen vehicles and no operation resulted in the seizure of stolen cargo.

In 2020, even though we consider that, starting in June, operations would be extremely exceptional and monitored by the Public Prosecutor's Office, as determined the STF, of the eight planned operations, four had detentions, five had seizures of weapons and / or drugs, three had seizures of vehicles stolen and one had seized stolen cargo. Among the other eight emergency operations, the level of inefficiency is even more evident: only one had detention, one seizure of weapons and one seizure of stolen cargo. In contrast, complaints from residents point to 10 injured, one damage to property, one home invasion and one removal of belongings.

Therefore, it points to an inefficiency framework, considering what the police are proposing to do in the public security model in Maré (and in the favelas of

Rio de Janeiro in general), as these arrests do not impact the structure of organized crime. A confrontation based on research, economic disruption and broken financial and logistical routes of these groups could be more effective ways. But what we see, in fact, are accentuated lethality rates by police and abuse of authority by state agents, relatively stable practices in the political history of Rio de Janeiro, which do not present direct impacts on rates of violence and / or criminal activity, as some sectors of society assume.

 **DETENTIONS AND SEIZURES IN POLICE OPERATIONS**



Graph 3: Number of Police Operations with arrests and apprehensions

Specifically on the negative impacts of police operations, it is possible to highlight three main categories:

- i** Damage caused by firearms;
- ii** Interruption of services and activities;
- iii** Abuse of authority.

This categorization is purely methodological, to enable the quantification and facilitate the visualization of different dimensions involved in cases of violations of rights, all of them very serious. But it is very important to highlight that these categories, in practice, occur simultaneously as part of the same violent approaches. Any material distinction between them, in terms of severity or repudiation, is problematic from the point of view of defense of rights.

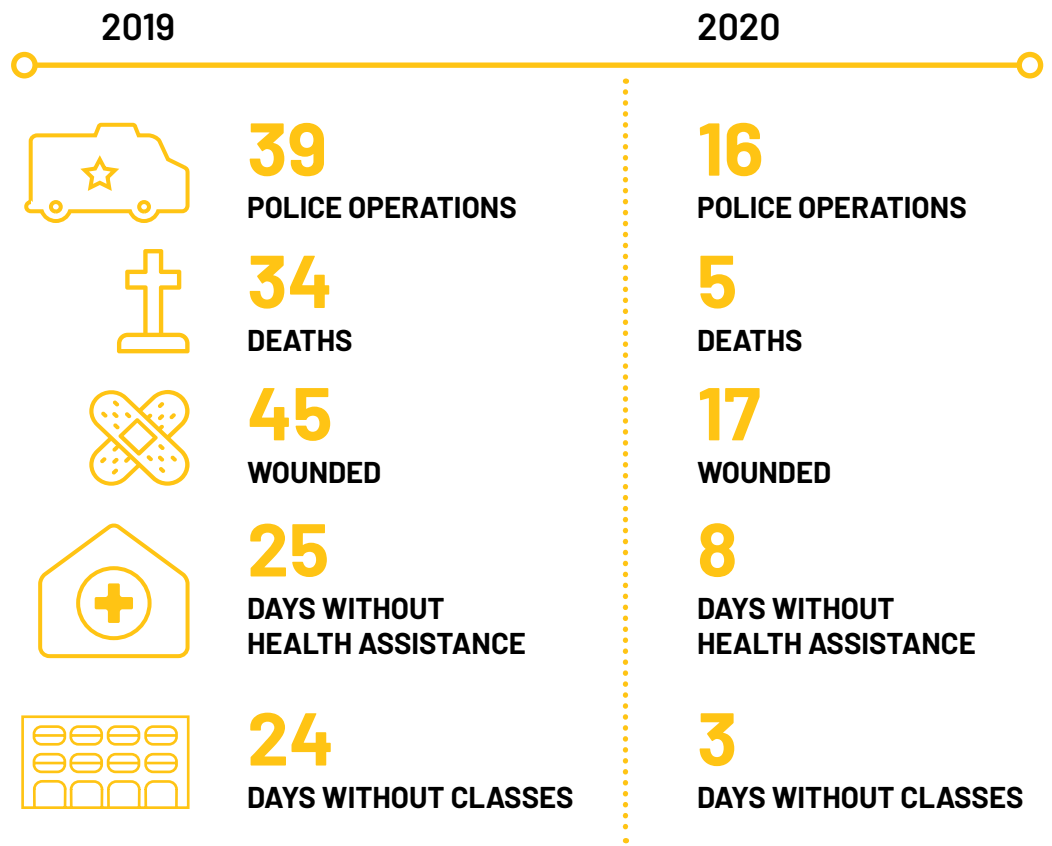
The interruption of services and activities is also a common effect on days of operations, above all, in the planned operations that tend to gather larger military apparatus. In these days, the daily life and the territorial dynamics of Maré are directly affected: schools, health facilities and other institutions have their operations interrupted, the commerce work partially, transportation is compromised, children cannot go to the squares or playing on the



5

DAYS OF SUSPENDED ACTIONS AGAINST COVID-19

street, residents have difficulty going out to work or return to their homes. In the aggravated situation of the pandemic, as already indicated, eight days without care in the health units were computed, three days without classes, **five days of interruption of activities to combat coronavirus** conducted by Redes da Maré and other institutions, with the distribution of food baskets, hygiene kit and other basic supplies.



59%

REDUCTION IN POLICE OPERATIONS BETWEEN 2019 AND 2020

All the dead in 2020 were young and blacks, the majority between 20 and 24 years old.

Months	Police operations	Dead people	Wounded people	Days without classes	Days without health units
Jan	2	1	2	0	1
Feb	3	3	2	1	1
Mar	3	1	5	2	2
Apr	2	0	0	0	1
May	1	0	0	0	0
Jun	1	0	3	0	1
Jul	1	0	0	0	0
Aug	0	0	0	0	0
Sep	0	0	0	0	0
Oct	1	0	2	0	1
Nov	1	0	3	0	0
Dec	1	0	0	0	1
Total	16	5	17	3	8

Table 1: General numbers of police operations in Maré in 2020



PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENT LETHALITY

Gender		Color/Race		Age group	
♀ Female	0	👤 Black	2	15-19 years old	1
				20-24 years old	3
♂ Male	5	👤 Brown	3	30-34 years old	1
Total	5	Total	5	Total	5

Table 2: Profile of the victims of violent lethality in days of police operation in Maré



PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS OF GUNSHOT WOUNDS

Gender		Color/race		Age group	
♀ Female	3	👤 Black	5	15-19 years old	2
				20-24 years old	8
♂ Male	14	👤 Brown	6	25-29 years old	1
				30-34 years old	1
No information	0	-	5	-	5
Total	17	Total	17	Total	17

Table 3: Profile of the victims of gunshot wounds in days of police operation in Maré

2019 was marked by the high number of deaths of people identified as black or brown due to armed violence in Maré, totaling 100% of victims in police operations. In 2020, despite the reduction in the number of deaths, the profile of people who continue to die has not changed. Of the five deaths recorded in 2020, all victimized men, mostly young people between 20 and 24 years old and identified as black or brown, as shown in Table 2.

As for the category of **abuse of authority by public security officers**, this refers to the most varied forms of denunciations by the residents, that reflect serious violations of rights and, due to their great incidence, shown in Table 4, are considered typical in police operations in the Maré. Law No. 13,869, of 2019, describes the various conducts that characterize a crime of abuse of authority when committed by a public agent in non-compliance with the law with the specific purpose of harming another or benefit himself or a third party. The complaints reported to “Eyes on Maré!” in days of police operation are very similar to the conducts described in that law.

Table 4: Quantity and percentage of violations of rights

Violation of rights	Quantity	Percentage
HOME INVASION	35	36%
DAMAGE TO PROPERTY	12	13%
VERBAL VIOLENCE	12	13%
THREAT	11	11%
PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE	8	8%
SUBTRACTION OF BELONGINGS	6	6%
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	6	6%
SEXUAL HARASSMENT	3	3%
FALSE IMPRISONMENT	2	2%
TORTURE	1	1%
Total	96	100%

In 2020, the project recorded 35 home invasions, 12 damage to property, 12 cases of verbal violence, 11 cases of threat, 8 cases of psychological violence, 6 subtractions of belongings, 6 cases of physical violence, 3 of sexual harassment, 2 reports of false imprisonment and one case of torture. **A total of 96 cases of violations that directly victimized 48 residents of Maré in 16 days of police operation.**



16

DAYS OF POLICE OPERATIONS



96

CASES OF VIOLATIONS



48

RESIDENTS WERE VICTIMIZED BY THE VIOLATIONS

It is important to note that the figures presented are only those that o “Eyes on Maré!” managed to register. It is possible that the consequences of abuse of authority on days of police operations has an even bigger dimension. Another relevant element to point out is that, unlike the profile of killed, the dominant profile of victims of these abuses tends to be women, brown, between 20 and 29 years of age, as detailed in Table 5.



PROFILE OF AUTHORITY ABUSE VICTIMS

Gender		Color/Race		Age group	
♀ Female	29	♀ Black	5	10-14 years old	1
				15-19 years old	3
♂ Male	12	♂ Brown	24	20-24 years old	11
				♂ White	10
				30-34 years old	3
				35-39 years old	2
				45-49 years old	1
				65-69 years old	3
No information	7	-	9	-	15
Total	48	Total	48	Total	48

Table 5: Profile of the victims of violation of rights

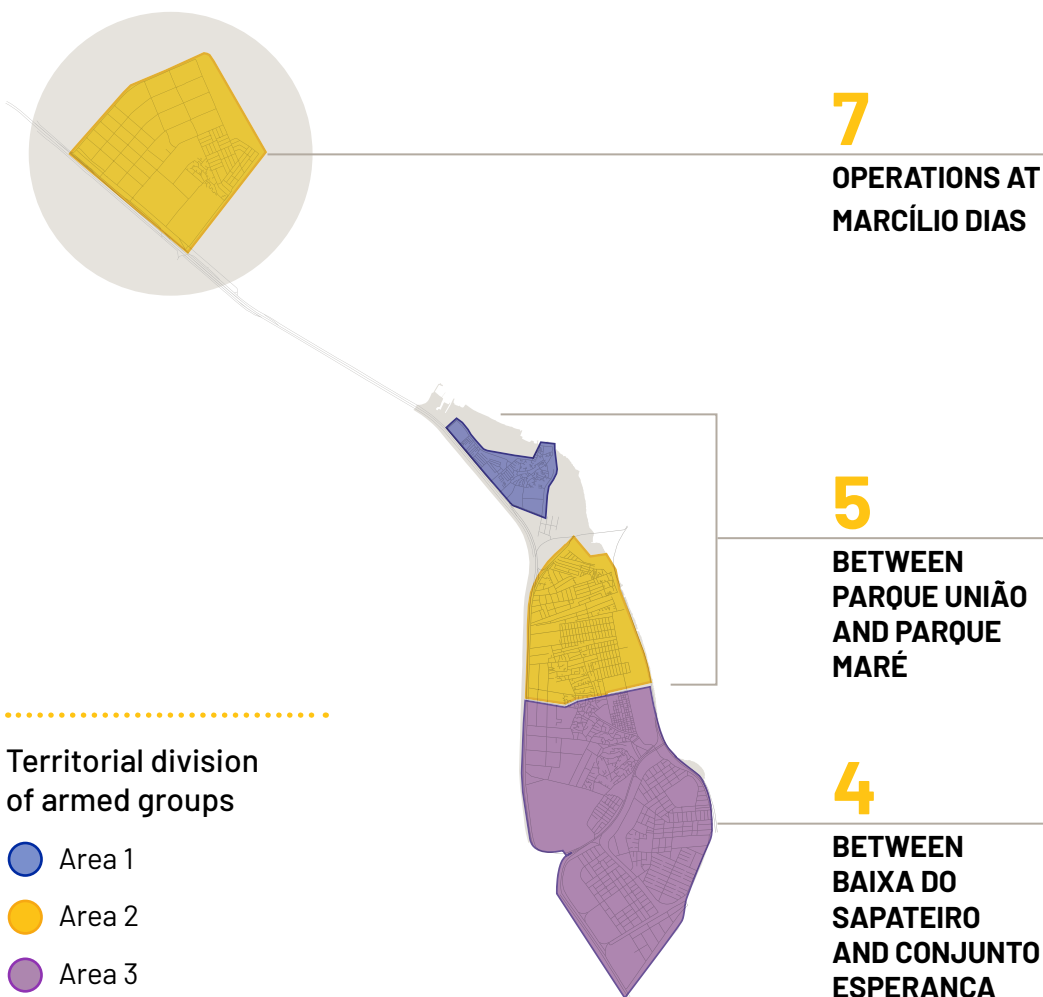
Despite the barbarity of all the cases of abuse of authority that unfold in these serious violations of rights, we are struck by the high number of home invasions that remains stable in all monitored years in Maré. The aforementioned law against the abuse of authority determines in the Article 22, that it is a crime punishable by imprisonment for the agent: *“invading or entering, clandestine or cunning, or despite the will of the occupant, immobile or dependencies, or remain in it in the same conditions, without judicial determination or outside the conditions established by law”*. This law, theoretically, does not admit an exception based on the geographic location of the household in question. But in practice, the law does not apply in Maré, since in all police operations dozens of houses are invaded without presentation of court order or any justification.

A case that illustrates this reality occurred in Marcílio Dias, on December 18 of 2020. Reports from residents indicate the entry of police officers in mischaracterized cars and without uniforms. The “Eyes on Maré!” team registered, at the time, one dead person, eight people injured and four home invasions. In December, during an integrated operation between the Military Police and the Federal Highway Police, five young people survived 30 minutes of terror. According to the victims’ reports, four BOPE police officers entered the residence without a warrant and kept them in false imprisonment. In the house, there were four brothers: two young men aged 15 and 21 and two young girls aged 17 and 22. In addition to the two-year-old daughter of one of the sisters and a friend of 18-year-old. In addition to psychological terror, one of the policemen threw a spray of deodorant at the eye of one of them. The girls reported sexual harassment. One of the lines of police officers: “I’m stressed, we haven’t killed or raped anyone yet”.

Reports on this type of situation are not isolated, on the contrary, they characterize the basic distinction between different law enforcement and the legitimacy of rights between wealthy neighborhoods and slum and peripheral neighborhoods in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In slums, the law is apparently considered flexible. In addition to the armed clashes and their high rates of lethality, the conduct of public agents in their approach to residents is often violent. There is a widespread understanding, in society, that favelas are lawless territories and favela residents are subject without rights. It is not for nothing that in these areas, laws and institutions of justice are often inoperative: investigations into crimes and forensics are not conducted, bailiffs do not carry out warrants, precautionary measures are not verified. A detailed survey of these patterns of rights violations in addition to lethal violence still need to be systematized to overcome the simplifying vision of the favela.

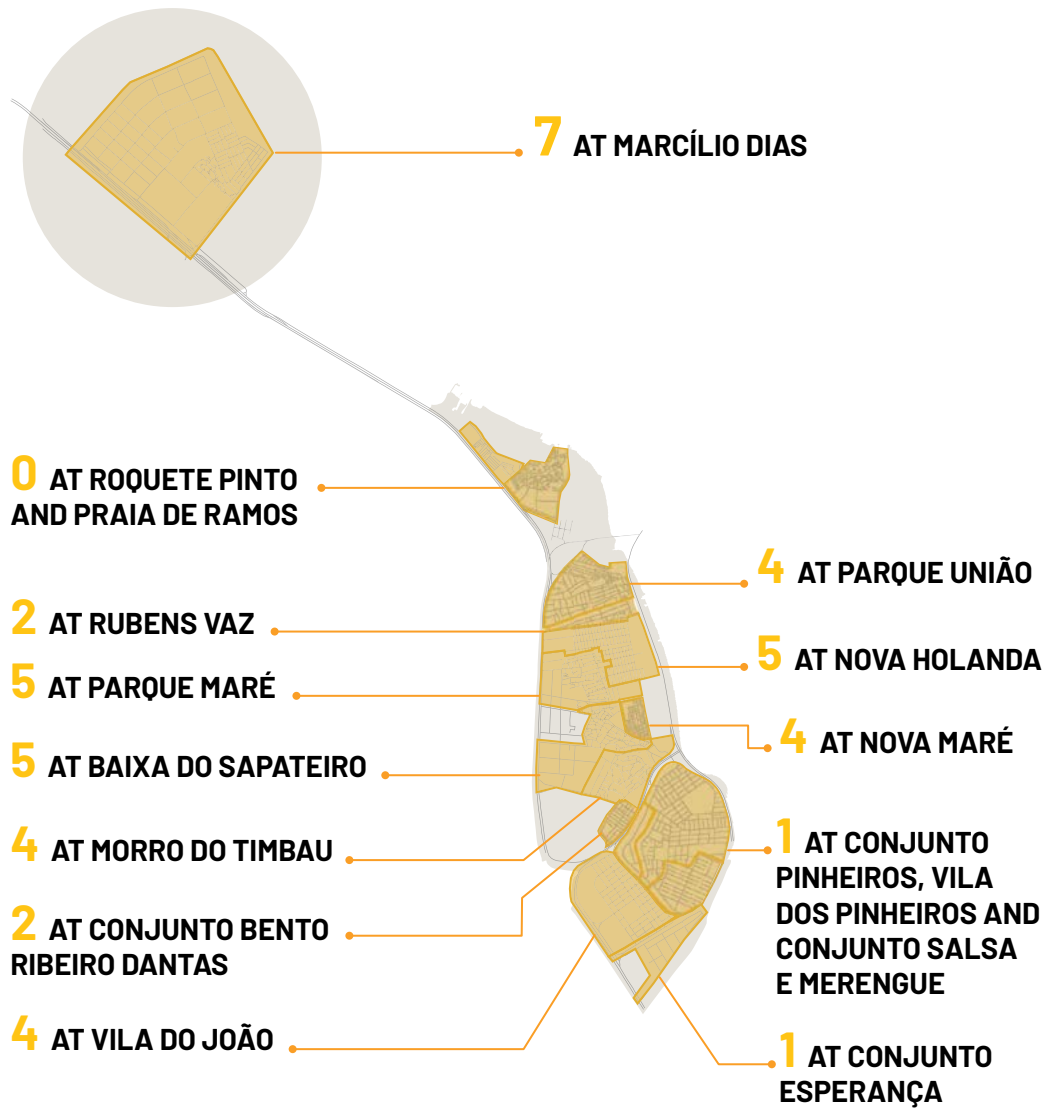
Detailing of police operations in the territory of Maré in 2020

Of the 16 police operations that took place in 2020, seven were in Marcílio Dias, five between Parque Maré and Parque União, and four between Conjunto Esperança and Baixa do Sapateiro, affecting several favelas simultaneously, as shown in Graph 4. Following a historical pattern of police actions in Maré, the actions of 2020 continued to be organized and planned according to the dynamics of territorial occupation by armed groups (more on that in Section 4). In this sense, two relevant data stand out. The first refers to Praia de Ramos and Roquete Pinto, the only two favelas occupied by militias for at least 14 years and that since the beginning of the monitoring, in 2016, were not target by any police operation. Another relevant highlight is that although we observe an intensification of police operations in the area of Conjunto Esperança to Baixa do Sapateiro, there is a predominance of police operations in areas occupied by armed groups associated with the sale of drugs, as is the case with Marcílio Dias and the continuous territory between Parque Maré and Parque União.

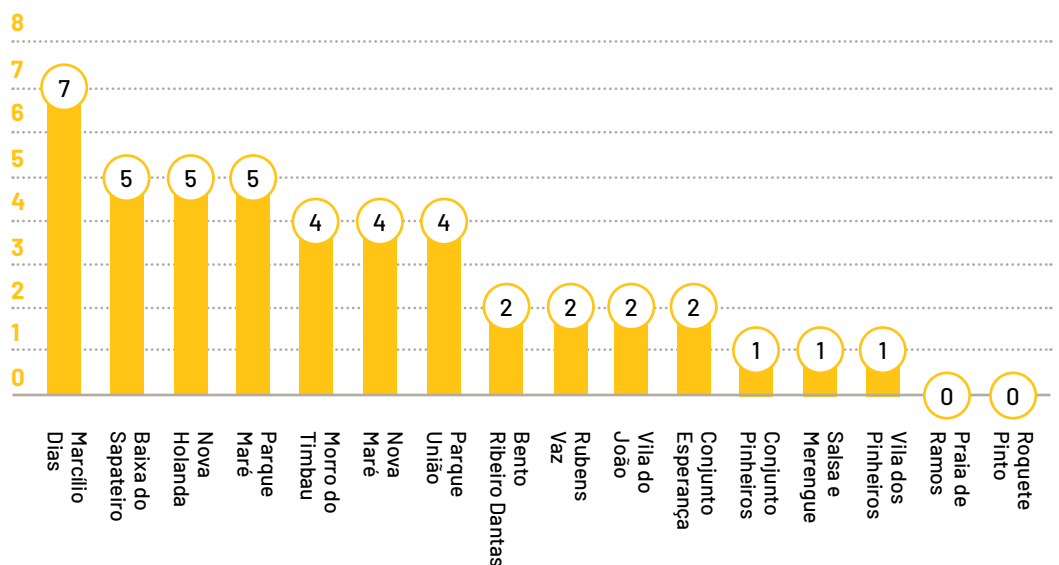


Map 1: Incidence of Police operations by territories at Maré

Map 2: Impact of Police operations by favela. To see the complete map with data from 2020, visit: <https://www.redesdamare.org.br/br/info/22/de-olho-na-mare>



FAVELAS IMPACTED BY POLICE OPERATIONS



Graph 4: Police operations by favelas

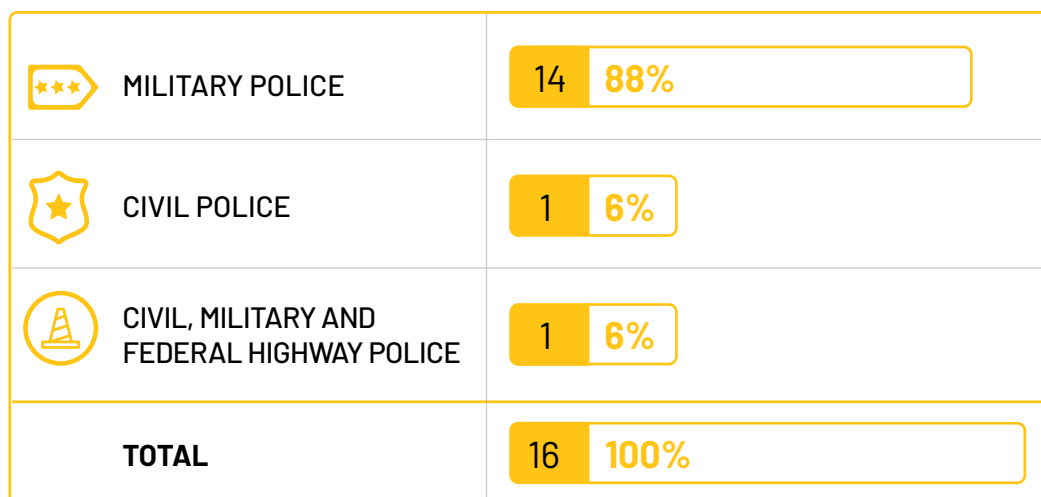


Table 7: Type of police by operation in Maré

Type of police									
BAC	BOPE	CHOQUE	16º B	GAM	22º B	CORE	DCOD	DRFC	DH
2	7	5	6	1	1	2	1	1	1

Table 8: Battalions responsible for police operations in Maré



The peculiarities of Marcílio Dias

Marcílio Dias is located between the footbridges 16 and 17 of Avenida Brasil. It is a territory about 2,300 meters from Praia de Ramos, but that was not officially included in the neighborhood of Maré when its limits were defined by Municipal Law N° 2,119, of January 19, 1994. It means that, in official terms, this favela does not make up the territory of Maré, but would belong to Penha Circular neighborhood. However, the Maré Census (Networks of the Tide; 2013) understood that this region had a common constitution history with other favelas of Maré and still composes the same social space. For this reason, it is considered that the set of favelas of Maré is effectively composed of 16 favelas, including Marcílio Dias, a fact widely recognized by the local and surrounding population.

Despite this fact, there are some peculiarities in this region. Initially, draws attention that 43% of police operations that took place in 2020 happened in Marcílio Dias. If the total number of police operations in Maré had a reduction of 60%, from 2019 to 2020, when we observe only the territory of Marcílio Dias, this reduction was of 41%. But mainly, it should be noted that of the seven operations that took place in region, five were after the social isolation measures imposed by the pandemic, with three of these subsequent to the decision of the STF in the ADPF 635.

Another particularity of Marcílio Dias is the battalion responsible for the operations. In 2020, six of the seven operations were commanded by the 16th BPM, while in the other favelas of Maré, all police operations were carried out by the Special Operations Command or specialized police stations and departments. It is worth highlighting that this is the only area of Maré that is not covered by the 22th BPM.

Also noteworthy is the lack of information from corporations on the actions in the area: in four of them, both the Military Police and the Civil Police did not formally recognize the presence of police in that territory. Even with the presentation of photos of vehicles and police collected by the team of Redes da Maré, the corporations denied carrying out actions on the days and times recorded, or did not respond to the request of clarification on the occurrences.

Actions of Armed Groups at Maré in 2020

Armed violence in Maré occurs both through institutional action by the State, with the police, and through the direct action of armed groups that forcibly occupy the territory, among them, those who practice the sale of drugs in retail and militia groups. The 16 favelas of Maré border Avenida Brasil on one side and Linha Vermelha and Guanabara Bay on the other. Most of the territory is contiguous, however three slums are separated: Roquete Pinto and Ramos Beach, separated by Avenida Brigadeiro Trompowski, and Marcílio Dias, separated by the Brazilian Navy complex. The control of armed groups is also geographically subdivided and territories are in a constant dispute, making its domain a daily practice of violence and permeated by clashes that affect the local population.

For this bulletin, we consider three main categories of monitoring actions of these groups and their impacts:



CONFRONTS BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS



SHOOTING REGISTRATION



SHOOTING REGISTRATION WITH VICTIMS

Clashes between armed groups are basically motivated for territorial dispute between the two rival factions that act in Maré. These confrontations are characterized by a long duration and by direct impacts on residents of the disputed region. Shooting registers are punctual occurrences motivated by gun testing, commemorations and / or provocation between groups, and do not usually cause direct impacts. We consider shooting registers with victims the incidences of violent lethality caused by armed groups on occasions unrelated to the confrontations, such as the cases of executions.

Data collected in the year 2020 shows that clashes between armed groups and the shooting registers were concentrated mainly in a region of Maré, as was observed in previous years. The so-called “border” region, as it is known by residents, the border between Parque Maré, Nova Holanda, Baixa do Sapateiro and Nova Maré marks the territorial boundary of two armed groups that, since the 1990s, have faced each other in order to expand their domains. In addition to direct impacts, such as injuries and deaths caused by firearms, as well as damage to public heritage and limitation of circulation, there is also a movement of exodus of the people who live there. In recent years it is common to find houses for sale or for rent in that region. Because of the clashes, this is also one of the areas where real estate is quite undervalued in Maré. In addition, the permanent risk of confrontation at any moment causes damages that are immeasurable, such as those related to mental health. Residents report that the biggest fear is being hit by a gunshot even indoors.

Roquete Pinto and Praia de Ramos are two favelas where militia groups are present. Residents report that these groups, when occupying the territory, begin to intimidate residents and traders, including charging fees for alleged protection. Since the start of the monitoring conducted by “Eyes on Maré!”, a difficulty was identified to collect data on the impacts of armed violence in these locations. Residents, in general, find it difficult to talk about any subject related to public security, especially related to violence imposed by this group. Thus, in recent years we have not obtained reports of confrontations between armed groups in this territory, although reports served by social media indicate situations of violence and violations, as aggressions and possible executions.



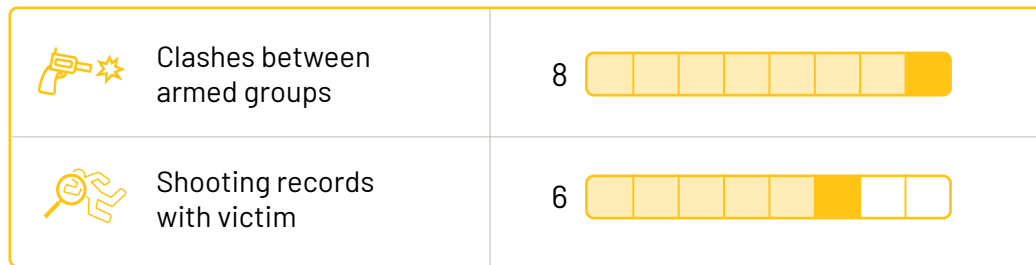
In 2020, the “Eyes on Maré!” recorded, throughout the territory of Maré, 26 armed clashes, 67 shooting registers and six shooting registers with victims. These actions resulted in 14 deaths and nine wounded.

Of the deaths reported for the project, eight were the result of gun clashes and six were reported as shooting records with victims, as shown in Graph 5. Other violations were also caused by the armed groups, such as the case of three people who reported having been in false imprisonment, physical and psychological violence and threat.

Comparing the variation in shooting registers between the years, identified by the “Eyes on Maré!”, it is possible to observe that the numbers have been increasing each year. However, the last year showed a smaller variation, with an increase of 13.7%, as shown in Table 9. In relation to the shooting registers



NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ACTION OF ARMED GROUPS



Graph 5: Number of deaths due to actions of armed groups in the 16 favelas of Maré

identified in the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro, based on the figures released by the “Fogo Cruzado” platform (8), the data show a reduction since 2019, having in the last year a reduction of 44.1% in records computed from January to October 2020.

Despite the substantial increase in the number of clashes between armed groups, from five in 2019 to 26 in 2020, the number of deaths due to these actions did not change considerably, reducing from 15, in 2019, to 14 on the last year. We draw attention to the number of children and adolescents who were murdered in 2020 because of armed violence in Maré.

Redes da Maré data [MARÉ]	26 Shootings at Maré	36 ↑ 38%	58 ↑ 61%	67 ↑ 15%	186
Numbers of shooting records	○ 2017	○ 2018	○ 2019	○ 2020	○ Total
Fogo Cruzado data [RMRJ]	5443 Shootings at Rio de Janeiro	9634 ↑ 77%	7368 ↓ 23%	4118 ↓ 44%	26563

8. ‘Fogo Cruzado’ is a data lab that opened its data in a consultation platform open for easy and fast access for researchers who use information in real time, public managers and people interested in historical series raised by the institution. See: <https://fogocruzado.org.br/sobre-a-api/>

Table 9: Comparison of data on shooting records



The report of the “Fogo Cruzado” platform, published in September 2020, already pointed to a growth in statistics of children affected by firearms in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro this year⁹.

9. Available at: https://fogocruzado.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/FOGO_CRUZADO_LEVANTAMENTO_SEMESTRAL_2020.pdf

10. <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2020/07/14/policia-indicia-chefe-do-traffic-no-complexo-da-mare-por-morte-de-kaua-de-11-anos-baleado-na-porta-de-casa.ghtml>

11. [1] https://extra.globo.com/casos-de-policia/menino-de-12-anos-morre-ao-ser-baleado-na-cabeca-durante-ataque-de-bandidos-viatura-da-pm-na-avenida-brasil-24686362.html?utm_source=Facebook
 [2] <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/menino-baleado-durante-tiroteio-na-avenida-brasil-enterrado-no-cemiterio-de-inhauma-24687982>
 [3] <https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2020/10/10/mataram-nosso-bebe-diz-tia-de-menino-de-12-anos-morto-por-bala-perdida.htm>
 [4] <https://oglobo.globo.com/opiniao/policia-precisa-dar-uma-resposta-tragedia-das-balas-perdidas-no-rio-24690470>
 [5] <https://br.noticias.yahoo.com/menino-12-anos-morto-na-120329591.html>

According to the survey of the platform, by August 2020, 28 children were shot and eight did not resist and died. The report points out that 21 children were hit in clashes, nine in a situation where there were security agents, two of whom died.

The “Eyes on Maré!” recorded four murders of children and adolescents in Maré from the actions of armed groups, which are not accounted in the “Fogo Cruzado” report. In March, two teenagers aged 13 and 17 died and in June an 11-year-old child died. In October, another 12-year-old teenager was hit in the head in one of the armed clashes in the territory.

The first three were killed based on “shooting registers with victims”, which happened in situations unrelated to the confrontations. The 11-year-old child was identified as Kauã Vitor, as disclosed by the G1 article¹⁰. According to residents, Kauã was playing at the door of his house when a young man, handling a gun, hit him in the head by accident. Kauã didn’t resist his injuries and died shortly thereafter.

The 12-year-old was identified as Leônidas Augusto da Silva de Oliveira, as was also reported in several media reports¹¹. On the October 9 2020, residents reported gunfires at Avenida Brasil. On this occasion, Leonidas was between two cars, that fired shots at a police vehicle, and was hit in the head. The adolescent’s family reported that, around 11 am, Leônidas went to the market with his grandma. Before entering the market, they bought a snack at street vendors working at the bus stop. At this moment, the grandmother saw a car passing by at high speed, heard shots and quickly she hurried to get her grandson to enter the market when she realized that he was already shot. The teenager was admitted to the hospital and went directly to the operating room, but did not resist injuries.



Despite the alarming proportions of these cases, which require urgent measures to protect the population of Maré, it is worth reiterating that the variations observed on police action in Maré between 2019 and 2020 seem to have little effect on the increase or decrease of deaths caused by armed groups. This finding highlights

the ineffectiveness of this model of police action that ultimately does not change what these operations say they face.



11. continued:

[6] <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2020/10/18/mais-da-metade-das-vitimas-de-bala-perdida-no-rio-em-2020-sao-menores-de-idade-20-tinham-menos-de-11-anos.ghhtml>

[7] <https://www.metropoles.com/brasil/menino-de-12-anos-morto-no-rio-queria-ser-advogado-e-tirar-familia-do-morro>

‘ACP da Maré’ and ‘ADPF das Favelas’: Public Security milestones in Maré

The community formation of the set of favelas of Maré is historically developed by struggles and resistances waged by residents, institutions, social movements and organizations that have developed over the past years and consolidated Maré as a popular territory in the city. This historical process of residents’ claims for better living conditions resulted in the conquest of a series of public policies for Maré in the areas of education and health, as well as for territorial and urban development. But, despite this particular history of Maré in the conquest of rights, armed violence continues to exist in the daily lives of residents, through police operations, or through clashes between armed groups. Unlike social policies that have gone through a process of democratization, especially after the Federal Constitution of 1988, public security policies remained isolated from the public agenda for civil society participation.



As a result, the current Public Security model, based exclusively on warfare, significantly disagrees with the guidelines of the Rule of Law Democratic State and consolidates an unequal repressive machine, which reproduces violence and does not guarantees public security as a right of all the citizens.

At the same time, in the last 40 years, the favela social mobilization scenario around security brought together many social organizations, residents’ associations, NGOs, OSCIPs and collectives that fight for the guarantee of rights in Maré.

The data systematized in the five editions of this bulletin allows us to visualize the impact that some of the collective actions of these movements, especially favela movements and organized civil society, which drive the struggle for a new model of public security. Two legal instruments were built for the guarantee of rights, contesting illegalities committed by police actions within the set of favelas of Maré: ‘ACP da Maré’ and ‘ADPF das Favelas.’

Within the scope of the Public Civil Action, in June 2017, it was granted, by the judiciary, a preliminary ruling that determined that public security authori-

ties had to adopt a series of measures conditioning police operations in Maré, among them stood out:

- 1 Prohibition of Police Operations for the execution of warrants at night;
- 2 Installation of video cameras and GPS in vehicles;
- 3 Installation of audio equipment in vehicles;
- 4 Availability of ambulances on police operations days;
- 5 Elaboration of a Violence Reduction Plan on police operations days.

Despite the legal force, these measures have never been fully complied by the State, but have constituted itself as an important tool to give visibility for the violations and strengthen the demands of the population for a security policy based on the defense of life. The results cannot be celebrated in its fullness, but they can be seen as an advance in the guarantee of rights for the residents of Maré. That's because between 2017 and 2018, as presented in the 3rd bulletin "The Right to Public Security in Maré", there was a reduction in the numbers of police operations, which resulted in fewer days without class, without health posts, armed clashes, dead and wounded persons.

Comparing, for example, the years 2017 and 2018, we realize that there was a reduction in police operations that reached 61%: the number of police operations dropped from 41, in 2017, to 16, in 2018. Clashes between armed groups have reduced 43%, days without classes 71% and days without health service 76%.

Recognizing the importance of involving the judiciary in this debate, the Statement of Non-Compliance with Fundamental Precept 635 (ADPF das Favelas) was filed by the Federal Supreme Court in November 2019, with the objective of preventing the public power from practicing conducts that violate the Constitution and attack the rights of the population living in slums during police operations in the state of Rio de Janeiro. It was triggered at the moment when the impacts of armed violence returned to rise as a result of the political option of the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro to intensify its military apparatus. The impact of this intensification was reported in the 4th bulletin "The Right to Public Security in Maré". Comparing the years of 2018 and 2019, the number of police operations more than doubled, from 16 to 39. Also, those injured by firearms rose from 13 to 30, the days without classes and without

FROM 2017 TO 2018



↓ 61%

POLICE OPERATIONS



↓ 43%

ARMED CLASHES



↓ 71%

DAYS WITHOUT CLASSES



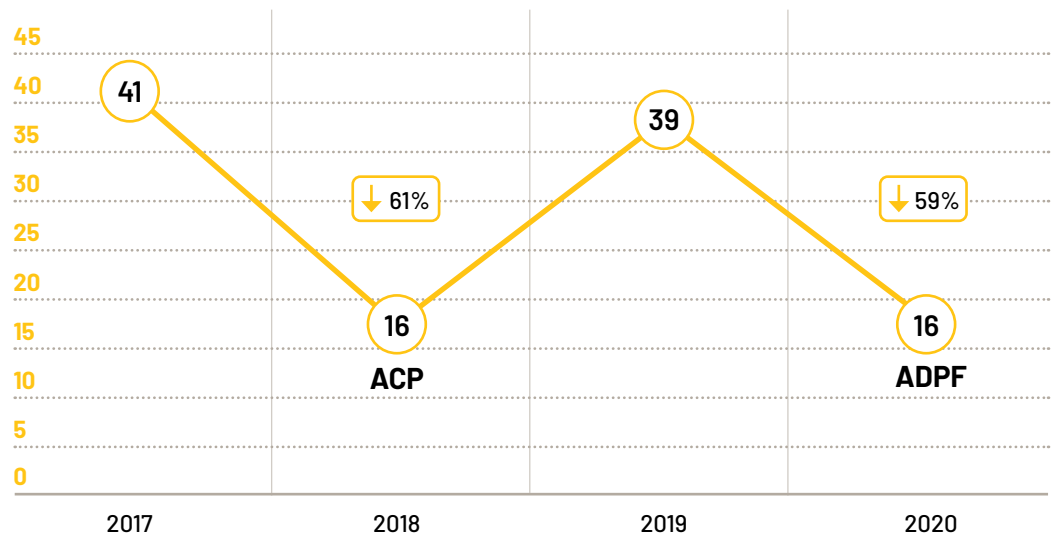
↓ 71%

DAYS WITHOUT HEALTH SERVICE

health service increased from 10 to 24 and from 11 to 25 days, respectively. The number of deaths due to operations increased by 79% – from 19 in 2018 to 34 in 2019.

From the ADPF, the aforementioned preliminary decision, on June 5 of 2020, determined the suspension of the realization of police operations in Rio de Janeiro's favelas during the pandemic period, excluding exceptional cases. Although, again, the judiciary's determinations have not been fully respected, it is important to recognize the power of legal measures established with the participation of social movements and organizations of the civil society operating in the territory. For example, you can identify very clearly in the graph below the reduction in the number of operations after the determinations of the ADPF da Favelas, as well as the impact of ACP da Maré.

▲ POLICE OPERATIONS PER YEAR

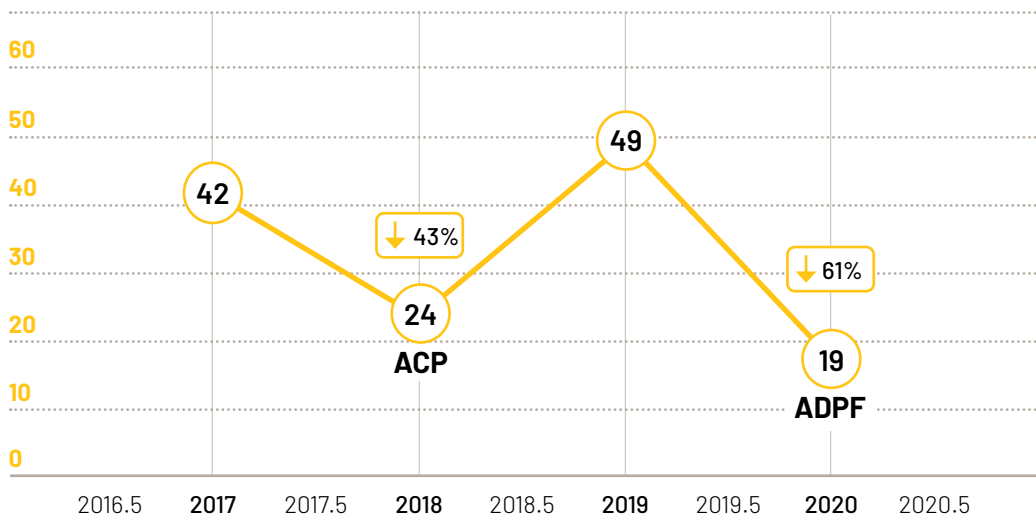


Graph 6: Evolution of Police Operations at Maré per year

In proportion to the decrease in police operations, it is possible to observe the reduction in the overall number of deaths in Maré, considering deaths as a result of police operations and also of clashes between armed groups, as shown in Graph 7. This is an important data to raise a critical reflection on what the current security model represents to the struggle against violence, especially in cases of violent lethality, since the numbers show that the less operations the lower the number of people killed as a result of armed violence in Maré. In Graph 8, it is also possible to identify the reduction of other impacts of armed violence as the number of people injured and interruption of activities in public facilities.

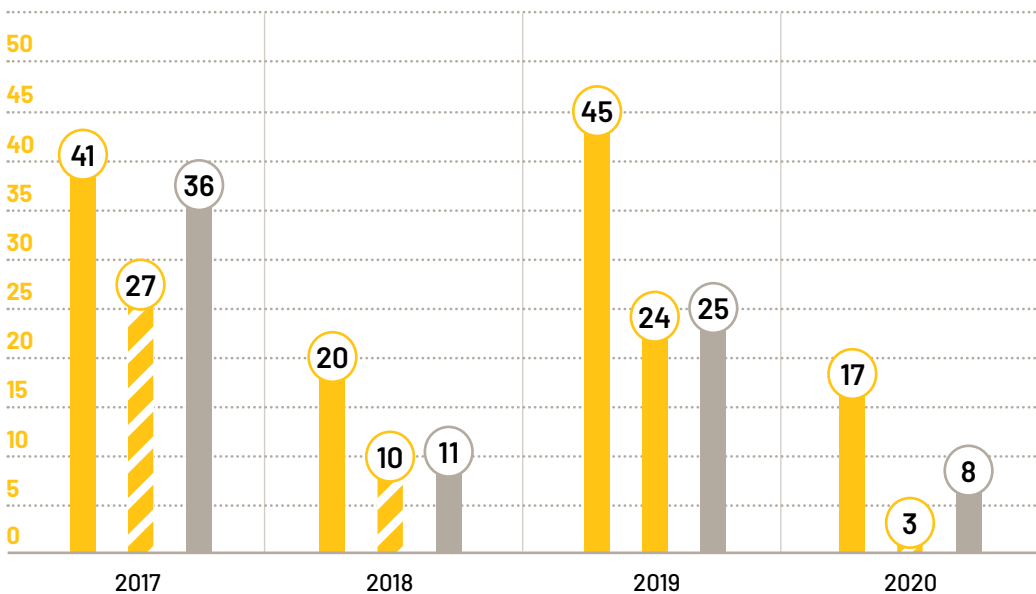
When observing the numbers of police operations in Maré comparing them with the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (Table 10), it is possible to identify that among 2017 and 2018, the year that the ‘ACP da Maré’ determinations came into force, the number of operations in Maré fell 61%, while in the Metropolitan Region it fell only 8.4%. In the last year, the reduction was of 59% in Maré and 64.7% in the metropolitan region.

 **GENERAL NUMBER OF DEATHS PER YEAR**



Graph 7: General number of deaths due to armed violence in Maré per year

 **OTHER IMPACTS OF ARMED VIOLENCE**



Graph 8: Impacts of armed violence per year in Maré

-  **WOUNDED**
-  **DAYS WITHOUT CLASSES**
-  **DAYS WITHOUT HEALTH SERVICES**

In Table 11 it is possible to identify that in 2020 “Eyes on Maré!” registered the lowest number of deaths in police operations since the beginning of the monitoring. Between 2017 and 2018, despite the considerable reduction in the number police operations, the number of deaths decreased only 5%, while in the Metropolitan Region, it decreased 14.9% from one year to another, showing

that police operations in Maré were more lethal. Between 2019 and 2020, the number of deaths fell by 85%, from 34 to five, the most significant reduction recorded in Maré, while in the metropolitan region, the reduction was of 63.2%.

Table 10: Comparison between the number of police operations in Maré and in the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro

Redes da Maré data [MARÉ]	41 Operations in Maré	16 ↓ 61%	39 ↑ 143%	16 ↓ 59%	112
Number of police operations	○ 2017	○ 2018	○ 2019	○ 2020	○ Total
GENI ¹² data [RMRJ]	1178 Operations in Rio de Janeiro	1079 ↓ 8%	785 ↓ 27%	320 ↓ 59%	3362

In view of the data and the reality we experience in Maré, it is essential to highlight that institutional struggles and legal mechanisms, such as the ACP da Maré and the ADPF das Favelas, can promote important changes in the reduction of police violence in slums and popular spaces. These experiences drive significant institutional changes, still insufficient, directly transforming the scene of armed violence and demonstrating, empirically, the immediate effects of the suspension of the confrontation policy.

Table 11: Comparison between the number of deaths in police operations in Maré and in the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro

Dados Redes da Maré [MARÉ]	20 Mortes em operações na Maré	19 ↓ 5%	34 ↑ 79%	5 ↓ 85%	78
Number of deaths in police operations	○ 2017	○ 2018	○ 2019	○ 2020	○ Total
Dados GENI ¹² [RMRJ]	402 Mortes nas operações no Rio de Janeiro	342 ↓ 15%	403 ↑ 18%	150 ↓ 63%	1297

Although these are initiatives from the judiciary, it is essential that the other powers, legislative and executive, both at the municipal, state and federal level, make themselves available for the collective construction of public policies that ensure rights.

12. Data provided by Grupo de Estudos dos Novos Ilegalismos (GENI), from Universidade Federal Fluminense



Final considerations

Without a doubt, 2020 was a very difficult year for the whole world. The mourning was present and the socioeconomic precariousness intensified in the lives of millions of people. At Maré, it was not different. However, in the midst of many losses and uncertainties about the future, a new experience presented itself for everyday life. Many reports narrate a contradictory feeling of tranquility in the face of the history of violence that marked Maré, due to the (temporary) suspension of police operations. For a period, a certain stability was experienced with relief by residents who live under extreme conditions of armed violence, even though in a context of new apprehensions and mourning in the pandemic.

Certainly, the 2020 pandemic is not something we want to prolong. But it is undeniable that something unusual and very relevant has been achieved, against all the allegations that it is possible to reshape the public security agenda in Rio de Janeiro and its logic of permanent war confrontation. This brief experience demonstrates evident advantages in the highlighted indicators in this bulletin, compared to previous years, proving that the reality could be different through simple and concrete measures. At the same time that the fight against coronavirus is advancing, based on science and against denials based on myths and prejudices, the struggle for a safe living in urban space also advances through empirical data that reveal the inefficiency of the public security model adopted in Maré and other favelas in Rio de Janeiro.

The fact that the biggest life preservation guidelines in recent years have occurred with the suspension of the action of public security agents reveals a lot about this policy. Historically, security does not fulfill its function of regulating public space, especially in territories inhabited by the poorest and mostly black. In these areas, the policy boils down to inefficient police operations which present themselves as yet another element of violation of residents' rights. In contrast, the structures of crime remain unattainable and, in fact, continually expanding.


At the end of each police operation, the residents of Maré live with the negative impacts caused by it and also with the maintenance of the violence and violations perpetrated by armed groups. In this sense, it is urgent to guide public authorities for the planning and execution of policies that, in fact, guarantee the right to public security for favela residents from the effective confrontation to the structure of violence existing in these spaces. For now, given the privileged analysis of 2020, it is critical to maintain a focus on recent changes as a potential to challenge the war policy and the militarization of peripheral urban life and found a new path for the guarantee of rights in these spaces with the reinvention of an effective public security policy.



2020 • REDES DA MARÉ

Rua Sargento Silva Nunes, 1012
Nova Holanda, Maré
Rio de Janeiro, RJ
Postcode: 21044-242

21 3105-5531 / 21 3104-3276

 21 99924-6462

comunicação@redesdamare.org.br

www.redesdamare.org.br

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