

BULLETIN **THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC SECURITY IN MARÉ**

The Right to Public Security in Maré is an initiative by Redes da Maré as part of its branch of work: Public Security and access to Justice. This newsletter presents and analyzes data about armed violence in the territories which make up Maré's set of favelas in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro.

The data was collected from January to December 2018. This information was compiled in the following manner: (I) through research carried out by a Redes da Maré team, mainly made up of the neighborhood's residents. This team covers the moments when armed conflicts happen and, at the same time, are permanently on call to investigate all the developments in registered cases; (II) through reports by residents who, spontaneously, seek the legal guidance service on rights violations, offered by Redes da Maré; (III) based on information published in the press and on social media; and (IV) through news releases published by the press and communications departments of the Military Police, Civil Police and the Health and Education Departments of Rio de Janeiro City Council.

As we will see, the data indicates continued high death rates in police operations in Maré, even under the federal intervention decreed in 2018. In this newsletter we use the indicator "deaths by state actor interventions" — used by the Instituto de Segurança Pública (ISP) — to describe deaths caused in the context of state action in the field of public security in Maré.

03

MONITORING THE IMPACTS OF ARMED CONFLICT IN MARÉ 2018



PHOTO: DIEGO DE JESUS

16

POLICE OPERATIONS

six lasted longer than 10 hours.

10

SCHOOLS DAYS LOST THROUGH

ACTIVITIES BEING SUSPENDED AND 11 DAYS LOST FOR HEALTH CLINICS

24

DEATHS IN ARMED CONFLICT

19 during police operations and 5 in armed conflict. On average, **one person dies every 19 days** because of police intervention in Maré. **One person dies in every police operation** in Maré.

DEATHS THROUGH INTERVENTIONS BY STATE ACTORS

YEAR 2018	N° OF PEOPLE	RATE (PER 100,000 INHABITANTS)
RJ STATE	1.532	9
CITY OF RIO	556	8,4
MARÉ	19	13,7

SOURCE: Instituto de Segurança Pública, 2019.

Even though the number of homicides and injuries dropped between 2017 and 2018, this wasn't as a result of changes in activities by state actors from the security forces. As can be seen, **death rates during police operations have remained high.**



The main aim of this newsletter is to make evident the circumstances in which **basic rights are violated, affecting Maré's 140 thousand residents, whether carried out by police forces or armed factions**"

To give greater clarity to the study, the data is organized into tables and graphs, accompanied by descriptive analysis. The aim is to give an outline of public security in Maré and, at the same time, draw attention to the most relevant issues with most impact on the territory and its residents.

Thus, item 1 shows the confrontations between the armed groups, and between them and the police forces, as well as their distribution and impact in each month of 2018; in item 2, the data is presented based on three axes of analysis: police actions, federal intervention and violations of rights, and homicides; in item 3, an analysis is presented on the dynamics of violence in Maré; item 4 presents comparative data for public security indicators between 2016 and 2018, seeking to understand the impact of the ever growing struggle by Maré residents for the right to their security.

The main aim in publishing this newsletter is to highlight the violation of basic rights that affect 140,000 Maré residents, either by the police forces or the armed groups. In this sense, what the "Right to Public Security in Maré" newsletter offers is a set of data and analyses about the violations that occur, understanding that the right to public security as such has not yet materialized. Thus, this newsletter can be an instrument to help rethink the current public security policy for all Maré's 16 favelas.

Armed conflict

The confrontations between armed groups, factions that exercise control over territory, or between these groups and the police, are the moments of greatest tension and risk the Maré's favelas' population. The immediate consequence is that daily life comes to a halt and many local services are suspended. Family clinics, public and private schools, businesses and leisure areas cancel their activities, since their lives are at risk.

Over the past three years, 83 people have died as a result of armed conflict in Maré. This is an alarming and unacceptable number. The results of these violent confrontations have left us horrified, because every day we witness an increase in death rates. Moreover, there is a conspicuous distance between the public security officers and the local population, which does not understand the strategy adopted, nor how it relates to guaranteeing the right to public security.

Moreover, there is immeasurable material damage, since residents' houses, cars, shops and work equipment are hit by bullets, not to speak of the psychological damage done to many residents. It is increasingly common for local health clinics to treat people with physical and mental disorders related to armed violence in Maré. As a result, more and more people have been diagnosed with hypertension, anxiety attacks, post traumatic stress disorder and depression.

Another development in armed conflict is that there have been reports by residents of incidents in which the security forces did not enter Maré per se, but nevertheless engaged in conflict with armed groups. This is what we can see in Table 1, described as "conflicts between armed groups and police forces / the armed forces". On at least three different occasions, military police units fired shots into streets leading into the favelas that are part of Maré. Armed groups retaliated to these shots.

We can see that, even if there is no police operation of the type that normally occurs where the police go into the favela, the population's lives are still at risk at these times. In addition to disrespecting the basic right to life, the continuity and frequency of armed conflict leads to other consequences for the 140,000 people who live in Maré

These episodes limit the free movement of residents, preventing them from studying, working or performing any other activities. Public and private educational institutions also suffered because of armed conflict. In 2018, for example,

many schools were forced to close or didn't even resume classes. As can also be seen in Table 1, at least 10 days of the academic year were lost. If added to the previous year — 35 days without lessons — we realize the irreparable damage being done to Maré's children and young people. It's a similar case for health clinics. In 2018, they were forced to close for 11 days. Since the majority of the population depends on these clinics for their health care, it is a serious problem not to have them fully functioning.

Disrupting the daily lives of people and institutions generates a series of other consequences that are only noticeable over a long period, but which already appear in the accounts of many residents. Accounts that reveal distrust of the Brazilian justice system and the state security forces; the feeling that this working class area of the city has been abandoned; and they reinforce the perception that there is a lack of urban planning to meets the needs of the 140 thousand people living in Maré which recognizes the area's potential.

In view of the above, armed conflict must cease immediately. If these confrontations continue, there is an imminent risk that more people will be murdered, injured or subjected to ever greater economic and material damage. There is also the danger that a generation of residents will become ill sooner and in greater numbers due to the intense stress caused by these confrontations, including children, adolescents and young people.

The table below presents data on armed conflict and its immediate consequences.

TABLE 1 | ARMED CONFLICT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN 2018

YEAR 2018	POLICE OPERATIONS	CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS AND POLICE/ARMED FORCES	CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS	TOTAL REGISTERED
INCIDENTS	16	3	27	46
DEATHS	19	0	5	24
INJURIES	10	3	7	20
DAYS WITHOUT LESSONS	10	0	0	10
DAYS WITHOUT HEALTH CARE IN CLINICS	11	0	0	11

36

SHOOTINGS

BY ARMED GROUPS WITH NO DEATHS REGISTERED



03

INVESTIGATIONS



27

CONFRONTATIONS

BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS



TABLE 2 | ARMED CONFLICT DATA FOR EVERY MONTH OF 2018

MONTH	POLICE OPERATIONS	CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS AND POLICE/ARMED FORCES	CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS	DAYS WITHOUT LESSONS	DAYS WITHOUT HEALTH CLINICS	DEATHS	INJURIES
JAN	1	0	7	0	0	3	3
FEB	4	0	2	2	3	2	0
MAR	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
APR	0	2	3	0	0	0	4
MAY	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
JUN	3	0	0	2	2	8	1
JUL	0	0	6	0	0	1	0
AUG	3	0	0	1	1	1	0
SEP	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
OCT	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
NOV	4	0	3	4	4	8	9
DEC	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
TOTAL	16	5	27	10	11	24	20

WHAT THE STATISTICS SAY

Police actions in Maré

When it comes to intervention in Maré by public security agents, a historical model was maintained in 2018, based on responding to the illegal drug trade with war-like confrontation, which is also how federal intervention deals with vehicle and cargo theft.

Maré's set of favelas is occupied by three armed factions that are in territorial dispute, practice illicit activities and control the daily life of these territories. The areas Praia de Ramos and Roquete Pinto, are occupied by a paramilitary group that has been operating in that region for more than 10 years. It can be seen from the data in this newsletter that since 2016, police forces have not taken any direct action in these communities to guarantee the right of residents in this area to public security, demonstrating that the fight against some crimes is prioritized to the detriment of others.

Of the 16 police operations which occurred in 2018, six of them lasted more than 10 hours. Together, these operations led to 11 homicides and eight people injured by gunfire. When a Redes da Maré team sought to mediate a conflict between residents and police in one

of these operations, a police officer said: *We've been here for 12 hours without food, water or a bathroom break. How do you expect me to remain calm, madam?*

Minutes later, this same military police group fired shots toward the population protesting there after a young man died. From this episode, the risks of physical and mental exhaustion to which police officers are also submitted are clear. They are not given the minimum conditions necessary to carry out their work.

Historically, police operations in Maré tend to focus on the area which extends from Parque União to Nova Holanda. Throughout 2018, we identified a wider spread in police operations across the different favelas that make up the neighborhood. An example was the region of Marcílio Dias, which between 2016 and 2017 recorded only one police operation, but in 2018, four police operations were identified in that region, all of them aimed at deterring cargo and vehicle theft — one of the main justifications given for federal intervention in Rio de Janeiro.

It was also possible to notice a considerable increase in police operations in Vila do Pinheiro which, became the area with the highest number of police operations (9). 11 of the 19 homicides that occurred during all the police operations were concentrated in this region. Another relevant fact is that almost half of the police operations in Vila do Pinheiro were coordinated by the Civil Police.

One pattern that has been observed is the growing role of the Civil Police in operations in Maré. In most cases, the Civil Police reported that the objective of the operation was to comply with a court warrant.

When we consider the total number of police operations and the dynamics of violence in 2018, it is possible to observe the growing militarization of the Civil Police in Maré: police operations using large military equipment, armored vehicles, including an armored helicopter, which was used as a firing platform.

In Maré, the helicopter's use as a firing platform has intensified since the end of 2017. Throughout 2018, we recorded four police operations involving a helicopter, and in all of them the aircraft was used to fire at the ground. In this context, it is impossible not to remember the police operation on June 20, 2018, in which the armored Civil Police helicopter flew low over Maré's streets, firing shots from above while the aircraft was moving. At the time, the Redes da Maré team identified more than 100 gunshots through the streets of Vila do Pinheiro, near a complex of seven schools. On that same day, seven homicides were recorded: one was the boy Marcus Vinicius, who was on his way to school and six other young people whom there is evidence were victims of police executions.

TABLE 3 | POLICE OPERATION ACCORDING TO POLICE UNIT IN 2018

POLICE FORCE	OPERATIONAL UNIT	OPERATIONS TOTAL
MILITARY POLICE	BAC	5
MILITARY POLICE	BOPE	6
MILITARY POLICE	CHOQUE	5
MILITARY POLICE	GAM	0
MILITARY POLICE	22 nd BPM	6
POLÍCIA CIVIL	CORE	5
CIVIL POLICE	DCOD	2
CIVIL POLICE	DRFC	3
FEDERAL TROOPS	PF	0
FEDERAL TROOPS	PFR	0
FEDERAL TROOPS	ARMED FORCES	3
FEDERAL TROOPS	NATIONAL FORCE	0

TABLE 4 | POLICE OPERATION ACCORDING TO FAVELA AFFECTED IN 2018

FAVELA	TOTAL	PERCENTUAL SOBRE O TOTAL DE OPERAÇÕES POLICIAIS
VILA DO PINHEIRO	9	56%
PARQUE UNIÃO	9	56%
VILA DO JOÃO	8	50%
SALSA & MERENGUE	8	50%
CONJUNTO ESPERANÇA	7	44%
CONJUNTO PINHEIRO	7	44%
NOVA HOLANDA	7	44%
RUBENS VAZ	6	38%
MARCÍLIO DIAS	6	38%
PARQUE MARÉ	5	31%
BAIXA DO SAPATEIRO	4	25%
BENTO RIBEIRO DANTAS	3	19%
MORRO DO TIMBAU	3	19%
NOVA MARÉ	3	19%
ROQUETE PINTO	0	0%
PRAIA DE RAMOS	0	0%

Federal intervention in Rio de Janeiro and its effects on Maré's 16 favelas

At the start of 2018, the Federal Government announced an unprecedented and controversial intervention in the area of public security in the State of Rio de Janeiro. The initial allegation was that the State alone was no longer able to guarantee its citizens' safety. The high rates of theft of cargoes and vehicles were highlighted to demonstrate this.

Although there were a number of other political reasons behind this measure to mask the fragility of one of the most discredited governments in history, the intervention was widely promoted and put into practice, impacting heavily on Rio de Janeiro in a variety of ways.

In wealthier neighborhoods, the arrival of the Armed Forces was greeted with a degree of enthusiasm by most of the population. However, in working class neighborhoods, such as the favelas, this announcement generated more apprehension than enthusiasm, as well as much distrust and a lack of belief in the effectiveness of this measure as a solution to deal with the high levels of violence at the time. This is because favelas and the city's peripheral neighborhoods have had a series of negative experiences with the Armed Forces, either in direct interventions or in operations to support the police forces. This is the case of the Maré favelas and those in another favela complex called Alemão, for example.

The memory of the military's time occupying Maré's 16 favelas is not good. For 14 months, between 2014 and 2015, the Armed Forces, mainly the Brazilian Army, occupied the streets of Maré. However, even with a daily expenditure of almost 1.2 million reais, it did not resolve the serious security problems faced by neighborhood residents.

Despite a drop in homicide rates at the beginning of the occupation in 2014, over time,

there was a strong erosion of trust in relations between the Armed Forces and the residents.

Meanwhile, armed conflict between the army and armed groups intensified and became routine again. At the end of the occupation, in June 2015, there were no significant changes to public safety in Maré. In fact, there was no legacy that could point out ways to guarantee the right to public security for citizens living in the area. It was for all of these reasons that Maré's residents were apprehensive when the federal intervention of Rio de Janeiro was announced. They thought the new occupation could be modeled on the first.

That is not what happened. Maré was not reoccupied. However, the Armed Forces acted to support operations by Rio de Janeiro's State Police on several occasions. Following the pattern identified by the Observatory of Intervention in the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Armed Forces took part in three of the 16 police operations, in partnership with the State Police in Maré. In keeping with the trend in data released by the Observatory of Intervention, in 2018 the Military Police had the most active role in operations, followed by the Civil Police and then by the Armed Forces.

It should be noted that 42% of homicides during operations in 2018 were ones where the Armed Forces were present. This means that, although there was no occupation of the territory and no increase in actions by the Armed Forces, when they involved in ones in Maré, the death rate was high.

The increase in police operations in Maré whose aim is to combat cargo and vehicle theft is noteworthy — it was widely announced as one of the crimes to be combated during the period of federal intervention. Five of the sixteen police operations in Maré were aimed at combating cargo and vehicle theft — the Marcílio Dias region was the hardest hit by this dynamic of combating crimes within the federal intervention framework.

According to data from ISP, when federal intervention ended, cargo theft had decreased by -17.2% and vehicle theft by -6.7%, compared to the same period for the previous year. These statistics were considered a success for the federal intervention.



42% of homicides during 2018 operations were in ones where the **Armed Forces were present**”

However the army's analysis didn't take into account the increase in murders by the intervention of state actors (+33.6%), or even the decrease in homicides (-8.2%). Perspectives like these demonstrate that security policies value and focus on the protection of patrimony, to the detriment of the lives of the city's residents.

In this way, this continuing pattern of high death rates in police operations during the federal intervention became dramatically explicit in several episodes of violence and disrespect for the rights of residents in favelas and marginalized communities. It is evident that the solution to public security issues is not to use of the old formula of war, which considers favelas and marginalized neighborhoods to be the "reverse side of the city" and as enemy territories, belonging to an "enemy army", whose rights can be violated and put on hold. On the contrary, it is necessary to develop a permanent working model that places valuing the lives of black people and residents of the city's periphery, the people most affected by violence, in the center of a public security policy based on the respect and inviolability of life.

Violations of rights and homicidess

During 2018, Redes da Maré assisted 41 victims of rights violations as a result of armed violence within Maré's favelas. These residents reported 71 individual violations. In most cases the violations were committed by security officers during police operations in the neighborhood.

It is important to note that, even though the number of people who reported rights violations in Maré's favelas in 2018 decreased compared to the 2017 data, when we had 67 cases, it is possible to notice more than one type of right was violated per individual in 2018, which makes it necessary to consider this relative to the decrease in number of people affected.

TABLE 5 | **CASES OF RIGHTS VIOLATIONS HANDLED BY REDES DA MARÉ**

TYPE OF VIOLATION	Nº OF REPORTS	% OF TOTAL PEOPLE SEEN
INVASION OF HOME	15	37%
VERBAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE/THREAT	15	37%
DEATH OF RELATIVES OR FRIENDS	13	32%
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE/TORTURE	12	29%
FIREARM INJURIES	11	27%
FALSE IMPRISONMENT	8	20%
DAMAGE TO PROPERTY	6	15%
LOSS OF BELONGINGS	1	2%
INVASION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY	1	2%

Following the pattern of previous years, the invasion of people's homes was the predominant rights violation in 2018, affecting 37% of the people assisted by Redes da Maré. When comparing the data for 2017 and 2018, we noticed the increase in complaints related to psychological and physical violence. Also noteworthy were the number of deaths (32%) and firearm injuries (27%), which maintained the same level of incidence of recent years.

The formalization of complaints of fundamental rights violations in the context of armed violence still poses a major challenge. Of the 41 people that the project Maré de Direitos dealt with in 2018, only six filed complaints of violations with access to justice organizations.

If we take into account the people dealt with by the project, between 2016 and 2018, we identified 121 people, of which only 29 are still pursuing their complaints. Among the greatest difficulties raised by Maré residents for continuing with formally pursuing complaints are bureaucracy, the unhelpfulness of these bodies and a lack of belief in their



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effectiveness. Added to this, we identified the fear of reprisals and threats, as being among the main reasons for withdrawal.

It is also worth mentioning the difficulties faced by these people as a result of the absence of a structured policy for the redress of fundamental rights violations in the context of armed violence. This lack of structure lays bare the state's lack of interest in making amends for the security forces' mistakes against the poor, black population living in favelas and marginalized neighborhoods in Brazil.

This lack of interest can also be seen from the difficulties encountered in the investigative process and the resolution of crimes that occur in Maré and other favelas. Thus, investigations into crimes are not carried out. This is serious because without an investigation it is even more difficult to solve crimes and consequently bring the culprits to justice. Historically, Redes da Maré has provoked the relevant, competent bodies responsible for carrying out investigations at crime scenes, especially in homicide cases. In 2018, the Redes da Maré team monitored three investigations into the 24 homicides recorded in Maré.

Not surprisingly, these investigations came about through local pressure to solve the killings, most of them homicides of adolescents that generated great mobilization in the media and an outpouring of grief in society. It should be pointed out that the investigations that the Redes da Maré monitored were not carried out in ideal conditions, since they occurred hours after the crime, when the area had been interfered with and the corpse removed from the crime scene — which directly affects the ability to solve homicides.

Still on the subject of investigations, we were able to uncover problems in how deaths are communicated during police operations. On November 6, 2018, when a Military Police operation started at dawn, generating intense armed confrontations and five homicides in the same street in Maré, it was verified that at 10am the Homicide Police had not yet been informed of the deaths by the Military Police.

Situations such as these discredit the historical practice of police in favelas in Rio

and Brazil: the lack of value given to the lives of those who live in these areas and the lack of respect for basic rights when, for example, operations flare up that endanger the lives of thousands of people and, if a death occurs, the right to a state investigation is not even guaranteed.

With respect to the homicides in Maré, 24 people died in 2018: 19 from police operations and 5 from conflicts between armed groups. Compared with the numbers in 2017, when 42 people died, 20 in police operations and 22 in conflicts between armed groups, the figures show a decrease in death rates. However, it is necessary to observe the data carefully, in order to have a more complete view of the real situation in the field of public security and rights in Maré. The first important observation concerns the number of deaths: if in 2017 the security forces carried out 41 operations in Maré, with 20 deaths, in 2018 they carried out 16 operations, with 19 deaths. It is evident from this comparison that, despite reducing police operations to less than half, they have maintained their high rates of death.

This is an indicator that needs to be taken into account when evaluating Maré's security policy and the performance of state security forces. The Institute of Public Security (ISP) developed an indicator called "deaths through the intervention of state actors". This indicator measures the degree of lethality of the security forces' agents and compiles a series of other indicators that help to evaluate the public security situation in Rio de Janeiro.

According to the ISP, the death rate due to the intervention of state actors for the entire state of Rio de Janeiro was 9.0 / 100 thousand inhabitants in 2018; for the city of Rio de Janeiro alone, the same rate was 8.4 / 100 thousand inhabitants. Applying the same ISP methodology for Maré, in 2018 the death rate due to the intervention of state actors rises to 13.7 / 100 thousand inhabitants.

When we compare Maré's reality with that of the upper middle class neighborhoods of Ipanema and Leblon, for example, the discrepancy is much more pronounced. According to

data from the 14th Police Department that serves the neighborhoods mentioned, two people died in April, in 2018, due to the intervention of state actors. This results in a rate of 2.2 / 100 thousand inhabitants. If, in Maré, the death rate due to the intervention of State agents is 13.7 / 100 thousand inhabitants, it must be acknowledged that security forces killed six times more people in this working class neighborhood than in Ipanema and Leblon together.

Thus, although the number of homicides and injuries decreased between 2017 and 2018, this was not due to a change in the performance of state security agents. As can be seen, the death rate in police operations remained high in 2018.

Another alarming question concerns the dynamics of the deaths: of the 24 homicides that occurred in Maré in 2018, 20 indicate signs of being intentional killings, that is, executions. In these cases it was possible to identify firearm perforation in the region of the chest, face and back, or multiple perforations in the same region of the body, demonstrating signs of execution in the manner in which the deaths happened.

Interrupted dreams: impacts of violence on the lives of residents in Maré's 16 favelas

The episodes of violence and the violations of rights reported here have a high impact on Maré's residents. As already discussed in other points of this newsletter, the social, economic, cultural and emotional costs are enormous. This impact is manifested in several ways: in the educational loss to children, when schools and health clinics are forced to close; in the economic loss of local businesses who also cannot open their stores; or even in the shutdown of all socio-cultural activities run by the institutions and collectives which exist in Maré, not to mention the damage to the residents' health.

However, what is most evident is the enormous loss for all, including the population in other parts of the city and state of Rio de Janeiro, perhaps the country. By outlining the profile of those most affected by violence, the biggest targets are young black people who live in favelas or marginal neighborhoods. We have a considerable loss of a generation whose lives are shortened, abbreviated.

According to data from the 2018 Atlas da Violência (Atlas of Violence), launched by the IPEA and the Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança (Brazilian Security Forum), the largest number of victims of violent death by firearms are men (94.6%), aged between 15 and 25. In a complementary study analyzing cases of death due to violence, the Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança (Brazilian Security Yearbook) points to the fact that 76% of those murdered are Afro-Brazilians (black and mixed race).

This, however, is not new information, nor is it unknown to Brazil's public authorities. What is striking is the fact that there is no greater concern for that section of the population which has been decimated on a yearly basis in the country. Indeed, the profile of the victims is evidence of continuing racial discrimination and inequality in Brazil.

In Maré, this profile is repeated. If we analyze the latest security newsletters published by Redes da Maré, we find that the majority of those killed in the armed confrontations are black adolescents and young people aged between 13 and 29.

Thus, during 2018, 72% of the victims of confrontations in Maré's favelas are made up from this group; 96% are male; and 78% are black. In line with the national trend, the number of black people murdered is much higher than the number of non-black people.

What is alarming is the fact that the youngest people are the most serious victims of violence, since this brings a premature end to dreams and trajectories of Brazilians who could contribute to the country, especially to their own neighborhoods. An important part of Brazil's future is lost forever.

The economic costs are very high for a country that kills people in the most productive phase of their lives. However, the social and emotional costs of these losses are incalculable and immeasurable. In favelas and peripheral communities, as in the case of Maré, the violence that destroys the lives of our young people leaves deep wounds among the victims's families, friends and neighbors. These are traumas that reverberate daily in the lives of everyone.

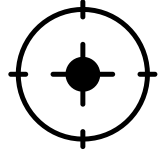
These traumas are in addition to the increasingly common deaths of children and adolescents in armed confrontations. They are killed while playing at home, on the street or when they are on their way to school. That is, in the moments in which they most experience and exercise their right to childhood. In this sense, some cases in 2018 were emblematic in Maré: the deaths of the boys Jeremias Moraes da Silva, 13, and Marcus Vinícius da Silva, 14, and the five young people who were killed inside a house in Vila do Pinheiro.

Jeremias died while playing with friends on a sports pitch in Nova Holanda favela, on February 8th, 2018. While the boys were playing football, a police operation took place. Reports

PROFILE OF VICTIMS OF ARMED CONFLICT IN MARÉ'S COMMUNITIES

24 DEATHS DURING ARMED CONFLICTS

[19 during police operations and 5 in armed confrontations]



72%

AGED BETWEEN **13 AND 29 YEARS**



96%

ARE **MALE**



79%

ARE **AFRO-BRAZILIAN** [BLACK AND MIXED RACE]¹



¹ The research team had access to race and age details in only 18 of the 24 homicides.

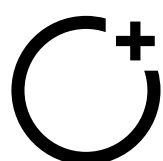
from some witnesses say that a Military Police armored car entered through the back gate of the 22nd Military Police Battalion, located on the street where Jeremias was playing. The children fled, but the boy was shot while trying to shelter in a friend's house, close to where he played football. To date, the crime has not been solved.

Marcus Vinícius was killed in the Vila do Pinheiro favela on his way to school. According to a report by the Instituto Médico Legal, he was shot in the back by a rifle. Marcus Vinícius was still rescued and taken to Maré's UPA emergency clinic, where he

told family members, before he died, that the shot that struck him was fired from a Civil Police armored car in operation on June 20, 2018. Marcus Vinícius was in uniform, in the clothes of the municipal school where he was a student. The crime has not yet been solved.

On the same day, June 20, 2018, five other youths were killed inside a house in Vila do Pinheiro. Residents report that the five youths, allegedly involved in one of the armed groups operating in the neighborhood, were being sheltered in a house when civilian police officers entered the building and caught the young men. According to the residents, even though they were arrested, they were executed and their bodies hurled from the 2nd floor of the building, by police. Kelvin Duarte, Francisco Felipe, Paulo Henrique, Igor Barbosa and Manoel Lopes were the names of these young people. They were aged between 18 and 29 and had their lives cut off extremely brutally. The possibility that these young people were involved in illegal activities meant that their identities, life trajectories and dreams did not move public opinion to decry the absurd nature of their deaths. The pain generated by these deaths is immense. The victims' families have not received state support and will bear their pain forever. The damage it did to people's trust in state institutions, which should promote security, is profound. The very belief in justice is irreparably compromised.

According to IBGE 2010 Census data, life expectancy in Maré is 74. The average age of the people who died during 2018 is 24, that is, on average they could have lived for another 50 years. How many young people have had their lives cut short? What would their future have been? What dreams would they have fulfilled? We will never know. Their dreams were cut short.



74

IS THE **LIFE EXPECTANCY** OF MARÉ'S RESIDENTS ACCORDING TO IBGE

24

IS THE AVERAGE AGE OF THOSE **KILLED** DURING 2018

50

YEARS IS THE AVERAGE AMOUNT OF **EXTRA TIME** THESE PEOPLE **COULD HAVE LIVED**

Some issues which could affect the dynamic of violence in Maré

Comparing the data collected in recent years, it is possible to observe a decrease in some indicators of violence in the Maré region. If we compare the years 2017 and 2018, it's possible to see a decrease in the number of police operations (61%), conflict between armed groups (34%), school closures (71%) and clinic closures (76%), homicides (43%) and firearm injuries (82%).

TABLE 6 | COMPARISON OF PUBLIC SECURITY INDICATORS IN MARÉ BETWEEN 2017 AND 2018

INDICATORS	2017	2018	DECREASE
POLICE OPERATIONS	41	16	61%
CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS	41	27	34%
HOMICIDES	42	24	43%
FIREARM INJURIES	57	10	82%
DAYS WHEN SCHOOLS CLOSED	35	10	71%
DAYS WHEN CLINICS CLOSED	45	11	76%

If it was possible to observe a drop in the public security indicators in Maré, the same cannot be observed in other areas of the State of Rio. The Intervention Observatory has been releasing compelling data on the increase in the number of armed confrontations in Rio de Janeiro and its Metropolitan Region.

What's the reason that Maré is going against the logic?

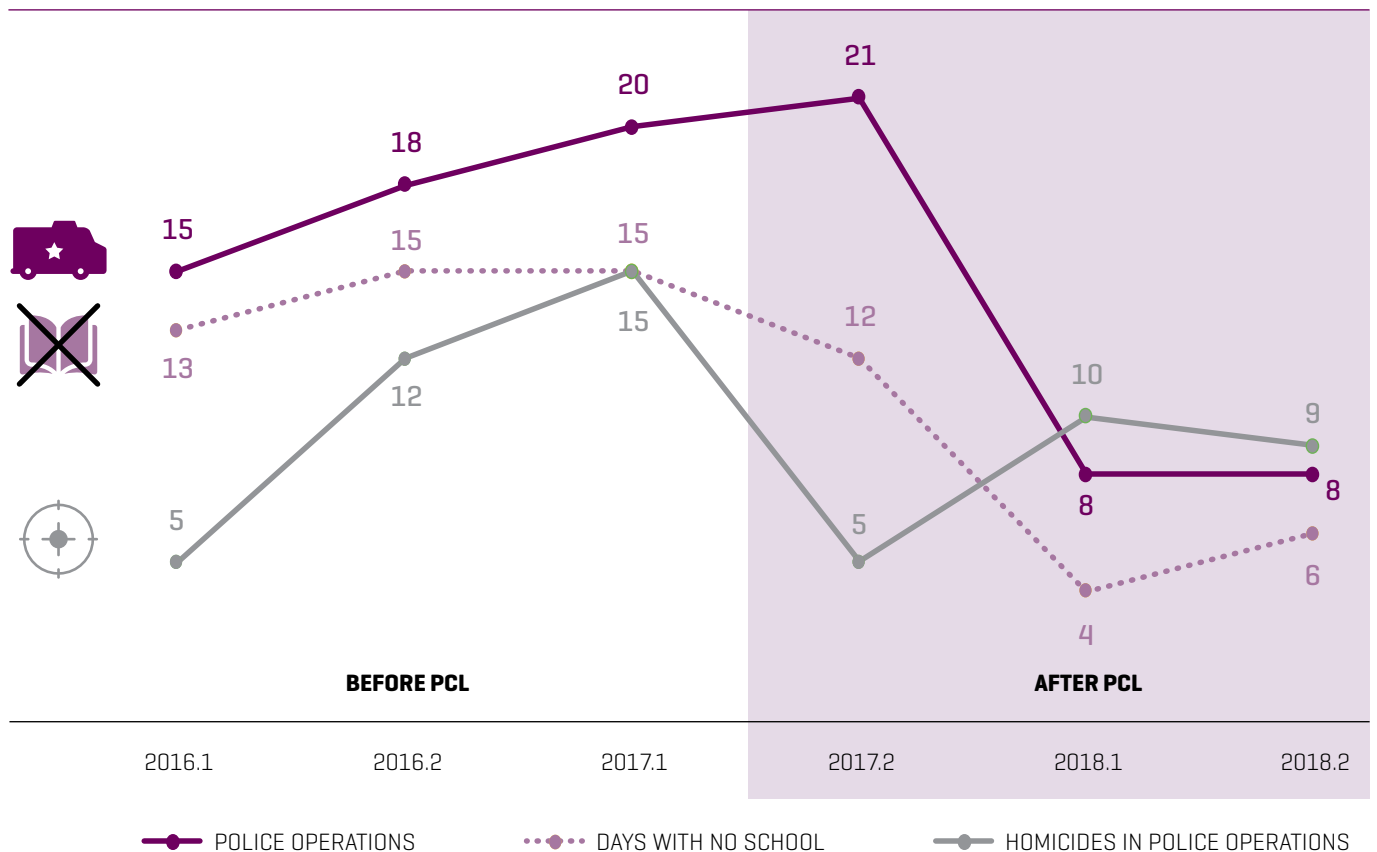
The first issue to be raised involves the protagonism of Maré's residents and the local institutions fighting for rights. As a result, multiple actors, such as civil society organizations, residents' associations, schools, health clinics and churches, using different strategies, make this neighborhood progress in guaranteeing basic rights, such as the right to education, health and public security.

Another relevant factor was Maré's public civil lawsuit, with the objective of reducing damages and risks during police operations. These are legal proceedings initiated by the Public Defender's Office from the State Government of Rio de Janeiro, based on reports and information provided by residents and Maré organizations, denouncing the serious violations of rights that occur

on police operation days. This lawsuit was won in June 2017, when the judiciary ordered that a series of measures be adopted to guarantee the rights Maré's residents. Among the measures, a plan was proposed to reduce damage and risk during police operations.

When we look at the comparative data of police operations in the period before and after this Maré PCL injunction, dated June 2017, we can observe that from 2016, Maré's indicators related to police operations followed an upward trend. However, from the second half of 2017, we have identified a tendency for these indicators to fall.

DATA RELATING TO POLICE OPERATIONS USING MARÉ'S PUBLIC CIVIL LAWSUIT (PCL) AS A TIMEFRAME (28/06/2017)



MEASURES DETERMINED BY THE MARÉ PUBLIC CIVIL LAWSUIT



POLICE OPERATIONS **PROHIBITED** FROM COMPLYING WITH **WARRANTS AT NIGHT**



GRADUAL INSTALLATION OF **VIDEO CAMERAS AND GPS** IN VEHICLES OPERATING IN MARÉ



AMBULANCES AVAILABLE ON POLICE OPERATION DAYS



DEVELOPMENT OF A **DAMAGE REDUCTION PLAN** FOR VIOLENCE ON POLICE OPERATIONS DAYS

It can be concluded that, although some of the measures determined by the lawsuit have not been fully complied with by the police forces, the Public Civil Lawsuit places Maré under permanent monitoring by the Justice and Public Security System, impacting in particular on the way police forces act in this region.

Finally, it is important to note that the number of police operations decreased by 61% in the period analyzed by this newsletter. Fewer police operations resulted in a decrease in the days schools had to close (-71%) and health clinics had to close (-76%).

It should be pointed out that this does not represent an improvement in the sense of security for the almost 140,000 residents of Maré, since, even with the reduction in police operations, there was an increase in the military equipment used in carrying out operations, such as the incorporation of the armored helicopter from December 2017.

Final considerations

We have a long way to go to achieve the right to public security in the favelas of Maré, the place where we struggle and toil to guarantee them. We believe that this is a collective and widespread process, which must happen in favelas, and generally in Rio de Janeiro. To that end, our work is constructed through the inventiveness and possibilities to be found in the strength that emerges from the people who suffer from the inequalities and injustices that characterize our society.

In this way, we understand that Maré's population, especially their children, adolescents and young people, must have their right to life guaranteed. We urgently need to stop the insane advance of violence that affects this population in a terrifying way. It is necessary to construct public security policies that have life as non-negotiable value.

For this reason, it is essential to build protective actions geared specifically to this segment of the population. Initiatives that distance them from precarious and premature child labor; from school truancy; from lack of support for their families; from the cycle of poverty and from an unworthy life.

It is up to the state, through the implementation of public policies, but also up to society, to commit, immediately, to the development of permanent actions that improve the quality of life and security for the entire population living in favelas and in marginalized neighborhoods. At the same time, it is also necessary to recognize and support the potential, inventiveness and resilient processes present in these spaces.

This commitment must allow the young population of Brazil to live and develop their potential fully, for the future will depend on what we help to build today.

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