

DE O CORPO

BULLETIN

# THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC SECURITY IN MARÉ

TARAM  
ADOR  
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BALHADOR

2025 DATA | 9TH EDITION

RJ - RIBEIRÃO JANEIRO  
NV 5363

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## PRESENTATION

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This edition of the The Right to Public Security in Maré Bulletin brings together data on the impacts of armed violence throughout 2025 in the 15 Favelas of Maré. It also includes information from a decade of continuous monitoring carried out by the Eyes on Maré project. It is important to emphasize that, in 2026, this initiative completes 10 years of recording armed violence that takes place in the region, whether by armed civilian groups or by the police. We consider this a unique achievement: monitoring, for a decade, confrontations and police operations through work carried out within the favela itself, with the objective of producing evidence about the State's negligence when it comes to guaranteeing the right to public security for impoverished populations.

The numbers are striking. In 10 years of continuous monitoring, there were 231 police operations in the favelas of Maré and 160 deaths resulting from these operations. In the records of the 10 years of monitoring armed confrontations, there were 1,538 occurrences of violence and rights violations, including injuries, threats, torture and unlawful detention. These numbers unfortunately show that there is a pattern of violence that has been repeated over the years.

In this context, armed violence has been producing profound impacts on the daily lives of favela populations. Beyond the deaths and direct violations that occur, there is a cycle and a certain normalization of the interruption of public services related to the most basic rights that should be guaranteed but are not when it comes to favela residents. According to monitoring by Redes da Maré, between 2016 and 2025 there were 163 days in which schools were closed in the territory due to police operations, which is equivalent to the loss of approximately one school year in the educational trajectory of children and adolescents in Maré. This represents a continuous violation of the right to education, which cannot be treated as a collateral effect of public security policy, but as damage produced by the historical negligence of the State. This harm to children, adolescents and young people requires that reparative measures be considered, beyond the simple replacement of school days.<sup>1</sup>

The seriousness of these impacts on fundamental rights has also been recognized by oversight and justice institutions. In 2025, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF) in Rio de Janeiro opened a public civil inquiry to investigate the effects of police operations on the vaccination of children up to six years old who live in territories marked by armed conflicts.<sup>2</sup> The investigation, determined by the Regional Prosecutor's Office for Citizens' Rights, is based on a study prepared by UNICEF in partnership with Redes da Maré, which showed how armed violence compromises access to health care in early childhood, reinforcing that the consequences of public security policy directly and durably affect children and their families.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, when analyzing the data collected in 2025, we identify the persistence of a public security model in the state of Rio de Janeiro still centered on war-like operations, repressive in nature and with insignificant results in combating illicit networks. The massacres in Complexo do Alemão and Penha in 2025, the Jacarezinho (4) in 2021, and Maré in 2018, among other massacres, reiterate that the policy of overt confrontation continues to operate with a license to kill, despite judicial decisions and formal commitments to reduce lethality.

The return of helicopters as shooting platforms also deepens the contradictions of state policy. In addition to increasing the number of deaths in densely populated areas, this practice directly conflicts with the guidelines of the Federal Supreme Court, which through ADPF 635 calls for the reduction of police lethality and the preservation of life, highlighting the distance between institutional determinations and the concrete actions of the State in the territory.

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1 - Public Security Bulletin: The Right to Public Security in Maré – Special Edition: Impacts of Armed Violence on Education, Redes da Maré, Rio de Janeiro, 2025. <https://www.redesdamare.org.br/br/artigo/374/pela-reparacao-dos-impactos-da-violencia-armada-no-direito-a-educacao-na-mare>


2 - <https://www.mpf.mp.br/comunicacao/noticias/2026/mpf-abre-inquerito-para-apurar-impactos-da-violencia-armada-na-vacinacao-de-criancas-rj>

3 - <https://www.redesdamare.org.br/br/noticia/285/vacinacao-infantil-cai-90-em-dias-de-operacoes-policiais-na-mare-revela-estudo-do-unicef-e-redes-da-mare>

4 - [https://wikifavelas.com.br/index.php/Principais\\_chacinas\\_no\\_Rio\\_de\\_Janeiro](https://wikifavelas.com.br/index.php/Principais_chacinas_no_Rio_de_Janeiro)

Four decades of investment in this paradigm produce an unequivocal verdict: armed confrontation is ineffective. It has not reduced the power of illicit markets, it has not guaranteed security, nor has it preserved lives. What is observed, in reality, is the reproduction of violence that runs through Rio de Janeiro and manifests itself acutely in the impoverished regions of the state.

The Eyes on Maré project was conceived within a perspective that prioritizes the production of knowledge as one of the ways that can contribute to the process of accountability for rights violations that historically occur in favela areas. Our belief is that producing data about the pattern of violence directed at certain segments of the Brazilian population strengthens the struggle for structural changes in public security policy, which should be based on intelligence, investigation, respect for life and the guarantee of security for society, regardless of place of residence or living conditions. Ten years later, the evidence is clear: public security is not made by policing alone.

Redes da Maré has also invested in innovative initiatives for producing evidence about violence and rights violations, such as the project Maré for Justice – Community Forensic Analysis. Through the articulation between residents, researchers, universities and  organizations, the project builds evidence collaboratively, gathering testimonies, photographic records, territorial mapping, spatial analyses and three-dimensional reconstructions of crime scenes. It is an experience of science produced from the territory itself that challenges poorly substantiated versions, strengthens collective memory and expands the possibilities of holding the State accountable, affirming that those who live the violence also produce legitimate knowledge about it.

This initiative is fundamental because, in the monitoring of police operations carried out by Redes da Maré since 2016, 160 deaths have been recorded in the territory; only 16 had forensic examinations, and only one resulted in a formal indictment. The claim of “territorial instability” has repeatedly served as justification to deny the right to forensic investigation, compromising access to truth and justice.

In this sense, we reaffirm that public security is the guarantee of a broad set of rights and services that sustain everyday life: fully

functioning education, continuous access to health care, public lighting, safe mobility, basic sanitation, dignified housing, access to culture and sports, social protection, work and income, in addition to the right to come and go without fear. Where these rights are systematically interrupted, as in the favelas of Maré, we cannot say that residents have security.

## HOW THIS WORK IS CARRIED OUT - METHODOLOGY

- 1 -Direct work by professionals from Redes da Maré working in the Right to Public Security and Access to Justice axis, who monitor armed confrontations in loco. A support shift is organized for people who suffer any type of human rights violation and/or based on records of cases brought by residents.
- 2 -Articulation of a network of collaborators among residents and organizations working in the favelas of Maré, who contribute by reporting and validating evidence about the violence that occurred.
- 3 -Collection of official information or information validated with municipal and state government bodies such as the Civil Police, Military Police, Municipal Department of Education and Municipal Department of Health through their communication offices.
- 4 -Survey of information in the media and social networks regarding events related to armed violence.
- 5 -Deployment of the team to the field within up to 48 hours after situations of violence in order to verify the information received.
- 6 -Systematization of all information about rights violations that occur in the favelas of Maré, which serve as the basis for preparing the Annual Bulletin The Right to Public Security in Maré.
- 7 -Analysis and management of the information that composes the database in order to create indicators on rights violations.

In this methodological process, it is worth reinforcing that the number of police operations and the resulting deaths are based on direct, on-site observation of these events, given the evidence of operations in the territory and the fatal victims they caused. However, some acts of violence and rights violations, depending on the circumstances and environments in which they occurred, may not reach the knowledge of the Eyes on Maré project, even though the verification methodology includes active search procedures. Therefore, it is possible that violations occurred in greater numbers than those reported in this bulletin due to technical rigor. The same applies to the actions of armed groups and the violence and violations resulting from them.



Bullet marks on the asphalt left by the helicopter on Roberto da Silveira Street with Maurício Nassau Street, Parque União.

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## DYNAMICS OF POLICE OPERATIONS IN THE FAVELAS OF MARÉ IN 2025

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### Total Operations: 16

**12**

killed

**11**

injured

**2**

victims of  
physical violence

**1**

victim of  
psychological violence

**3**

victims of  
verbal violence

**41**

homes or commercial  
establishments  
invaded

**39**

residents reported  
property damage

**7**

had belongings taken

**9**

people suffered threats

**2**

residents were kept  
in unlawful detention

**1**

person was temporarily  
missing

**9**

days with  
classes suspended

**14**

days with suspension  
of services in  
health units

## RETURN OF HELICOPTERS AS SHOOTING PLATFORMS: THE VIOLENCE THAT COMES FROM ABOVE

Use of Helicopters in Police Operations in the Maré Favela Complex					
Year	Operations	Helicopter in police operations	Helicopter used as a shooting platform	Total deaths in operations	Deaths in operations with the presence of a helicopter
2019	24	11	7	30	20
2020	9	0	0	4	0
2021	7	5	0	7	5
2022	14	6	2	26	21
2023	34	12	2	8	7
2024	42	2	0	20	9
2025	16	8	4	12	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>69</b>

The use of helicopters significantly increases the risk of fatal victims, especially in densely populated areas such as Maré. In the Bulletin – Special Edition Keeping an Eye on ADPF 635, released in the first half of 2025, Redes da Maré had already pointed out that police operations using helicopters are considerably more lethal. Between 2019 and 2025, operations that included the presence of this aircraft accounted for 64% of the deaths resulting from police actions. Operation Contenção, considered the most lethal in the history of Rio de Janeiro, which took place in Penha and Alemão complexes, did not use a helicopter as a shooting platform. The justification used by the Secretary of Public Security, Victor Santos, was to “preserve the integrity of security agents” in operations inside the forest. The secretary himself states that the use of the helicopter would increa-

se the risk of injuries. Given this, it is necessary to question why this strategy is not considered to protect residents where police operations occur.

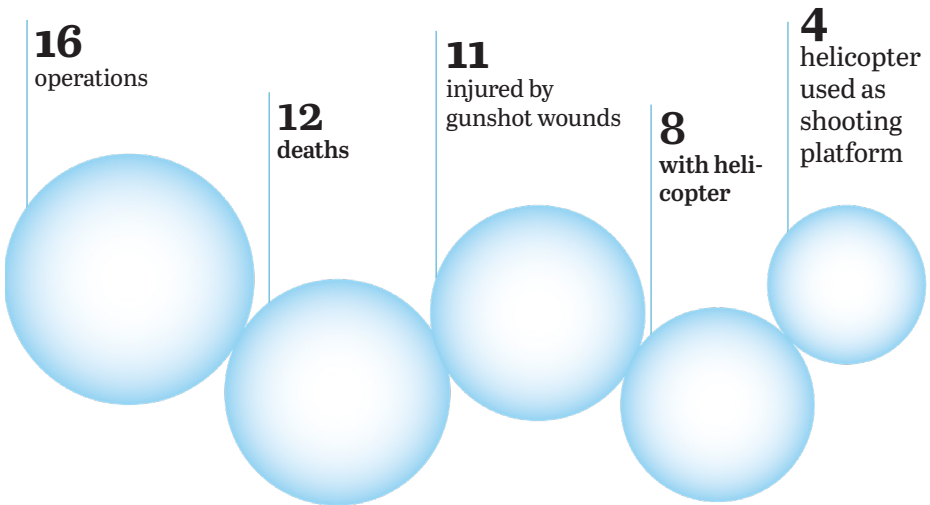
In 2025, police operations carried out in Maré left visible marks in the territory which, together with residents' reports, build consistent evidence that shots were fired from above. Of the 16 operations carried out throughout the year, half involved the presence of helicopters and 25% used the aircraft as a shooting platform. During the same period, the number of victims injured by gunfire (GSW – gunshot wounds) was almost equivalent to the number of deaths — 11 injured and 12 deaths — indicating the disproportionate use of force and the effects of terror produced by the presence of helicopters during operations. Fieldwork recorded at least 308 bullet marks spread through the streets after the operations. This panorama reflects how the use of helicopters in police operations makes the actions disastrous, disproportionate and terrifying, leaving a trail of destruction and psychological terror that afflicts residents.

In November 2025, a police operation using helicopters as shooting platforms dramatically exposed the risks of this strategy in Maré. Shots fired from above struck different favelas in the territory, including areas close to schools and health units, resulting in the death of at least three people, the shooting of a child inside a school unit, in addition to injuries, home invasions and property damage. The episode, marked by generalized panic, interruption of public services and reports of rights violations, demonstrated the non-compliance with the determinations of ADPF 635, which call for reducing police lethality. It also reinforced that the use of helicopters in densely populated areas does not function as a protection measure, but rather as a factor that intensifies lethality, psychological terror and collective insecurity, especially for children, families and workers living in the territory.

Months earlier, in April, the organization mobilized a broad agenda of political actions around the vote on the ADPF of the Favelas, taking more than 50 people — including members of Redes da Maré, mothers and relatives of victims of state violence and partner organizations — to Brasília to follow the decision at the Supreme Federal Court in person. At the same time, the vote was followed in Maré itself through the mobilization of residents, with cultural activities, artistic interventions, public debates and real-time monitoring of the STF session. These actions reaffirm a central principle

of the work of Redes da Maré: decisions that affect our lives cannot occur without our presence, participation and voice. We continue monitoring, demanding accountability and advocating so that what was decided in the Supreme Court translates into concrete changes in the territory, maintaining the struggle so that the life, dignity and rights of the population are in fact a priority for the State.

## POLICE OPERATIONS AND USE OF HELICOPTERS IN MARÉ – 2025



## FEWER OPERATIONS IN 2025, BUT THE PROPORTION OF LETHALITY INCREASED

In 2025, the number of police operations in the favelas of Maré was lower than in other years. There were 16 operations, compared to 42 in 2024. At first glance, the data may suggest an inflection in police interventions, but this interpretation does not hold. With fewer operations, 12 people were killed, raising proportional lethality to 58% higher than in 2024, when there were more operations but lower relative lethality.

This local scenario directly reflects the statewide context. According to data from the Institute of Public Security (ISP), in 2025 the state of Rio de Janeiro recorded 797 deaths resulting from police intervention, an increase of 13% compared to 2024. During the same period, the number of police officers killed also increased, indicating that the intensification of lethality did not produce greater protection either for the civilian population or for the security agents themselves.<sup>5</sup> The data reinforce that the policy based on armed confrontation does not reduce violence, but rather redistributes and intensifies it, deepening a cycle of deaths that disproportionately affects territories such as the Maré neighborhood.

In practical terms, this means that each police operation carried out in 2025 had a greater probability of ending in death. There was no reduction in risk for residents; there was a concentration of violence. What can be observed is a pattern already known in Maré: less frequent operations, but more aggressive, with intensive use of heavy weaponry, prolonged incursions and a logic of direct confrontation in densely populated areas. The numerical reduction does not represent caution, but rather a tactical reorganization of overt and violent combat.

This increase in relative lethality occurs in a context of the return of practices historically associated with high death rates, such as the use of helicopters as shooting platforms and the carrying out of large-scale operations. The consequence is direct: more deaths resulting from police intervention and greater impact on everyday life.

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5 - ISP/RJ, dissemination via Agência Brasil (2026). <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2026-01/mortes-decorrentes-de-intervencao-policial-cresceram-13-em-2025-no-rj>

The central data from 2025 shows that fewer operations did not mean less violence. On the contrary, they reinforce the persistence of a public security policy that prioritizes armed confrontation and the production of deaths as an informal indicator of efficiency. The reduction in the number of operations, unaccompanied by structural changes in the model of police action, only makes violence more concentrated, more lethal and even more unpredictable for those who live in the favelas of Maré.

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## ACTIONS OF ARMED GROUPS IN MARÉ IN 2025

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### General Overview 2025

**11**

killed in actions  
by armed groups

**5**

were threatened

**5**

people were victims  
of physical violence

**2**

suffered forced displacement

**3**

were victims  
of psychological violence

**2**

cases of school invasions

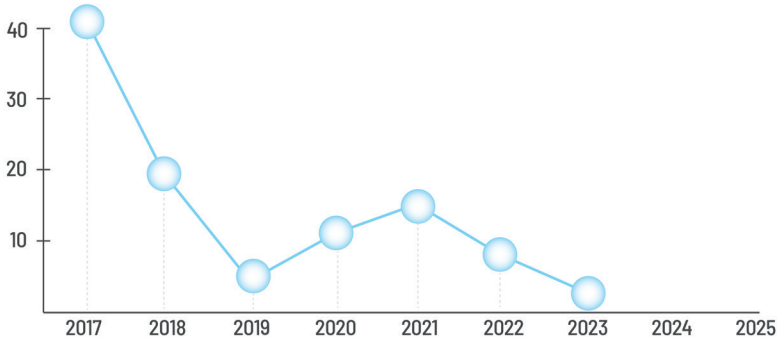
**3**

suffered verbal violence

**141**

records of gunshots

## NUMBER OF ARMED CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN ARMED GROUPS (2017-2025)



## SECURITY BEYOND POLICING: THE “DIVISA” AS A PLACE OF ENCOUNTER AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

Data from 2017 to 2025 reveal a significant change in the dynamics of armed violence in Maré. After years marked by frequent confrontations between armed groups, a continuous reduction in these episodes is observed, culminating in a significant decrease in 2023 and zero records of armed confrontations in 2024 and 2025. This data represents a relevant inflection in a territory historically crossed by open armed disputes, as shown in the graph accompanying this analysis.

However, in 2025, armed violence remained present in the daily lives of residents of the favelas of Maré. There were 11 deaths in actions by armed groups, in addition to records of physical, psychological and verbal violence, threats, forced displacement, school invasions and 141 records of gunshots. The absence of confrontations between armed groups does not mean pacification, but rather indicates a reconfiguration of the ways violence is exercised, which cannot be attributed exclusively to police action.

This transformation is expressed in an emblematic way on Evanildo Alves Street, popularly known as the “divisa”, a symbolic space of territorial separation between two rival armed groups and, for many years, the stage for intense and recurrent shootouts. Bullet marks still visible on the façades of houses recall a recent past of extreme violence. The interruption of confrontations in this location, beginning in 2024 and maintained in 2025, is not accidental. It results from a collective process of disputing the territory for life.

The mobilization of residents, neighborhood associations, organizations and local collectives was central to this process. The political occupation of the streets, public campaigns against violence, the march “Basta de Violência” (Enough Violence) in 2017, and the construction of the Memorial honoring victims of state violence on Evanildo Alves Street in 2022, together with the requalification of the urban space — with the revitalization of the street and the creation of a square — redefined the uses and meanings of that space. A place once associated with fear and death began to be disputed as a space of memory, coexistence and circulation.

The experience of Evanildo Alves Street demonstrates concretely that public security goes beyond policing and armed confrontation. It is built through social participation, urban policies, functioning public services and recognition of the favela as a territory of rights. The reduction of armed confrontations in Maré, evidenced by the historical series presented in this bulletin, reinforces that strategies based exclusively on armed force are incapable of producing lasting security. Collective and territorial actions, led by those who live in the favela, have shown greater capacity to transform complex local dynamics, even within a persistent context of violence in Rio de Janeiro.

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## THE 10 YEARS OF THE WORK. OF EYES ON MARÉ

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Between 2016 and 2025, Eyes on Maré project consolidated one of the most robust independent public security monitoring experiences in Brazil. In ten years, 231 police operations were recorded in the favelas of Maré. This is not a linear or accidental sequence. The data reveal recurring peaks of operations (2017, 2019 and 2024) that are directly related to changes in government, police strategies and electoral cycles. The temporary decrease in some years did not mean pacification, but tactical reconfiguration — fewer operations, often with greater lethal intensity.

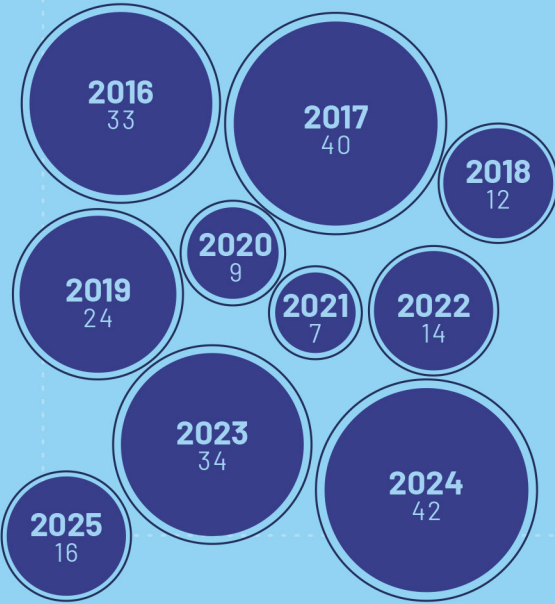
The most brutal impact of this model is lethality. In the analyzed period, 160 people died in police operations in Maré. Some years concentrated true massacres, such as 2019 (30 deaths) and 2022 (26 deaths), demonstrating that public security policy continues to operate under a lethal and ineffective logic. The lives of residents continue to be treated as collateral damage. It must be said clearly: it is not excess, it is method.

Beyond the deaths, monitoring reveals the everyday dimension of state violence. In ten years, 1,538 records of violence and rights violations were registered. These include: 226 injured, 178 victims of physical violence, 135 victims of psychological violence, 90 victims of verbal violence, 67 cases of torture. Other violations include: 318 home invasions, 243 cases of property damage, 76 cases of belongings taken, 133 threats, 72 cases of unlawful detention. The exception has become the rule — and an armed rule.

The work of Eyes on Maré is not merely a database. It is a political tool for disputing narratives and defending life. By producing evidence from the territory, with methodological rigor and ethical commitment, the project dismantles “official versions” that naturalize deaths and silence violations. Ten years later, what these numbers clearly reveal is simple and uncomfortable: the public security that reaches Maré does not protect: it kills, injures, invades and interrupts basic rights. Persisting in this monitoring is, at the same time, an act of resistance and a radical affirmation that lives in the favela matter and that we have rights!

# 231 police operations

between 2016 and 2025



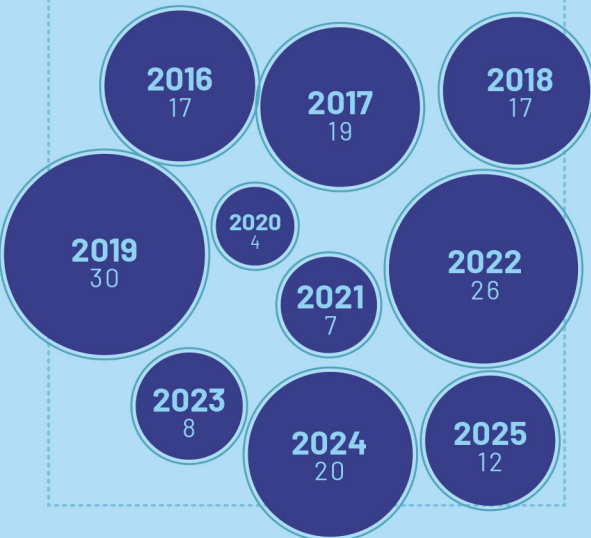
Beyond the deaths, Eyes on Maré recorded another **1,538 acts of violence and rights violations** over 10 years:



**318** homes or commercial establishments **invaded**

# 160 deaths in police operations

in Maré between 2016 and 2025



**243** residents reported **property damage**

Between 2016 and 2025 there were 163 days of schools closed in Maré due to police operations, which is equivalent to the loss of approximately one school year in the educational trajectory of children and adolescents in the territory.<sup>6</sup>

**226**  
injured

**67**  
suffered  
torture

**135**  
victims of  
psychological  
violence

**178**  
victims of  
physical violence

**90**  
victims of  
verbal violence

**76** had  
belongings  
taken



**72**  
residents were  
kept in **unlawful  
detention**

**133**  
people suffered  
threats



6 – Bulletin The Right to Public Security in Maré – Special Edition: Impacts of armed violence in education. Redes da Maré, Rio de Janeiro, 2025  
<https://www.redesda-mare.org.br/br/artigo/374/pela-reparacao-dos-impactos-da-violencia-armada-no-direito-a-educacao-na-mare>

## IMPACTS ON PUBLIC SERVICES 2025



**9 days** without classes in schools due to armed violence.

On average, almost 25 schools were closed and **7,908 students** were without classes per police operation.



**14 days** without services in health units.

**7,866** health care appointments were not carried out.

Throughout the year, Redes da Maré took part in the Forum for the 200 School Days and the Permanent Commission for Monitoring Compliance with the Mandatory 200 School Days, established by the National Education Council in January 2025

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TARAM  
A DOR  
VOCES AGORA  
BALH DOR

RJ-RID DE JANEIRO  
IV-5362

# REDES DA MARÉ

**2026**

Rua Sargento Silva Nunes, 1012  
Nova Holanda, Maré, Rio de Janeiro.

Vila dos Pinheiros. Via A1, s/n. Anexo Ciep  
Gustavo Capanema. Vila dos Pinheiros –  
Maré, Rio de Janeiro.

(21) 3105-5531

(21) 3104-3276

[eixosegurancapublica@redesdamare.org.br](mailto:eixosegurancapublica@redesdamare.org.br)

[www.redesdamare.org.br](http://www.redesdamare.org.br)



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