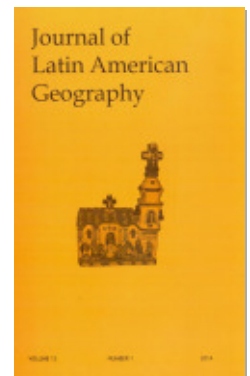# Raising the Flag over Rio de Janeiro's Favelas: Citizenship and Social Control in the Olympic City

James Freeman

Raising the Flag over Rio de Janeiro's Favelas: Citizenship and Social Control in the Olympic City

James Freeman

Department of Geography, Planning and Environment
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec

Abstract

In preparation for a series of mega-events culminating in the 2016 Summer Olympics, the state has been reclaiming select favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Territories that have been controlled by drug gangs and largely off-limits for as long as thirty years are being colonized through a series of aggressive government programs that involve military occupation, infrastructure provision, beautification and selected removal. Following James Scott I argue that the production of "legibility and simplification" associated with these programs is necessary for residents to fully participate in modern society, but that these measures expose residents to predatory aspects of the state and capital.
Keywords: *Rio de Janeiro, favelas, Police Pacification Units, forced removal, the state*

Resumo

Durante os preparativos para uma série de megaeventos, inclusive os Jogos Olímpicos de 2016, o Estado tem recuperado o controle de certas favelas do Rio de Janeiro. Territórios que foram controladas por traficantes durante mais que 30 anos, tornam-se agora colonizados por uma série de programas governamentais que envolvem a ocupação militar, a provisão de infraestrutura, embelezamento e remoção seletiva. De acordo com o pensamento de James Scott, eu argumento que a produção de "legibilidade e simplificação" associada a esses programas é necessária para que os moradores possam participar plenamente na sociedade moderna, mas que estas medidas expõem os moradores a aspectos predatórios do Estado e do capital.
Palavras chaves: *Rio de Janeiro, favelas, Unidades da Policia Pacificadora, remoção forçada, Estado*

Introduction

Since their first appearance in the late 19th century, Rio de Janeiro's favelas have always been considered outlaw territories, illegally occupied by freed slaves, decommissioned soldiers and poor immigrants from the North East of Brazil.[1] They are the housing option of last resort for the poorly-paid workers who make the marvelous city go round.[2] They have infamously been dominated by armed gangs of drug traffickers who since the early 1980s have filled the void of state abandonment.[3] Residents make illegal connections to electricity, water, sewage and cable television services. Property rights are largely undocumented and construction is mostly unregulated.[4] A large proportion of residents work in the informal sector, matching illegitimate jobs with illegitimate housing. Favelas are highly stigmatized, seen as dens of thieves and eyesores by the upper classes. Many favela residents respond by hiding their living situation in their dealings with the formal city.[5] The state has alternately cracked down with forced removals and armed invasions, or coopted these communities with populist and clientelist politics that make for an irregular government presence.[6]

Now that the world's attention will be focused on Rio for a series of mega-events, including the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, the authorities have decided that something must be done.[7] An alliance between the federal, state and municipal governments has resulted in a concerted set of policies that have begun to transform strategic communities. The state has begun to colonize these territories, asserting its monopoly on legitimate violence and imposing systems of bureaucratic control. Scott writes: "Modern statecraft is largely a project of internal colonization" (Scott 1998: 82). The principle behind the policy package is military occupation combined with infrastructure investment. The cornerstone is the Police Pacification Unit (UPP) program, where the Rio de Janeiro state government organizes the indefinite military occupation of territories formerly controlled by drug gangs (Freeman 2012; Gaffney 2012; World Bank 2012). The UPP program began as a pilot project in the favela of Santa Marta in December 2008 and has been expanded to 36 UPPs as of this writing. Out of over 1000 favelas in greater Rio, the state has nearly completely occupied the favelas of the wealthy South Zone (Figure 1), the central business district including the multi-billion dollar Porto Maravilha port revitalization project, strategic corridors leading to the international airport, and the middle class neighborhoods of the Tijuca basin bordering the strategic Maracanã stadium (Figure 2). The poor North and West zones of the city have been largely untouched by the UPPs (Figure 3). The state government is on track to achieve its goal of 40 UPPs by the World Cup, although the promised 100 by the 2016 Olympics seems ambitious.[8] In addition, a series of programs have sought to urbanize these same favelas and others. The *Program for Accelerated Growth* (PAC) is a federal program that funds urbanization and infrastructure projects particularly in larger favela complexes, such as Alemão and Rocinha (Figures 2 and 3)[9] *Morar Carioca* is a city program supported by the Inter-American Development Bank that upgrades smaller favelas.[10] *Minha Casa*

Minha Vida is a federal low-income housing construction program that houses many favela residents displaced by the other programs.[11]

Figure 1. Wealthy Zona Sul beach neighborhoods
(Source: http://oglobo.globo.com/infograficos/upps-favelas-rio)

One of the stated goals of these policies is citizenship and inclusion.[12] It is hard to function in a modern society without an address, without documents issued by various instances of the state, without participation in an abstract set of impartial rules that provides the context for social interaction, and without a state that provides basic urban services. Not having these things places favela residents at a significant disadvantage in their day to day lives and is part of the story of their marginalization.

Figure 2. Strategic Centro and Maracanã region
(Source: http://oglobo.globo.com/infograficos/upps-favelas-rio)

On the other hand the insidious side of the state also becomes apparent as relatively powerless and stigmatized populations are subjected to a gamut of modern "technologies of power", to use Foucault's phrase. Uncharted territories that offered protection and resistance are being mapped and assigned address systems. An unprecedented amount of data is being gathered by various government agencies. Residents are encouraged and enabled to register and formalize themselves, their children, their homes, their vehicles, and their businesses and obtain documents that allow them to be administered by the all-seeing eye of the modern state.[13] In short, the communities are being subjected to the utopian modernist dream of "a transparent society, visible and legible in each of its parts, the dream of there no longer existing any zones of darkness" (Foucault 1980: 152). Following a logic similar to Haussmann's 19th century reform of Paris, and Pereira Passos' early 20th century version in Rio, wide roads are being carved through dense working class neighborhoods, often in the name of public health. Residents are arbitrarily displaced and neighborhoods disrupted to create efficient paths for the movement of security forces and the imposition of an order that makes communities visually and bureaucratically accessible.

In his 1998 book *Seeing like a State*, James Scott argues that states need to impose legibility and simplification on human populations and settlements in order to efficiently administer them. Favelas are a classic example of illegible communities, comparable to the medieval city and the medina, which when seen from above, have "the look of disorder… Streets, lanes, and passages intersect at varying angles with a density that resembles the intricate complexity of some organic processes" (Scott 1998: 53). Urban planner Manoel Ribeiro echoed Scott in an interview with the Association of Brazilian Architects: "In the case of the favelas, in a 'revival' of the medieval period, it was the local populations who wove that peculiar fabric, forged by the meeting of necessity and possibly" (Ribeiro 2013). They are territories that are only comprehensible to insiders. Outsiders require "native trackers" (Scott 1998: 54), or local guides with special knowledge, to navigate the dense mazes of winding alleys without names, populated by people without documents who are known mostly by nicknames and speak local slang—irregularities that provide a certain "camouflage value" (Scott 1998: 65). While outsiders are disoriented, such territories are transparent to insiders whose oral and practical knowledge is difficult to systematize. According to Scott the state's interest in rationalizing such places has historically been conscription, taxation and controlling rebellion. And such urban areas are ideal environments for guerilla-like resistance to these interests of the state.[14] The authorities prefer to impose a rational grid, either by carving one through the disorder, as was done by Haussmann, or by relocating populations to model villages with a visual order that can easily be comprehended by the "God's eye view" of the state (Scott 1998: 57; see also de Certeau 1984: 92-93), as was done in Rio in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Perlman 1976).
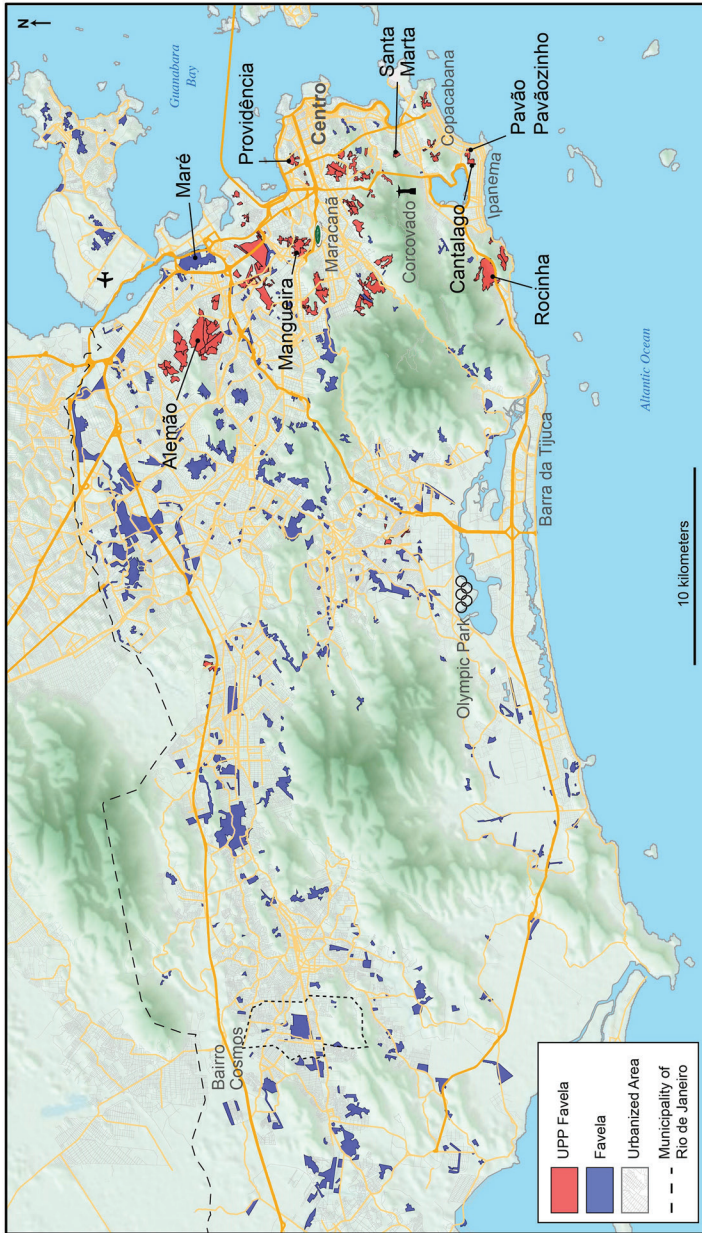
Figure 3. The uneven distribution of UPPs in the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro (Source: http://oglobo.globo.com/infograficos/upps-favelas-rio)

In such an urban grid "[f]or an outsider—or a policeman—finding an address is a comparatively simple matter; no local guides are required" (Scott 1998: 56). The current set of interventions results in a thinning of the population, a form of simplification, as well as displacement to "orderly" public housing. Imposing a rational abstract address system and reducing information about communities into simplified data allows agents of the state to manage and control territories and populations from afar without relying on personal knowledge or experience.

While Foucault describes a seamless web of power, and Weber's iron cage of bureaucratic rationality is inevitable and inescapable (Weber 1976), in Rio there is a tension between an all pervasive big-brother state and an incompetent state that seems to reproduce the zones of darkness. Modernizing forces within the state are undermined by the dictates of electoral politics so that well-thought-out, sometimes well-intentioned policies and projects become photo opportunities that are abandoned with the next administration, if not immediately after the ribbon-cutting ceremony. Increased legibility to the state is at best a mixed blessing in a society that is infamous for the uneven application of the rule of law, where the wealthy and well-connected can resort to DaMatta's "do you know who you're talking to" (DaMatta 1991: 137), while the poor face the high walls of an impenetrable bureaucracy.

Based on interviews conducted with policy makers, researchers, NGO officials, police officers, community leaders, and ordinary residents in a series of "pacified" and soon-to-be-pacified favelas in multiple visits in the 2010-2013 period, as well as a review of policy, academic and journalistic texts, I examine the major initiatives to make favelas legible to the state and argue that despite the benefits of inclusion these measures bring, in many ways they make marginalized citizens more vulnerable.[15]

I begin by reviewing the literature on the contradictory presence of the state in Rio's favelas leading up to these new efforts. I then examine a series of techniques being used to make favelas more legible to the state as part of this new package of interventions: street naming and assigning addresses, mapping, painting and street widening. I conclude by weighing the consequences for favela residents of this new relationship with the state.

The Presence and Absence of the State

In order to understand this new colonization of the favelas by the state, it is important to examine the role of the state in favelas up to this point. There is some debate in the favela literature about the presence or absence of the state in Rio's favelas and the degree to which drug gangs act as a kind of parallel or de facto state. Perlman writes, "The only regular contact the people have with the state apparatus is the police, who enter the favelas with their weapons loaded and follow the motto 'shoot first, ask questions later'" (2010: 202). Goldstein, using O'Donnell's (1993: 1359) characterization of areas with limited presence of the state as "brown zones", writes: "In the brown zones of Rio de Janeiro, the local gangs provide a parallel state structure and alternative rule of law" (2003: 200). Burgos opines that, "…today many favelas constitute territories privatized

by parastatal groups…" (1998: 44).[16] Downdey writes, "Favelas are enclaves of poverty that have little infrastructure, few public services and almost no political representation. This traditional absence of the state led to the emergence of important local figures known as *donos* [strong men or drug lords]…" (2003: 52).

Arias appears to disagree, arguing that "Despite prevailing popular opinion, trafficking has not developed in the absence of the state." He goes on to enumerate various instances of the state that operate in favelas: "All three of the communities analyzed in this study benefited from significant government investment, including schools, water improvement projects, funding for housing, and, all too often, intense, but corrupt, policing ." Downdey, in the process of arguing over the absence of the state, also ends up with a longish list of state services: "The only substantive presence of the state in favela communities in 2002 comes from the limited provision of social programmes (schools, health clinics etc.), the very beginnings of an urban infrastructure, and a repressive and violent public security policy based on police 'invasion' and 'occupation'…" (2003: 57). My own observations from visiting numerous favelas over the past 15 years is that most have had several layers of government intervention, including schools, clinics, infrastructure projects, and policing initiatives.

Clearly a complete absence of the state is an oversimplification. All the authors agree that the state has a certain dysfunctional presence in these communities that is different from its role in the formal city.[17] The question is how we characterize that presence. In the first half of the 20th century the state either completely ignored favelas or removed them. Since the end of WWII favelas have received infrastructure projects and urban services in an uneven and irregular way, almost always as part of clientalistic relationships, more recently mediated by Residents Associations and drug gangs, in exchange for votes (Aries 2006; Burgos 1998; Leeds 1996). Even a more sustained slum-upgrading program like Favela Bairro, which intervened in 168 communities between 1994 and 2008 (Perlman 2010: 278), tends to be more about the photo opportunity and profits for elite actors, than a sustained presence of the state.[18] My own research supports Perlman's observations that Favela Bairro projects tend to be abandoned and begin to degrade soon after completion. In some cases, as in Providência, they are abandoned half-finished after inauguration.[19]

Dowdney argues that drug traffickers fill the gap left by an ineffective state, providing social services such as transport to the hospital in emergencies, leisure activities like Funk dances, economic stimulus through the drug trade, and the guarantee of a certain social order. Leeds also discusses the inadequate actions of the state in Rio's favelas and talks about "the selective presence and absence of the state" (1996: 49). She also discusses the "social bandit", who provides services to the poor (1996: 62-63). But most authors, when discussing the presence and absence of the state in Rio's favelas, emphasize the inadequate actions of the police that facilitate control by the drug gangs.

The police are a fact of life in Rio's favelas, but Leeds stresses that they do not provide security. Rather they are a repressive, violent and corrupt force without legitimacy in favela communities. Goldstein (2006: Ch.5) argues that it

is precisely the lack of an impartial rule of law imposed by the state that has left a gap for drug traffickers to fill. She discusses an alternative system of justice administered by the drug gangs, and details cases of adultery, theft and sexual abuse that were punished by drug gangs. Police operating in favelas sometimes also administer their own personal forms of justice rather than enforce abstract formal rules. And gangs of off-duty and retired police, prison guards and firemen known as militias have come to control favelas in recent years much like drug gangs, extorting money from residents and imposing their own set of rules enforced by violence.[20] Dowdney discusses the "leis do tráfico", the laws of the drug trade or "behavioral codes" enforced by the gangs, and quotes one resident as saying, "the community has its own laws". He found these rules to be fairly regular from favela to favela (2003: 63-64).[21] While the law of the drug trafficking is also violent and arbitrary, and is upheld to protect the power and profits associated with the cocaine trade, trafficker justice has more legitimacy than the actions of the police. On the other hand, as Burgos notes, the presence of the traffickers prevents the full inclusion of favela residents into the larger society (1998: 44).

The UPP project was established as an antidote to the absence of the state, the illegitimacy of the regular police and the parallel power of drug gangs in Rio's favelas. New uncorrupted recruits are specially trained in human rights and community relations. They are paid a slightly higher salary to reduce the temptation of corruption. They are a full-time presence in designated communities, displacing drug gangs and imposing the rule of law. While Morar Carioca projects exist in many favelas without UPPs, and PAC projects have been carried out in favelas prior to pacification, all these projects tend to converge on a relatively small group of strategically located favelas.

While the UPP, PAC, Morar Carioca and Minha Casa Minha Vida projects clearly establish a military and material presence of the state in select favelas, they also constitute a more subtle process of legibility and simplification that is central to the administration and control of territories and populations, sometimes through rather mundane techniques such as the assigning of addresses.

Addresses and Identity

The third episode of the popular 2002 Brazilian television series *City of Men* opens with a crowd of angry favela residents confronting a mailman who refuses to deliver mail inside the community because there are no addresses and he does not know the names of the residents or where they live. Instead he leaves the mail at the Residents Association for people to collect themselves. The local drug lord intervenes and assigns the job of mailmen to two local boys, the protagonists of the series, who are paid a small sum to deliver the mail the rest of the way. This is a dramatized version of the way mail is often delivered in Rio's favelas. In the favela of Cantagalo in Ipanema, for example, all mail in a community of 4,771 residents (IBGE 2010) is addressed to Rua Saint Roman 200, the address of the Residents Association and the only address recognized

by the mail service. Residents can then pick up their mail or pay a small fee to have it delivered to their doors. Some residents give the names of their streets for local delivery.

In Rocinha, Rio's largest favela with an official population of 69,161 (IBGE 2010), many people receive their mail at local shops. "They deliver to Joãozinho's shop and everybody picks their mail up at Joãozinho's shop," community organizer José Martins de Oliveira (hereafter "Martins") explained to me in a 2013 interview (see also Marotti 2013).[22] Others have their mail delivered to their places of work or to friends' addresses outside the favela. But many rely instead on Carteiro Amigo (Friendly Mailman), a local business that receives people's mail and delivers it the rest of the way. Customers register their address with Carteiro Amigo, which maintains a database of 12,000 addresses and a detailed map that is regularly updated (Marotti 2013). Customers display a yellow sticker with their client number on their door so that Carteiro Amigo mail carriers can locate them. "Carteiro Amigo came about because of the absence of the state," Marcos, a long-time Puerto Rican resident of Rocinha, told me in a 2013 interview. Martins finds the system dangerous. Carteiro Amigo sets a dangerous precedent because it relieves the formal mail service of its responsibility to deliver the mail, but also because of the data the company holds about residents. At least until the November 2011 military occupation, those data could be accessed by the drug gang which unofficially sponsored the mail delivery system, which has operated since 2000. In 2010 drug dealers were accused of using the Carteiro Amigo system to pressure residents to vote for particular candidates for state and federal office (Justiça 2010). In news reports Carteiro Amigo workers explain the difficulty of their work, with alley names that repeat themselves, and house numbers arbitrarily chosen by the residents themselves. Martins argues that the formal mail service must deliver in areas with postal codes, which is currently 30 percent of the Rocinha favela, and that the solution is formalization. "If you deal with sanitation and urbanization, then you need to formalize the streets. Once the streets are formalized the mailman has an obligation to deliver the mail."

In a November 2010 interview the president of the Cantagalo residents association Luiz Bezerra do Nascimento explained that the current system of street naming and signage would be changed. The old system, a relic of an earlier formalization attempt, was problematic because the street names tended to repeat in other favelas. They would be replaced with a new set of unique names taken from historic community leaders. In the spirit of the new bureaucratic controls that come with presence of the state, any names proposed by the community had to be accompanied by a death certificate and proof that the honoree did not have a criminal record. He assured me that Cantagalo houses would soon have legitimate addresses complete with postal codes (CEP) and that mail would be delivered directly to people's doors. My conversation with Bezerra shows the tension in the formalization process. He showed me file cabinets organized by street name with files on Cantagalo's houses and residents. "We have files on everybody," he told me. But then he added that about 100

houses were not registered. "They didn't register at the Association. They didn't want to register at the time because they were afraid." Drug traffickers have long controlled favela Residents Associations, including that of Cantagalo, which has been occupied by a UPP since 30 November 2009 and is in the middle of phase II of a major PAC urbanization project. Sensitive data on residents have since been transferred from the hands of drug traffickers to state. But on a subsequent visit in July 2012 the only door-to-door mail service in Cantagalo was provided by Light, the electric company, which insists on hand-delivering bills to favela customers.

Light has been a major force in street naming. The Rio de Janeiro state Secretary for Public Security José Mariano Beltrame, who leads the UPP program, has praised Light as a key private sector partner of the program. Light has begun regularizing electricity service in every pacified community. The company reported an investment of R$38 million (US$19 million) in favelas in 2010 (Light, 2012), an election year when half of today's UPPs were established, and observers estimate the value of unpaid electricity in favelas prior to the UPP program at about US$200 million per year.[23] "With the drug traffickers Light didn't enter the communities", Marco Antonio, a Light representative doing community outreach in Pavão-Pavãozinho, told me in a 2012 interview. But Light has been very successful at charging for electricity under the new regime, going from close to 100 percent illegal connections to close to 100 percent paid accounts in pacified favelas (Lima 2012). In Santa Marta, the first favela to be occupied by a UPP, Light paid for the installation of street signs and public street lighting, combining bureaucratic legibility with more literal visibility. The street signs prominently display the Light name and logo (Figure 4). Marco Antonio, who was involved in the implementation of electricity service in Santa Marta, explained that Light needed to install street signs in order to deliver their bills. They could not just deliver the bills to the Association because then people could claim they never got them. "You have to change the culture. People are used to always getting everything for free... the culture has deep roots. It's about changing behavior. People are learning that they have rights and obligations... In Santa Marta 100 percent pay for electricity now. It's a model for other communities."

Having an address is an important part of urban citizenship. The lack of addresses for most favela residents has been a key failure of the state and a source of marginalization for favela residents. Perlman writes, "People need an address and door-to-door mail delivery, and streets in favelas need to be named and buildings numbered" (2010: 310). But it also means placing a powerful tool of control into the hands of drug traffickers, profit-seeking companies and not always benevolent state actors.

Figure 4. Street sign erected by the Light Company in Santa Marta, 2011.
(Photo: A-M. Broudehoux)

Maps

> The map… is, and has been, fundamentally an instrument of power.
> A map is an abstraction from concrete reality which was designed
> and motivated by practical (political and military) concerns; it is
> a way of representing space which facilitates its domination and
> control. To map... serves the practical interests of the State machine
> (Lacoste 1973: 1, cited in Crampton 2006).

In the same episode of *City of Men*, coincidently filmed in a pre-pacification Santa Marta, our two young mailmen decide they can deliver mail better if streets have names and if they have a map. The boys go about assigning names to streets and alleys, erecting signs and drawing a map. For Scott, maps are an example of the simplification and abstraction of complex reality to fulfill the needs of the state (Scott 1998: 87-88). It would be useless and impossible to reproduce reality in its entirety, so maps show only those features necessary for particular instrumental purposes, like navigation by car or the administration of urban services. Pacification and urbanization have led to an unprecedented proliferation of maps of Rio's favelas. In favelas controlled by drug gangs, maps are a touchy subject. In preparation for pacification maps provide vital intelligence for planning the invasion. The UPP Social program, set up to complement the UPP by coordinating social services in pacified favelas, carried out a community mapping program in 2010 using ethnographic methods and mental mapping with residents of various communities to produce maps that reflected popular geography (confidential interview with participant), and has stepped up mapping efforts since the organization was transferred from the state government to the city's Pereira Passos Institute (Gerbase 2012).

Figure 5. Map in UPP Commander Nogueira's office, 2010 (photo by author)

In my research in 1998 and 1999 in Cantagalo I never saw a map of the community, so I was surprised to see a large map of Cantagalo detailing the popular names of the various parts of the community on the wall of then UPP commander Captain Leonardo Nogueira's office when I interviewed him in 2010 (Figure 5). In an interview with Alzira Amaral, president of the Pavão-Pavãozinho residents association in 2012, the president pulled out several detailed maps depicting plans for street widening, house removal and replacement housing under the PAC program. Likewise the PAC Social office in Cantagalo, responsible for negotiating the removal of residents whose houses and business were in the way of the new projects, prominently displayed a more up-to-date version of those same planning maps. In Santa Marta maps are passed out to tourists by Rio Top Tour interns, and maps at different spots in the community, with legends in Portuguese and English, explain points of interest and public works projects. While these maps may seem innocuous, they significantly increase the knowledge and hence the power of outsiders over territories that have historically been shown as green spaces on public maps. In recent years Google Maps has made favelas much more visible and legible, and in at least one case the police seem to have used Google Maps to plot their occupation of a favela (Muzell 2011).

Figure 6. Dona Alzira displays "area of risk" map, Pavão-Pavãozinho, 2011
(Photo: A-M. Broudehoux)

One map that strikes fear in the hearts of favela residents is the ubiquitous "area of risk" (*area de risco*) map. The first area such map I saw was held up by Dona Alzira at a 2011 Pavão-Pavãozinho Residents Association meeting, and was immediately greeted by distress and anger (Figure 6). The lower part of the community was coded green and so not at risk. But the upper third of the community was marked red to identify an "area of risk". The Pavão-Pavãozinho residents gathered in the room were quick to recognize the danger to their homes, not from the forces of nature, but from the city government that had found a pretext to remove them. Following the flooding of April 2010 the city's Secretary of Public Works carried out a geological survey and concluded that 21,000 houses in 117 favelas were in areas of high risks of landslides (Bastos 2011; Secretaria Municipal de Obras 2011). Dona Alzira explained that the city intended to remove all 800 houses in the area of risk and carry out reforestation. Residents at the meeting argued that their houses were solidly built, had been standing for 40 years, had survived past mudslides and that the government had recently built a water tower in the area so the ground must be stable.

The UPP Social website characterizes the "areas at risk" project as: "The carrying out of mapping of areas that present risk of landslides in the entire region of the UPP and the development of containment projects. Currently, Geo-Rio is operating in all pacified communities (UPP Social 2013)."

Figure 7. Planning map used by Coral Paint Company, Santa Marta, 2012
(Photo: A. M. Broudehoux)

Several residents associations visited in 2011 and 2012 displayed the Geo-Rio area of risk maps with the characteristic green and red coding, and favela residents throughout Rio find themselves threatened by such mapping. In 2012 the Santa Marta field office of the Coral paint company, which intends to paint the houses of the entire community as part of a marketing effort, displayed a detailed planning map that showed Santa Marta's "areas of risk" (Figure 7). The upper-most part of the community, known as Pico (the peak), is slated for removal because of risk of landslides. Interestingly, houses throughout the community that are made of wood rather than masonry, and so considered substandard, were also marked "at risk", would be removed, and therefore would not be painted by Coral. Houses in the Pico area displayed signs protesting the removal. Residents of the area, where 150 houses were slated for removal, explained that their houses were solid, that they were the oldest part of the community and had survived many years without succumbing to landslides. They speculated that the government wanted to build a hotel or a lookout for tourists to take advantage of the spectacular views. One worker on the construction site where

replacement housing for displaced Pico residents was being built, commented: "The hill doesn't have an area of risk. That's just something the government made up".

Critical cartographers, writing in the Foucauldian tradition, have long argued that maps are a technology of power.[24] In the *City of Men* episode, just when the boys have their mail delivery system up and running there is an invasion by the police. The police catch one of the boys and confiscate the precious map. They have captured a valuable tool that gives them a new power over the community. The boys realize the danger to the drug gang and therefore to themselves. They quickly mobilize to move all the street signs around. The next day when the police return trying to take advantage of their new map they get hopelessly lost. In the current UPP Social mapping effort agents report being followed by gang members and say they prefer to tell residents simply that they are working for the city, rather than revealing their association with the UPP (Gerbase 2012). Clearly maps are a key part of the intelligence that police use in their initial invasion of the favela, in the subsequent house to house searches looking for drugs, guns and gang members, and in the everyday patrolling once the police pacification unit is established. Likewise federal, state, municipal and private sector actors rely heavily on maps and data associated with those maps to carry out their projects.

To the extent that these actors are providing services that the community wants and needs, the maps are tools for efficient administration. But when the project involves forced removal, for example, maps become tools of oppression. And while the actions of the police are theoretically aimed at a small minority of residents who are involved in criminal activity, the police in Rio have a history of corruption and arbitrary violence. They are known for torturing and executing young men who may or may not be involved in drug gangs. While the UPP program is by most accounts an improvement over traditional policing practices, the initial invasion by BOPE often involves abuse of ordinary residents. Reports of corruption and violence among the UPP police are on the rise. The well-publicized case of Amarildo de Souza, the Rocinha resident who disappeared after being taken to UPP headquarters for questioning in July 2013, has uncovered systematic torture of Rocinha residents suspected of drug trafficking by UPP police (Bowater 2013; Brooks 2013). Police empowered by maps and other intelligence may not always be an unqualified benefit for poor communities.

Painting, Photography and Marking Houses

The guerrilla tactics in the *City of Men* episode may have been inspired by stories like the one of the drug boss known as Coelho (the rabbit) in Morro da Mineira (Figure 2), who in 2008 ordered all the houses in the community painted green (*Jornal do Brasil* 2008). According to residents in Providência, a favela with a clear view of the green houses of Mineira, the trafficker's house was easy for the police to identify from afar because it was green, so he had all the houses in the community painted green to confuse the police (Interviews 2012). In the 1990s another trafficker in the favela Parada de Lucas also ordered residents to paint their houses green to confuse the police (*Jornal do Brasil* 2008). These sorts of guerrilla tactics are meant to defend against the view from afar which is a power the police use to gain knowledge about communities. Middle class residents in high-rise buildings neighboring favelas are sometimes seen as holding power

over favelas because of the knowledge their bird's eye views give them of the workings of the drug trade, as my research found in the 1990s (Freeman 2002: 187-190). Traffickers are also apparently afraid apartment dwellers will allow police to use their homes for surveillance of nearby favelas. And traffickers are sensitive about people taking photographs of their communities from a distance for fear they are gathering intelligence for the police. I have been warned against taking photos of pre-pacification Cantagalo and Providência, for example. A flash of light from the sun reflecting on a lens can provoke traffickers armed with high powered rifles to shoot back, I have been told.

Pacified favelas, however, are a growing tourist attraction and at least in Santa Marta tourists are encouraged to take photos by prominent signs in Portuguese and English (Figure 8). UPP police in pacified favelas reportedly make use of cameras hidden in their uniforms to photograph residents and collect data on them (confidential interview). According to news sources UPP police have installed 104 surveillance cameras throughout Rocinha, although key cameras were conveniently turned off the day construction worker Amarildo went missing (Bowater 2013), as were street lights as the police sought to hide Amarildo's body (*O Globo* 2013). On the other hand investigators seem to have been able to reconstruct the actions of the police that night in great detail, thanks to functioning cameras, wire taps and many eyes and ears, so that the surveillance apparatus became "a machine in which everyone is caught" (Foucault 1980: 156).

Figure 8. Photography signage, Dona Marta, 2011 (Photo: A-M. Broudehoux)

Outsiders often complain that favelas are unsightly and wonder why most favela dwellings present a raw un-plastered cinderblock façade to the world. There have been various proposals to paint favelas over the years to produce visual order (Bastos and Magalhães 2010). Maria Eduarda Mattar, who in July 2012 was coordinating the painting of Santa Marta for the Coral paint company, suggested a connection between visual order and orderly civilized citizens. In her explanation of the social effects of paint, discourses of citizenship and social control were intertwined. She argued that painting the community would bring

citizenship, remove stigma, give people pride and self-esteem, and encourage people to take better care of the public space, keeping it clean and not throwing garbage around. She said studies had been done to show that painting can lead to social inclusion (interview 2012 Santa Marta).

The authorities also actively use paint to identify houses and exercise power over favela residents. Using an age-old technology of power the city places a mark on favela houses that are to be removed either because they are in "areas of risk" or because they are in the way of new infrastructure projects. The marks read "SMH", for the Municipal Housing Agency, followed by a number (Figure 9). From the perspective of the state these markings are necessary in a landscape devoid of formal addresses. Residents say the markings appear suddenly during the day when they are at work and they face an impenetrable bureaucracy in their attempts to find out when their houses will be demolished, where they will be relocated to, and if they have any recourse. Francicleide da Costa, President of the Residents Association of the former Favela do Metrô, compared them to the numbers the Nazis tattooed on the Jews.

Figure 9. House marked for demolition, Providência, 2011
(Photo: A-M. Broudehoux)

The case of the Favela do Metrô is illustrative of the tension between citizenship and social control as the state proceeds to make favelas and their residents legible. Metrô was a small favela located next to Maracanã stadium, where the 2014 World Cup final and the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2016 Olympics are scheduled to be held (Figure 2). Metrô was an unusual case where the government decided to remove the entire community, no doubt because of its proximity to Maracanã. "When Brazil won the Olympics no one here went out to celebrate," Francicleide told me in a 2012 interview, before the community was completely demolished. When the Municipal Housing Agency first left its mark on Metrô's houses residents resisted by painting out the markings. But the city divided the community by persuading some residents to accept replacement

housing in the remote Cosmos neighborhood. Once a family was gone the house was torn down immediately and the rubble left in place. Soon the resisting residents found themselves living among rubble with a proliferation of rats and crack addicts. The community became unlivable and the remaining residents re-painted the markings on their houses to facilitate their relocation (interview Francicleide 2012). "The machine was coming... at some point everyone just wanted to get out," she explained. This is analogous to a point made by Scott about taxes. If one interest of the state is to make the population legible for the purpose of collecting taxes, once people have paid their taxes they have an interest in being legible so they are not asked to pay again (Scott 1998: 68). At some point people have an interest in documenting their identity and making sure the state has good data on them.

The state needed data to exercise its power. Francicleide said the removal process began with data collection. Government representatives came door to door asking questions and collecting information, saying they were registering people for Bolsa Familia[25] and other social services. Then the numbers appeared on the walls. "I never did receive those services," Francicleide joked.

Street Widening and Transport

When the Baron Haussmann, under Luis Napoleon, carried out his famous surgery on the city of Paris in the 1850s and 60s, he intentionally targeted dense working class neighborhoods "which the bourgeoisie feared, which the police could not penetrate, which the government could not regulate." (Harvey 1985: 165) that were considered hearths of rebellion, crime, disease and social disorder. He carved broad avenues through those neighborhoods so the army could march quickly from the barracks to put down any uprising. The avenues imposed a visual and administrative order on the city and simplified the labyrinth of streets by superimposing a system of wide straight paths. "It was a more easily managed and administered city and a more 'readable' city because of Haussmann's heroic simplifications." (Scott 1998: 63). The new technology of gas lighting was employed to illuminate the avenues at night.[26] Pereira Passos, a student of Haussmann, followed the same program in Rio at the beginning of the 20th century, carving broad avenues like the Avenida Central (today Rio Branco) through the densest part of the city and specifically targeting *cortiços* (tenements).[27] Passos' reforms of the built environment were accompanied by an infamous vaccination campaign, an early attempt by a modernizing Brazilian state to impose an individuating power on the bodies of the poor. [28]

Much of the urbanization efforts being carried out today in Rio, under the PAC and Morar Carioca programs, seem to be operating in the Haussmann and Passos spirit. One of the major accomplishments of the first phase of PAC in Rocinha has been the Rua 4. Rua 4 was an alley 60-80 cm wide winding up the hillside through the heart of the community. The PAC project removed all the houses on one side of the street, creating a modern road 5-12 meters wide (PAC 2010). The houses on both sides were plastered and painted different bright colors, creating a multi-colored effect which has become the dominant ideal of favela representation for external consumption in recent years. During a July 2011 visit, prior to the military invasion that would eventually install a series of UPPs in the community, some residents pointed out cynically that this was just "make-up", just a façade that did not change the poverty behind the walls.

But in support of the assertions of the paint company representative in Santa Marta, I observed residents taking pride in, and care of, the new spaces of the Rua 4. A man named André was painting out graffiti on a new wall across from his house. Others were painting artistic graffiti on another wall to prevent less attractive graffiti tags. An older man was tending a garden of medicinal herbs in a triangular sliver of space created by the project. The PAC had originally covered the area with turf, but that quickly degraded, so he decided to plant a garden. He explained that he had to teach the local kids not to trample through his garden. "Children have no respect. They were never taught to respect [public spaces]."

One of the objectives of the Rua 4 was to bring in more light and air, and relieve the problem of tuberculosis, which is common in some of the denser parts of Rocinha. Residents I spoke to in July 2011 seemed happy with the new Rua 4. Those lucky enough to live on the good side of the street felt their houses had gained value and enjoyed the convenience of a wide road that provided easy access by car or motorcycle. People echoed the government claim that the road would allow emergency vehicles such as ambulances to penetrate the community. Community activist Martins, in a July 2012 interview, told me there really is a problem with tuberculosis and that the new Rua 4 has made a difference.[29] Displaced residents seemed happy with their new multi-colored apartment style housing located where the Rua 4 meets the Estrada da Gavea. But no one I spoke to was looking forward to the imminent invasion by the army and the police, which would be facilitated by that road. An official PAC video says the road allows for various public services "such as ambulance, fire brigade, garbage collection, merchandise delivery and security." (PAC 2010). While "security" is not emphasized in the official discourse, it was hardly a minor concern for a community that is notoriously difficult to police because of its labyrinth of alleys and the trafficker tactic of creating barricades to prevent the police's armored vehicles from entering. Urban planner Manoel Ribeiro, however, was critical of widening roads for police access: "To turn over the redesign of the favelas to the security apparatus is terribly irresponsible." (Ribeiro 2013). The PAC program in Rocinha has been stalled since the October 2010 elections, but plans for "PAC 2" include widening other roads in the community (Martins interview 2013).

In Cantagalo, Pavãozinho and Providência, where demolitions for new roads were in progress during my 2012 visits, residents were less enthusiastic about the projects. In Pavão-Pavãozinho, one of the major pedestrian paths that contours the hill, the Avenida Pavãozinho, is being widened into a two lane road. Residents and business owners along the road were quite upset. One bar owner said people were passing around a petition and that they want to stage a protest "in the street" of the formal neighborhood of Copacabana down below. "If I have to throw a bomb, I will," the woman said.

Echoing the affected residents, Alzira, the President of the Residents Association and her assistant Alexandre wondered why the government had chosen to widen that particular street, which seemed to duplicate the function of the parallel formal street, Rua Saint Roman, 50m below. Alexandre discussed other options for streets that would be more useful to the community and would require the removal of less people, like one at the top which could mark the upper limit of the favela. They were also concerned about the impending loss of a soccer court which was in the path of demolition. When asked how much

input the community had in the plans, Alzira and Alexandre explained that the government showed up with a completed plan and asked them to approve it. There was some room for small modifications and negotiations, but basically they had to accept the plan as presented. Some residents, however, blamed the Association for collaborating with the plan.

Residents of neighboring Cantagalo were no happier about the new road which will become Avenue Custodio Mesquita when it crosses into that community, displacing many homes. Nem, a 40- year-old lifelong Cantagalo resident was going to lose his three story house, including three units he rents out. He explained that he built the building with many years of hard work and was not happy with the single small apartment the government was offering in compensation. "I had to carry all the building materials up here on my back... They just want to make things look orderly for the rich people down below. It's all a façade. What do you expect? This is Ipanema, the Zona Sul."

The new roads are only part of a larger effort to make these favelas transparent, accessible and integrated that includes a series of funiculars (*planos inclinados*) and cable cars (*telefericos*). A widened Avenue Pavãozinho will connect to a widened Avenue Custodio Mesquita which will connect to two consecutive elevator towers of 31 and 64 meters high completed in 2010 that descend into the new Praça General Osorio metro station in Ipanema. The lower and taller tower has been dubbed "Lookout of Peace" and has become a tourist attraction where visitors can enjoy views of the spectacular landscape surrounding Ipanema and Copacabana, in titillating proximity to a notorious favela. Once the connections to the roads are established, tourists will no doubt feel freer to wander through these communities, which so far have not been as attractive to tourists as Santa Marta despite their location in a major tourism zone.
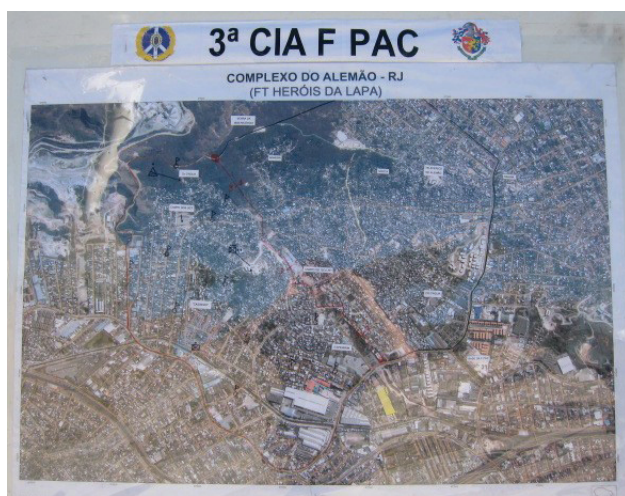

Figure 10. Military map displayed at cable car stop, Alemão, 2011
(Photo by author)

Despite the advertised and actual benefits to favela residents of these transportation connections, they also serve to expose once hidden communities to the eye of the state and to the public eye in new ways (Figure 11). The

Alemão cable car is a case in point. Alemão is a large favela complex with a population of 60,000 residents (IBGE 2010) near Rio's international airport and the Federal University, and at the confluence of two major road arteries. Alemão was considered the headquarters of the notorious Comando Vermelho gang until a dramatic invasion by the armed forces in November 2010 and the eventual installation of a series of UPPs. Marcelo Freixo, during his unsuccessful campaign to unseat Rio's Mayor Eduardo Pais in 2012, called the cable car the "symbol of pacification", advertising the presence of the state in at least two strategic favelas. The Alemão cable car, part of a major PAC project, connects the Bonsucesso train station with five stops at the top of a succession of five hills in the favela complex, laying the communities out like a map for the visual consumption of the passengers (Figure 11). During a July 2011 visit, shortly after the inauguration of the system, teenaged passengers from the community with whom I shared a car excitedly pointed out the house and swimming pool of the notorious drug lord who was ousted in the military invasion the year before. Domestic life of washing, bathing, hanging out clothes, grooming and socializing on rooftop terraces and in yards was clearly visible to the curious visitors passing overhead. Signs in Portuguese, English and Spanish implied an international clientele, although most of the passengers that day seemed to be locals learning to see their communities from a new perspective. Residents found it novel and entertaining, and predicted it would be a convenience in their lives, although recent reports indicate the system is underused because designers did not understand the transportation needs of the communities. The R$210 million (U$88.5 million) project has a capacity of 35,000 users per day and an actual ridership of 10,000.[30]

Figure 11. Bird's eye view from Alemão cable car, 2011
(Photo: A-M. Broudehoux)

The Providência cable car is an even more dubious amenity. Providência, also known as Favela Hill, is the oldest favela in Rio dating back to the 1890s. It is perched on a steep hill overlooking Rio's old port area, which

is slated to become some of Rio's most valuable real estate in a multi-billion dollar port revitalization project now underway. In 2011 community members protested vociferously the destruction of Americo Brum plaza, the heart of community social space and the location of the only soccer court in the favela, with the slogan "Cable car for whom?" The plaza has since been torn out and replaced by a cable car station with one line heading north to the City of Samba and another line descending south to the Central train station, as part of a municipal Morar Carioca project. While reportedly finished, inauguration of the cable car has been postponed as of this writing. Residents who have been threatened with removal due to the cable car, a funicular, new roads, and other projects say they never asked for these things and do not want them. They argue that the community is being remade for tourists. In addition to a UPP and all the formalization and documentation that comes with it, residents have already begun to fall under the scrutiny of researchers, journalists and tourists, a presence that will only increase when the cable car begins operation.

What roads and cable cars have in common besides exposing communities to an external gaze is that they displace people. Between the cable car, the funicular, a new motorcycle road carved through the community and houses deemed to be in areas of risk, Providência had 700 houses marked by the SMH as of July 2012 (Manuel Simões da Gama interview), or about one third of the community. In Alemão every cable car pillar is surrounded by a large swath of cleared land and connected by a road carved through the community. "I think the stations take up too much space, in a place where space has special value," urban planner Manoel Ribeiro commented (Ribeiro 2013). Between the elevators, new roads and areas of risk in Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho hundreds of houses will be removed. In Pavão-Pavãozinho residents questioned the necessity of the road and asked if it could have been implemented in a way that displaced fewer people. While it seems to be more politically difficult to remove communities wholesale the way it was done in the 1960s and 70s (except for the Favela do Metrô), it does seem possible to remove residents in a more retail fashion under a variety of pretexts, in a process that amounts to thinning the community.[31]

The story of the Providência funicular is illustrative of the thinning tactic. According to photographer and community activist Mauricio Hora, the funicular, which is supposed to be built parallel to the steep 19th century staircase that connects the Ladeira do Barroso access road to the upper Cruzeiro part of the community, was originally planned for the right side of the staircase. Hora questioned the project because the NGO he runs, Casa Amarela, is based in a building on the right side and thus originally slated for removal. The people on the left side were relieved they were not in the path of the funicular project until they found out that their side would be removed anyway because it was considered an "area of risk". Mauricio argued that if the right side houses were sound and the left side houses were precarious, why not preserve the right side and build the funicular on the left side? Mauricio used his international visibility to stage a protest. He pasted larger than life-sized photographs of the faces of threatened residents to the outsides of the buildings along the right and called enough attention to the situation that the city backed down and agreed to his proposal (2012 interview).

One resident who worked in a shop near the staircase and lived in Cruzeiro pointed out the irony of the funicular project in a 2012 interview. For

all these years she has been climbing those steep stairs and she was happy she would finally have the funicular to get to the top. But now her house and all the houses in Cruzerio, the highest part of the community, are marked for removal. "The funicular was supposed to bring convenience, but there is going to be no one left in Cruzeiro. Who is the funicular for?" she asked. Cruzeiro is the area with the best view, and residents suspect there will be a lookout and facilities for tourists.

The process has been very unsettling, she told me. The people who marked the houses didn't have any information and could not tell her what was going on. She felt that they should have sent people who had information. Later there was a meeting with Jorge Bittar (then head of the municipal housing agency) in the Plaza, and things were explained, but she felt the plans were still unclear. Will they be removed in six months or three years? Where will they be sent? They were supposed to be relocated within the community, but they are offering one-bedroom apartments of low quality. She has a three-bedroom house with a *varanda*. She knows all her neighbors, who are mostly part of her extended family. She does not want to move to an apartment with a bunch of strangers.

While thinning in itself is a form of simplification that makes the dense community more accessible and manageable for the authorities, the new apartments offered to many displaced residents as part of the federal Minha Casa Minha Vida program imply a much higher degree of legibility and control, and are firmly "on the grid". They are often located in or on the edge of the formal city, accessible by formal city roads. They are spaces of modernist visual and functional order with formal addresses. Residents come to exist for a series of bureaucracies—the electric company, the water company and the cable television company—for the first time. In some cases they take on a mortgage. They are disciplined by modernist spaces that dictate appropriate uses. For this reason many relocated residents I spoke to felt constrained by the new housing, which one Providência resident jokingly called *apartamentos*, a pun combining the word for apartment with the word for squeezing. Their lives are contained within the four walls of small apartments without the traditional roof terrace that is used for laundry and other forms of work, bbqs and other forms of socializing. "Everyone would go back if they could", Francicleide told me, referring to the residents of the new Mangueira One housing complex who had been removed from the Favela do Metrô. They can no longer build a second story on their homes to accommodate a son or daughter who is ready to form his or her own family, a relative moving to the city or a rental unit. The endlessly expanding favela home is a way the poor can save and improve their lives inter-generationally. While many residents supplement their incomes by providing services or selling food and drink from their homes, the new Minha Casa Minha Vida houses are not designed to accommodate these practices, although residents displaced from the Favela do Metrô to nearby Mangueira One housing visited in 2012, for example, ran small businesses despite the rules and the design.

On the other hand this newly inaugurated housing was already showing signs of abandonment, decay and disorder. Francicleide told me that many people did not pay the bills for their new formal services. "They aren't accustomed to paying bills. They just let the bills pile up.... You have to educate these people. People left the favela carrying the favela on their backs."

In many ways the presence of the state was surprisingly lacking in the new housing. Even though the area was theoretically part of the Mangueira UPP, the police did not patrol there and drug dealers hung around in the public areas. Children had vandalized solar water heaters on the roofs of the soon to be inaugurated Mangueira Two complex next door. Residents were not able to organize internally to pay a doorman to guard the main gate or a janitor to clean the public areas. On the day we visited, the new water pump had broken. In scenes reminiscent of a favela of the 1950s residents formed a long line with a jumble of containers waiting their turn to draw water from a single spout in the courtyard (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Former Metrô residents stand in line for water at newly built Mangueira I, 2012 (Photo: A-M. Broudehoux)

Conclusions

            The state is in the process of enacting a series of measures to colonize territories that have never been fully under modern bureaucratic control. The UPP pushes out the competing drug traffickers, who act as local warlords, and asserts the state's monopoly on legitimate violence, paving the way for a new bureaucratic order. A process of street naming and house numbering is a basic condition for making dwellings visible to the state. Researchers and government agents gather further data on houses and their inhabitants. Addresses are mapped to a series of identity cards and documents that allow residents to participate in modern society and to be managed bureaucratically by a series of agencies of the state and private capital. A proliferation of maps provides an abstracting instrumental God's eye view of these territories to the police, providers of various services and planners implementing urbanization and beautification programs.

These urbanization and beautification projects simplify and rationalize the complex organic structure of the favelas, facilitating circulation and access by agents of the state. Dense labyrinthine settlements are thinned and residents are relocated to orderly modernist housing, making these populations legible to and manageable by remote authorities. The God's eye view of a state armed with maps and data is supplemented by broad streets, bright paint and new lighting offering new visibility and visual order. Cable cars and elevators provide a literal bird's eye view and a new perspective to insiders and outsiders. Tourists with cameras complete the picture, so that residents must become accustomed to the sensation of constantly being watched by each other and by outsiders. In those favelas lucky enough to receive new forms of state attention residents are quickly entering the world of totalizing modern power described by Foucault.

This new legibility is a mixed blessing. Favela residents have long been abandoned by the state, caught between the arbitrary authority of violent drug gangs and the arbitrary authority of violent police. They have remained poor and marginalized in part because of their illegibility, which has prevented their full participation in modern society. These projects promise to integrate favela residents and allow them to become full citizens, with all the "rights and obligations" that entails. On the other hand favelas constitute dark corners which provide powerless people a certain amount of protection and autonomy from a predatory society where the state does not always act in the interests of the less powerful and the economy does not provide equal opportunities to everyone. Scott writes, "Historically, the relative illegibility to outsiders of some urban neighborhoods… has provided a vital margin of political safety from control by outside elites." (1998: 54).

There is significant risk that increased legibility will lead to increased hardship for the poorest members of society. For the displaced, that has certainly already been the case. For that reason maybe we should take heart in the fact that the Brazilian state's ability to impose the iron cage has proven to be limited and that dark corners seem to reproduce themselves.

Notes
[1] For a history of the development of Rio's favelas see Abreu 1994; Arias 2006: 22-25; Perlman 2010, Chapter 1.

[2] According to the 2010 Census, 22 percent of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro's population lives in 763 favelas (IBGE 2010).

[3] For a history of drug gangs in Rio's favelas see Amorim 1993; Aziz 2003; Dowdney 2003; Leeds 1996; Penglase 2008.

[4] Favela Residents Associations register the informal buying and selling of favela housing. Most favela residents do not have formal title to their property, although there are efforts to change this. The first step is securing a "habite-se", a certificate of occupation. A habite-se requires an inspection. The Favela Bairro program came to include offices called POUSOs, Postos de Orientação Urbanistica e Social (Urban and Social Orientation Centers), which among other things are intended to regulate construction, one of many good ideas that have lacked follow-through (Perlman 2010: 282).

[5] In my interviews with street vendors in 1998 and 1999, vendors who lived in the favela of Cantagalo routinely said simply that they lived in Ipanema or gave the address of the Cantagalo Residents Association, Rua Saint Roman 200, rather than say the words "Cantagalo" or "favela" (Freeman 2002). One Cantagalo resident, in a 2011 interview, told me she worked as a secretary in an architect's office in Copacabana for years without revealing that she lived in a favela. Her son studied at the prestigious Federal University (UFRJ) without his classmates or professors knowing where he lived.

[6] For discussions of the evolution of favela policy, see Burgos 1998 and Perlman 2010, chapter 11. See Leeds 1996 for a discussion of clientalism in Rio's favelas. Aries makes a slightly more complicated argument about "double-barreled clientalism" (2006: 30).

[7] See Gaffney 2010 for a good discussion of Rio's broader mega-event led transformation.

[8] The goal of 100 UPPs was commonly touted in 2009 and 2010 (see Barrionuevo 2010, for example), but has since been dropped from the official discourse. For a discussion of the state government's ability to reach that goal see (Freeman 2012: 105; US Embassy 2009; Oliveira 2012: 249).

[9] For a critical account of PAC Rocinha, see Collin-Desrosiers 2010. For an official account of the PAC Favela program see Ministério das Cidades 2010.

[10] The official web site: http://www.cidadeolimpica.com.br/en/projetos/morar-carioca-2/. Morar Carioca is a rebranding of Favela Bairro. See discussion below.

[11] The official Minha Casa, Minha Vida web site: http://www.pac.gov.br/minha-casa-minha-vida.

[12] The World Bank, which provides financial aid to the UPP Social program, talks about the goals of the UPP as the "integration of favela residents into the rest of the city and the restoration of their citizenship" (World Bank 2012: 16).

[13] In March 2013 a new branch of Rio Poupa Tempo was inaugurated at the base of the favela of Cantagalo and plans to open another in Rocinha were announced. The agency allows one-stop-shopping for residents who need work cards, identity cards, driver's licenses, unemployment insurance and other government documents and services (Secretaria de Transportes do Estado de

Rio de Janeiro, 2013). While many favela residents possess all the documents they need to function in Brazilian society, many more are excluded because they are missing documents, hence the logic of installing Rio Poupa Tempo offices in favelas. Perlman (2010: 310) writes: "Our research project created an index counting each document as one point and found a strong relationship between how well each person was documented and their socioeconomic status (and income)."

[14] Leeds (1996: 58) writes, "The terrain of a favela and the manner in which it was settled (whether it has wide urbanizable streets or the narrow winding paths preferred by drug dealers) determine its 'suitability' for illegal activity."

[15] Cantagalo, Pavão-Pavãozinho, Rocinha, Santa Marta, Metrô and Providência were visited regularly over this period. I also conducted research for this project in Andaraí, Mangueira, Alemão, Maré, Babilônia and Chapeu Mangueira.

[16] My translation from Portuguese.

[17] Garmany (2009) makes a slightly different argument based on research in the northeastern Brazilian city of Fortaleza. He distinguishes between the material presence of the state in the form of infrastructure, which he agrees is lacking, and governmentality, arguing that the state and the larger society is able to exert a sort of moral influence over favela residents through such means as television.

[18] Morar Carioca is a rebranding of Favela Bairro, also funded by the Inter-American Development Bank and administered by the Rio city government. One difference is that Morar Carioca seems to emphasize selective removal of residents in favelas where it operates.

[19] My interviews with Mauricio Hora, Casa Amarela, Morro da Providência, 19 July 2012; Manuel Simões da Gama, Residents Association, 24 July 2012, Morro da Providência. See also Perlman (2010: 275-283).

[20] Long seen as a lesser evil compared to drug gangs, the insidious nature of militias came to public attention after the 2008 kidnapping and torture of a group of Brazilian journalists, the 2008 parliamentary inquiry into militias (CPI) led by state lawmaker Marcleo Freixo, and the 2010 film Elite Squad II, which dramatizes both stories. By 2010 militias controlled 41.5 percent of Rio's favelas—compared to 55.9 percent controlled by drug gangs and 2.6 percent controlled by UPPs—according to a UERJ study (Tráfico 2010), mostly in the poor western suburbs of the city. See Cano and Duarte 2012; Zaluar and Conceição 2007.

[21] See also Penglase (2009) for a discussion of the "laws of the hillside".

[22] I have identified subjects of informal interviews with the first names or nicknames they gave me at the time of the interview. I have done this in the spirit of giving credit to people for the points of view they expressed without imposing formal bureaucratic naming in an environment that largely avoids it. Public figures have been identified with their full names when I first mention

them and subsequently with whatever name they are commonly known by, which happens to be Brazilian journalistic practice, but also acknowledges a degree of flexibility in the Brazilian naming system.

[23] (US Consulate, Rio 2009). See Freeman (2012) for a discussion of the economic logic behind the UPP program.

[24] See for example Harley 1988. See Crampton and Krygier 2006 for an overview of critical cartography.

[25] Brazil's famous conditional cash transfer program that is credited with lifting large numbers of people out of poverty.

[26] For accounts of the Haussmann reforms, see Berman 1982; Harvey 1985, Haine 1996, Scott 1998, Harvey 2006a and 2006b.

[27] For accounts of the Passos reforms, see Chalhoub 1986, Needell 1987, Needell 1995, Chalhoub 1996, Abreu 1997.

[28] For an account of the vaccination campaign and the resulting riots, see Meade 1997.

[29] In a July 2013 interview, Marielena, a health worker at Rocinha's health clinic (Posto de Saude) confirmed the problem of tuberculosis in the community and supported widening streets as part of the solution. She had documented 37 cases in just the upper part of Rocinha in the first six months of 2013.

[30] Alemão residents explain that all the stops are at the tops of steep hills that they would have to climb to take the cable car. Most prefer to take informal vans that travel the internal roads of the favela complex (RJTV 2012).

[31] Bruno Queiroz, SMH architect, admitted in an interview with UFRJ researcher Helena Galiza, that one of the objectives of the Morar Carioca project in Providência is to reduce population density (Personal communication).

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