

A city shaped by crime? A representation of spaces and urban planning and the environment of the city of Rio de Janeiro as a battleground as shown on the movie *Elite Squad*, by José Padilha.

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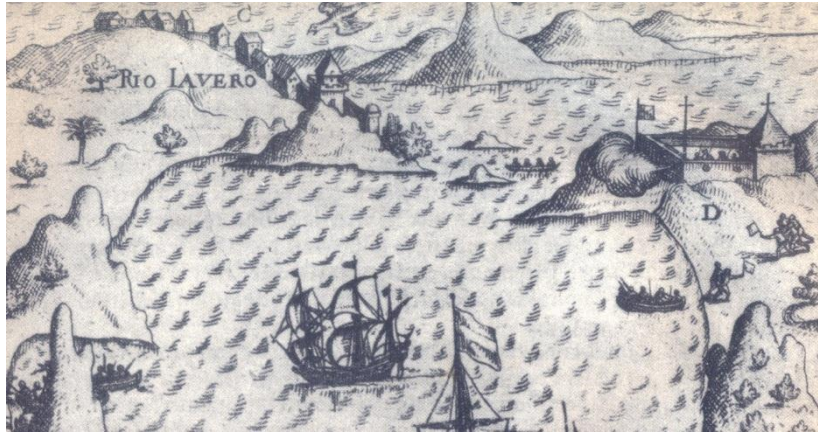
ABSTRACT: This article seeks to show that since it was founded the city of Rio de Janeiro has fought against the natural environment to create an urban territory where people lived together until the first decade of the twentieth century when the favela appeared. Urban planning has failed to integrate the favela areas with the affluent ones. Under globalization, different social actors who possess wealth and power, including organized crime, aspire to seize control of the urban space by controlling or expelling the poor. This study uses the films *Elite Squad I* and *II - The Enemy Within*, to represent the fight against crime in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the transition from modernity to globalization. Crime took root in the favelas by taking advantage of the absence of government authority in those areas, and by using their vermicular layout as a defense. The favela is an area of solidarity and creativity that can produce 10-storey buildings and funk music of international acceptance. Facing globalization favelas dwellers embrace individualism and consumption. We will also draw a parallel with the film *The Battle of Algiers* (1965) by Gillo Pontecorvo, where control of the population by the antagonists in the fight becomes a military target.

KEY WORDS: Capitalism; Practices; Crime; Social promotion.

Presentation

"Every city takes the shape of the desert it opposes; this is how the camel driver and the sailor see Despina, the boundary city between two deserts" (Italo Calvino, p.22).

In 1567 the Portuguese Governor General Mem de Sá (1500-1572) defeated the Tamoio Indians and French corsairs and immediately founded the city of Rio de Janeiro. He sent to his monarch in Lisbon a detailed account reporting that on top of a hill they had chopped down huge trees and thick bushes to found the city, surrounded by walls, a metaphor of the policy reflected in physical safety (Anastassov, 2010, p.1). Then he built the Portuguese urban facilities consisting of the council house, the parish church and government offices in addition to the homes of the settlers.



(Figure 1.Olivier van Noort, map, [1598] National Library)

Since then, Rio de Janeiro has been locked into a continuous long-term struggle to overcome what Duby described as a stubborn object: nature (Duby & Lardreau, 1980, p.155). The city of Rio arose from and lived divorced from the natural world that it subdued, by felling, drying and cutting down forests, demolishing hills and imposing a regular grid in opposition to the stubborn natural environment.



(Figure 2 Rio, South Area, [2008], Wikimedia Commons)

The original city's population was composed of wealthy and poor, free and slave, and they all lived together. This relationship was broken in dramatic fashion in the first decade of the twentieth century. The spatial divorce was imposed between these

segments, with the upper and middle classes residing in the flat territories. The poor, migrants and descendants of slaves, would live in the irregular areas of the surrounding hills: the favelas. Throughout the twentieth century from the Vargas government of 1930 to 1945, and particularly in the 1990s, the authorities despised the integration of the poor and their way of life. The trend continued for projects and urban planning to be merely cosmetic operations. Despite the scientific apparatus mobilized they also failed to unify the city. The lateral expansion of the favelas in the 1990s was limited by the efforts of local authorities and forced them to grow vertically. Throughout the historical process the State has never allowed them to be definitively incorporated into the city, making room for crime and corruption to flourish in them, which, despite criticism from some sectors, appears to be a successful model.

The city of Rio de Janeiro, its favelas and conflicts are represented in this article by two films, *Elite Squad I* and *II* by the Brazilian director José Padilha. Both act out the adventures experienced by their hero, Captain Nascimento, whose mission is to rid the favelas of criminals, and fight against corrupt politicians and the "militia". These are former police officers who, together with corrupt politicians, control the poor neighborhoods and favelas controlling the supply of goods from cable TV to transport. Using Michel de Certeau's concept of practice we will analyze it as a "theater" where people act in the midst of cultural and social changes in a city squeezed between the sea and mountains.

The City of Rio de Janeiro: modeled by early modern colonization

Portuguese colonization was part of the opening movement of modern times as a global phenomenon. Its action in the economic field dominated the existence of the colony, whose social existence was marked by instability, insecurity, temporariness (Novais, 2001, p.31). The economic life of the colony and of the city of Rio as well as its social life, responded to the drive that Milton Santos (1926-2001) defined as "externalized", as it was determined by the circuits of mercantile capitalism in Europe. A colony intended for exploitation, its only function was to complement the metropolis and provide it with profits and power (Prado, 1972, p.31). This unstable and modern existence seems to confirm Hardt and Negri's statement in their book *Empire*, which defines modernity as crisis (2001, 76, 77).

The process of Iberian colonization in the context of the first globalization led the Portuguese plantation circuit to the systematic use of modern slavery in the tropics. In this reifying direction, the colony seemed to be imbued with a sense of discipline and biopower that bring Foucault to mind; converting a "thing", nature and men as property to be exploited intensively followed the dictates of the "production of life" (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.76). The exploitation of people through slavery deprived them of rights. Initially they were Indians and later Africans, reified by the logic of the capitalist system and the imperial justifications developed by intellectuals (Mignolo 2003, p. 328). The limited social protection of the helpless occurred within a system of patronage and cronyism, each closely linked to the other in a complex web of relationships of power and prestige, whose persistence is reflected in the current political system.

The African slaves were associated in religious organizations known as brotherhoods. Their physical and symbolic representations included regulations, cemeteries, church and the ability to enter into the system, according to its rules. The brotherhoods reconstituted symbolic families lost in slavery strengthening horizontal ties of solidarity. Despite the constant arrival of the new African diaspora and the intense social disposability to which they were subject, those who lived in the city were part of a sociability network. Their survival practices (many of which came from Central Africa) resulted in an African-carioca culture, based on a collection of traditions surviving until today (Karash, 2000, p. 293).

The City of Rio de Janeiro: between the sea and the mountains, between the hills and the asphalt

The city established in 1567 occupied a hilltop dominating the bay of Guanabara - called the Castle and its population began to descend to the adjacent plain. The initial impressions suffused with the myth of the Garden of Eden, that dazzled the Portuguese settlers, soon gave way to commercial exploitation (Holanda, 1992, *passim*). The Portuguese city in America became a human tool against a hostile natural world, justified under the ideological cloak of capitalist conquest of the new world, Christianization, and, later, the notion of progress (Short and Short, 2008, p.4). If the urban grid made sense to the settlers, the slaves were forced to negotiate a symbolic and physical insertion in this urban fabric that was foreign to them (Sodré, 1988, p.32-33).

In this city-port, the colonial authorities implemented the chessboard grid of urban Europe, described by Sennett as a modern tool to dominate nature (1992, p.52).

Its principles had been applied sporadically in the Portuguese metropolis and its systematic use by the colonists made it an emblem of rationality (Rui e Helder Carita, p.182). In Rio de Janeiro the grid layout was implemented in stages over the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, as the city extended along the alluvial plain, it dried out lakes, reclaimed land, dismantled hills and enabled the occupation of the territory by the population. This hegemonic layout was a means of dominating space, equivalent in this sense, according to Bourdieu, to the world itself (2001, p.11). Contrary to what Angel Rama wrote about the Castilian territories where, order preceded the city, in Portuguese America, the opposite took place. By using regular layouts, contrary to the strict Spanish rationalism, the Portuguese never employed absolute norms.



*Rio Genero, da obra Reys-boeck, de 1624.
Original: Exemplar da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.*

(Figure 3. City of Rio de Janeiro [ca. 1624] map Reys Boeck Original National Library)

The urban network expanded with the discovery of gold and diamonds in the distant captaincy of Minas Gerais around 1680 (Alvarez, 2006, p.145). A spate of immigrants attracted by the enormous wealth doubled the territory of the city. From 1769 its central position in Portuguese America made it the capital of the colony. It was the seat of the viceroy and a growing administrative apparatus, and was the port from which the gold from the thriving mining region left for the metropolis (Maxwell, 1978, p.110). Urban expansion together with the influence of the Enlightenment led some colonial managers to implement practical improvements in water supply, and building streets, sidewalks and squares (Alvarez, 2009, p.260).



(Figure 4 Rio de Janeiro, [ca. 1780], original of The National Library)

The arrival of the Portuguese royal family in 1808, escaping the advance of Napoleon on Portugal with English help, transformed the modest capital of the viceroyalty into the seat of a global empire. The urban network started to grow again thanks to the huge population growth, the construction of government buildings, housing a growing number of foreigners including the diplomatic corps (Machado and Nevis, 1999, p.31). The colonial period came to a close and the country opened itself to the world.

Rio in the 19th century: the court and the city

Some years later, in 1822, Brazil became independent in the wake of the crisis that shook the Iberian colonial systems. At this point, in an environment of liberalism and a new international division of labor, the country joined the constellation of new nation-states emerging in the global political arena (Bayly, p.126). While independence provided a response to the aspirations of the popular classes, it ended up being taken over by the agrarian slaveholding elites who maintained colonial conditions of production (Deák, p.25) right into the industrial nineteenth century. They stifled the expansion of the middle classes and took over the state machinery by employing members of their own class and those from weakest from the oligarchies. They filtered out some modern ideas that migrated from the Old World such as liberalism, the constitution, an electoral system (Viotti da Costa, 1987, p.29).

In this new context, the city of Rio maintained its role as the capital, hosting the state machinery and political institutions. Between 1840 and 1850, however, the city and Brazil experienced a strong increase in business when the end of the slave trade shifted capital to productive activities. The essentially agricultural country began to

coexist with modern capitalist practices through new technological industrial achievements (Machado, 1999, p.292). The consolidation of wage labor itself occurred during this shift (Schiefer, p.15).

The desire for modernization that permeated the urban classes led the authorities to put into practice, in 1875, the first urban plan in Rio de Janeiro. Prioritizing the beautification and sanitation of the city, it incorporated new neighborhoods for the elite, served by tram lines (Needell, 1993, p. 53). As these exchanged the old center for more pleasant areas such as the district of Botafogo, the houses left behind were occupied by the poorer populations. As the government did not hold any investments in these popular housing areas, the result was the breakdown of homes and areas.

A dramatic change of circumstances in the city took place in 1888 with the Abolition of Slavery and the proclamation of the Republic in 1889. The weakening of the central power based in the empire and in Rio strengthened the power of the state oligarchies, led by the wealthy farmers of the state of São Paulo. However this did not alter the essential orientation of the economy towards coffee the production, traded by the British and the Americans whose economy was no longer metropolitan but had begun to internationalize (Arrighi, 1994, 248). The industrial alternative that expanded over the next decade was the result of increased import substitution (Viotti da Costa, 1987, p. 225). The result of these changes in the city saw the arrival en masse of freed slaves, followed by immigrants from southern Europe looking for salaried employment. Thus, there was a drastic change in the "ethnic composition of Rio de Janeiro city, which became a most heterogenous profile" (Alvarez, 2007, p.26). There was an increase in industrial facilities with industrial areas built in the city and in neighboring districts.

Brazil linked itself to the new world trade networks. At the same time, new codes of social control were emanating from scientific discourse. Under the Republic, adherents of ideas of progress used the media to accuse the city's poor and the African population of being unhealthy and dangerous. To repress these classes they developed new police codes (Carvalho, 1991, p.37). The makeshift dwelling places were visited by the noted Rio writer João do Rio (1881-1921), who described them as "free camps of misery" (1981, p.79). The newly arrived immigrants controlled the formal wage labor market, leaving the former slaves with marginal occupations even though cultural dynamism resulted in a mediation between these groups around the celebrations they held together (Alvarez, Verissimo, Bittar, 2001, p. 148).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Brazilian engineering acquired a standard of excellence and showed itself to be capable of achievements in infrastructure in response to any proposals for urban reforms. Many of its professionals had been trained in Paris. Brazil's main training center, the School of Engineering, located in Largo de São Francisco, Rio, had based its regulations on those of the prestigious French school of *Ponts and Chaussées*. Supported by these new scientific tools, the republican authorities planned an urban remodeling of the country's capital (Almandoz Mars, p.13). Following the basic lines of Baron Eugene Haussmann's *Plan de Paris* (1809-1891), its greatest triumph was the opening of a grand avenue following the patterns of the Parisian boulevard.



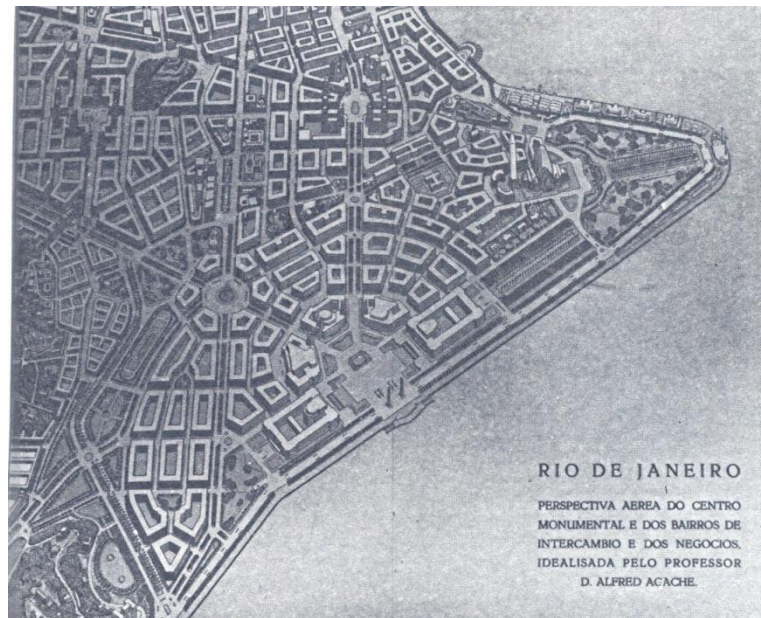
(Figure 5 Avenida Central, Central Avenue, [1910] Marc Ferrez 1843-1923 Wikimedia Commons)

Public transport at that time was too expensive for the poor who were therefore obliged to live near their workplaces, located in the downtown area (Huhne, 1993, p.185). The urban reform carried out in Rio de Janeiro between 1903 and 1910, civilized and modernized while it also expelled the poor from the dwellings they occupied in the center whose value therefore grew with the remodeling (Pearlman, 2009, p.26). Because these sectors could not afford transport and therefore could not live too far from their workplaces they gave rise to a new urban territory: the favela. The first favela therefore appeared on a hill behind the Central do Brasil railway station (Porto Rocha, p.95).

The twentieth century

Between the 1920s and the 1930s, with the world wavering between order and revolution (Polanyi, p.36), the emergence of new ideas of modern urbanism was discussed. This was the Athens Charter, the urbanism of the CIAMs and Le Corbusier (Giedion, 1975, p.336). Conservative urbanization, whose results could be seen in cities like Canberra, showed appreciable qualities (Gracious, 1974, 539). At that time the prevalent "esprit nouveau" of modernity gave birth to an idea of urbanization where issues of the city overlapped with the social demands of the actors that lived in it (Chouay, 1965, p.43). Brazil and its capital, Rio de Janeiro, remained distant from urban planning practices. It was entirely missing from the 1870 project and from Pereira Passos's experiments, and was more concerned with beautifying and applying the principles of 'positivist' science and hygienic principles than focusing on social issues (Stuckembruck, 1996, p.20).

This trend continued in 1927 when the mayor of Rio de Janeiro Antonio Prado Junior commissioned a plan to the French urban planner Alfred Agache (1875-1959). The main requirements of this proposal were to reorder the old center, remodel, and beautify the city along the lines of the Republican showcase (Bruant, 1981, p.335). He suggested the reorganization of the city's roads and their regulation and an emergency Master Plan for the administrative, commercial and housing areas (and Cardeman and Cardeman, 2006).



(Figure 6 Plano Agache)

The politician Mauricio de Lacerda (1888-1959) rebelled against the coming of the French professional, alleging that Brazilian engineering had proved itself more than capable in this field (Smith, 2003, p.73). The southern area of the city began to acquire the glamour of bourgeois and cosmopolitan occupations especially in neighborhoods such as Copacabana and Ipanema. Their previously deployed infrastructures meant that their residents enjoyed the ultimate in comfort. The government provided modern areas for the elites and thereby excused itself from the need to solve the problems of the poor areas. The capital city mirrored the nation and the authorities sought to control, without success, its growth (Abreu, 1988, p.86).

The year 1929 was a turning point in the history of the country, with the outbreak of the civil and military movement known as the Revolution of 1930. Composed of a heterogeneous group of forces they took over the modernizing project of the middle classes, the young military and the weaker oligarchies. Their aim was to reduce the political and economic dominance of the powerful coffee export sector of São Paulo and Minas Gerais (Fausto, 233, p. 255). They also wanted to reform the corrupt electoral system and modernize the agricultural exporting economy in a context of global crisis and formally integrate the workers way in the production system and citizenship.

Once it had achieved victory, the movement of 1930 and its broad front of support followed the Brazilian tradition of conciliation by coming to terms with the ruling elites. They were able to keep their income from the coffee sector. Salaried employment was increased with a compulsory saving to fund the modernization of the infrastructure and industrialization during this critical stage of the Brazilian economy (Sola, p.264). The economic growth attracted many migrants to the city of Rio de Janeiro from the surrounding rural areas. Unemployed due to the effects of the 1929 crisis that rocked the key coffee industry, they suddenly entered a city and a modern labor system (Pearlman, 2010, p. 66). The government of Getulio Vargas produced a consensus that reconciled the warring forces that supported him. Combining co-opting with repression he achieved social results of major consequence. Drawing on advanced social legislation that protected work, he acquired the sobriquet of "father of the poor". His government drew up vast projects in which, for the first time, there was central economic planning to consolidate an infrastructure to leverage the country's industrial growth such as steel and electrification projects. Following the coup of 1937, the Vargas government, called itself the New State, and took particular interest in the cities. It gave urban planning, between 1930 and 1945, the role of a tool to support its development policy. The urban work that was developed, despite making improvements in local transport networks and increasing major road networks, did not adopt solutions that covered the masses (Schieffer). The management of the mayors appointed by the central government such as Henrique Dodsworth (1895-1975), increased the major traffic routes with the Avenida Niemeyer, Avenida Brazil and Presidente Vargas, Corte do Cantagalo (Freire, Lippi Oliveira, p.23).



(Figure 7, Copacabana, [ca. 1938])

When it was overthrown in 1945, the Vargas dictatorship had partially modernized the country which, with a growing economy, could therefore attract powerful international groups after the Second World War. Some of these, especially from the USA, joined the Brazilian elites in their fear of the consequences of the expansion of suffrage that would result from the reforms that Vargas might introduce. One-man one-vote would make clear the numerical predominance of the working classes over other sectors. Throughout the 1950s and part of the 1960s, fears intensified that voting changes would bring social reforms of a nationalist character that could affect their profits and power. This fear materialized in the context of the Cold War. The intense ideological battle raging in Brazil was won by the elites who, following a long conspiracy, unleashed the successful military coup of 1964.

This movement was born of the desire of powerful business groups, national or connected to foreign capital, and involved the participation of the U.S. intelligence apparatus (Dreyfus, 1981, p.448). It also received considerable support from urban middle-classes, fearing the advance of the trade unions. In subsequent decades the authoritarian government led the country into a new stage of development, with guidelines provided by central offices such as the IPES. Employing brutal social repression and severe wage freezes, they achieved what some theorists have seen as a revival of capitalism in the country (Dreyfuss, 1981, p.445).

The end of World War II brought an international environment of robust global economic growth in under U.S. financial hegemony (Arrighi, p. 289). After the oil shock of 1973 that era of prosperity came to be known as the *Golden Years* (Hobsbawm, 1994, p.277). Brazil benefited from this growth and experienced an economic *boom* in the years following 1964 as an effect of the much-touted "capitalist regeneration". The massive influx of motor vehicles increased the country's dependence on oil. Buses and cars and utility vehicles led to a drastic change in the fabric of the cities. There was an urban realignment through extension of the streets and construction of viaducts and tunnels to allow the flow of vehicles. By 1970, the authoritarian government and its development policy, had implemented a network of roads, ports, airports and a highly modern telecommunications system, supported by satellite, allowing expansion of telephone and postal services (Santos, 1994, p.39).

This modernization planned no overall social policies to include the poorest sectors of the urban population and their homes. There was a migratory flow, mostly from the northeast, to Rio de Janeiro, where available housing was located in the Baixada Fluminense, or in the city's favelas. Secret land subdivisions proliferated in new neighborhoods as in the famous City of God in 1960¹. Many of these residents received support from local politicians and they returned the blessings by voting for their benefactors in the elections, thus reinvigorating old clientelistic practices.

Between 1960 and 1970 the government of the city of Rio de Janeiro increased planning, leading some scholars to see this time as the peak of city planning activity (Deak & Schiffer, 12). The plans called PID, or Development Plans, as they were known, represented a set of actions to plan the urban spatial order. The activity was entrusted exclusively to the public authorities, with business sector involvement being limited, and there was little regulation through legislation (Deák, Schiffer, p.13). The authoritarian regime was coming to an end, and the democratic opening was beginning.

The new constitution promulgated in 1988 regulated planning activity. The legislation gave enormous power to the municipalities for the management of their territory, which led some critics to suggest that the device allowed the free movement of property and economic interests in the city.

On the other hand, as the modern town plans proved unsuccessful, the frustration of society increased in relation to the promises contained in the rhetoric of projects. Despite their flamboyant appearance and formal scientific discourse, their actual results were shown to be negligible (Deák & Schiffer, p.14). Given this failure, the expansion of the favelas assumed the air of a time bomb waiting to explode. In a prestigious weekly magazine in Brazil, an article titled "Crime, unemployment and poverty: a Brazilian tragedy around the big cities" by journalists and Secco and Squeff, warned that a third of the population of each of the Brazilian cities consisted of favela dwellers. (Veja, 24/01/2001). The urban crisis of Rio de Janeiro followed its economic crisis. The official IBGE Census showed that in 2010 the city grew by less than other Brazilian cities, but it registered a significant increase in the number of favelas.²

Social control in a divided city

Loss of planning impetus and failure to solve urban problems in Rio has resulted in an increase in measures of social control. The press accused the favela of being the territory of crime and its inhabitants of being barbarians threatening the "civilized" sectors. In 1960 the capital city was transferred from Rio de Janeiro to the newly created Brasilia, in the distant central highlands. This measure led to a serious problem of social erosion for Rio in the medium term (Osorio, p.75). This change was part of an elite desire to empty the old capital whose population reproduced existing social relations in the country. Its politicized and diverse inhabitants constantly required the attention of the institutions of social control (Neder, 181, p.20).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, following the dictates of the Washington Consensus, neoliberal economic planning considered the production of a new developmental scenario: the city. For Castells, the economics of "globally interconnected and unregulated" capital growth and flows accelerated (2000, p.53). On the other hand, city-trade projects were consolidated with economic forces and the major players seeking to extend local dialogues, often ignoring communication with the governments of nation states (Godinho de Oliveira 2007). In the 1990s, opposition to the traditional model of urban development plans represented the exhaustion of the modern formula.

Rising incomes: vertical growth and approval of the favela neighborhood.

It's a mistake to claim that people of the Rio favelas would be basically African in origin, ready to "go down" the hills en masse to raid the "asphalt." Historically the hills were places of residence not only of African descendants, but also of migrants from all over the country. As Sennett explains in another context, a cosmopolitan city like Rio became the Theatre of Struggle. Whites, African descendants, and all shades of brown people, including poor foreigners live there while the wealthy and middle classes live in the flat areas urbanized by the government. Sociologically there is no watertight

separation in Brazilian society, although some social scientists are of the opinion that the excessive violence may widen the gap between rich and poor.

Zuenir Ventura, a Brazilian journalist who has written about this contradiction, realized, as did Benjamin Disraeli in his novel *Sybil, or Two Nations*, that the city of Rio, like Victorian England was "divided". Divided between rich and poor whose topoi were the "hillside" and the "asphalt." The first is the *favela*, or *hillside*, the popular residential area in apparent opposition to the *asphalt*, or *street*, the official regions where the middle classes and elites live. The dichotomy between the "asphalt" – as a metaphor of the ordered and official city – and the "hill", the territory of spontaneity, improvisation and ideological marginalization, has historically been integrated into the city of Rio (Pearlman, 2009, p.34).

The expansion of favelas from their beginnings represented the continuity of the old sociability ties arising from colonization. These were originally the secular fellowships and brotherhoods such as the Rosary. Bringing together African slaves, freemen and coloreds in Portuguese America, the flourishing institution recreated the lost "symbolic family". This medieval practice that emerged in the colony under the inspiration of the Catholic Church became popular. Its maintenance implied a kind of welfare solidarity funded by the members (Reis, 1999, p.49). Its strategy of mutual support continued and, in its current desecrated guise is reflected in the fabric of family support systems. It is also reflected in the costing of many buildings in the favela.

In November 1990 a prestigious conservative periodical, *O Globo*, concluded that between 1981 and 1989, a certain income distribution was detected in the statistics collected by the prestigious IBGE, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. Pointing to the reduction of illiteracy rates (at least in the more advanced area, the Southeast), the newspaper claimed this indicated a noticeable percentage reduction in family size. A UNESCO report also praised the achievements of the underground economy of the Brazilian poor. Its statistics suggest the success of government policies adopted since the government of President Itamar Franco (1930-2011). In his short tenure, between 1992 and 1994, he decisively stabilized the country's economy. Between the years 2000 to 2004 and for the past four years, Rio de Janeiro has experienced a somewhat higher average economic performance than the national average in part due to the impulse given to production by the oil industry (Osório, 2005, p. 28).



(Figure 8. Favela da Rocinha Wikipedia Commons)

Since then a new phase of economic growth has been triggered. The evidence seems to suggest that the social and economic policies adopted since 1992 have distributed income steadily, producing significant social progress³. Socio-economic transformations members are accelerating in such a way that some analysts suggest that their solutions can be taken as a model for other troubled regions of the earth (Al-Jazeera, 04/03/2011).

The deep suspicion (mutual, I would say), between the municipal authorities and the poorest classes, detected by Ivani Vassoler (Urbana, Fall, 2010), seemed doomed to suffer little change in Rio de Janeiro. The implementation of a project developed by the City Council with support from BIRD (1999-2001), known as the Favela-Bairro (Favela-Neighborhood), meant to improve the infrastructure conditions in the favela and increase its connection to the rest of the urban fabric⁴. The "population has responded very positively to the intervention in the public and collective spaces introduced by Favela-Bairro and have themselves improved their houses" (Magalhães & Xavier, 2003, p.24). We should note that economic stability has enabled the population with less purchasing power to acquire more robust building materials and replace the precarious materials that fed the popular imagination of the favela. Tins and wood found themselves replaced by concrete, cement, bricks, ceramic tiles and floors.⁵

The result was reflected in a reduction in the "percentage of rustic housing in total households. It can be inferred that, even in the favelas, shacks and huts have been replaced by brick buildings, provided with services common to other properties" (O Globo, November 15, 1990). The construction sector hired as bricklayers and laborers many migrants from the countryside or the Northeast. Some traffickers employed them to build *bunkers* similar to those employed by the Algerian FLN in the Kasbah of Algiers in the 1960s.

The favela as such developed its own criteria for valuation of the real estate built within its boundaries. On the other hand, demand for housing expanded with population growth and the arrival of new migrants. In 2006 the expansion was detected leading the government of Rio de Janeiro, in line with the standards of the World Bank, to prevent horizontal and disorderly growth. The issue has become critical in favelas such as Rocinha, which borders forest areas protected by environmental laws.



(Figure 9. Sprawl of Rio's Zona Sul. Photo: Custódio Coimbra/ O Globo)

Successful control has forced homeowners in high-value favela areas to build vertically. In 2007 the Rio das Pedras favela boasted a skyline featuring several laminar buildings with about 10 floors each. Such success stories make us think about the "doers" of the city that built these properties in a process that recalls Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the "cultural circularity." Although Rio is not a global city, its migrant residents release their creative potential. Analyses by Saskia Sassen in this respect have succeeded in identifying many migrants with an enormous entrepreneurial ethos. In Rio de Janeiro knowledge of modern construction techniques, especially in reinforced concrete, have been quickly assimilated. Recycling of techniques has resulted in a "practice" allowing solutions for their problems.

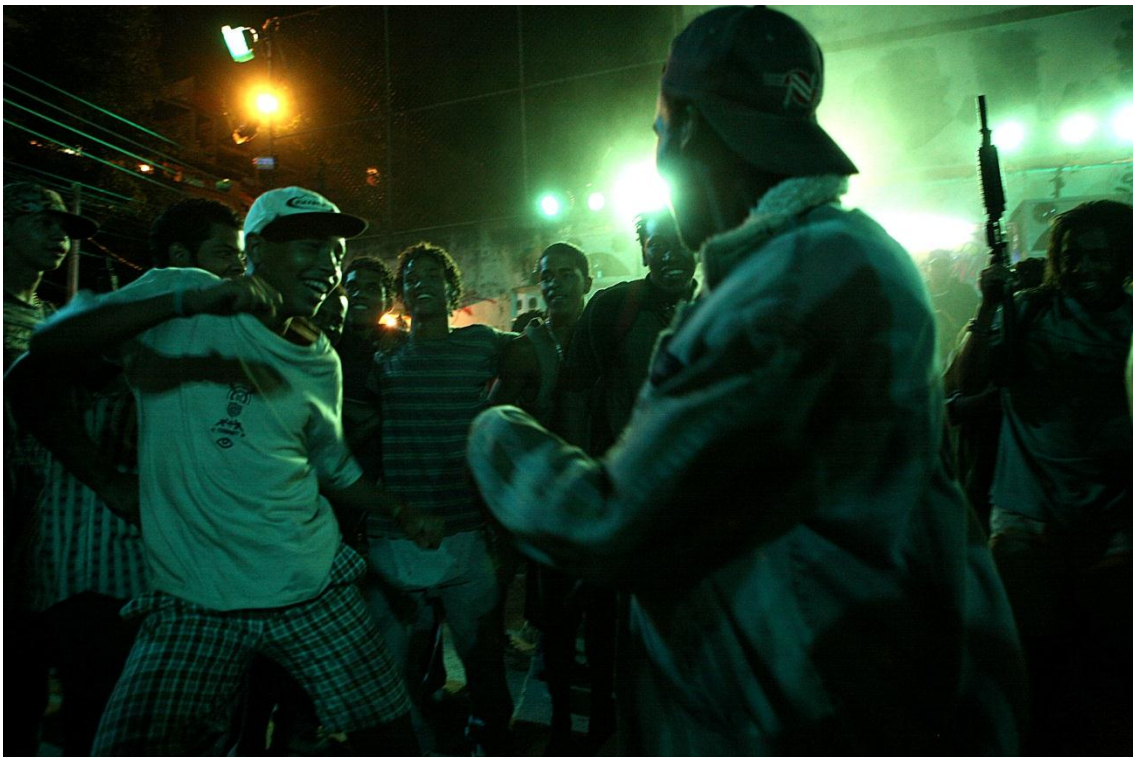
Favelas and layouts

The favela has adapted from its beginnings to the steep territory of the hillsides, acquiring an irregular and spontaneous configuration that has determined the basic lines of its path over a century. It has declared war on nature by clearing vegetation to that its members could build their houses and capitalize. Circulation in the favelas is poor

because the spontaneity of intensive land occupancy makes vehicle transit possible only to the so-called "contact areas." Then there are steps and narrow alleys. In *Elite Squad I*, an NGO with its middle-class users, is installed in one of these buildings where there is a bar. The cadet officer Matthias ambiguously concealed that he was a police officer from his student colleagues, some of whom are members of the NGO. During his university studies he, and a beautiful young wealthy colleague coming from the "asphalt" fall in love. During an academic project she invites him to visit the NGO in the favela. As Mathias walks a few feet beyond the bar, he sees the "traffic soldiers." Matthias knows that a step further and he will be taken out by the traffickers. On the other hand, we can suggest that the labyrinthine layout appears to enhance the skills of the notion of practice developed by Michel de Certeau. This is why Captain Nascimento, when starting a foray into a place that he does not know, entrusts its leadership to a junior officer who holds the knowledge or practice of that place.

Culture of the periphery: between consumption, identity and power

The weekend dance is essential for the young residents of the favela. It is place of sociability, fun and modern collective interaction. Under the roof of the indoor sports arena packed under the chords of a song at very high volume, the crowd of young people, both sexes, moves their bodies to exhaustion.



(Figure 10. David Prichard photo)

Their ritualized choreography moves between violent gestures and simulation of sex. For this group the body is over-determined, since, under globalization, ownership of the body is essential in shaping identity. When discussing a statement of Durkheim on time and eroticism, Bauman believes that "the body and its satisfactions have not

become less ephemeral since the time when Durkheim sang the glory of durable social institutions". Given the shortness of human life, its transience and uncertainty, the body has become emblematic for these people, "one may say, it has become the last shelter and sanctuary of continuity and duration" (2004, p.183). Many people in the globalized world aspired to have a life for themselves where the daily struggle for life is a collective human experience. Do they begin to form their own expectations, in their own desires as they take control over their lives? Are we, as Beck asks, facing a worldwide epidemic of selfishness? Each life is an individual product, as are individual relationships with the state, as it is thanks to our identity numbers that we exist for salaries, votes, social security and elections. So dance in the favela at the weekend becomes an exercise in self-identity and freedom of the individual to himself and before the community to the sound of music.

The Brazilian funk music, despite an official ban, is now a cultural commodity, an export commodity. Some Rio musicians connected to this movement have an intense schedule of shows in Europe and the United States. For Janaina Medeiros the music is the "true Brazilian electronic music" (2006, p.110). For Perrone and Dunn it is a manifestation that is no longer local but fits into the global context, floating between "African traditions, global flows and local living conditions" (2001, p. 199). Born of spontaneous conditions it appears to be, according to these authors, part of the "creation of transnational loyalties and interpretative communities...it is best read in context of globalization not as something univocal, but rather as a sort of conduit for local and relocalized narratives, oriented for the negotiation of power and cultural legitimacy in contexts of social inequality" (Idem, p.196). The soundtrack of *Elite Squad* is a rap written by Cidinho and Dock, the so-called *Rap das Armas*, from 1990.

Favela, the new Janissaries - dimensions of power in the context of urban warfare

By 1330, in Ottoman Turkey, Sultan Murat I built a fearsome military force called the *Yenisseri*, which in Turkish means "new force". After the end of the period of Ottoman territorial expansion, these soldiers lost their original function until their dissolution as an active military force. They then lived on the prestige and the power conferred on them by the use of arms.



(Figure 11, photo David Pritchard)

In the film *Elite Squad II, The Enemy Within* (2010), the opponent is not primarily the drug trafficker but other players connected to globalization. Standing out among others is the real estate developer and corrupt politicians who lead the assault on the urban territory. Frequently they receive support from militants who will be Captain Nascimento's deadly adversaries. This new type of urban criminal who holds the practice of the favelas and of the city is fiercely imbued with the spirit of profit and earnings on the margins of the system.

These are MP soldiers or ex-policemen or even soldiers of the armed forces, who have demobilized but still use weapons, training and violence to dominate a defenseless community. Their action takes place on the hillsides or the secret plots of the distant suburbs. Originally they appeared to be, like the *Seven Samurai* (1954) of Kurosawa's (1910-1998) famous film, an alternative to the violence of drug trafficking. Reality however, soon imposes itself: they were heavily armed bandits installed in the fabric of the favela. They manage to take control of lucrative activities, the movements of local people coming and going, using extortion and violence. They decree "holidays" and fulfill their sexual appetites with the most attractive women in the community. They intimidate private and public service providers, the cooking gas suppliers, and transportation. They take over cable TV services and take possession of the traffickers' drug dens. They evict suspected or recalcitrant residents; those considered hostile lose their homes. Their power of association with politicians was such that, in 2006, they had divided the city among the most powerful groups (O Globo, 2006, p.11).

Their criminal leadership received media coverage, and they established fruitful contact with politicians in the client system. They ensured candidates a warm reception in the communities that elected them. They intimidate rival candidates and prevent

them from exercising their political role. They interfere with public works and even decide their discontinuation or alteration. They elect their representatives to the municipal authorities. They apply justice in ad hoc trials, where the most common punishment, even for the smallest slips, is death.

City, self-image, increase in consumption

Despite the questionable assertion of its "decadence", Rio de Janeiro is now one of the largest cities in Latin America. It is a metropolis able to develop "standards of uniformity", which reshapes its traditional habits and subordinates them to "modern" ways of working, dressing and entertainment. The increase in consumption for these layers is the chance to devise strategies for the composition of self-image, imbued with the ethos of the city and upward social mobility (Canclini, 1999, p.148). To live in a big city is a the dreams of many migrants, crowned by home ownership in a street with paving, water supply, sewerage, electricity, public schools nearby, kindergartens and health centers. When the migrant manages to get hold of some vacant land and brings value to it with a home, he is beginning to become capitalized. The dwellings of these consumers do not have deeds. Their homes in the favelas cannot therefore be presented as collateral in banking procedures. The overwhelming majority of the favela population is composed of families whose complex webs of sociability are integrated in the system informally. And whose plasticity includes in its networks people from the most diverse backgrounds. Many of the migrants manage to marry locals with ease. In this regard one of the few of the hurdles identified in recent years seems to relate to religion. With the advancement of evangelicalism among the poorest, the adherents of different sects coerce those who intend to marry their sons or daughters to abandon Catholicism or Umbanda and join their churches.

However, living in the favelas involves identity issues that reveal a particular double register that surrounds its practitioner. Initially some residents do not hide their place of origin: they refer to it with pride because they are associated with a community that the city fears as barbarians waiting at its gates. Living in a favela is a threat that becomes a protection for its residents, able to strengthen their self-image as "dangerous." So do not mess with me. In recent decades, however, the progressive improvements lead them to accept the favela as a place that is just as good as any in the city. Here the words of a rap song: "I just want to live happily and walk in peace in the favela where I was born".

Law and Order reflected in the practice and shape of the city

In their discussion of the term globalization, Hutton and Giddens insist that one should not forget the economic and social dimension of crime. It currently has an economic circuit that, like the Mafia, operates globally through money laundering as a specific economic phenomenon (2000, p.5). Maillart, an expert on the subject, describes the activity as permanent in his *Future Crime* (2000). Trafficking in narcotics is a division of labor improved with methods of brutal action, a rough challenge to the post-modern corporate structure. Efficiency and speed are its rules. Errors are not allowed and unsettled debts result in rapid execution. Their places of concentration of sales and distribution are located in the hillsides in makeshift premises called "boca de

fumo" (drug dens). The protection scheme of these functions was rudimentary decades ago. Their defenders did not always clash with the police and didn't even regularly get involved in fights against their competitors. However, as the profitability of drugs has grown and as capitalism has incorporated more brutal and irreducible strategies, trafficking seems to have reflected these practices. To eliminate or intimidate competition and keep the police away, larger caliber and more lethal weapons started to be used.

Worldwide and in Brazil the statistics show the crime dimensions; and in the city of Rio, criminality is not only the effect of globalization but of state weakness. The crime defies the importance of public institutions and citizenship. In 1996, the IBGE, a prestigious data collection institution, abandoned its majestic headquarters next to Mangueira Hill, tired of being caught up in daily gunfire (Veja May 15, 1996). Since 2006 escalating criminality has transformed the bucolic Santa Teresa neighborhood into a battlefield between police and traffickers (Veja May 7, 2000). In 2006 repeating the escalation of the film of Gillo Pontecorvo, crime began to invade stations, vehicles and police control points. To protect the population the number of police in the streets has expanded. Threatening criminals invaded the radio frequency range of the police to intimidate them: "I am a cop killer" (Jornal do Brasil, December 10, 2006, p.A13). The shooting down of at least two police helicopters in operations on favelas increasingly associates crime fighting with a war.

The daily movement of the population of the city on public transport until December 2010 was frequently disrupted by criminals. In the most dramatic cases, buses were burned without even giving users any time to get off (O Globo, Saturday, December 30, 2006). Unprepared and without command at that level, when the authorities managed to stop one of these actions, police behaved clumsily as in the tragic episode of the infamous bus 174. Even with snipers ready to hit the criminal, the order was not given. The result was the death of the offender and of an unfortunate hostage. The population of some hills and favelas, such as Vila Kennedy, had the task, imposed by drug traffickers, of going into the streets and blocking them, preventing transit and hassling the police. As in Kaplan's definition, it was an effective demonstration of power, imposing their will on people and changing their lives. It was an absurd reality in a large and rich country like Brazil. But for Rousset, "rien de plus fragile que la faculté humaine d'admettre la réalité, d'accepter sans réserves l'imperieuse prérogative du réel" (Rousset, 1976, p.7-8).

One of the most powerful drug traffickers in Rio de Janeiro, Fernandinho Beira-Mar, in 2002 employed this tactic and disrupted transport in the city. By leading a riot in a maximum security prison he briefly succeeded in eliminating his rivals. Surrounded in the prison, the authorities asked when Beira-Mar would stop the killing. He responded: "I only leave when the service is finished." Realizing that the police were advancing, by cell-phone he ordered his subordinates: "if the police interfere, I order my men to come down from the favelas where they hold sway and terrorize the population of the city." After killing all his opponents he ended the riot. He uttered a phrase that was immediately incorporated into popular language to express victory: "It's all controlled, it's all controlled!" (Veja, September, 2002).

The feeling of helplessness and weakness experienced by the people of the city facing the power of the organized crime found a vengeful representation at the symbolic level: Captain Nascimento. The protagonist embodied the image of the honest cop, brave, courageous, capable of being everybody's double. This is an incorruptible man who mirrors the vigilante that lurks in every viewer, but on the other hand he represents the desire of a hero on the side of the law, the system, the good. It is necessary to understand the trajectory of the protagonist capable of performing such a Herculean task. He joins the military police, widespread training in the various units of the federal republic - the states - that make up Brazil. This training system recruits officers and soldiers from among the poor or middle classes of the population. These sectors see recruitment as a great opportunity for social mobility, putting them into undeniably powerful positions of command. Their action of setting up capillary networks of power proves a thesis of Michel Foucault, that power is spread across networks.

In Brazil, the armed forces in the not too distant past, were recruiting members of the poor oligarchies to the officer corps. Following the 1964 coup, the military began to enjoy great prestige. Their pension payouts were increased. However the icing on the cake was the co-opting of soldiers onto the staff of some large companies as a way of supporting the regime. Their pecuniary gain and their association in the network were much greater. As the war against trafficking is prolonged, contacts between would-be opponents occur through various channels. The stabilization of the conflict leads to compromises as both films demonstrate. The division between law and order is shown to be permeable through agreements and cracks, and the ineffable profit opportunity.

The consumerism that has expanded due to this modernization and the conditions in the following decades until 1970, strongly increased the feeling of openness to consumption among police officers⁶. Upward social mobility means to consume. In order to consume, the modest salary would be supplemented by new sources of income. However, police activity had a pay gap that has brought many troubles and tensions. The officers of the militia, even with activity on the "front line", by law received lower wages than their comrades in the regular armed forces. The takings for these small-ranking corrupt officers take place within society, in public service employment, mechanically, such as private activity. The division of the territory of the city into privatized sectors by officers who draw their profits from them, reproduces the unusual situation where the official activity covers illegal activity.

The elite squad

The alternative for a youthful and determined spirit as Captain Nascimento is to enter the squad troops, the last refuge of the pure. Following the formalized conduct in the armies of the twentieth century, in the French Foreign Legion, the paratroopers and the commandos, the BOPE becomes a brotherhood of combatants that is the preserve of the incorruptible, the good and the strong. To be a member, i.e., a "skull" and put on the black uniform, the soldiers have to earn it. Admission into its ranks is through volunteering involving an initiation rite fraught with risk. As the normal police are

prepared for daily activities, the changing character of crime leads one of its branches to the adopt a conduct similar to a combatant: they are fighting a war.



(Figure 12. Cadet officer Matias Photo Andre Ramiro)

French journalist Lucien Bodard (1914-1998), who was in Indochina during the tragic conflict that culminated in the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, wrote how the French paratroopers consolidated their reputation as hard and brutal fighters in successive colonial campaigns. They demonstrated a sense of sacrifice, mysticism and brotherhood of the initiated typical of an elite squad, just like their German, English, American and Russian counterparts. When he saw them moving in the brush in search of their enemies, Bodard wrote: “les paras-me samblant diferent de autres soldats. (...) they carry their weapons “a forme d’ outils. Leur métier est de tuer. Ils sont les specialistes de La mort rapprochée (Bodard, vol.II, 1965, p.51).

The Battle of Algiers is here and now

One of the films that oozes cunning is *The Battle of Algiers*, by Gillo Pontecorvo (1919-2006), a masterful 1966 film, shot in superb and classic black-and-white photography. Forbidden in France for decades, it was exhibited in 2002 at the expense of the Pentagon which, pressed by the growing Iraqi insurgency, decided to show it to a select group of officers and civilians responsible for the conduct of the Iraq war. Kaufman wrote an article for the New York Times explaining the astute context which mediated the practices adopted by the urban Algerian revolt and the urban insurrection in Iraq which had broken out in Baghdad, Najaf and other cities.

How to win a battle against terrorism and lose the war of ideas. Children shoot soldiers at point-blank range. Women plant bombs in cafes. Soon the entire Arab population builds to a mad fervor. Sound familiar? The French have a plan. It succeeds tactically, but fails strategically. To understand why, come to a rare showing of this film (Kaufman, 2003).

In making a connection between the films, *The Battle of Algiers* (1966), by Gillo Pontecorvo and *Elite Squad I and II*, by José Padilha, there is an anthological scene in the Italian film where Colonel Mathieu explains to his men the ongoing tactical battle for the Kasbah (Baratieri, 2010, p.21). For Captain Nascimento this means action against the enemy. Certeau did not define it as a global strategic design. The tactic is painstaking work, operating blow for blow, move by move before the eyes of the opponent. Pontecorvo's film has an intense tone of documentary which makes the protagonists' movements very intense. They move quickly, with stealth, using the population as a shield and shelter while it welcomes them as brothers. The paratroopers use their feet to move and hunt, a metaphor of combat. They engage in a competition with the enemy to see who can dominate the Kasbah of Algiers, with its complicit and supportive webs, with its houses where, alongside the winding streets, there are connecting walls and flat roofs across which the insurgents move.

In *Elite Squad* we see that captain Nascimento expresses intense desire to dominate the routes of the city by acting tactically. For von Bulow, tactics is action in enemy terrain. Captain Nascimento knows that his forces are weak and that he needs to maximize them in combat. According to Certeau "the weaker the forces subject to strategic direction, the more the latter will need to use cunning" (Certeau p.101). And so Captain Nascimento duplicates the action of the corrupt and criminals whom he faces by being cunning.

In *Elite Squad II* Nascimento is older and has been promoted to colonel in command of the Battalion, a secret subdivision controlled by the militia which imposes on the advancing soldiers the same cautious and cunning pace.



(Figure 13)

The film

In both *Elite Squads*, the paths assume a tone of self-diegesis, a travelogue. Both films use the first-person voice of Captain Nascimento. The protagonist imposes a dizzying pace on his narrative. The whole plot and the characters of the film have their actions foreseen by this hidden voice that is revealed in the diegesis through the irregular web of the favela.

They use vehicles for large territorial displacements; their action, however, takes place on foot. The drug trafficker sticks to the territory of the favela, unlike the Algerian fellagah who were forced to be constantly on the move. In Rio de Janeiro and its outskirts there is no war of independence. The soldiers who move through these canyons of brick and concrete perform a different dance to the *funk*. Instead of a bodily orgy we have religious control of every step.

The bodies of the soldiers in their displacement sneak along walls and stairs, and use deviations to support their relentless advance. They use each other's bodies as

protection. If this chain of trust is lost, the result will be death.



(Figure 14. Walking across brick and concrete walls. Photo David Prichard)

The unique, almost monopolistic ability to act in situations of extreme risk can be evaluated when Nascimento and his team reach the hillside to rescue the police officers that he already knows will be his future pupils. Faced with "regular" garrisons who go to the site, they deal with them almost like enemies. With his dual authority – as an officer and a soldier of the elite corps – he exempts and disbands them. No one goes up the hill except for him and his men. He, a simple captain, takes over the battlefield. When they are close to capturing the "Bahian" and need accurate information, he refers to the so-called "Esculacho," i.e. he employs torture, a brutal practice that is morally unsustainable, but which is able to produce the desired result. An expert on this matter concluded in his work that it was not only dictatorships that employ it. For Darius Rejali, democracies use torture. "Policeman and soldiers of democratic states have used electric torture, water torture, stress," making the torture used by democracies "part of the history of stealth torture" (2009, p. 405).

Mobility, crime and globalization

The two Elite Squad films evoke a nervous, tense and dynamic sense of modern urban life in Brazil. The spectators who applauded some of the most violent scenes were satisfied in their visceral desire for hyper stimulus and sensationalism. Life in Rio de Janeiro or in large Brazilian cities has changed the subjectivity of the anxious public

of the asphalt and the hillside, overexcited by constant exposure to the danger seen in the film, which includes the daily life of the city.



(Figure 15)

Benjamin, originally, and, more recently, Ben Singer, analyzed this *pathos*. For Singer, “The modern city appears to have transformed subjective experience not only in terms of its visual and aural impact but also in terms of its visceral tensions, its anxious charges (1995, p.83).

The conquest of the territory of the city by the forces of crime in conjunction with large indirect economic and political actors pours into the surrounding areas in an intense economic valuation of the location overall. As the oil industry and new large-scale economic activities have expanded, many of them linked to the process of globalization and its information apparatus, the relationship between crime, the territory of the city and the major economic actors has become closer and more sophisticated.⁷ This process will be linked to the economy of global capital flows.⁸

These films have addressed a disturbing and recurring theme at this stage of capitalism, a duplicate element that is as fluid as high modernity: crime. The fight against it will need to be equally fluid and well molded to the terrain. The society where the action takes place is showing itself, in turn, to be increasingly fluid. While crime and its structures supported by corrupt politicians and police officers show themselves to be fluid, as exemplified by Bauman, ethics remain solid, dense and difficult to

remove and shift. Crime is in perpetual motion; it takes on many and fluid forms, it melts into the air (Bauman, 2004, p. 2). "The extraordinary mobility of fluids is what associates them with the idea of lightness" (p.2) and this is a quality associated with "mobility and inconstancy". So could crime be capable of ignoring national boundaries and move among them as though in its own territory? As with these traditional communities facing the challenges of modernity, the first things to be liquefied "and the first to be profaned are traditional loyalties, customary rights and obligations which bound hands and feet, hindered moves and cramped the enterprise" (Idem, p. 3).

Finally, can crime mark the shape of the city? Our response in the context of the urban reality of Rio de Janeiro inclines toward a "no". Crime is only one aspect of modern urban society and as much as a media phenomenon it tends to combine with other social elements and forces. Its action in the city takes advantage of historical and widespread shape that it has. Nature has proved so stubborn in Rio de Janeiro that from the old original center in Morro do Castelo, it has fragmented into smaller centers. These neighborhood units are connected to each other through streets, tunnels and avenues, as is now occurring with Barra da Tijuca, which is surrounded by peripheral favela growth. Jacques Le Goff has noted that in spite of their walls, medieval cities like Paris were porous in their communication with the outside. The wall peripheral route that defended the city from the outside, also connected it to it (1999, p.15).

Rio de Janeiro in the twenty-first century seems likely also to become a porous demarcation between favela and city. By analyzing areas of flux in their book, *Cities - Reimagining the Urban*, Amin and Thrift indicate that in the flows of a modern city, airports represent a major topos of their mobility systems. So it is with the entries to a favela. As denoted in *Elite Squad*, this porosity is an important site of flows into the city of Rio de Janeiro and occasionally a place of crime and criminal power (2002, p.42). As Serge Meitinger speaks of reality and imagination, where the city and its artistic representation always starts from a concrete referent, British children's literature shows that Peter Pan, Narnia, Mary Poppins and Harry Potter are in the London of their authors (2006, p.9). The city of Rio seems to be associated with the expression of Lynch in his classic work, for whom, rather than a single image for the whole urban environment, what exists is a set of images that overlap and relate to one another (p.97).

Conclusion

The form of the city of Rio was born with the European expansion in early modernity in a context of permanent crisis, resulting in constantly changing forms, an instability that has resulted in the abrupt change of the rainforest for patterns of European rationality. By incorporating again modern and industrial paradigms, the city has diverted its population from its daily encounter and imposed a separation between the verticality of the dwelling places of the poor and the horizontality of the wealthy. The result in terms of representation can be illustrated through the *Elite Squad* films. Both demonstrate the ability of art to represent the real; they would be discourses on the context of the city, its constitution and the definition of social groups, and their possible interactions, which is therefore a profound existential experience for those who inhabit it (Hugo Gaggiotti).

When we speak of life experiences, we realize that life in a city is not lived in the same way by different social groups in an increasingly complex urban environment (McAdams, 2010, p.1).⁹ This unique experience of the city resembles what Certeau called "practices". They suggest that the representations that these practitioners have of the same city, reflect in their diversity an understanding of the city. This experience unfolds within the process of the flows of these groups in a co-existence where they reaffirm their identities and struggles to achieve their ambitions. Thus, at the level of a discourse on the city, it is the foreign discourse, the film, which determines the way that we can see, not reality but, as in a theatre, a possible reality. As Gaggioti points out, the expression of the film becomes an urban discourse, but also an urban text, i.e. a cultural product typical of this city, a film.

And just as in the definition of the city of Despina, Calvino says, "*Each city receives the form of the desert to which it is opposed*", instead of confining two deserts, the city and the favela in the film *Elite Squad* cannot be modeled by crime. It is modeled by the flows between the people who inhabit it, and instead of deserts, it borders the tropical, colorful natural world.

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Notes

¹ Wikipedia. City of God, entry 10/02/2011. This occupation, which took place in the 1960's, reflected the conservative policy of expelling populations by removing the favelas. The town gained notoriety thanks to a film that has increased its stigma as a criminal and violent place but which on March 20, 2011 received a visit from President Obama.

² O Estado de S.Paulo, 28 January 2011. "The population of two of the largest communities of Rio de Janeiro grew above the average for the country in this decade. The head of the state unit of IBGE in Rio, Romualdo Rao, said the results of the 2010 Census showed that the communities of Complexo da Maré, in the north of the state capital, are the largest favela in Rio, with about 130 000 inhabitants and growth of 13% in population compared to the 2000 Census. For the Brazilian population as a whole, which totaled 190.7 million in 2010, the increase in the period was 12.3%. In Rocinha, one of the largest communities of Rio, in the southern area, the population increased 23% in the decade, reaching almost 70 000 people in 2010, said Rezende. In Complexo do Alemão, in the north - the scene of serious clashes in recent days and which was occupied yesterday by the police - the population is around 69 thousand people, an increase of 6% in the decade, below the national average. "

³ UNESCO Brazil. *New Modes of Action*, 2001, p. 11 "Founded on a predatory model of exploitation, slavery and landownership, Brazil enters the sixth century after conquest by the Portuguese without being able to uproot this heritage whose sequels have crystallized over the first 500 years, in the form of a deep inequality between the layers of its society. The material development that positions it among the larger world economies has no parallel in social justice and universal citizenship, even if the progress has intensified in recent years and a democratic mentality is being consolidated day by day. "

⁴ Favela-Bairro, Project, Brazil, Inter-American Development Bank. "**Urbanization Program for Popular Settlements in Rio de Janeiro**" (Washington, D.C.: IDB, September, 1998) The first goal was: "The city government seeks to 1. integrate existing favelas into the fabric of the city through improvement in infrastructure and level of services, 2. prevent future land invasions, and 3. provide more low-cost housing opportunities".

⁵ UNESCO, op. cit. 2001, P. 18: "Significant progress towards reducing social inequality was the result of economic stabilization from 1994 and the drastic reduction of inflation, which before had reached 40% per month, to less than 10% p.a. The so-called inflation "tax", which affected the poorest, has been minimized, and a large sector of the population has acquired greater consumption capacity. Between 1990 and 1998, official figures 13 million people crossed the so-called line threshold out of poverty. Federal social spending is increasing".

⁶ The standard military police unit common to all states that make up the Federative Republic of Brazil is a battalion with its three companies plus a central staff, reproducing at neighborhood level the structure of an army on campaign. The administrative departments and their routines include a garage allowing the use of a car. The free repair of vehicles and cars belonging to an official government agency demonstrates the appropriation of the public by the private. These routines assume a role as important as fighting crime effectively.

⁷ Godinho de Oliveira, 2007: "In our study, we identified that the sectors that affect land use planning in the state of Rio de Janeiro are particularly those related to: the oil industry, which we call the oil region; the service sectors in the metropolitan core and the areas of dispersal to the metropolitan periphery; industrial companies that are more dependent on proximity to research centers and services; the greater impetus of the metal-mechanic sector in the Middle Paraíba Valley, particularly the automotive sector; the restructuring of Itaguaí Port, in whose proximity the latest steel cluster in the state is being installed, and the consolidation of a petro-chemical-gas axis in the area surrounding Guanabara Bay.

⁸ Godinho de Oliveira, 2007: We found this when we observed the new spatial planning in the state of Rio de Janeiro, in which the movements of economic restructuring only directly affect the areas of interest to companies that use standard information technology and/or transport logistics and industries of high value-added. The changes are significant in these cases in areas that are dominated by specialized services - especially those related to immaterial labor linked to large firms in communication and information, typical of the metropolitan core - and the new industrial areas in the state interior. Secondly, also of interest, and showing some kind of greater integration in the global economy, are the areas that are developed by the tourist sector, due to the increased flow of for events, business or pleasure.

⁹ For a complex urban environment we can take as a permanent loan the definition of Michael McAdams, in Urbana, Spring, Phalle, 2008, p.1. "The urban environment is a collection of an incredible variety of interrelated elements both human and physical. It is composed of individuals who have different backgrounds, ages, occupations, lifestyles, and incomes. Each person is interacting daily with family, fellow employees, government officials and others in urban settings. They occupy different housing types, shop in different locations and go to work in industries or services. Within this environment are governmental and non-governmental groups that influence and interact with individuals. Persons and goods are not static, but by necessity must be transported by a variety of conveniences (automobile, truck, bus, light rail, bicycle, by foot, motorcycle etc.) in multiple directions both internal external from their homes. Other commercial and industrial entities operate within the urban environment and globally; encompassed by the physical environment for resources (water, food, materials etc.). The built environment of cities being connected to these dynamic settings is likewise constantly in flux. How could one describe this milieu as anything but complex?"