

The Naturalization of Violence from State Apparatus in the Process of Lapa Carioca Revitalization: Legal Measures, Ennoblement and Segregation

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Abstract— Cities are constituted by peculiarities and heterogeneous areas: a central region, peripheral regions, waterfront and favelas. Squeezed between the sea and the mountain, the city of Rio de Janeiro had its architectural project marked by the occupation of hills and the expansion in valleys and marshes, so several processes of grounding at the expense of demolitions were necessary. Due to the rather rugged geography, the city has constantly evidenced and still evidences the need for reforms. Following this line of reasoning, we aim at focusing on an urban reform: the revitalization of Lapa neighborhood. In order to do so, we perform a bibliographical research encompassing theoretical lines of approach that corroborate our premises. Our dive into the literature on the revitalization process revealed that the concept is dynamic and admits several interpretations according to social, economic, political and geographical aspects. However, it is necessary the understanding about revitalization as a process that, does not condemn the existing forms to extinction, but aims at recovering them, giving them a new aesthetic appearance and new modalities of use. We can also state that the justifications for revitalization are based on the idea of chaos and disorder, but the aspect that moved the revitalization of Lapa are related to business interests linked to the economic sector, which resulted in a deep social transformation with the segregation of actors by gentrification, a sprawl of the commerce sectors as well as the leisure sectors and the controlled selectivity of people due to the consumption capacity.

Keywords— Gentrification, Legal Measure, Memory, Urban reform, Violence.

I. INTRODUCTION

Due to the built space, cities establish conditions and types of social relationships, producing and reproducing material and cultural aspects and are therefore determinant factors of the life of the citizen, making a process of adaptation, both physical and mental, necessary for their survival. It is concerning the web of relations, at various levels, that the difficulties are increased for the people and also in the management of the minimum conditions of ideal functioning. That is to say, cities, in the condition of living organisms, are subject to several obstacles, from natural phenomena until the consequences of the alienated intervention of the human being. However, cities owe their creation to the process of accumulation and exchange of goods, as well as the movement of people. After being created they are exposed to distinct processes: development, stagnation, abandonment, illness and, in some cases, disappearance.

The complexity of the cities represents a big challenge for its managers in terms of planning and implementing actions due to the requirements that demand new answers. For this reason, reform plans must be based on both the architectural scenarios and the human groups that enable a region, since it is because of the conditions of the possibility of remaining in the ennobled region; or lack of the same conditions for the people who are removed. We must certainly consider the complexity of cities on different angles and, according to Moroni and Cozzolino (2019), the heterogeneity, despite a predominant factor, is not the only aspect, since there are in the multiple cities chains of actions that intertwine, producing webs of contour, especially if we focus on the subjective conditions that are articulated, being directly affected by the nuances of the architectural structures. That is, human actions are a special determinant in the configuration and complexity of cities. They are the interactions among people, buildings, monuments,

squares, vehicle routes, trees, urban animals, among other aspects that make cities a living space, but above all a complex and dynamic space.

Facing this dynamism cities have had managers to care for their living conditions through the maintenance and preservation of regions, which, for many reasons, deteriorate or are neglected. The management policy was mainly based on the strengthening of the cities due to the possible invasions and looting. This form of understanding changes radically with capitalism, in which city management followed the economic criterion, whose peak, in the twentieth century, is with the business force and its interests in the pursuit of urban reforms. This type of business determination in cities has as main characteristic, according to Harvey (1996, p. 52):

[...] the notion of a "public-private partnership" in which a traditional local boosterism is integrated with the use of local governmental powers to try and attract external sources of funding, new direct investments, or new employment sources.

This panorama of the cities' journey, in general, can also be brought to the reality of the city of Rio de Janeiro, which, from its origin, has faced - and still faces - serious problems of urbanization, due, on the one hand, to its configuration and, on the other hand, to the many problems related to social inequality that became more pronounced after the Abolition of Slavery, along with the process of displacement of people fighting for survival.

The critical situation of this metropolis, due to the aggravating factors mentioned above, had such a repercussion to the point that the city has been the scene of numerous urban reforms historically motivated by: a) modernization; b) centralization of culture; c) promotion of tourism; and d) events with global repercussions. In order to transform the city into a metropolis inspired by European models, Mayor Pereira Passos, at the beginning of the 20th century, was responsible for carrying out urban reforms so that the city would resemble the French capital, not by chance, since the mayor studied in Paris, coincidentally at the same time when Baron Haussmann became worldwide known in implementing this reform project.

Aside from the Pereira Passos Reform and some modifications such as the Aterro do Flamengo, in which economic interests were not the flagship, the others, under different allegations, aimed at ennoblement of certain regions, due to the expectation of real estate speculation. In this sense, we cast a glance towards a region of the city of Rio de Janeiro, which presents singularities in its endless process of revitalization: the Lapa neighborhood.

Lapa became world-renowned as a symbol of the city of Rio de Janeiro by following the shape of the French capital at the end of the 19th century, being the central nucleus of the so-called Paris of the Tropics, which, according to Lessa, was seen (2001, p. 13) "as a country business card and a Brazilianness certificate, [it] was the only place that combined tropical nature with urban modernity". However, the allusion to modernity must be understood in its many aspects: progress, quality of life, catastrophes, misery, overpopulation through the promise of a comfortable life, violence by the competition of spaces and means of survival and, finally, all sorts of self-problems of living in large urban conglomerates.

Considering the cities under the aspect of their marked heterogeneity we have people installed in safe and comfortable housing as well as adult people in situation of social abandonment that live in the streets, adrift. In this way, we can state that cities are producers of chaotic situations, especially in the face of the provision of selective services for some segments of the population. In addition, after World War II, the great metropolises:

[...] faced a process of decadence characterized by the precariousness of housing conditions in central areas, the escapism of urban elites and the retreat of public space, emptied of its political dimension. At the same time, the popularization of consumer goods, especially communication technologies, linked to private leisure, seems to have led people to go out less and adopt other forms of social interaction (GOIS, 2014, p. 223).

The changes in the *modus vivendi* referred to above are due, mainly, to the power of consumption. This shows the most direct reflexes of social inequality: people with consumption power who produce garbage and people who live consuming this garbage. This is the context that seals the process of exclusion and social segregation. That is to say, by analyzing this question with a certain tone of irony, we can affirm that the link that maintains the union between those who are perfectly included in the cities with those who are excluded, is certainly the garbage, at least in the current world. In the first category, we find the people who, due to the economic condition, are integrated into the system by consumption; while the second is the category of people who, curiously, survive from the material discarded by consumption, of what is left over and is no longer useful.

This is the scenario that has gained considerable space in cities since the late nineteenth century in Brazil, because as Lessa (2000, p.12) states, "the Brazilian city of the nineteenth century was altered by substantial parameters by the first industrial revolution. Although it

was not the center of industrialization, it knew the steam engine, the iron ship, the railroad and the steel undercut". The advent of these improvements is in the midst of the modernization of the city of Rio de Janeiro with the attempt to approach the European way of life, obliterating the roots that reaffirmed and affirm social inequality. This complex transformation of the urban scenario resulted in the need for people for the workforce, and thus the large-scale incorporation of free people (formerly living in slavery) and poor people for the execution of the so called heavy and risky services.

The multiplication of poor and free people in Rio de Janeiro- at the time the capital of the country (a center where cultural, economic and political life used to pulse, a mandatory reference for all national territory), caused many disorders, mainly because these people and their habits were interpreted by the elite as a way of affronting them. It is worth, in this respect, to make reference to the thought of Mbembe (2017, p. 131) for whom:

The town belonging to the colonized people . . . is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees. In this case, sovereignty means the capacity to define who matters and who does not, who is disposable and who is not.

We can reflect on the above retraction and consider the dynamics of the city of Rio de Janeiro in its different temporalities, each with its repressive mechanisms of control, vigilance and also extermination. In this way, the city, instead of being considered a totality, represents several niches inaccessible and that differ from each other, configuring a truly parted city as Ventura (1994) points out.

In order to maintain conditions that contribute to social inequality, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, social control apparatuses enter the scene, whose actions culminated in its first major reform: Rodrigues Alves and Pereira Passos reforms, both carried out under the justification of contamination controlling, which are widespread as a kind of danger to the population.

Nearly fifty years later, a region of the city very close to the revitalized area in the early twentieth century showed signs of decay and degradation. It should be noted that Lapa, for a long time, was a link between the powers of the Republic: the maximum seats of the judicial and legislative branches were located in

downtown and the maximum seat of the executive power was located in Catete neighborhood.

Perhaps this evidence justifies why Lapa was preserved, since the transference of the federal capital to Brasília accentuated the situation of decline and abandonment. That is to say: when projecting the luminosity in a certain region the government runs the risk of leaving so many in the penumbras or even in the darkness. The shadows that fell in Lapa produced indelible damages used effectively by the economic power in alliance with the public power in the real estate speculation. The several steps of the gentrification process are allied to this factor.

Observing the historical process of occupation of Lapa Carioca from the end of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century, we can see that, at first, the region was composed of professionals from the popular classes of butchers, glaziers, barbers and small businesses - that is, they used to work in the same place they lived, as explained by Araújo (2009, p.29). At the same time, the focus of night life in the neighborhood was bohemia, as well as it also housed rooms, inns, bars and cabarets. It was a region frequented by great artists, painters who lived in Santa Tereza neighborhood, sambistas and erudite people who used to watch to concerts from Cecília Meireles Room. This bohemian atmosphere saw the great decline in the early 1950s from a repressive policy against prostitution, which perhaps contributed most to the emptying of the neighborhood by the association between entertainment and prostitution. Then the Lapa Carioca was left to its own fate, being the region known as a place of violent acts.

Finally, we intend to identify, in the process of revitalization, the vectors of economic nature that were evidenced by the ennoblement, beautification, social segregation and selectivity of users of the region and its multiple services, sedimented by gentrification, as pointed out by Gervehr and Berti (2017). We also want to highlight that the business-economic question is not unconnected to the formulation of the strategic revitalization plans.

To some extent, we are pointing out that the intentions as well as the planning of an urban reform process have an economic objective that is to produce an image of the city that is negotiable, because in these circumstances, cities are evidently a product to be sold. Therefore, some precautions should be taken in the sense of raising values, especially real estate values.

The obvious consequence of this undertaking can be considered in relation to science, by some people that will be forced to leave their homes and, by extension,

also leave the neighborhood that they live because of their economic conditions. We notice, then, a nuance of the revitalization process that must be considered, since the public power does not seem to attach importance to the fact that these people have built their lives there and will be forced to chart new directions to survive in precarious and distant resettlements from urban centers or noble neighborhoods where they usually work..

II. HISTORICAL FRAMES OF LAPA CARIOCA

Concerning the geography of Rio de Janeiro, Lapa was constituted, according to Xavier et al. (2012, page 7), "for wetlands, situated between hills, ponds and swamps". Lapa was a quiet region until the arrival of the Royal Family to Brazil, when it was populated by the elite of Rio de Janeiro who were eager for prominence and recognition because of the proximity of the Court. As a result of the change in this scenario, the neighborhood had in the nineteenth and early twentieth century its apogee with the opening of houses for fun, casinos, taverns, inns and brothels. In this way, a new scenario was created due to the presence of commercial establishments, most associated to bohemia; Lapa was even recognized as a meeting place for musicians, writers, painters and intellectuals to meet.

From a bohemian space, Lapa became feared and avoidable due to marginalization, becoming a ruined neighborhood: abandoned houses, proliferation of tenements, absence of public goods and services, among others. These historical nuances are important to understand Lapa in the context of an irregular morphology, either from an occupational point of view; either from the physical point of view that required:

interventions at different times in its history, among which we highlight: the grounding of the Lagoa do Boqueirão in the 18th century, with the dismantling of Morro das Mangueiras, the opening of the axis formed by Avenida Mem de Sá and Salvador de Sá, Morro do Senado, during the Pereira Passos administration (1902-1906); the destruction of the Morro de Santo Antônio, with the opening of great avenues, such as Avenida Chile and the República do Paraguai avenue, between the 1950s and 1970s; the renovation project of Largo da Lapa, in the 1990s (XAVIER, et al. 2012, p. 7).

As we can see, the Freguesia da Glória, currently known as Lapa, Glória and Catete, has proved to be a very unsuitable terrain for housing, requiring several interventions in its geographic configuration, mainly grounding of ponds and marshes and landslides. The interventions aimed mainly at occupying the spaces reformed by people of high social class. Evidently the people who once inhabited these places were removed to

the periphery under various allegations, mainly because they are considered, by the public power, agents that caused disorder and chaos.

In this regard, it is important to note that the Lapa neighborhood not only had irregular spatial dynamics, but also historically was marked by a diversity of buildings and social actors who, once removed, but kept alive, insist on reappear, being thus a strong resistance pole. These heterogeneous dynamics are aligned, from the architectural point of view, with the concept of roughness understood as the harmonization of styles present in spaces of different epochs (SANTOS, 2014). In addition to this architectural plurality, a plurality of social actors is also observed, some of whom are considered to cause disorder and chaos, especially those left over from the labor and consumer market, as well as those considered undesirable due to different stigmas.

The lack of conservation of the architectural patrimony and the absence of the public power, in a way, contribute to the degradation of the region and the appearance of violent actions such as robberies, drug trafficking, among others. The situation reached an extreme that justified the intervention of the repressive apparatuses of the State, at first, and the continuity of practices of control and vigilance from the process of restoration or revitalization of the region, in a second moment.

In an attempt to change the neighborhood's degradation and decay scenario, a revitalization process was undertaken, based on various nuances such as the recovery and revaluation of the region, for the following purposes: 1) to promote the integration of the citizen into the city through sophistication and comfort, at the expense of a rigid process of security, discipline, and social control. Thus, an ordering of urban space is produced, through differentiated strategies; 2) to create and propagate an image of civility and well-being for people, promising them to return to the feared and emptied spaces before the threat of violence; 3) to legitimize the elitist and exclusionary order, in a way, reusing the principles of the Pereira Passos Reform, which prevailed through social cleansing with order and embellishment.

Regarding the revitalization of Lapa, this process counted on the action of gentrification, in a pact of the Economic Power with the Public Power. Gentrification, according to Smith (2007), is a powerful mechanism of social segregation that corroborated so that the people removed could never return to live where they were born and grew up. It is an intimidating process, sometimes

quite silent, but carried out continuously with agents always vigilant, for its maintenance, since there has been urban reform and modified the human and architectural setting, but with selectivity of people. According to Ribeiro (2018, p. 1335), gentrification is:

a plexus of diverse phenomena that go from the changes of frequenters in a certain locality to the removal of residents for interventions of urban beautification, without more reflections on the individual senses of these references and their adequacy to the phatic reality that is intended to subsume them. More than a concept, the word "gentrification" expresses a social, economic and spatial process that goes far beyond the exit of residents caused by the forces of capital, or the reform of physical spaces in the city.

The preponderant factor to implement gentrification was the diffusion of the stigma about the fact that the social condition is an aggravating factor for the violence and thus the poverty was frontally marginalized and incriminated, being the poor objects of punishment (WACQUANT, 2007). In the wake of action of social apparatuses, marginalized populations were the target of three major operations to justify the selectivity of people, segregation and withdrawal from circulation, a practice that resonates with state projects of other times.

The first operation, carried out in a hidden way, consists in disseminating an ideological discourse of disqualification of some people that circulate in the region, such as adults in situations of social abandonment, very small peddlers, as well as those who have no purchasing power to settle to the new conditions of the neighborhood resulting from the process of gentrification. These social groups are demonized by their close association with problems of disorder, spread of disease, increase of crime, trafficking of narcotic substances, to justify the action of state apparatuses by the segregation of these people, besides those that were removed during the works of transformation of the neighborhood. These social surplus are considered a great impure mass, at the same time undesirable because of the reasons previously mentioned, since this mass is interpreted as a source of threatening, however, extremely necessary for the fact of representing a low cost labor to perform the services of commercial houses and luxurious houses, without their owners dispensing great amounts of money. Paradoxically, this contingent of people must be segregated but not eliminated so as not to jeopardize the provision of services because they are needy people who readily accept any offer without further negotiations. It is the only possibility of these people to circulate in the noble areas of the city.

The second stage, intrinsically linked to the first, consists of the enhancement of the regulatory mechanisms of these people, dissociating themselves from the productive processes in specialized services. Once stigmatized as disqualified people they are recognized only for a few activities that usually require a great physical effort, which does not require in-depth specialization for the elaboration and execution of certain tasks, such as diarists, waiters, furniture repairers, hydraulic firemen, doormen and security guards. These people, due to a low professional qualification, when carrying out these activities, and undergoing a process of personal and professional undermining, see their self-esteem shaken, and obviously, in these circumstances, they confirm the condition of inferiority imputed to them.

The third stage, which constitutes a closing scene, radicalizes the two precedents when the gap separating the dominant elite from the segregated class really becomes effective, to the point that both social categories do not recognize each other. There is then a kind of estrangement, in the sense of which the bonds of solidarity are completely broken in such a way that certain regions of large cities, such as Lapa, even after being revitalized, present in their daily life a scenario quite heterogeneous and equally deformed, in broad daylight: adult people in a situation of social abandonment sleeping under marquees, church chapels, building stairs and well-dressed people who circulate to get to their jobs, students to their schools, tourists, people who expect others to enjoy the sumptuous cafes and bookstores.

It is important to highlight that the first category of people is the great challenge of the state authorities who intend to give the region an air of purity by continually removing them for shelters, usually on Fridays every week. But these people repeatedly leave the shelters and return, once again, to be considered not as human beings, but as specimens of social detritus that smell badly and should be discarded or immediately segregated. They are no longer considered men or women, although they once were, but dehumanized specters that still move. However, people who go to work, schools or shopping experience two paradoxical sensations in general: they are indifferent to the scenario before them or they feel uncomfortable to think that the presence and existence of these still almost people disrupt, from the aesthetic point of view, the beauty of their days.

III. THE CONSTRUCTION OF METHODOLOGICAL REFERRALS

The circumscribed methodological contribution for the analysis that we are proposing is based on closely related procedures. Firstly, the selected questions point us guidelines to be followed, such as tracking traces of maps, photographs, master plans, news. Therefore, our focus in this material concerns characterizing the different configurations of the neighborhood, in a cover that refers to different epochs of the city's history. This is our starting point in the search for aspects about a *modus vivendi* regarding the geographic, social and economic conditions of the neighborhood.

This typology of traces, once directly articulated in its different nuances, makes us understand that the process of revitalization of an urban region, when it is carried out, brings in its core issues of a different nature, not always being explicit by the executors their real interests. This experience of proximity to the material, conditioned, above all, by the routing extracted from the chosen theoretical corpus, enables us to carry out a scientific path with a view to delineating certain obscurities proper to the process of revitalization, mainly due to gentrification. In this way, we are considering the architectural changes and also the numerous voices silenced, that have been eliminated, becoming, metaphorically, types of hauntings that, at any movement, can erupt and take out the sleep of people with considerable purchasing power.

Thirdly, the evidence (traces, documents, maps, photographs, graffiti of social complaint), which we examine in our approach, compose a writing that constitutes a memory, which problematizes both the officially constituted memory, and the forms that have been or are still hindered of expression. However, we are aware that the city as a living organism requires a careful look, but this circumstance is not in itself indicative of a process of revitalization, not considering the conjuncture of actors of a given region: its architectural heritage, the legacies of its history, the people who inhabit it, as well as those who pass through it. That is to say, the ethical guidance that we are led to adopt presupposes an equal appreciation of the physical and human agents of the region, so that buildings and monuments are as important as people regardless of their social conditions.

In addition to the above, we point out that the set of procedures selected for our reflection consists in establishing parameters of understanding that elucidate the complexity of a revitalization process, especially considering the interpretative character from the argument extracted from the theoretical support scheme. However,

it is a path to be opened and built gradually, reason why we will not adopt the generalizing perspective, that is, our considerations represent one of the multiple possibilities of meaning.

From this perspective, the context that supports the approach to the question that guides our reflection can be presented in two aspects.

First of all, we will adopt the position of constructing arguments to serve as a tool in the process of analyzing organized material. Thus, we conform a type of narrative that concerns the reforms occurred in Lapa, but in terms of including the variations of the architectural landscape, without relegating to the background the dynamics of social relations, especially regarding the people who had their lives dramatically changed. These people, even silenced, left traces that signal their passages and some of them have risen into real resistance movements, denoting not only the reality that result from revitalization but also the subjective damage caused.

Secondly, we will focus on the analysis of spatial roughness, investigating the possible coexistence of what go through temporalities, in a kind of coexistence harmonized by the imposition of state apparatus. Also, we are considering changes that affect the life of the city, even if they are restricted to a region such as the region of Lapa. In this way, we want the revitalization of Lapa to be capillarized by practically the entire city of Rio de Janeiro, mainly due to the displacement and concentration of nightlife for a social segment with a high power of consumption.

Finally, the analysis we intend to do considers the productions of the urban reform, in terms of importance, both to reflect on the ennobled architectural scene, as well as the measures of segregation that are maintained by the policies of surveillance and social control. For this reason, we also consider that the new buildings portray hidden and pulsating ruins. It is of extreme importance that we do not relegate this aspect in our analysis.

This is the scope of our reflection: the people who made up a pre-retirement scenario, as well as the buildings that have been demolished represent, at the present time, ruins and voices that have the same value of the current people that circulate in the area and current monumentalities. It is by these very small tracts, sometimes hidden or concealed, that we ventured to think of a nuance of the revitalization process, that is the segregation, which is not very important for those who are in a position to make the decisions in projects of this nature.

As a warning to our reflective referral we want to signal that revitalization is a very contradictory process: it restores, ennobles, but also promotes the disappearance of streets, buildings and other references, as well as it mutes the voice of many people forever.

IV. THE REVITALIZATION OF LAPA IN FOUR MOMENTS

Before approaching the revitalization of Lapa, it is important to characterize the nature of the strategic plan that is based on four sequential and concatenated stages; both in terms of objectives and in terms of the expected results from an architectural and human point of view.

Firstly, a determinant for the elaboration of a plan of revitalization is the recognition, by the public power, of the unintentional or purposeful abandonment of a given region that knows increasing levels of degradation and decay. That is, public power does not always intervene when the first signs of deterioration of an urban space are evident. It is necessary, therefore, the presence of serious degradation conditions so that a diagnosis is established in order to justify the action of the State.

Regarding Lapa, the diagnosis was based on two premises: the idea of disorder related to the presence of people belonging to different social strata and the violence that frightened consumers and practically forced the merchants to close their homes. The diagnostic process considers the occupation of the region, day and night passers-by, urban and social issues, but above all, the condition of housing and polo of cultural and tourist activities, as well as the preservation of historical and architectural patrimony. The dissemination of the diagnosis of urban chaos meets a very receptive and hopeful population in relation to social well-being and the production of solutions to the issue of fear and insecurity.

The second stage considers the unique and historical particularities of the region, which, as already mentioned, are currently based on terraced marshes and ponds, demolition of hills and drainage of water. Perhaps it was this historical past that was responsible for the preservation of the Arcos da Lapa and its diffusion with the iconic symbol of the region. In a retrospective way, the great investment of the public power is justified in several urban reforms initiated in century XVIII, according to Xavier et al. (2012) by grounding of Lagoa do Boqueirão and dismantling of Morro das Mangueiras. In this sense, the region of Lapa is constituted by a very rugged and misshapen geography, very different from the current landscape.

The third pillar of establishment of a strategic plan is to list arguments that justify its purpose,

demonstrating the imperative need to achieve. The major motivator for such a project hardly comes to the fore: it is the economic interest directly related to real estate speculation gradually produced by gentrification, that is, "the origin of the pattern of social segregation that occurs in cities of any economy today is the consequence of economic transformations which happened in the past" (FURTADO, 2014, p. 344). It is understood, therefore, that gentrification is a process that is related, to a certain extent, both to social inequalities and to the mobility of people, to the point of determining new patterns and living standards in terms of consumption and transformations produced in space and its use. In a sense, gentrification, slowly but intensely, produces a drastic change in the *modus vivendi* of certain social actors, by expelling those who are considered undesirable and adrift.

As a general rule, this process works from three unbeatable arguments about the deterioration of a region, such as Lapa: 1) the deterioration of the life quality of its users in terms of security, 2) the scouring of people in the public space of coexistence with restriction of the horizons of relationship and, 3) loss of traditional values by the expression of violence. These arguments are presented by the public authority and agreed by the population as a solution to the state of chaos and disorder identified in the diagnosis, according to which two solutions are proposed: 1) renovation of certain areas with predicted destruction for creation and construction of new spaces and monuments, but from a spatial ordering, and 2) revitalization that consists of the incorporation of constructed but largely remodeled spaces, in order to seek a supposedly lost vitality (economic, physical, cultural) as a result of the state of social chaos and disorder. In this sense, the revitalization process is a bet on the rescue of memories by the recovery and rehabilitation of decayed and degraded areas.

The fourth stage that underlies the strategic revitalization plan is related to its results in the short, medium and long term.

In the short term, the planning of urban space is planned with the opening of commercial houses, hotels, construction of residential buildings, creation of cultural and entertainment spaces, expulsion of certain social actors through the implementation of control and discipline actions. Often during this phase, ornamental objects are installed, changes of scenery by the incorporation of electrical networks, telephone, among others, expansion of spaces to facilitate the movement of surveillance and control agents and people, as well as vehicles, with the creation of spaces reserved for the official cars and determination of taxi stands.

In the medium term, vigilance policies are put in place to prevent the return of these social actors in order to maintain a safe functioning for the new social actors that circulate in the region and to avoid the scaring of these people, with measures that guarantee the maintenance of the embellishment and the high values of services and real estate. For this phase, coercive actions to the charge of state agents (municipal guard) and by the private initiative (people who exercise the role of Security Support) are taken over to control and surveillance.

In the long term, the great return of real estate speculation is expected with a considerable increase in the prices of rental and sale of real estate, which results in the ennoblement of the region. It is at this stage that the hygiene of the landscape is clearly evident by the concealment of the nets and the expulsion of undesirable people. In this way, the selectivity of the actors that can circulate in the revitalized space is established. However, in the same way that embedded networks continue to operate, social actors expelled, in the condition of memories that insist on being part of the place, can reappear at any moment. Therefore, the apparatus of coercion must always be in a state of alert, in order to guarantee the sense of order and also of cleanliness, once the actors who return were expelled for being accused of having bad habits and causing disorder and annoyance, such as informal street vendors, sex workers, traffickers, adults in situations of social abandonment.

The process of hygienization of space is quite selective, since with the expulsion of some social actors, others, with potential consumption, are in a position to accommodate themselves to the new and renovated facilities. In addition to the hygienization process, almost a kind of ethnic cleansing from the economic point of view, there is also the promise of devolution of the public space to the citizen in function of the improvement of flow conditions and the implementation of security systems, through the presence of coercive apparatus. As a result of this action, the region becomes a territory of selective use, but with tentacles, in relation to the perpetuation of memories, of those who have been uprooted, because even forcibly kept at a distance they are still part of the place where they lived great period of their lives.

The presence of the Municipal Guard, the Lapa Presente Program and agents paid for by the merchants, who are in fact a troupe of shocks, by intimidation (men of considerable physical size), prevent these non-desirable people from returning. This set of measures contributes to the revaluation of trade and to the increase of real estate values. At last it is a project that brings

security, beautification and comfort to a region, but which unfolds in economic figures due to the greater dynamism of commerce and also in the scope of real estate speculation. Therefore, it is necessary not only to expel the unwanted and surplus of consumption but also to maintain the continuous and selective control of the urban space. Certainly, in a region that has been transformed into the circulation of people with high purchasing power, Medical Legal Institute in that place was no longer acceptable. The transference of the Medical Legal Institute to another region of the city, removed from the eyes of the social actors the possibility of witnessing the continuous arrival of cars with corpses for necropsies in a street of great commerce, hotels and restaurants.

In the face of the above, it can be seen that there was a purge in the Lapa region, which happened in two main ways: by sending people to more remote neighborhoods or communities around the city, since they could not keep up in the face of the substantial increase in the cost of living in the neighborhood or by the removal of the population in street situation, public policy, without effectiveness, used to remove this population from the neighborhood in special circumstances. In this way, we can consider that the removal process is continuous and will continue until the day the authorities devise other modalities of action to solve the great problem of social inequality, using a method other than inequality itself. It is very common, due to the configuration of the new scenario by the arrival of people, to be triggered confrontations, either by estrangement to the new conditions of life, or due to the decisions taken by the state organs. That is, people who were formerly integrated into the neighborhood show signs of resistance in adapting to other regions, both through the rupture of previously established ties and the lack of assistance to build living conditions for the new environments, many of which are extremely precarious.

It is important to point out that these consequences are part of the knowledge of those who draw up master plans and also of authorities who, in function of economic interests, promote policies that only aim to remove these people from the tourist regions of the city without providing any real type of assistance. In this regard, we can ask: since the investment in these people does not represent any possibility of return to the public coffers is the City Hall really concerned about this issue? Certainly, because they are considered only living spectra, without any expectation of production, they are given to fate often living from the charity of people who, however uncomfortable, are mobilized, but not out of love or recognition.

The lens guided by legal devices often sticks to the vision of progress and aesthetic transformation. However, we cannot fail to point out that revitalization contains nuances that are truly outrages to the citizenship of people of certain social segments, especially those with low purchasing power who, if not necessarily removed from their social niches, will be due to the absence of conditions to stay in the modernized setting.

Although we situate a project that deeply affected the destiny of the people, it is known that the City Hall used revitalization to demote people and memories in favor of real estate speculation, and that little or nothing did to minimize the conflicts and issues that directly affected the population of the neighborhood. Certainly, the emphasis of the transformations was, for the most part, on changes in the economic sector and in the ambit of aesthetics. The people forced to leave Lapa due to the fact that they were not able to afford the cost of life suffered a high subjective setback due to the feeling of estrangement caused by the change of scene, because they settled in new spaces, being forced to live with people until then unknown.

V. CONCLUSION

The city of Rio de Janeiro, as a whole, in the last decades of the last century, has sourced its greatest process of decay, which can be considered on different fronts. First of all, there was a sharp rupture in its urban space with a clear separation, no longer in noble zones and poor zones, but zones that varied according to the level of violence. Secondly, the city center suffered many losses with the departure of offices from large companies to other capitals, the closing of the Stock Exchange and the creation of Administrative Regions in certain neighborhoods. Thirdly, as a consequence of this second aspect, there was an economic emptying, mainly due to a great atrophy in the political influences in the decisions of the Federal Capital. All these aspects represent the dissolution of the image projected world-wide in the beginning of century XX, from the Wonderful City image to a city of serious situations of life, mainly concerning security issues.

In an attempt of rescuing, the Lapa revitalization project resorted to an ideological discourse that concealed the proposal of a mercantile citizenship allied to the neoliberalist project. Lapa became, for a period, a valuable commodity that resulted in the circulation of large amounts of capital, but with a requirement to its inhabitants: the condition of citizen in the neighborhood is only assured by the power of consumption, decisive criterion for the inclusion of some and the expulsion of

others. In this way, the revitalization predetermined, from an economic variant, who truly is a citizen in the neighborhood, creating islands of selective excellence such as the famous condominium Cores da Lapa, oasis of well-being and consumption, but a residential space destined to very few people. Paradoxically to this island of excellence, there is still a degraded space in what has not yet been totally demolished from the Morro de Santo Antônio, a place of very little movement of people that serves as a place of housing for adults in situations of social abandonment and hiding place for those who carry out petty thefts. In this area, there are no security teams, as there are no commercial houses or sophisticated buildings.

The logic of expropriation of dwellings and removal of people by the Public Power hardly resonates with the life purpose of the actors to whom these operations are intended, since the geography of demolitions and removal of people is conditioned by rules, astutely established, that do not consider the heading of human rights. Certainly this positioning is due to the fact of prioritizing economic interests, in particular, the real estate market, which is the sector that benefits the most. It is important to point out that these interests are not often mediated by the public authorities, which suggests the possibility of increasing the number of cases with higher taxes.

The urban reform corresponds, to a certain extent, to a clear opening of the border for the expansion of the economic sector through restrictive measures that affect people with low power of consumption. These people experience the deleterious effects of these policies on their daily lives, without any option, for producing new strategies to change the precarious living conditions, especially exacerbated by the removal. Those people who can survive in such an adverse scenario are those who show signs of resistance. But there are others who settle, probably because of the lack of strength to engage in fighting movements.

As for the people who were removed and who settled in their new regions, there were changes in the economic situation, which, although it remained the same, made them to spend more money and time in transportation due to the distance of their jobs. They also had to cancel their projects of one day returning to live in their neighborhood, because they can hardly acquire a property or even rent it. In view of the above, we ask: what is the position of the State in relation to this situation? In fact, what was observed, for many people resettled, was the negligence of the Public Power. This process of coercion and abandonment applied in the name

of an aesthetic presentation of the neighborhood, justified for the attraction and reception of investors and the failed attempt to mitigate the violence produced irreparable subjective damages, without the sectors of the public power being in charge of policies of assistance to these people, since actions usually end with removal.

In the course of this reflection we draw a matrix to support our considerations: firstly, we find that the revitalization is based on a proposal concerning the production of a modernized and progressive image of the city, but focused exclusively on the market. As this is the priority of the reform, the spaces of the cities are adorned to be valued in the context of circulation of capital. Secondly, human rights are relegated to the background and often even considered. This is a very clear proposition: people who are expropriated and removed will hardly be able to enjoy the improvements promised by the reform, nor do they enjoy the benefits of the recovery resulting from the reform. In this way, we can deduce that these people are marginalized in the reorganization and requalification of the reformed region, in terms of occupation of the renovated spaces or by the possibility of access to the goods and services that are installed. From the remains, the process draws a clear demarcation line that distances significantly two groups: on the one hand, the partnership of the public power with the private initiative and, on the other, the former residents of these areas who insist on being present, even if it is in the debris.

This is the most obvious translation of the process of social segregation. We can affirm that revitalization works at two levels simultaneously: at the same time that it welcomes and concentrates people with consumption power, it pushes to the peripheries of cities those that, admittedly, do not fit into the logic of the capital market. That is to say, in a more accurate reading, we can admit that the people who inhabit a region before the revitalization are considered strange to the place, reason why they are removed because they are, according to the public power, outside the place where they should live: periphery of the city characterized by the abandonment full of pockets of poverty. We want to signal that these consequences are not a matter of luck, nor unknown to the idealizers of a reform, since they are foreseen in the Master Plans of revitalization, that is, they are the choices of the representatives of the state apparatuses. Therefore, to segregate and be segregated are steps of the same public policy and not completely unforeseen and unexpected results. Certainly, the agents responsible for the segregation process considerably

minimize the effects on the segregated persons, denying evidence and traces that are difficult to erase.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that the punctual or continuous removal of people has not been reversed and will not be reversed in an efficient strategy to completely wipe out the wreckage of poverty and solve the problem of social inequality; a situation very well illustrated by the population in a situation of social abandonment that, in the condition of indestructible remains reappear as living spectra in the different vestiges visible in streets, squares, viaducts, under the building marquises, churches. This scenario also counts on the presence of children and adolescents, in a situation of vulnerability that populate the streets, in traffic signs, selling food products. They are true tribes of the asphalt, in search of survival, that signal a state of disintegration.

This is a framework that is used constantly to accentuate poverty as a stigma or quality of certain people and not to see it as a real social problem, a legitimate expression of the marked inequality in our country, considering the sad statistics in which we are in the unequal countries of the world. According to the Human Development Report (HDR), prepared by the United Nations in 2017, Brazil is the 10th most unequal country in the world. Certainly, we have to revitalize regions of our cities, but before that we need the management authorities of our country to reflect, with other instruments, on the problem of social inequality: there is no point in avoiding the problems, since we must face them in order to solve them.

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