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## ABSTRACT

Strategists and policymakers have paid insufficient attention to Brazil's domestic security challenges, many of which are a result of massive urbanization that occurred between the 1960s and 1980s. Currently, an estimated 1.4 million people per week move to cities in South America, Africa, and Asia; the consequence is a potential future military operating environment dominated by an urban character. Is Brazil a glimpse into the future operating environment? Some forecast that states with urban, poor, littoral, and well-connected populations will be the future centers of conflict. Brazil's urbanization, compounded with rampant drug use, lack of governance, and inadequate policing has resulted in dire levels of domestic violence fueled by a triad of militias, gangs, and drug cartels. In response to Brazil's security challenges, the *Unidade de Policia Pacificadora* (UPP) was created to pacify urban areas that have been lost to the state for several decades. The UPP's implementation has had mixed success and parts of Brazil remain extremely dangerous. With the current rise of Brazil's economy, population, and world influence, but with significant domestic security issues, there lies a strategic opportunity to bolster the relations between both Brazil and the United States, using the military instrument of national power. Here the United States can learn from Brazilian policing efforts in urban areas and in return US Special Operations capacity programs can be implemented to enhance and improve Brazilian pacification operations. Evidence and arguments were collected from peer-reviewed academic journals, intergovernmental organization reports, and current media sources.

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## CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Throughout history, the United States Military has operated in a security environment that showcases the tensions between war and peace, in places such as Syria, Haiti, Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Philippines. Globally, populations in slums, shanty-towns, ad-hoc communities, and informal settlements are experiencing the challenges of weak governance, as law enforcement and security forces are challenged by nonstate actors and armed groups. In these settings rule of law, protection, justice, and representation are largely missing or insufficient. In Brazil, social strife fueled by narco-trafficking, crime, inequality, and poverty are the forefront of domestic security operations. Why should the United States care about the situation in Brazil? Brazil and the United States have been strategically important to one another, this relationship started in World War 1. I argue that Brazil's urban domestic security challenges are a possible snapshot into the future operating environment for the United States' military. As the world rapidly urbanizes, Brazil's current domestic security problems and resulting domestic security programs are relevant to other states. Urbanization is arguably the center of gravity for Brazil's security dilemmas, specifically in the favelas and low-income housing projects; in the 1960's, National Developmentalism policies – explained in chapter three- resulted in mass migration to urban centers throughout the country. Lessons from Brazil are important to the United States military, as similar security challenges may very well be encountered abroad.

### *1.1 What is a favela, who lives there, and why pacification?*

Favela translated from Brazilian-Portuguese to English is slum. Slums, according to the United Nations, are insecure, crowded, and poorly built areas that lack access to water, sanitation, and public services (Cadavid 2012). However, the direct translation for favela is

inaccurate and many are not slums; a closer glance at Brazil's favelas reveals that many of these neighbors have security, public utilities, high rents, taxes, and commerce.<sup>1</sup> Janice Perlman defines favelas, as a term for squatter villages, shantytowns, or irregular settlements (Perlman 2005, 1). Deeper into Perlman's definition is the political nature of favelas, which are described as, "a scapegoat for embarrassing social problems that are unresolved" (Perlman 1980, 15). Historically, the Brazilian public and government considered favelas as, "social cancers" filled with crime, which destroyed the landscape of the country (Melo 2014, 29).

Favelados, translated as favela residents, are people who are formally cut off by benefits of the formal city (McCann 2014, 181). Individual poverty coupled with impoverished areas creates an environment of "double burden." For example, in Brazil, favelados are marginalized, first, by their personal poverty and second, from the disadvantage of residing in a favela. Perlman portrays the stereotype of the favelados, as "male, black, footloose, and uninterested in work and without stable family lives" (Perlman 1976, 58). In fact, favela residents are much more racially diverse, as many are of mixed European, Native, Asian, and African descents. While race is a factor of those living in favelas it is not *the defining* factor. Poverty and projected prejudice by non-favela residents is more likely tied to a poor identity.<sup>2</sup> In the minds of favelados, they are trapped between armed groups and the state; sadly, they must be constantly aware of the changing politics of their neighborhoods, in order to maintain good terms with drug gangs and militias (Arias 2006, 34; Penglase 2014, 166). Poverty enhances gang recruiting, as both black and non-black favela residents are just as easily recruited into gangs

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<sup>1</sup> The original favela was created by Brazilian soldiers returning from the Canudos War of 1897. The word "Favela" originates from a plant that grows in the Brazilian region of Bahia where the Canudos War was fought (Arias 2006, 22).

<sup>2</sup> Gender does play a role in identity as well. Surveys reveal that almost 55% of favela residents are female; additionally, the vast majority of those murdered in favela violence are male.

(Ribeiro 2009, 9; Campbell 2005, 9). Finally, favela residents lack control of their situation.

Favela residents with few resources lack political power and as a result, suffer from inadequate housing, poor police tactics, and failing state services; this creates a dependence on cartels, militias, and gangs (Arias 2006, 201).

I argue that poverty is not the defining characteristic of favelas; instead, history is the key defining characteristic and each favela has its own. History changes the definition of favela, as time has evolved these spaces from slums to communities with unique identities and affiliated cultures (Ribeiro 2009, 3). As favelas have evolved, they are much more complicated and they have become a symbol of division between a modernizing nation and its past. Some Brazilians say, “the womb of a favela woman is a factor for making drug traffickers” highlighting the societal divides that exist (Melo 2014, 29). This paper will analyze the social and policy factors that created favelas and societal division, then evaluate the security consequences favelas incur for the state.

Brazil’s favelas are a source of domestic instability. These urban, sprawling, and densely populated neighborhoods are the epicenters of conflict between some the globe’s most violent criminal networks and Brazilian security forces (see Appendix 2). Remarkably, state presence in these communities is relatively new; the state security secretary, Jose Mariano Beltrame, portrays the lack of access to favelas by saying, “Some of these favelas have been under gang control for forty years. We were never going to resolve all of [the] problems in eight [years]” (Sandy 2015). Indeed, the societal symptoms caused by favelas are a Brazilian problem. Favelas are not just endemic to one or two metropolitan areas; a national Brazilian census estimated that 11.4 million people live in favelas, as of 2013 (IBGE 2011; Jovchelovitch 2013, 38). Historically, favelas are subjected to new police tactics or government policies, currently identified as pacification.

Pacification, now common to favela security operations, is the attempt to bridge the divide between the state and its citizens to achieve national modernity (Larkins 2015, 140). The tactic of pacification is to challenge armed group hegemony over the populace and transfer such power to the state (Larkins 2015, 140).<sup>3</sup> The Brazilian government has responded to the violence and lack of access to the favelas by coordinating military and police efforts to pacify the areas. Integral to the pacification operations is the *Unidade de Policia Pacificadora* (UPP); this newly created police force was first trained and deployed seven years ago, in December of 2008, to the favela of Santa Marta (Forte 2015). Since its implementation, the UPP has received praise and criticism. Viewed as heroes in some neighborhoods, and no better than the gangs in others, the UPP is often the topic of conversation on the future of Brazil's cities. The lessons learned in the urban areas of Brazil and arguments for and against the UPP are important to the United States' military, given the possibility for similar future challenges in the global security environment. For the people of favelas, who desire real citizenship and societal participation, their future is dependent on the state's will and desire to put resources into the effort (Penglase 2014, 169).

### *1.2 Understanding the Future Operating Environment by looking into the past*

Since 2000, the United States has conducted a myriad of military operations in what David Kilcullen dubs, "messy wars" (Kilcullen 2012, 19). Military operations are increasingly focused in urban areas, as experienced in Ramadi, Iraq or post-earthquake relief and humanitarian assistance operations in Port au Prince, Haiti. The relevance of urban terrain is difficult to argue with, especially when the commander of the Army Capabilities Integration Center (ARCIC) Lieutenant General HR McMaster remarks:

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<sup>3</sup> Additionally, pacification operations quell the anxieties of the upper and middle classes of Brazil's population, who fear the perceived chaos, violence, and disorder that they believe exists in the favelas (Larkins 2015, 140). This highlights a significant divide in the society.



“as cities grow, many governments fail to provide adequate security, employment, infrastructure, and services... For Army leaders to thrive in these uncertain and chaotic conditions they must be able to understand the cognitive, informational, social, cultural, political, and physical influences that affect human behavior” (McMaster 2015).

Urbanization is an ongoing process that is changing the security environment; the complications of the process are vast, complex, and not completely understood. The enduring effects of urbanization have the potential to create significant security challenges. No better place exists than Brazil, where one can analyze the nexus of urbanization and security challenges; in fact, some argue that Brazil is a laboratory for security police studies (Sampaio 2015).<sup>4</sup> By analyzing past development, perhaps Brazil’s current security challenges are an indication of the future, in regions where contemporary urbanization is quickly occurring.

Brazil experienced massive urbanization in the 1960s and 1970s; forty years later the consequences are measurable and apparent. As the rest of the world experiences urbanization, specifically in South America, Asia, and Africa, to what extent can the case of Brazil help us understand how the consequences of urbanization can affect the current and future security environment? What can the US military learn from contemporary Brazilian domestic security problems in light of urbanization? A proper response to this question analyzes the relationships between urbanization, slumification, and security challenges at both the global scale and in Brazil, as a whole.

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<sup>4</sup> Laboratory is indeed a controversial word to describe the application of police programs and policies on a given population. However, laboratory is repeatedly used to describe South American security studies. No explanation is given, but it is likely due to the severity of South America’s violence, which is coupled with states that have the means to develop and implement security programs and policies. Unlike other places in the world, several Central and South American states have and are attempting to find the right programs and policies to quell their violent urban areas through security program testing and implementation.

### *1.3 Scope and structure*

This thesis is organized along four parts to argue the effects of slumification, urbanization, security challenges, and finally, the strategic significance of the three aggregated. First, this thesis develops a framework of urbanization, slumification, and security challenges to display broad global trends and magnitude. The analysis will then progress and shift these topics down into the case of Brazil. The paper will then depict the concepts –urbanization, slumification, and insecurity- on state domestic violence and security programs. Finally, the paper will expand with a focus on historical military to military engagement between the United States and Brazil. I will argue that urbanization, slumification, and insecurity will challenge the United States in future military operational environments. My initial intent was to discuss favelas and security programs throughout Brazil; however this was easier said than done. The overwhelming majority of literature and analyses of Brazil’s urbanization, police, and favelas are centered on Rio de Janeiro and to some extent Sao Paolo. I conclude that the “world city” status of Rio and Sao Paolo, defined as cities that break the confines of the state through globalized appeal, have heavily influenced the literature. In addition, Brazil already hosted the FIFA World Cup and will soon host the Olympics, greatly affecting how the outside world views the Brazilian state, which desires to be recognized as modern..

First, this thesis will examine the global phenomenon of urbanization and associated security implications. Cities are the epicenter of the globalized world. The fact that people are moving or living in urban areas in massive quantities and at proportions never before seen is undisputed. The implications of urbanization are significant, as the volume of people strain states’ limited resources and institutions (Ribeiro 2009, 4). This paper will analyze the importance of contemporary global urbanization in light of its magnitude, definitions, location,

and drivers. In researching slumification, the paper will examine trends in global urban expansion and sprawl. In security challenges, the paper will analyze the effects of urbanization on the security environment. The intent is to examine processes and global trends, as a way of building an understanding of what occurred in Brazil, during an era of ‘National Developmentalism’ policy –explained in chapter three- that significantly changed where people lived.

Second, I argue a relationship exists between what is happening globally and what has occurred in Brazil. The effects of urbanization, migration, and industrialization have shaped modern Brazil. This chapter explains the policies of *Estado Novo* and *National Developmentalism* that have endured for fifty years. Here at the state level, the historic effects of urbanization and slumification on domestic security are analyzed. As a result of Brazil’s urbanization and development policies and a rapid urban migration, the state was unable to plan housing or provide services. Consequently, favelas were built throughout the state; by those seeking the jobs of Brazil’s modernizing economy. Brazil lacked the institutional ability and capacity to handle the very migration their national policies enacted. The growth of a massive new urban population resulted in demands that exceeded the government’s capacity (Lamounier 1994, 76). The result was a power and governance vacuum that was filled by armed groups, who have controlled some of Brazil’s most violent favelas for decades. The state found itself facing significant security challenges and has experimented and failed in many of its attempts, as it relied on violent tactics. The Brazilian government eventually changed its policy from tactical raids and arrests to population centric operations, in the favelas, by forming and implementing the UPP program.

A case study –chapter 4- will review and analyze the creation and implementation of these pacification programs by considering arguments for and against the UPP. Since its initial implementation several hundred new UPPs have been created and deployed throughout the country. At the epicenter of Brazilian urban pacification policy is Rio de Janeiro, which has an estimated 700 favelas, home to 1.4 million people. This section of the paper, will examine why the UPP was created and the concept behind it. Additionally, current arguments will be analyzed from recent pacification efforts throughout the country. The case study will rely heavily on arguments between sociologists, policymakers, favela residents, and leadership within the UPP. The United States should take notice of the UPP, because the program’s development and employment is not a resounding success. It is still controversial, with mixed results, and the violent tactics leading up to the UPP are not forgotten by the residents of the favelas.

Finally, the strategic significance of Brazil is examined. Military cooperation between Brazil and the United States was entrenched during two World Wars. As the United States continues operations other than traditional war, an opportunity for both countries could potentially emerge between the two states. Brazil lacks some technical capacity, which affects its approaches in pacification operations. The United States lacks enduring expertise on Brazil and the lessons learned from their domestic urban clearing and pacification missions. Since Brazil started what could be considered modern day urbanization forty years ago, the current security challenges it faces may not be dissimilar to potential problems faced by the United States military abroad. Military to military engagement is an excellent means to improve relations between the two countries. Currently, Brazil is enduring significant economic and budgetary problems, which could jeopardize its pacification budget. Foreign internal defense training provided by the United States through security force assistance, counter narcotics

training, and civil military engagement have the potential to supplement and improve Brazil's pacification programs, especially if such programs suffer budgetary constraints. At the same time, working with Brazilian counterparts may help the Special Operations community build urban expertise and operational planning. To better understand and analyze the case of Brazil and its relevance for US strategy, we must first consider the global dimensions and core concepts of urbanization in a broader sense.

## **CHAPTER 2: Global Urbanization**

Global trends point to massive human migration to cities. Historically, industrialization and urbanization were mutually occurring processes, as seen in the United States and Europe during the late 1800s and in South America during the 1970s. In a contemporary context, population growth and a “tidal-wave” of migration are fueling the expansion of today’s cities and conurbations.

### *2.1 Urbanization*

The words urban, conurbation, and urbanization will repeat themselves throughout this paper; each term is important to the security environment. Urban indicates geographic city space, where people work or live. Conurbation is also urban space, but it includes sprawl that connects city spaces together. Conurbations include built up corridors, peripheral towns, suburbs, and sprawl. Urban centers and conurbations create webs of city space that stretch for hundreds of miles. Rio de Janeiro is an excellent example of a city center with conurbations; here, urban space stretches south into Uruguay and in the conurbations lie hundreds of favelas with over a million and a half residents. Lastly, urbanization is a human-centric process that shifts a significant portion of the population from rural to urban areas (Wyly 2012, 2).

The first wave of urbanization occurred between 1890 and 1960 in the United States and Europe (Davis 2006, 2). Urbanization was a direct consequence of industrialization as the economic center of gravity shifted from agriculture to manufacturing and industry. What was distinctive about this first wave was that the majority of the global population still lived in rural areas. Urbanization was largely a regional phenomenon, and distinct to this first process was a lack of population shift in former European colonies. In the Global South, urbanization did not occur, because European empires typically only stimulated one urban center, usually the colonial

capital; therefore, colonized regions took far longer to urbanize than places in North America and Europe (Graham 2007, 1). Urbanization was typically a long process, but this is not so anymore.

In the United States and Europe it took a century to urbanize. In 1900 there were only sixteen cities with over a million residents, currently there are over 400 cities of at least one million residents, 70% are located in the developing world (Cohen 2006, 64). Former colonial regions in Africa, Asia, and South America, are urbanizing faster and far differently than countries did in the north. Current urbanization is different, because of its acceleration, magnitude, and effect on rural regions. The magnitude of urbanization is accelerated by population growth and migration (Kilcullen 2014, 28). Humanity surpassed one billion urban residents in the 1960s; in a different context it took 10,000 years of civilization to achieve this feat. By 1985, another billion urban residents were added; in 2003, it added a third billion, and the UN estimates a fourth billion, in 2020; of these four billion, one billion will reside in slums (Sampaio 2015; Wylie 2003, 7; Ribeiro 2009, 3). These numbers are staggering, as they depict the rapid shift of the human population in physical location.

## *2.2 Migration*

Migration, like population growth, is accelerating the urbanization process. An estimated 1.4 million people migrate to a city every week in Asia, South America, and Africa (Kilcullen 2012, 22; Zhao 2015, 1; ARCIC 2014). By 2050, estimates forecast that 75% of the global population will reside in urban areas (Kilcullen 2014, 29). Populations are densely collected, half the world's people are living on 2.8% of the planet's land surface, in massive cities and sprawling conurbations (Graham 2007, 1). The vast majority of population growth will be centered in cities or conurbations in developing countries. Globally, this is displayed by the

sheer volume of cities surpassing one million residents (Cohen 2006, 64). Rural areas are the most affected; post 2020, virtually, zero population growth will occur in nonurban space (Cohen 2006, 1; Davis 2006, 6). Since 1976, South America's rural population growth rates are about 1.5 percent annually; while, urban areas account for five to seven percent of total growth (Perlman 1976, 4). Additionally, in Brazil, between 1940 and 1991, the rural population grew by only seven million people; in stark contrast the urban population grew by 99 million during the same period (Reid 2014, 112). Cities will reach new heights in population size; hence, the future landscape will have a distinctive urban character. This is important for strategists and policymakers to understand, as the scale of urbanization is massive and is for the first time a global phenomenon.

Driven by population growth and urban migration, urbanization has created a typology for classifying cities based on population size. There are three population based categories for large cities: hyper, mega, and middleweight. Hyper cities have twenty-million residents. Megacities have over eight million residents. Finally, middleweight cities have between 500,000 and one million residents (Taylor 2000, 7; Davis 2006, 5). There are differences in definition, which makes classifying cities problematic, due to differences in typology; for example, some argue that megacities are ten million plus residents (Felix and Wong 2015, 20). Some do not use the term hyper-city (15-20 million), thus any city over ten million is a megacity. For the purpose of this paper, the exact size of the population does not matter whether it is eight, ten, or twelve million people. Instead, the construct of megacities is more important. A megacity should not be described through enumeration, but instead through description of the urban order or where and how, spatially, people live (Morse 1958, 21). Megacities, like Tokyo or New York, are huge urban environments with vast infrastructure and millions of residents. Such cities sprawl upward



and outward; often their size is not just measured in geographic or inhabitant size, but in economic-flow, influence, global appeal and institutional capacity.

South America is the world's most urbanized continent, but Asia and Africa are quickly catching up. South America's urbanization is older, as the process began in the 1960s; approximately 80% of the continent's population resides in urban areas (Lee 2007, 8; Sampaio 2015). The continent witnessed surges in gross domestic product and saw huge decreases in mortality resulting in significant population growth and city construction (Martine 2010, 6). For Asia and Africa, South America provides a possible future glimpse into the effects of urbanization. Demographically, Asia and Africa are the two most rural continents; yet both are expected to have 3.4 billion city dwellers by 2030, mostly in low and medium income countries (Lee 2007, 2).<sup>5</sup> Migration, population growth, and lack of urban planning have resulted in slums; regardless of what a state calls them: shanty town, favela, subnormal agglomeration, or ghettos. Acknowledging their contextualized specificity their locations, challenges, and consequences are not entirely unconnected.

### *2.3 Slumification*

Urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon; as a result, a large portion of the urban population is living in slum-like conditions (Kaplan 2012, 121). The contemporary environment has approximately one billion slum residents; this is more than the entire population of Europe. Currently, 72% Africa's poor live in slums, in Asia, 43%, and in South America approximately 30% (Cohen 2006, 64). Davis defines slum, as a condition that has several combined

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<sup>5</sup> I argue that broad-brush criticisms of current urbanization forget that the process is not clean-cut, linear, or balanced. In addition it is an example of presentism, forgetting that urbanization in the Global North was not an orderly or clean process; one cannot forget the levels of pollution that still remain in old industrial areas throughout Europe and North America (Gilbert 2009, 46).

characteristics such as, overcrowding, poor or informal housing, and lack of clean water (Davis 2006, 25). Lee's definition describes slums as, areas where the residents lack one or more of the following life necessities: clean water, sanitation, living space, durable housing, and security (Lee 2007, 5). Both definitions essentially mean the same thing; Davis opines slums as a harsh human condition, while Lee describes them as impoverished areas or space.

Competing thoughts on slums and urbanization exist. First, there is a school of thought that believes rapid urbanization is a curse; such critics argue about the negative aspects of urbanization (Gilbert 2009, 38). Here, conditions of squalor and poverty are used to argue that such environments are difficult to modernize and improve; simply, urbanization is transferring poverty from rural to urban centers (Perlman 1976, 9). Others present a more positive view, that urbanization is certainly economic and essential to expanding state economies (Gilbert 2009, 40; Perlman 1976, 9). There are numerous cases of this happening, during the *Gilded Age*, U.S. cities grew significantly and they had the poor, overpopulated, and polluted areas that many developing cities now do. Urbanization is by no means a clean and orderly process; poverty, pollution, and economic inequality all appear to exist in some degree. However in this increasingly globalized age, the state-city relationship is further complicated; in an alarming paradox, states can develop nuclear weapons or launch satellites in orbit, but at the same time lack the means to govern their own urban populations, and lack capacity to plan, build, and govern (Kaplan 2012, 126). While there are different arguments on the theory of slum formation; their construction is happening in similar locations throughout the Global South.

Important to the notion of urbanization is the geographic concentration of new cities and the resulting conurbations. While numerous beaming skyscrapers, reaching for the heavens, paint an appealing picture, the urbanization process is mostly horizontal (Davis 2006, 17).

Slums are developing within the conurbations or on the margins of urban administrative boundaries. Literally meaning out of sight, peri-urban is a term often used to describe the geographic location of poor areas or slums. Peri, short for peripheral, implies marginalization in its use. Places like Johannesburg or Calcutta have millions of people living in such places. Rapidly growing shanty-towns, slums, squatter communities, and ad-hoc cities are outpacing city and state institutions. The result is a shortage of civil services, security, and infrastructure. Remarkably, the majority of urban expansion and population growth will occur in middleweight cities (Davis 2006, 8).

Middleweight cities have higher poverty rates and limited public services compared to larger cities (Cohen 2006, 73). Rio de Janeiro's favelas, some of which have hundreds of thousands of people, epitomize conurbation and the stigmas attached to such areas; in fact, in 1937 the city created an ordinance preventing favelas from being added to maps (Anderson 2013). Middleweight cities are numerous in quantity and they significantly stress the limited institutions of weak and fragile states. City governments are not helping their cause, as they quickly annex and reclassify new areas to add to political and administrative boundaries, which worsens urban conditions (Cohen 2006, 69). By the end of 2015, half the world's urban population will live in cities classified as middleweight (Cohen 2006, 72; Evans 2015, 35). Smaller cities often lack waste disposal, electricity, clean water, healthcare, and educational opportunities that larger cities have; these conditions can create slums.

#### *2.4 Weak Institutions*

The consequences of poverty and urbanization are enormous. Weak and fragile states lack the capacity to handle the conditions and symptoms of slums. Such disparity is the result of

hyper-urbanization, whereby urbanization outpaces industrialization, or the primary means to provide jobs contributing to significant poverty. There are several drivers of hyper-urbanization, to include migration, population booms, and over-mechanization, the process in which machines replace humans. Yet no matter the drivers, hyper-urbanization remains and will remain a significant challenge for policymakers, economists, and urban planners (Perlman 1976, 7).

Urban migration and population growth strain the institutional and economic capacity of poor and weak states. Rapidly growing populations with large youth populations strain education and health care institutions, which are typically underfinanced (Skidmore 1999, 139). The negative effects of urbanization include social issues such as crime, disease, and corruption (Caldwell and Williams 2012, 217). Managing the current volume of urbanization is an enormous task and many states cannot keep up. Lack of services results in negative sentiment towards the state. Legitimacy is then challenged, as cities and states cannot provide security or services to their residents (Thompson 2014, 61). Slum dwellers are not a threat to the municipality where they live; instead, exploitation by armed groups, like drug cartels, makes many of these people victims, as they are the most vulnerable to crime, violence, and nefarious recruiting tactics (Ribeiro 2009, 4).

One can argue that the slums do not cause security challenges for the state themselves. There are many cities, in places like Kenya, China, and India, where security challenges will not be a result of slums and poverty. However, South America paints a bleak picture, where urban violence has elevated 43 of its cities to the most violent status (Gurney 2014; Sampaio 2015; Appendix Four). In other regions, states like Nigeria or Ethiopia lack the means to address slumification. Slums can be eradicated or removed through social programs and adequate planning, but time and again social symptoms like crime, poverty, and inequality are not easily

remedied. Bryan McCann even argues that state intervention with resources actually reinforces the separation between slums and the governing municipalities (McCann 2015, 28). Throwing extra resources at problems does not necessarily equate to a solution to many of the problems of slum areas. Each state experiences slumification differently, in chapter four the Brazilian developmentalism policies that lead to massive migration and urbanization will be explored to understand how and why favelas developed.

## *2.5 Security Challenges*

Urbanization will continue to alter the future security environment. Robert Kaplan envisions that cities will be, “crowded..., beset by poor living conditions, periodic rises in the price of commodities, water shortages, and unresponsive municipal services, will be fertile petri dishes (Kaplan 2012, 120).”<sup>6</sup> Kilcullen argues that the scale of urbanization will change the security environment for three reasons. First, migration will overstrain city and state institutions that are unable to handle the influx of people. Second, urban areas will contain large pockets of poor, but digitally connected people, who are aware of their marginalization. Third, dense populations and dire poverty are conducive for the creation of terrorist and criminal safe havens (Kilcullen 2012, 27). In summary, Kilcullen argues that densely packed urban areas of poor and marginalized people, without services from their governments, are vulnerable to exploitation by armed groups. Thompson’s definition of armed group is a violent, nonstate, and nongovernmental actor; these actors are classified as insurgents, terrorists, and transnational criminal organizations (Thompson 2006, 53). Weak or poor states face significant challenges countering armed groups, as the three classifications often overlap; for example, criminal groups

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<sup>6</sup> Again, the laboratory type description is used to describe the conditions of slums; this important to note for security studies researchers, who may encounter push back to such language from some in the social science areas of study. Here, one area of study denotes focus on violence and policy, the other on violence and people.

use terrorist tactics on civilians or insurgencies require narcotics trafficking for financing operations.

The conditions of slums provide an environment for exploitation by state and nonstate actors. First conditions include a presence of stark poverty, often less than one dollar per day, and a lack of state assisted development. Second, there is an absence of national unity, likely caused by dissatisfaction for the central government that fails to provide jobs, services, and security. Third, poverty and inequality create a divide between a large section of the population and the state; this leaves a portion of the population without formal representation in state institutions (Caldwell and Williams 2012, 220). Armed groups exploit these conditions since they require territory, hiding locations, and sympathetic populations to ensure their success. Vast urban regions provide the ideal environment for armed groups (Thompson 2014, 55). Armed groups buy or coerce their way into new areas, by corrupting business owners, politicians, and police.<sup>7</sup> Collective wealth is exploitable by armed groups, who take over legitimate markets and create coerced monopolies using local services like the Internet, television, cooking gas, and electrical services. Armed groups require capital to operate and territory to facilitate their operations.

Slums provide safe haven for armed groups and their operations. Armed groups, typically small in size, can hide in dense populations from police and other government security apparatuses (Thompson 2014, 62). Armed groups, hiding in slums, can access urban infrastructure to conduct transnational criminal or terrorist activities (Thompson 57, 2014). For example, a transnational criminal organization, hiding in the favela of Rochina, Rio de Janeiro,

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<sup>7</sup> Significant to Brazil, residents of favelas earn an income of around \$240 USD a month, which is far better than other places in the world where many struggle to earn \$30 USD per month (Carneiro 2014).

has a safe haven to live and operate; while nearby Rio, has the international seaports that enable transnational narcotics trafficking (Arias 2006, 168). Urban and slum environments are ideal for armed groups, as they enhance operations and prevent recognition from state governments (Thompson 58, 2014). I am not suggesting that all slums create violent conditions, rather, that extreme environments create an easily exploitable situation that can benefit armed groups. Often, populations have no choice in harboring armed groups. Social tribulations, like unemployment, inequality, and lack of security create vulnerable conditions for the inhabitants of slums.<sup>8</sup>

While we cannot definitively predict the future, we can speculate about the role of cities and conurbations on foreign interventions. On average, the United States has one major peacekeeping, counterinsurgency, or stabilization operation every 25 years; additionally, it conducts one limited foreign military operation every ten years (Kilcullen 2012, 20).<sup>9</sup> These figures do not reflect Special Operation Command's episodic and persistent engagement elements, which are deployed to 75 different countries on any given day. Fukuyama outlines that foreign interventions often target safe havens, both of which are prevalent in the growing urban terrain (Fukuyama 2004, 99). The size and scale of megacities, conurbations, and slums will prove challenging to future foreign interventions.

Vast urban regions create a number of problems for military operations given irregular conflict; this has been demonstrated in Somalia, Iraq, and the former Yugoslavia. For example, Sadr City, Baghdad, a neighborhood comprised of one million residents was simply walled off,

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<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, there is a breaking point in safe havens where a population will turn on an armed group. Recent examples of this occurred in Iraq during the Sunni "Awakening," in Colombia when ad-hoc militias fought against cartels, and in Northern Ireland, when citizen vigilante groups organized and denied safe haven to Irish terrorist organizations.

<sup>9</sup> An example of a limited intervention was humanitarian support provided to Haiti, in 2010.

during the surge of 2007. Instead of conducting complex military operations in urban terrain, the US Army resorted to controlling access to this area. An operation in such conditions would have been costly in lives and material for both combatants and noncombatants. Typically, slum residents are unable to escape the proximity of criminal, terrorist, or insurgent actions; as a result, many are killed or wounded in security operations. City terrain, urban residents, and armed groups combined create complex obstacles for police and security forces. Conventional, police forces know the neighborhoods but lack the mass and weaponry needed to fight in urban areas; on the other hand, military forces have too much fire power and lack familiarity with the terrain. Puzzlingly, police forces lack the development and community response funds that military forces typically bring with them, which can be the difference between success and failure. Tactical level funding provides access to inexpensive yet high impact projects. The challenges of urban terrain, whether physical or human, are tremendous and innumerable. If the security environment continues to change, largely as a result of urbanization, then these challenges must be recognized, understood, and mitigated. In Brazil the security environment changed profoundly with urbanization. Without institutional capacity to handle the influx of people into cities, dense populated areas received little to no state services or representation. Fast-forward forty years, Brazil is attempting to reclaim, pacify, secure, and develop large urban areas in an attempt remove the power of violent gangs and drug cartels.

### **CHAPTER 3: Developmentalism, Urbanization, Favelas, and Security Challenges in Brazil**

#### *3.1 Fifty Years of Development in Five*



The heart of modern Brazilian development lies in the World War II period. Here, strategic decisions were made by President Getulio Vargas to implement, *Estado Novo*, translated as *New State* policy. Centered on the concept of corporatism, the belief that the state organizes society into a community where it represents the interests of labor and capital; the administration sought to develop industry, state institutions, infrastructure, and modernize its military (Campos 1998, 526). *Estado Novo* is a top down model where labor courts, workers' rights, and minimum wages are provided by a top down regime; this is in stark contrast to union-friendly and other popular bottom-up labor movements. *Estado Novo's* top down implementation would remain important later in the Cold War when leftist groups repeatedly failed to implement socialist policies. Using authoritarian practices, President Vargas wanted to improve, unify, and modernize Brazil (Reid 2014, 83). The modern-state was the solution to many conservative Brazilian fears that the country would break up into conglomeration of smaller countries.<sup>10</sup> Through development, Vargas wished to achieve state modernity.

### *3.2 The New State and National Developmentalism*

President Vargas sought to achieve his dream by maintaining Brazilian neutrality during World War II; such posturing would improve the state through economic means. Prior to the conflict, Brazil was economically devastated during the Great Depression and required foreign assistance to lift itself out of its dire financial situation. The simplest way to achieve this end was to capitalize on the war efforts of both the Allies and the Axis (Lochery 2014, 49). Through military development provided by the Axis powers, Brazil desired to fortify its position as the regional power to confront its competitors, Chile and Argentina (Lochery 2014, 49).

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<sup>10</sup> One of my favorite facts of Brazilian pre-war politics, Vargas ordered the burning of individual state flags at a presidential ceremony as a representation of state unity; this truly reflects the politics of the era (Reid 2014, 83).

Furthermore, Vargas worked to improve Brazil's economy through trade with the Allied Powers. President Vargas' geopolitical moves were coupled with domestic policies, which specifically separated the individual from the state; in this case state progress could only be accomplished by the government or the elites (Reid 2014, 85). The result was democratic processes taking second place to national development and militarization.<sup>11</sup> The pressure of modernizing Brazil and surviving World War II was tremendous for Vargas.

Despite sizable German and Italian pockets living throughout the southern portion of Brazil, President Vargas's administration decided to side with the United States and enter the war. Interestingly, this ended *Estado Novo* policy, but its principles of development and modernity would endure through *National Developmentalism*. President Vargas, a known Anglophile, admired President Franklin Roosevelt and Americans; his personal sentiments would supersede personal prejudice towards the USA, thus shaping the future of Brazil in a particular way (Reid 2014, 82). His decision to side with the Allies was a risk. For Brazil, the superficial and tactical mission was to support the military defeat of the Nazis, but the state had other motives. Brazil sought to update its military, infrastructure, industry, and embolden its world posture. Building an alliance with the Allies was the means of accomplishing such tasks. Developmentalism would continue through both democratic and dictatorial regimes for the next fifty years.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Some argue that entering World War II was a regime friendly move that consequently delayed the progression of democracy (Bethel 1988, 39). Others argue that the alignment between Brazil and the Allies secured democratic values in civil-society and the military (Singer 2009, 77). From reading through many papers on President Vargas, I can only conclude that he likely wanted to delay democracy.

<sup>12</sup> Reid argues the legacy of President Vargas perfectly, "He gave the state a central and lasting role in economic development. He also implanted the notion that citizenship, benefits, and social inclusion flowed from the top down, granted by a beneficent state rather than being won through democracy and civic mobilization (Reid 2014, 89)."

In the years after World War II, Brazil's economy changed significantly due to President Juscelino Kubitschek. Kubitschek's policies, of *National Developmentalism* expanded global markets and improved infrastructure provided by foreign aid and a strong economy. It was Kubitschek's propaganda that declared, "fifty years' progress in five" (Reid 2014, 90). Perhaps this motto is a nod to President Vargas's vision of a modern-state. Brazilian policies connected its regional markets through the construction of highways and rail networks. Between 1928 and 1952 Brazil's rail system grew 16.5 percent; at the same time, highways exploded in size, with road mileage growing 304.8 percent (Singer 2009, 77). Highway networks connected populations, commercial networks, and industrial capacity together. Brazil went from a vast spatially disconnected nation to a well-connected country of major economic cities and markets (Martine 2010, 12). Furthermore, Brazil developed its first auto company with the intent of building trucks, and by 1952, 35 percent of Brazilian trucks were built by the *Fabrica Nacional de Motores* or National Motor Factory (Singer 2009, 78).<sup>13</sup> This was intended to display Brazilian capacity to global markets. As roads and rail connected urban centers, the Brazilian urban industry attracted rural workers.

In 1964, the Brazilian military seized power and replaced the democratic government; military rule would last until the 1980s.<sup>14</sup> As a result of this regime change, the Cold War period was different for Brazil compared to other South American states. Despite a military regime, Brazil had a quasi-constitutional administration when compared to a pure dictatorship.

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<sup>13</sup> Brazilian regimes rejected German and US companies, who only wished to export vehicles to Brazil. Several economic decisions were made to ensure Brazilian manufacturing was protected and that replacement parts were built domestically.

<sup>14</sup> The United States provided monetary and logistical support to the military coup d'état. Additionally, President Johnson discussed using naval resources, to include a carrier group, to provide auxiliary support to the Brazilian military if the coup stalled. However, much still remains classified by the Central Intelligence Agency on the involvement of the United States in the coup.

Additionally, Brazil did not have a significant history of leftist revolts, revolutions, or insurgencies like other Central and South American states; an authoritarian government installed early in the Cold War likely prevented any such revolts. In Brazil, regimes would manipulate elections, congress, the economy, and the populace, often using nationalistic sentiment and ideology. The military regimes of Brazil slowly transitioned the country to a democracy, but it took two decades for social pressure and domestic reforms to complete the process. Importantly, President Vargas's initial idea of Brazil obtaining the status of a global power would persist, as would Developmentism. The military government imposed a modernization model that focused on improving agricultural and industrial production, as well as social structure; a decision ultimately resulting in deep societal divides (Martine 2010, 12). Through a half century, the nation's economy grew; despite sometimes tumultuous domestic policies.<sup>15</sup> Singer argues, "In a dozen years, Brazil shifted from an exporter of primary products, a sign of underdevelopment, to an exporter of manufactured goods...the prerequisite for development" (Singer 2009, 81). Economic growth averaged 7.5% per year between 1942 and 1962; from 1968 to 1974 growth was at 10.7% (Reid 2014, 108). Poverty decreased dramatically nationwide; from 2003 to 2011, those living in poverty decreased from 49.5 million to 24.6 million people (Reid 2014, 168). Brazil's population grew 2.8% annually. In less than 40 years, Brazil became a middle income country. As a result, the nation endured rapid urbanization, population growth, and economic development.

### *3.3 Urbanization*

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<sup>15</sup> To display the government effort of national industrialism; in 1972, domestic manufactured goods accounted for 36 percent of exports; by 1984 the value increased to 66 percent.

The importance of urbanization is emergent for US Military strategists and future planners.<sup>16</sup> Brazil's urbanization likely ended in the 1980s; the literature and research conducted, during Brazil's urbanization, should provide analysts with the data necessary to determine lessons learned. Brazil's urbanization was triggered by an explosion in fertility rates; in 1960 the average Brazilian mother had 6.28 children (Skidmore 1999, 139). To pile on the exploding birth rate was a dramatic decrease in child mortality, which fell 68 percent between 1940 and 1960 (Skidmore 1999, 139). During the 1960s, rural regions of Brazil experienced a mass exodus; one of out of five Brazilians relocated to cities, specifically to the south-east where Rio and Sao Paolo are located (Perlman 1976, 5; Skidmore 1999, 140; Martine 2010, 10). From, 1940 to 1991, Brazil's urban population grew from 12.8 to 111 million people (Reid 2014, 112). Industrialization and infrastructure networks directly influenced the structure and growth of urban centers along the eastern and south-eastern coast; in these regions dozens of middleweight cities with connecting conurbations linked the megacities of Sao Paolo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte (Xavier 2003, 1; Arias 2006, 23). By 2000, over 80% of Brazil was urbanized.<sup>17</sup> Brazilian urbanization, when compared to the rest of the Global South, has experienced a forty year head start, due to older modernization policies.

Why modernization through urbanization? Some believe cities are the vehicle for nation-state modernity, due to historical examples in Europe and the United States (Perlman 1976, 9). What made Brazil different from the rest of South America was the fact that the nation-state did not focus its efforts into one city (Skidmore 1999, 142). Brazil had half a dozen large cities where it split development projects; this kept wealth and government institutions from focusing

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<sup>16</sup> In late 2014, the Chief of Staff of the Army's Strategic Studies Group wrote a 400 page report on Megacities and an uncertain future.

<sup>17</sup> "80% urbanized" appears a common and representative figure for Central and South America as a whole; perhaps this is peak urbanized, at least in the Americas (Sampaio 2015; Martine 2010, 5).

solely in the capital, which was seen in Argentina, Chile, and Venezuela (Skidmore 1999, 142). Even more revolutionary, in the urbanization and developmentalism process of Brazil, was Kubitschek's timely decision to build Brasilia; a new capital city that was stipulated in the state constitution. A new capital was the nexus of developmentalism and urbanization; strategically this new city would move power from the coastal cities and open up the long neglected interior of the country (Skidmore 1999, 147). The city was built and planned entirely from scratch, which came at great social and economic cost.<sup>18</sup> Even so, and despite its shortcomings, the city became the new capital and a symbol of Brazilian excellence. The vision was to build an entirely new capital in an unpopulated region. Between its initial construction to the present, the city has grown to three million inhabitants. The story of Brasilia is important to understand, when discussing modernity, urbanization, and Brazilian domestic policy.

Undoubtedly economic development and urbanization have a direct correlation. Additionally, Davis' and Kilcullen's theories about movement trends toward middleweight cities and conurbations are reinforced in Brazil. In a 2010 census, some cities experienced a decline in population, as migrants are now enticed to move to smaller peripheral cities and conurbations; in 2000, 82% of Brazilians lived in a city of 100,000 people or more; in contrast, in 2010, the United States had 71.2% of its population in urban areas (Xavier 2003, 2; Martine 2010, 5).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Sao Paulo is another example of a city, which grew from agricultural land to a sprawling metropolis, in a relatively short period of time. In 1958, Richard Morse, an assistant professor of history at Columbia University, spent a year in Sao Paulo, Brazil, where he studied urbanization, history, and sociology. At the time of his writing, Sao Paulo, Brazil had just over three million inhabitants; the following year the city was classified as the fastest growing in the world by the Council for Inter-American Cooperation (Morse 1958, 13). Like many other Brazilian cities, Morse highlights the fact that less than fifty years prior the land, on which Sao Paulo sat, was once agricultural land.

<sup>19</sup> Definitions for urban and urban cluster in the United States are strangely difficult. For more information access, <http://www.citylab.com/housing/2012/03/us-urban-population-what-does-urban-really-mean/1589/>

Brazil's urbanization, which Morse witnessed first-hand, was fueled by a boom in birthrates, improved infrastructure, and government policy.

Improvements in healthcare, employment, infrastructure, and opportunity together fueled the urbanization process. Brazil's government enacted developmental and economic policies that drove the interconnectedness of cities. Advancements in medicine and healthcare increased fertility and decreased child mortality. Additionally, new urban residents understood that if their urban experience failed they could always move back to the rural areas, where agricultural development and practices were still major contributors in Brazil's economic success (Skidmore 1999, 142). This enabled more people to take the "leap" and test the urban experiment. The result was massive interconnected urban centers, typically along littoral regions of the country (Appendix 3).

The cities of Brazil are enormous. Sao Paulo and its administrative state have a larger GDP and population than neighboring Argentina, which at one time was the Brazil's biggest regional rival. Sao Paulo accounts for 22% of Brazil's population and one-third of its GDP, this megacity maintains a hegemonic role in the national economy (Rother 2010, 150; Martine 2010, 12). The implications of urbanization are huge and enduring. Managing the volume of urbanization is enormous, because state institutions, particular in developing countries, cannot keep up. Rapid expansion of favelas meant that very few Brazilian city administrations could provide job opportunities, services, infrastructure, and other governmental capacities to meet the crushing growth (Perlman 1975, 5). President Vargas's strategic end-state was to develop Brazil quickly, but not even he could have foreseen how quickly the nation urbanized. The process happened rapidly as did the influx of people, with governmental housing institutions stretched thin, improvised urban areas were constructed. Brazilian favelas are an excellent example of

such construction; in 1973, 1.2% of the Brazilian population lived in favelas, by 2008 it was 19% (Davis 2006, 17). According to a 2003 census, 175 of 200 million Brazilians lived in urban areas (Xavier 2003, 2). With the rapid growth of cities came the growth of favelas.

### 3.4 Favelas

While the world is moving to cities filled with self-built and self-planned housing for the urban poor, Brazil's favelas are old in comparison and have changed dramatically, since the first favela was constructed in the late 1800s (McCann 2014, 12). Perlman rightly noted in 1976, that favelas were not a "temporary phenomenon" (Perlman 1976, 15). Perlman conducted research in three favela areas classified by her as: (1) a favela on the hillside, a peripheral space, in the midst of a commercial and middle class area; (2) a favela on the periphery of industrial space; (3) *suburbio* or a conurbation lying on the outside major city (Perlman 1980, preface-19). A photo, I shot outside of Rio de Janeiro, depicts almost all three of Perlman's classifications in one frame (Appendix 2). Perlman's forty year-old research locations depict the current areas of slum development in Brazil and globally. Indeed, cities like Sao Paulo and Rio do not have the typical "cup and saucer" or urban –center and conurbation lay-out like many of the other cities throughout the Global South (McCann 2014, 12; see Appendix 1). The result is a naturally and artificially created obstacle for state services. For example, a well-organized and planned urban area enables security forces, who can easily respond to problems quickly and swiftly; however, a favela built on the side of a hill with limited vehicular access is naturally isolated. McCann argues that, "[favelas] began as unplanned and unserviced settlements nurturing an informal real estate market and progressed through stages of consolidation and diversification without ever being fully incorporated into the surrounding formal city" (McCann 2014, 26). Favelas lack official addresses complicating home owners' rights to their houses. Compounding the problem



even more is the fact that dwellings are built on top of each other to allow more family units that are further subdivided (Riccio 2013, 314). Lack of planning is important to the formation of favelas; a place like *Montanhao*, a favela in Sao Paulo, literally means “big heap.” As I have reinforced throughout the thesis, favelas are not all the same, but the conditions are similar through most of them.

Rio de Janeiro’s favelas have taken a well-publicized central role in the discussion of slums, crime, and inequality. Rio de Janeiro developed faster and differently than other Brazilian metropolitan areas; the result was more favelas than other cities.<sup>20</sup> Favelas grew in number and size, in Rio, because of economic demands. In 1976, Rio had 300 favelas of about 1 million people. For about twenty years favelas grew in size and population by 7.5 percent per year, compared to the city itself at 3 percent per years; favelas would eventually max out at over 700 with 1.4 million residents in 2015 (Perlman 1976, 5).<sup>21</sup> As favelas grew in size, so did the division between the neighborhoods and the municipalities. The division is stark; as most favelas do not technically exist they lack official addresses, population lists, and planning documentation (Riccio 2013, 314; Mier 2014). While aspects of the state are blind to favelas they are particularly seen commonly in films like *Elite Squad*, *Fast and the Furious*, and *City of God*.

Favelas are not a problem themselves, but a symbol of other social dysfunctions (Reid 2014, 186). Income equality is nothing new in Brazil; Richardo Pae de Barros once said, “the income of the poorest 10 percent is growing like China, and that of the richest 10 percent is growing like Germany (Reid 2014, 168).” Others have compared Brazil’s income inequality to

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<sup>20</sup> One of the reasons for this is due to hilly terrain, many of the old elite lived on hillsides where they wanted quick access to their servants.

<sup>21</sup> The inequality in Rio is stark and from personal experience abroad, it is one the first things one can recognize.

*“Belindia.”* Translated this means a “Belgium inside an India”; *Belindia* is a tiny elite class living in urban areas that have the standard of living of Europe, while the rest of the society is compared to the peasants of India or as Reid calls it a “the miserable majority” (Reid 2014, 162; Jovchelovitch 2013, 38). In an Al-Jazeera report in 2010, a local favela activist explained the situation best, “We don’t see anything. I mean sanitation and social projects. Projects that motivate people and give them dignity with jobs, income, and not just handouts” (Al-Jazeera, 2010). Brazil’s favelas appear as they are unplanned; while they are not formally designed, their physical location is no accident.

Many Brazilian cities such as Petropolis, Florianopolis, or Curitiba were designed by some of Europe’s top urban planners, but many urban areas ignored formal organization for over a century (Juan 2014). As slums develop and mature globally, a typological approach should be considered for slum analysis and security program planning. As reinforced throughout the thesis, slums or favelas are not all the same and often their history is significant to the security problem; therefore, careful analysis and caution should be taken when trying to remedy a security issue with a policy or program. A typology exists for the urban slums of Brazil: corticos, favelas, and loteamentos. Corticos are tenement-style collective buildings that are found near city centers; these type of slums are declining in number, likely because of the boom of Brazil’s cities, growth in the middle class, and a half century rise of wealth. The second category has been discussed already in-depth (see introduction chapter one for formal definition). Loteamentos are similar to favelas, they are irregular small private lots. Loteamentos are completely informal and are often referred to as slums or favelas. From my research, I almost view the Loteamentos as young favelas that lack economy, social structure, representation, and

history that many of the older favelas hold. The land title problems that are endemic in older favelas are also found in the loteamentos (Martine 2010, 32).

The Brazilian government is not required to create legal addresses on untenured lands and the post office does not have to deliver mail to homes and businesses lacking government recognition (Mier 2014). One can imagine the impact this has on local businesses that cannot place their address online or for a favelado explaining his or her location to an ambulance. This is a clash of formal and informal institutions that traps the poor into an informal and illegal world (Ribeiro 2009, 3). The state also suffers from this relationship as it cannot provide services to residents or collect taxes (Ribeiro 2009, 4). The question is how can the state provide services and security to people it does not recognize? Indeed this is a key problem to the state of Brazil's cities; state policy refuses to recognize favela residents. If favelas are not measured in a Brazilian population census, then funds to institutions and municipalities are not correctly allocated to the right places (Martine 2010, 17). This situation perpetuates a cycle of weak government institutions, which are unable to handle the demands of a growing and unrecognized population.

In a personal trip to Rio de Janeiro, in 2013, I was told repeatedly that favelas were banned by Brazil's constitution and the inhabitants were thus illegal occupants. Repeated searches to confirm these laws were conducted and nothing to support the claims were found; however, a significant issue throughout Brazil is the lack of land titles for favela residents. Without land titles, home and land owners lack a legal stake in the property where they reside. Perhaps, this situation is the source of the grievance regarding the legality of the favelas. Sentiment towards the favelas is often negative; a result of the social stigmas associated with the areas. Favela residents may not have formal titles to their homes but this does not mean they do

not pay rent or contribute to the economy. Favelas are not poor but they are by no means economically stagnant locations as they are home to thousands of local businesses, which are essential to Brazil's low unemployment rates.

Favelas are political in nature. Favela communities have a deep history in political activism and maintaining formal relations with city and state municipalities. Favelas are organized politically and there is an expectation among residents to maintain and govern their own neighborhoods. This self-governance has isolated the residents from the rest of society. Jovchelovitch describes relations between favelas and cities as a relationship of segregation and exclusion, which is amplified by stigmas and prejudices towards favelados (Jovchelovitch 2013, 41). Overtime favelas grew in size and in quantity; however the state did not recognize favelados land rights or recognize the residents' role in democracy. Indeed, the physical and political isolation took a toll, leaving the communities vulnerable to a parallel institution, the drug gangs; in the Americas, narcotic use and trafficking exploded during the 1980s.

Jovchelovitch explains the perceptions of both the favela and city resident:

*“The city outside the favela is thought as relatively unknown and dangerous, a place to be handled with care: compared to the security of the framework offered by the closeness of the favela communities, the city is seen as ‘loose’, a place where one is just an ‘individual’ without support and rights. The city is regulated by few rules and ambivalent laws, a view justified by the perception of corruption in the police and in the public administration. The favela is thought as safe and familiar despite the violence in the environment: people are recognised as a ‘person’ known and supported by friends and family; the rules and regulations are clear” (Jovchelovitch 2014, 92).*

The perception Jovchelovitch described is important in understanding the crushing police responses to Brazil's drug gangs. Historically, there is a lack of understanding between those who live in the city and those who live in the favelas. The parallel worlds of the favela and the city have resulted in poorly executed police responses and have created governance vacuums

filled by armed groups.<sup>22</sup> Drug gangs needed people, turf, and weapons. The Brazilian state's lack of involvement, in the favelas, has created an opportunity for a parallel institution to fill the governance vacuum. Unfortunately it was filled by violent gangs and drug cartels that provided services like employment, political funding, and public services (Melo 2014, 30). Security forces founded the favelas, then ignored them, repressed them, and now are tasked with bringing them back under the control of the state. This mission is up to the Policia Militar (PM) and its subsidiary organizations: the BOPE and the UPP.

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<sup>22</sup> One of the great ironies of favela creation is the story of Rio, where the first favelas were started by soldiers who demanded payment for the work and thus never left the squatter villages they started (Melo 2014, 28).

## CHAPTER 4: Case Study of the *Unidade de Policia Pacificadora* (UPP)

*“I can tell you, I have a history of combat...I enjoy being police, I like what I do and I have lived with a lot of extreme action, with repression...and I can tell you, it takes you nowhere, it does not solve the problem of security”* Military Police Commander (Jovchelovitch 2014, 96).

### *4.1 Brazil’s Security Challenges*

In the six months writing this thesis, Brazil experienced 24,000 murders and 1100 law enforcement related deaths (Bevins, 2015; Papenfuss 2015; OSAC 2015).<sup>23</sup> No other word can describe Brazil’s crime problem than tragic. Brazil’s murder rates are similar to or worse than states confronted with terrorism, insurgencies, and other nonstate armed actors. Over a sixteen year period, Rio’s homicide rate has averaged around an estimated 6800 people per year (Vandenberg 2015, 6).<sup>24</sup> Regionally, Brazil’s domestic crime problem is pervasive and all too common in South America, where violent crime rates are six times higher than the rest of the world (Brown 2011, 1). Arias describes the characteristics of the favelas, as similar to those found in weak states:

“Many of the problems of the favelas emerge from the mis- and malfeasance of state actors. Upper level politicians, the police, and bureaucrats usually do not have effective control over lower-level state representatives. Police engage in brutal operations that result in violations of residents’ rights. Many bureaucrats, police, and politicians take bribes and steal from funds targeted for social aid. These actions strengthen drug traffickers, who, as a result of bribes to police and politicians, operate freely in favelas and provide aid to residents” (Arias 2006, 36).

Probably the starkest and arguably the most depressing statistic is the fact that 20% of each Brazilian generation has had a family member killed in wars between the police, militias, or drug gangs (Campbell 2005, 9). This fact is not surprising when conservative estimates believe over the last thirty years; one million Brazilians have died violently (Melo 2014, 31). The economic,

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<sup>23</sup> Based off of Brazil’s 2015 homicide and gun violence statistics; to put the numbers in perspective, Syria had 55,000 war related deaths in 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Worsening the situation is the presence of armed children; the United Nation’s estimates there are around 6,000 armed children in the favelas of Rio, mostly fighting for drug gangs (Jane’s 2011, 4).

societal, psychological, and political effects of Brazil's instability are similar to countries facing prolonged violent conflict.

Brazil's urban security problems are a deadly combination of gangs, drugs, guns, poverty, and decades of absent governance; the result is a brutal environment, which created some of the most violent cities in the world, where homicide accounts for 50% of youth mortality (Jane's 2011, 2). Separation –between the state and the populace- is the driver of instability (Harris et al. 2014, 95). The origins of gangs, militias, and cartels lie in an interwoven network of people, historical events, and political movements. The existence of armed groups in favelas is rooted in an interwoven history of right-wing military movements of the pre-democracy era -1964 to 1995-, left-wing radicals, and the growth of drug cartels linked to cocaine trade (Jane's 2011,2). The 1960's military government was suppressive on political dissidents, using a catch all act deemed the National Security Law of 1967. The creation of this law produced a network where radical intellectuals, of the era, met members of the gangs, in the nation's prison system (Jane's 2011). It was here that criminals learned organizational and paramilitary tactics from left-wing dissidents (Arias 2006, 28). The prison system deepened this problem by diluting the gangs through a process of spreading its incarcerated members throughout the country. The result was a more powerful network that expanded throughout the state.

#### *4.2 Non-State and State Actors in the Favelas*

There are three types of armed groups that operate in the favelas of Brazil: gangs, drug traffickers, and militias (Sampaio 2015). There is overlap and hybridization among the three groups, as some militias support drug trafficking and drug gangs support political actors. Hybridization is important when reading about past and present state responses; the ambiguity of armed groups requires agile institutions to counter them, as the threats destabilize the state

(Thompson 2014, 96). Organized networks of armed groups build relationships with state actors and members of civil society making policing responses more difficult to plan, execute, and manage (Arias 2006, 168). Armed groups benefit by each other's existence; in Rio, larger militias created safe zones for drug traffickers, which mutually benefited the aims of both groups. Overlap prevents violence between groups and complicates the situation for law enforcement, such agencies that do not have a history of conducting operations against militias (Ribeiro, 2013, 19; Campbell 2005, 10).

Militias were created in response to gangs and drug cartels; they were a reaction to democratic transition and a symptom of a former authoritarian regime. Overtime they transitioned from loosely organized neighborhood protection squads to a mafia style organizations (Penglase 2014, 168). While drug gangs live among the favela residents, many of the militia leaders find themselves living in the wealthy neighborhoods in Leblon and Ipanama, disconnected from the violence and insecurity they direct (Appendix 5). The organizational ability and wealth of militias have resulted in political connections, to the ire of some Brazilian leaders, who have dubbed them as “new social cancers” (Arias 2014, 150; Vandenberg 2015, 44). Militias started by police officers and fireman were organized in response to drug violence and cartel abuse. As they grew in size and strength their actions actually contradicted what they were fighting (Ribeiro, 2013, 9; Penglase 2014, 168). The key difference between militias and drug gangs is that militias attempt to use morality to legitimize their efforts; the use of brutal violence against gangs and messaging it as an “anti-drug” action is an example (Ribeiro, 2013, 9; Penglase 2014, 168). Militias seek to counter drug trafficking, by “cleaning up the streets” and seek profits by monopolizing favela economies and then charging them for protection (Ribeiro, 2013, 12). In many places militias have superior weaponry and organizational structure making



them far deadlier than other armed groups, but tactically they are not much different than the gangs.

The conditions of Brazil's slums provide an operating environment for transnational drug cartels and gangs, who exploit inequality and lack of state institutions and representation. Drug gangs, typically small in size, can hide in the dense populations of urban areas. Gang members are young and normally die young, because of this it is difficult for drug gangs to build hierarchies and leadership structures (Vandenberg 2015, 40). Furthermore, such groups often control "turf" or territory, which creates zones where police and government institutions cannot operate (Thompson 2014, 62, Riccio 2013, 311; Jovchelovitch 2013, 42).

Urban and slum environments are ideal for gangs, as they enhance operations and prevent recognition from state governments (Thompson 58, 2014). Exploitation of favela residents is essential to their operations, as drug gangs are experts at reprisal killings, extortion, bribery, and blackmail (Vandenberg 2015, 40). Within Brazil, drug gangs and militias flourished in urban areas where the majority of people live. The favelados are stuck in the middle as they live every day next to armed groups and endure violent police tactics.

The Brazilian police are comprised of three forces: the *Policia Militar* (PM), Civil Police, and the UPP. The PM is a heavily militarized organization with approximate personnel strength of 400,000 domestic police. Within the PM are the heavy tactics battalions, the *Batalhao de Operacones Policiais Especiais* or the BOPE (Vandenberg 2015, 13). Additionally, the PM controls the implementation and execution of the UPP program and the pacification strategy; historically the PM has had a role in day-to-day policing, a national security function rooted in former authoritarian regimes (Arias 2006, 35). Unfortunately, the PM and its affiliated units are the dominant police force associated with historical controversies surrounding Brazilian police.

In competition with the PM are the Civil Police, a state police force, with approximately 125,000 officers that operate at a local level.<sup>25</sup> There are several other police and military organizations involved with pacification; however, their deployments are typically used to support the PM and the Civil Police. These other police elements are not the main effort because they are chartered with policing functions like protecting tourist areas or the states borders. The PM and BOPE have a long and violent history of urban policing.

More research is needed on the role of the Brazilian military in domestic security challenges. Military service is compulsory for all males for at least one year. Many citizens are able to get out of service, but many who do serve are from the favelas (Larkins 2015, 29). Here, favelados are trained in military operations, marksmanship, and tactics. Likely this compulsory training is enhancing the lethality of drug gangs, militias, and cartels and potentially contributing to the absurd homicide rates. Erika Larkin's described the story of such a soldier, named Beto, who spent six years with Brazilian Special Forces and then returned to Rochina, Rio de Janeiro (Larkins 2015, 29). Beto in less than a decade was a soldier, a cop, and finally a trafficker; he was trained in a lethal skill, returned home, and then lacked a job. Unfortunately, the soldier to armed group transition is an all too common phenomenon and, sadly, appears natural.

#### *4.3 Cocaine 80s*

The cocaine era of the 1980's heralded a new violent period. Drug traffickers tied to the expanding Andean drug cartels expanded their power into the favelas (Arias 2006, 28; Larkins 2015, 33). Traffickers filled the void of the state, by offering services and employment for favelados; in return their drug operations blossomed. As money increased, so did the influence

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<sup>25</sup> The rivalry between the institutions of the PM and Civil Police is detrimental to domestic security as the two organizations distrust one another (Vandenberg 2015, 13).

of drug gangs, who used their increased capital to purchase assault weapons and provide community services. Additionally, police and local politicians were bought off. Demand for drugs grew and law enforcement conducted more raids making narcotics more expensive. As a result, gangs expanded in manpower and they required more weapons (Arias 2006, 29). The relationship of narcotics, guns, gangs, police, and politicians created an environment for extreme violence.

Brazil's cocaine problem is both internal and external. Arias argues that trafficking did not develop in the absence of the state, citing bribes to police, politicians, and other state actors, who empowered traffickers (Arias 2006, 35). The wealth of Brazil's elite combined with extensive use of the state's transnational ports and airports made cocaine a very lucrative business (Jane's 2011, 2; Arias 2006, 31 and 169). Domestically, Brazilians consume the second most amount of cocaine on the planet.<sup>26</sup> The close proximity to cultivation and manufacturing centers in Colombia and Venezuela complicates this problem, because drugs are easily accessible in massive quantities. Jane's estimates that the Comando Vermelho drug network, imports and distributes seventy tons of cocaine and four-hundred tons of marijuana per year. The value of this exceeds five-hundred million US dollars (Jane's 2011, 6). Even worse the proliferation of small arms has made the situation more dire, with recent estimates suggesting that there are 1.25 million illegal fires arms in Rio de Janeiro alone (Jane's 2011, 2). While identity is an extremely difficult subject in Brazil, it is vital to understanding the nexus of crime, poverty, and state responses in regards to national identity.

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<sup>26</sup> Second to the United States

#### *4.4 Bad Cop, Bad Cop*

Brazil's policing efforts in poor areas have a history of treating citizens as illegal aliens in their own municipalities. For decades police were used to repress citizens, urban uprisings, and alternative political movements. Contemporary, police tactics have jeopardized democratization processes, as a transparent government cannot be built through coercion (McCann 2014, 33; Riccio 2013, 310). This created a situation of indefinite insecurity, produced by the state. In favelas, a divide grew between civil society and police; the consequence, was the state losing any positive influence over the population (Riccio 2013, 311; Vandenberg, 2015, 6; Thompson 2014, 54). Some police forces, like the Civil Police, were completely unable to access favelas and in others, their presence was marginal or sporadic at best (Brown 2011, 7; Vandenberg 2015, 11). As armed groups grew in size, they were able to physically occupy more space and use drug trafficking profits to corrupt state officials. The result was widespread fear and distrust of the police, as they were the only representatives of the state. Trust of the law enforcement is vital for a police program or strategy to succeed; especially, one that is reliant on the population. As the world urbanizes, repressive tactics and strategies in well-connected urban areas will likely fail, as seen with the Arab Spring or Ukraine's Maiden Revolution both of which were televised through YouTube and other media sources.

Favelados also endured a broken and corrupt criminal justice system that did not view them as Brazilian. In Rio's case, favelados were dependent on corrupt political middlemen for legal help; stuck between violent police and corrupt legal officials, created an environment where rule of law lacked any and all legitimacy within the eyes of Brazil's urban poor (McCann 2014, 33). This is a bizarre situation, as drug traffickers in favelas spend about 50% of their profits on bribing police and rule of law officials (Vandenberg 2015, 41). Due to the conditions of the

favelas there are many misconceptions of the favelados. Negative common perceptions about favela residents ultimately damage honest policing efforts. Perlman identifies the common belief, “among scholars, policy-makers, leftists, rightists, and middle-class liberals” that urbanization has resulted in cities being invaded by rural peasants (Perlman 1976, 9). Police officers mentally aggregate favela residents, violent gangs, and drug cartels together, treating everyone as a criminal or enemy (Jovchelovitch 2013, 62). Combined with the war on drugs this exacerbated the divide between favelas and the Brazilian state, creating a power vacuum that was filled by gangs and drug cartels.

Brazilian efforts to shape and transition its police forces failed leaving areas of the country ungoverned for decades. Why was the failure complete? First, police forces were not prepared to transition into an institution that supported a democratic government. Second, institutional reforms were not implemented to remove former authoritarian powers; police efforts focused on the idea of an “enemy within” and then shifted their prior political efforts on to the favelas (Jovchelovitch 2013, 43). Third, Brazil’s societal transformation to urban centers created an insecure environment, which complicated transition. The combination of these three conditions created a situation where well-armed cartels battled police forces over turf, resulting in significant societal consequences (Jovchelovitch 2013, 43). The victims of the violence were favelados, who became increasingly unrepresented – a result of the violence- by the new democratic government that failed to transition police institutions properly.

Brazil’s democratization process did not prepare police forces for transition. Brazil’s police forces failed to transform and integrate into an acceptable, legitimate, and democratic

institution and state-actor (Schnabel and Ehrhart 2005, 5).<sup>27</sup> At the same time, cartels created parallel systems to the government with norms, rule of law, and public services (Jovchelovitch 2014, 45). Even worse, policies were created that rewarded violent behavior with ‘bravery bonuses’ or promotions (McCann 2015, 171). As favelas became increasingly isolated due to drug gang control, favela residents found it difficult to distinguish the difference between the state and nonstate actors (Jovchelovitch 2013, 73). During, Brazil’s democratic transition authoritarian police forces aggressively responded to societal changes. This aggressive response was a reflection of an authoritarian regime, not a transparent democracy the government had promised. Efforts to democratize Brazil were strong in poor urban areas, however police responses to crime, assassinations, and drug trafficking were brutal for decades. The policing strategies did not match the problem sets that existed in the favelas.

Historically, Brazilian police operations are too short in duration, narrow in scope, and fail to establish law and order (Melo 2014, 59; Larkins 2015, 140). Police actions were episodic and highly reactionary to conditions in the favelas. The gangs of Brazil’s cities conducted armored car robberies, assassinations, abductions, and other sorts of high profile crimes. When drug trafficking operations have shortfalls, such crimes became worse, as the gangs sought to make up for lost profits (Jane’s 2011, 6). This attracted the harsh response of the police, forming a cycle of violence. The Brazilian police conducted raids into favelas, where the gangs were entrenched (Larkins 2015, 140). The BOPE, arguably one of the most elite urban fighting forces in the world, were used by the Brazilian government for years to target the worst of favela gangs. The BOPE conducted house-to-house fighting in what looked more like urban warfare than

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<sup>27</sup> Former authoritarian security institutions with access to large stocks of weapons, illegitimate paramilitary forces, and corrupt police forces threaten weak-states and strain democratic transition (Schnabel and Ehrhart 2005, 1; Larkins 2015, 33).

counter narcotic and counter-gang operations. The harsh tactics, raids, and urban fighting severely hampered the effective employment of Brazil's special police and military units (Jane's 2011, 7; Riccio 2013, 311).

The common perception was that the urban poor were targeted specifically by municipal and state police forces. Some argue that the presence of police, especially aggressive or militarized units, made violence worse. In the eyes of residents, it is the police that are a threat to security (Campbell 2005, 10; Vandenberg 2015, 7; Arias 2006, 26). Indeed, this is apparent by reports that some clearing operations are tainted by reprisal killings; in one favela clearing, for every police officer killed, forty-one civilians died (Melo 2014, 31). Raids and high profile arrests repeatedly failed to work, instead these episodic missions would result in the gangs reasserting their role, after police units withdrew (Riccio 2013, 311; Melo 2014, 38). Ultimately this response destroyed the institutional legitimacy of the police forces, specifically in the eyes of the people, who needed security the most.

Reforms were not implemented to remove former authoritarian institutions. Such reforms would have included the enactment of civilian oversight of security forces, increased allocation of resources for local police, developed rule of law and human rights programs, and created a police for community policing instead of domestic security (Wulf 2002, 5). This would have been an opportunity for the United States and Brazil to work together, as training and capacity building programs could have been provided by the interagency to help build a transparent and community centric institution. During Brazil's democratization, police forces had the same power under the new democratic government that they had under authoritarian regimes. Police forces were not accountable for crimes against the citizenry, violent tactics were not controlled, and legal systems failed. Inept institutions were unable to control security forces

or assist those exploited by criminal networks. Police had too few controls, as they historically acted independent of the government, which lead to corruption or a system where they were unaccountable for their actions (Vandenberg 2015, 10). The problem was further complicated when off-duty police officers formed ad-hoc militias to counter drug-traffickers. Extremely violent off duty police formed militias and frequently battled cartels, for turf in the poorest neighborhoods of Brazil's cities (Ribeiro 2013, 9-11). In many places police and their affiliated militias became turf bosses exploiting local businesses and demanding protection money (McCann 2014 20). In places like Rio's western favelas, the slums' residents had little choice, but to side with who appeared in charge. Between the militias and the drug gangs, the Brazilian police were not prepared.<sup>28</sup> The task to build new police and military institutions that correctly balanced freedom and equality with security remained a significant challenge (O'Neil 2014, 289).

#### *4.5 The Idea*

The Unidade de Policia Pacificadora (UPP) program, dubbed the Favela Pacification Campaign, is not a panacea for violence, social injustice, and lack of civil services for favelados. Importantly, two questions have to be resolved by the UPP: first, can police institutionalize their obligation to justice without weakening their ability to enforce; second, can police effectively balance enforcement with human rights (Riccio 2013, 311). Like any wide-scale social program there are successes and failures. Jovchelovitch explains the UPP's mission best, "the aim is to build a new and positive relationship with favelas and, at the same time, to reclaim state control

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<sup>28</sup> A consequence of a lack of preparation, lack of reform, and an insecure environment is Brazil's gun violence rate; every hour five Brazilians are shot. Brazil's domestic crime problem is pervasive and all too common in South America, where violent crime rates are six times higher than the rest of the world (Brown 2011, 1). By no coincidence is the fact, that Brazil's transition to democracy and its problems with security forces is endemic across South America (Riccio 2013, 311).



and expel drug bosses from these areas” (Jovchelovitch 2013, 46). The mission is centered on public security through community policing (Melo 2014, 28; Penglase 2014, 169). This was a completely new strategy compared to those in the past, where elite commandos and special tactics units were used to conduct violent raids and then redeploy. The idea behind the UPP was to break Brazil’s pattern of social marginalization of its urban poor. Marginalization was the result of a lack of political representation and threat of constant violence by highly brutal police raids, which only resulted in the reaffirmation of the gangs’ power in the favelas (Brown 2011, 3; Riccio 2013, 311). The emphasis to community policing, a bottom up approach that adapts to context of the community, relied on local police forces that hired favela residents (Riccio 2013, 310; Vandenberg 2015, 21).

Reform and massive institutional change had to occur within the Brazil police, which would shape both police and favela communities (Riccio, 2013 309). The call for change came from politicians, who recognized that the police lacked legitimacy in favelas. Raids and heavy handed tactics were the norm for police actions; the result was a disconnect between the local communities and the police that were supposed to protect them (Larkins 2015, 140). As time went on the gangs and cartels, became heavily embedded in the neighborhoods providing a parallel state with protection and limited services, but at the cost of extremely high crime and wars between armed groups and police. Rio de Janeiro’s director of public safety Jose Mariano Beltrame, said, “groups of criminals who have been installed here for 20, 30 years and they might not want to give up. But we are not giving up either. If they keep this up, we will redouble our efforts. Anyone who gets in our path will be run over” (Jane’s 2011, 7). It was time for the Brazilians to stop using police as a force for social control and instead implement community policing actions, which would require a new strategy.

#### *4.6 The Concept*

The operational approach to pacification has three phases: clearing, handover, and development. Prior to a favela occupation, political figures announce upcoming police actions, allowing traffickers to leave, in an attempt to minimize violence (Larkins 2015, 140).<sup>29</sup> Clearing is the physical reestablishment of the state into ungoverned space. A physical insertion into violent areas is necessary to display strength over non-state actors like drug cartels (Penglase 2014, 169). Brazilian military units typically participate in these events, supporting the PM and their heavily armed tactical police units like the BOPE (Vandenberg 2015, 10; Riccio 2013, 313). The state has to display a monopoly of violence and complete armed supremacy over adversaries, while mitigating civilian casualties (Brown 2011, 5). Clearing is labor intensive; one-thousand tactical police were needed to clear the favela of Complexo de Alemão (Vandenberg 2015, 18; Riccio 2013, 312). Unlike past police operations, the security forces remain to: create the UPP, maintain the occupation, and clear the areas of gangs.

The UPP's strategy revolves around a decentralized community policing model, which ultimately enhances local police responses (Riccio 2013, 308). Each UPP is unique and is organized to operate in the environment where they are policing (Riccio 2013, 313). Initially, the police desire to rid armed groups of public spaces, drug dealing locations, and drug trade routes (Riccio 2013, 313). While the UPP conduct pacification operations and community policing; armed groups are hesitant to conduct reprisal killings, due to the threat of the BOPE. The psychological impact of BOPE operations can provide security to the UPP and is a deterrent to armed groups, who may consider targeting the UPP. Stabilization operations require some

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<sup>29</sup> Occupation adequately defines the initial phase of UPP operations. Here, large quantities of heavily armed police, often supported by military assets like armored vehicles and helicopters, regain control of areas not governed, by the Brazilian state.

type of physical force to ensure the security of community based forces.<sup>30</sup> The key difference between COIN and pacification is the primary use of police forces, instead of using mostly military structures. Police have institutional and operational flexibility that military forces do not. Police are better suited to deal with armed groups that have to constantly adapt to survive (Thompson 2013, 54). Finally, police can operate overtly and covertly, as they are not required to wear uniforms; this enhances community relations, as information and intelligence operations are enabled by undercover police using networks of informants (Thompson 2013, 55). In this case, a small number of undercover police can help uniformed police actions.

Once the UPP is established, how do they develop and support the community and maintain state presence? What makes the UPP different, from past Brazilian pacification programs, is that they have government support through the PM. The decree to support this program places the UPP under the structure of the PM, with a mission to conduct a special operation of pacification and public order (Vandenberg 2015, 17). While the BOPE are tactical in nature and episodic; the UPP is a political force and program used to support political, developmental, and economic ends (Sampaio 2015).

The UPP have to maintain a locale within the favela to display a commitment to the community and appear as a rival to the triad of armed groups<sup>31</sup>. Based off of statistics, Vandenberg makes a clear argument that the UPP is doing neither. Community policing requires consistency and overt presence in the favelas. United States Army COIN doctrine requires a ratio of 1 counterinsurgent for every 25 people in the community; while Brazil is not fighting a

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<sup>30</sup> In the Iraq War, Special Forces and Rangers filled this role; in Afghanistan, Afghan Commandos protected Afghan Local Police forces, and in Vietnam, air cavalry provided combat power for small sized elements. Even at the tactical level this relationship is common, as Army Special Operation's Civil Affairs typically operate with or are task organized with Navy Seals or Green Berets.

<sup>31</sup> The first step of occupation is developing a UPP station at the entrance to the favela as a means of populace and resource control, as well as a simple display of state presence.

counterinsurgency, its violence levels and operational presence is similar to a counterinsurgency effort (Penglase 2014, 169). As a whole, Brazilian police have one officer for every 320 people. In Rio's favelas, the UPP have a 1:60 ratio in the favelas (Vandenberg 2015, 20). Clearly, there is a utility of force mismatch and lack of force for the problem, especially in the more violent communities (Sampaio 2015).

Another argument is that there has to be an understanding that police and military institutions are part of a bigger strategy of pacification. The tactical objectives of units like the BOPE have to meet the goals and objectives of the pacification strategy, as there is an emphasis on public policing and civil security components in that strategy, which require a spectrum of lethal and non-lethal applications (Sampaio 2015). Apparently, this is not happening within the UPP, as the program suffers from lack of legitimacy within the PM. The PM and UPP programs have institutional friction. The UPP were surveyed and in 2011, 70% of those asked said they would rather work in a traditional tactical battalion (Vandenberg 2015, 23). Non-UPP also look down on the program and the amount of resources provided to it. Many see the PM as the force people respect, likely a result of their harsh methods in comparison to the UPP, which is centered on community action and pacification. The lack of appreciation for the non-lethal spectrum of options should be concerning to policymakers and planners, as both lethal and non-lethal operations should be coordinated, implemented, and overlapped to support a specific goal or end-state. One thing that strikes me in this research is that the fact that favelados have a strong national identity and even respect the police in most surveys, despite brutal historic violence. There is a general belief that police forces have undergone major institutional changes, a result of the UPP and community policing (Jovchelovitch 2013, 96). The concerning factor is the prejudice felt by the security sector for the people of these communities reflected in the lack of

concern or respect for the UPP. For the UPP to work there needs to be significant reform within the institution to align the lines of effort of all the police and security institutions. There must be a broad range of options for the UPP, that include security and non-security institutions, to include development, tactical raids, community art, presence patrolling, schooling, technology, and governance training.

#### *4.7 The Results*

Saying the UPP is a grand success or great failure is difficult, there is tremendous room for growth and improvement. Additionally, the program is still relatively new and monitoring needs to continue in order to judge the program's success. The program has increased significantly in scale and scope; however, it is apparent the most violent regions of Rio are still being ignored (Appendix Five). The development phase lacks clear goals; while, the UPP appear to deficient to develop long-term (Vandenberg 2015, 57). Also, the police are killing too many people and this is detrimental to the program. The UPP is a large program, taking an alternative approach to domestic security, and there is much room for improvement.

The initial concentration of the program is in tourist areas such as: Ipanama, Leblon, and Copacabana, located on the southern side of the city where the majority of Rio's economic activity occurs (Vandenberg 2015, 23; Appendix Five). Interestingly, the majority of the most violent of the favelas are militia controlled and UPPs are yet to be implemented. The UPP is focused on drug cartel controlled areas, where the traffickers are closest to their customers, those who reside in the wealthy and tourist areas (Vandenberg 2015, 28). Appendix five depicts the employment of the UPP in former drug gang controlled areas, while militia controlled areas are being ignored on the periphery of the city; especially, in the western zone one of the most violent places in Rio and in Brazil (Penglase 2014, 167; Appendix Five).

The initial UPPs were placed in tourist regions or in less violent areas perhaps to test the program. This makes sense from an implementation standpoint, which afforded the program time to develop, grow in influence, and notoriety; however, for favelados experiencing status-quo violence, they still remain in very dangerous communities.<sup>32</sup> The consequences of this decision though have created a divided city where violence is acceptable in some areas and where violence is not in others. The credibility of the UPP can only be gained through pacification of the most violent areas of Brazil. If the UPP are being implemented, in only low violence areas, then the program will suffer credibility in the PM institution, where friction is already apparent between direct action and pacification units. Simply, the UPP program is close to eight years old and it has worked in many areas; the PM need to push, develop, and use the program in Rio's most violent areas.

Arguably, pacification could worsen police corruption. Larkin's argues that the worst fear of favela residents has taken place, power sharing between police and drug traffickers (Larkins 2015, 146). This could explain the failure of addressing militia areas, which offer few financial incentives for police institutions; indeed, some favela residents believe that the Brazilian police have basically become overt militias battling drug dealers for turf and money. It has to be acknowledged that the police and militias have deep ties, originating with the first formations of the militias.<sup>33</sup> Police and militias avoid confrontation and typically militias are not targeted as frequently as drug gangs. A clear strategy to confront the militias remains elusive.

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<sup>32</sup> Heightened violence can be a consequence of securing the city center first, which pushes armed groups into new areas where they clash with competing gangs and militias. Long-term, this method of forcing intra-armed group conflict could benefit the police and the UPP program as a whole, but come at the cost of higher casualties of civilians as armed groups are displaced and have to fight and use resources to find new safe havens.

<sup>33</sup> This is even depicted in the widely popular movie series *Elite Squad*, where members of the BOPE fight against an intertwined Civil Police and militia conspiracy.

The development phase of the UPP lacks complete delineation, as evaluation and monitoring phases are not defined (Vandenberg 2015, 23). For a long term program like UPP to be successful, police programs and strategies cannot just rely on raids, arrest numbers, and metrics like drugs seized. The UPP need other options to connect, empower, and integrate into the favelas. Brazilian interagency, nongovernmental organizations, private business, media, public sector services, and security forces efforts should support these pacification efforts. Brazilian military police do not have a record of ensuring security and guaranteeing human rights and they are the lead on the strategy; however, this is not necessarily a bad thing, as the PM are likely not just going to be disbanded. Instead, programs, retraining, and intergovernmental efforts should be used in conjunction with the PM to create change overtime. Instead of using only the BOPE, the Brazilian Military should consider using Brazilian Special Forces, whose origins stem from the United States, to display the effectiveness of lethal and nonlethal ways and means to achieve tactical and operational ends (Pinheiro 2012, 43).<sup>34</sup> A win and a success that perhaps has not been sold to security institutions is that community policing forces can significantly reduce the proliferation of gun violence and drug trafficking and sales (Vandenberg 2015, 43).<sup>35</sup>

Brazilian police operations are arresting and killing too many people; between 2009-2013 Brazilian police killed 11,000 people averaging six people per day (Vandenberg 2015, 5). Despite this stark reality, there is overarching support of police in Brazil, even in favelas; the perception that a “good criminal is a dead criminal” speaks to the support to what the Brazilian police are trying to do (Vandenberg 2015, 12). Ultimately, as areas are pacified and brought

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<sup>34</sup> The Brazilian Special Forces have a long history of training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina at the United States Special Warfare and School, where US Army Special Operation’s Soldiers are assessed, trained, and qualified.

<sup>35</sup> A policy to legalize some forms of drugs, like marijuana, could benefit policing efforts and reduce the power of drug gangs; this has been recently tried in Uruguay, with success.

back into municipal and state control, the UPP are likely the medium to quell prejudice through their ability to reduce popular fear of favela violence. Implementing UPPs means more police officers are at risk; however the alternative is only using police for raids and tactical operations. The hope is that the UPP learns from its successes and failures in an effort to acknowledge its critics.

The mission of the UPP is to earn the trust of the favela residences through the art of community policing. Indeed the mission is difficult, as public prejudices and police violence against the favelas have led to a history of public security failures. There are multiple debates on whether the UPP is working. Brazilian sociologist and domestic security expert Ignacio Cano stated in 2014 that “the UPPs have not managed to inspire the overall model of public security” (Vandenberg 2015, 48). This stems from a cultural problem within Brazilian police forces, which have had a violent direct action stance for decades. In a BBC documentary on the BOPE, the commander Marco Antonio Gripp refers to war six-times throughout the ten minute video (BBC 2014). Changing the PMs war-footing and repressive like stance into pacification is not an easy or quick transition, naturally the strategy and means to execute it are experiencing significant friction that will resolve over time if the proper messages convey success and political policy supports pacification. Transforming deadly and combat focused elements into pacification forces is not easy and takes significant time.<sup>36</sup> One of the issues with the UPP is their inability to quantify and sell their successes to their respective institutions.<sup>37</sup> Additionally,

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<sup>36</sup> This is caused by what David Galula would call “Adaptation of Minds,” where a security or military force must adapt to a new mission set; in the case of Brazil, security forces must change from tactical raids and arrests to community policing. Such adaptation requires that police, soldiers, and leaders alter their previously held beliefs of how operations are planned and executed (Galula 1967, 66). Such adaptation requires deep institutional reforms in training, planning, and implementation of policies and programs

<sup>37</sup> US Army Civil Affairs encounter similar problems as they lack short term metrics required by immediate-result focused leadership.



wins within the UPP need to be sold to the entire PM organization; institutional bias does not help the pacification strategy and will eventually doom it to failure if security forces, as a whole do not understand the entire strategy, the intent of the state, and its history of tactical wins, but long-term failures.

The UPP program is ambitious, and it is not yet known if the program will last after the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Rio Olympics. This program is important for US military leaders to understand, as pacification was rolled out in heavily urbanized centers and conurbations that are not entirely different from other regions experiencing urbanization. Additionally, while Brazil's military and police are very competent, their tactics and methods have been brutal at times. Brazil's police are too good at soldiering and not good enough at being representatives of the population. What the UPP should not become, is a security strategy that becomes a form of favela control, which will actually worsen the divide between the state, the city, and favela (McCann 2014, 192).

For the United States, foreign internal defense programs and regional aligned engagements replace counter-insurgency missions, the military will have to adopt a different approach to engaging foreign partners or building foreign military structures. Important to the UPP is the idea of institutional friction within the PM, as lethal versus nonlethal spectrums come at odds with one another. This dilemma thus remains important and is not unique to armed forces and the United States military. Globally, people will continue to move to slums, the world will continue to urbanize, and government institutions will continue to be overwhelmed. The following chapter expands on the strategic significance of improved Brazil and US military relations given the case of Brazil and domestic security operations as a glimpse into possible problems elsewhere.

## CHAPTER 5: Strategic Significance

*“It (UPP) could be a model for sparking the discussion of the provision of public security, as a fundamental right of nation’s citizens. It could be a model for slum integration into emerging market economies with the use of the police. It could be a model for a strategy to decrease violence in areas with abnormally high rates. If the UPP is to be used as a model, most importantly, it must be seen as an incomplete version” (Vandenberg 2015, 62).*

The United States and Brazil have a long history. The United States was the first country to recognize Brazil as an independent nation in 1824 and was the first to open a consulate there in 1808; both moves were meant to undermine European power in the Western Hemisphere. While Brazil is geographically isolated, its location is mutually beneficial to itself and the United States.<sup>38</sup> Historically, Brazil has benefitted by its historic military alliances, rooted in World War I, and its close economic ties to the United States.<sup>39</sup>

Global urbanization means that Brazil is the place to learn from the future operating environment. Here, the United States has an environment to learn, gather information, research technology, improve regional security efforts, and support a trusted ally that is focusing significant resources on urbanization, slumification, and domestic security challenges. An opportunity is available for Special Operations Command, military academics, diplomats and policymakers. First, the United States and Brazil have an old “special relationship” that has lasted for a century; this relationship should be fostered and improved. Second, Brazil is the

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<sup>38</sup> Despite Brazil’s historical geostrategic importance in world events, its physical location has given it the opportunity to mostly focus inward (Goodman 2009, 6). The initial remoteness of Brazil’s population meant that the state was isolated from violence that beset other countries in the region. The Amazon, likely the second greatest natural obstacle in the world after the Sahara, prevented the Brazilian state for its first couple centuries to look west, as the ocean was a better alternative to unmapped triple canopy rainforest. This isolation resulted in a status quo nation that did not seek to expand beyond its massive borders; as the borders are seen as defined, secure, and protected (Bitencourt 2009, 4 and 14). Amazingly, with even greater emphasis, is the fact that Brazilian president had never set foot in Peru or Colombia until 1981 (Goodman 2009, 6).

<sup>39</sup> The United States and Brazil share a mutual frustration in foreign policy and diplomacy with the rest of Latin America. Brazilian President Emilio Medici, in jest, told American President Richard Nixon that both their frustrations with Latin America were because, “Brazilians speak Portuguese and Americans English” (Goodman 2009, 6).

second largest democracy in the Western Hemisphere, with the direction of the two nations tied to peace and security in the region, as seen by World War I, World War II, and Haitian Earthquake relief. Third, US-South American policy has been repeatedly squandered and building a mutually beneficial relationship with Brazil is geostrategically important to both nations.<sup>40</sup> Few in the interagency know Brazilian Portuguese and there are few Brazilian experts to provide policy guidance, which limits the United States' ability to maintain a nested and consistent foreign policy with the country (O'Neil 2010, 3). Finally, Brazilian and American security and humanitarian interests are likely tied; this is exhibited by the large deployments of Brazilian and American soldiers and assistance workers to the 2010 Haitian earthquake.

Brazil has developed exceptionally well the last four decades. As the second largest democracy in the Western Hemisphere, it remains geostrategically important to the United States and the region. Brazil's military and development efforts on crime and poverty should be an eye opener for Special Operations Command's planners and policymakers. Brazil has a professional military with commando, psychological operations, and Special Forces capacity. Brazil is almost a glimpse into the future of challenges that could arise in Asia and Africa; the problems faced by the Brazilian state are currently being dealt with in Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico.<sup>41</sup> The United States has over thirty treaties with Brazil, but few are for national defense (White House 2015). By strengthening military to military engagement, the United States has the opportunity to build Brazil's military capacity, strengthen political relationships, and provide a semi-permissive environment where SOCOM's troops can train and learn for other endeavors overseas.

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<sup>40</sup> Arguably, US policy is tilted towards Spanish speaking countries due to cultural connection, colonial history, and lack of Brazilian expertise in the national capital region (O'Neil 2010, 3).

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix Four that lists 46 out of 50 of the world's most violent cities are in Central and South America.

### *5.1 Urbanization and the Challenges of the Future Environment*

The United States Army forecasts that it will at some point operate in a megacity and it is ill-prepared to do so (Harris et al. 2014, 3). Indeed, this forecast displays a contrast to Army Doctrine, which tends to avoid urban terrain in conventional conflicts. Historical battles in Stalingrad and Hue depict the risk, high casualties, and arduous modern conditions urban terrain present. Current, past, and future urban trends show that megacities, conurbations, and slums are likely the epicenters of conflict and interventions. Concerning to the United States and specific to Brazil was the unrest in Sao Paolo, in 2012. Here, a state with over 200 million people and the world's eighth largest economy was deliberately threatened by nonstate armed groups. Drug cartels staged coordinated attacks and mass prison uprisings over the course of the month, placing the city at a standstill. When the chaos was cleared up, 294 civilians were killed, as well as 106 police officers. This was a direct challenge to the state by armed groups, who control domestic ungoverned spaces. The Army Strategic Studies Group says it best, "to ignore megacities is to ignore the future" (Harris et al. 2014, 4).

The United States military envisions operations in megacities as unavoidable, as the center of gravity for the human domain becomes increasingly urban (Harris et al. 2014, 166). Currently, there are twenty-three megacities, an estimated fifteen more are expected by 2030 (Harris et al. 2014, 172). The Army Strategic Studies Group believes that megacities are "blind-spots" where a strategic surprise could emerge, as a potential deployment to one of these places is likely. Migration and population growth are fueling the expansion of urban areas and conurbation. Additionally, cities are growing into daunting sizes, some expanding to over eighteen million people. As the world urbanizes, the United States military will have to adapt

training, equipment, and doctrine to complex urban environments that have complicated human networks and extensive layers of terrain.

Brazil, in stark contrast, focuses a significant percentage of its security resources on megacities (Harris et al. 2014, 166). Brazil is currently using combined arms maneuver involving aircraft, armored vehicles, and dismounted soldiers and police to target nonstate actors and hybrid armed groups, who require territory for their operations. Military and police joint operations are essential to pacification: military capabilities such as helicopters, armored personnel carriers, and intelligence gathering capabilities are used to enhance policing efforts (Harris et al. 2014, 118). Additionally, the military is benefiting from local level knowledge and human intelligence gathering capabilities that benefit police. Clearly the lessons learned, by Brazil's experience with the UPP and other domestic security forces would benefit the United States military.

Through the concept of the Global Special Operations Forces network, SOCOM operators maintain persistent and consistent relationships with host nation forces. This network built upon relationships and mutual trust would provide the US Military with the ability to learn about programs, policies and lessons learned implemented in urban terrain abroad. Special Operations Forces, through both persistent and episodic engagement programs, can build an understanding of host nation military forces, civil institutions, and other state and nonstate actors. However, Special Operations Forces are not exploring the challenges associated with operating in dense urban spaces (Harris et al. 2014, 22).

## 5.2 An *"imperfect model"*

As Vandenberg says the model of the UPP is far from perfect and is more incomplete than anything else. Despite the flaws of the program, the UPP has importantly brought the

narrative of favela problems to the forefront of Brazilian society. Significantly, the UPP are attempting to bridge the divide that has existed for decades between the city residents and the favelados. The model's failures come from a range of issues like poverty, violence, proliferation of guns, poverty, lack of services, and lack of formal political representation. History also complicates the problem, as police institutions were used, historically, as a means to repress anti-government sentiment. Through SOCOM programs that enhance regional military to military engagement, there is a significant opportunity for both countries.

The United States Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) has the capacity to fill gaps missing in the Brazilian military, like Civil Affairs capability (Pinheiro 2012). Indeed, one of the chief criticisms of the UPP and its efforts is the ability to provide follow on services, jobs, and development (Al-Jazeera 2010). Special Operations Civil Affairs have the capability to merge nongovernmental organizations, military operations, and government functions together to help in this regard by providing services to vulnerable populations. Military Information Support Teams (MIST) can also benefit Brazilian operations by aligning narratives and improving communication between the favela residents and host nation security forces. Additionally, SOCOM's Civil Military Engagement and Military Information Support programs have the deployment authorities, funding, and tools to provide training for host nation capacity building in nonlethal operations.

Many security analysts, both past and present, assert that there is a new need for police and military cooperation in urban environments. Kilcullen argues that defined lines between military and police units have the potential to be the undoing of security efforts in urban

environments (Kilcullen 2012, 32).<sup>42</sup> Dubbin argues that police and military should form intelligence and operations centers to enhance capabilities in urban environments (Dubbin 1974, 12). Kaplan argues that policing has to be part of active duty training. SOCOM's Civil Affairs forces and Special Forces are essential in dealing with youth, the unemployed, and building networks to cultivate informants, as community policing is central to the security environment (Kaplan 2005, 263). Additionally, Army Special Operations Forces collectively, are well versed in training police forces from the Village Stability Operations program of Afghanistan. What makes Brazil's problems unique is the fact that their UPP program is truly population centric; unlike foreign internal defense operations, which focus solely on host nation forces and armed actors.

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<sup>42</sup> ARSOF elements are small in size and foot print, as they live off the economy, wear civilian clothes, and are supported by host nation security forces. Special Forces elements also have the ability to operate covertly –in the non-overt definition- in urban environments with police and commando units if needed. Civil Affairs elements have the training, cultural understanding, and experience to operate with both military and police services.

## **CHAPTER 5: Conclusion**

Urbanization and slumification are changing how military and security institutions think about the strategic environment. With global trends pointing towards a world dominated by an urban character, the impacts on militaries will be tremendous as equipment, training, and doctrine are modified for these extremely vast and complicated places. Brazil's urbanization, as well as the rest of South America, is important (Appendix four and five). Brazil largely ignored its ungoverned spaces creating a divided and unequal society, where the problems of extreme armed group violence and consequential hostile policing affected a marginalized and segregated group of people.

It took decades of tactical mistakes for the Brazilian security apparatus to develop a new strategic approach, for dealing with drug cartels and armed groups. As the UPP continues to be implemented and developed, the United States Military should understand the variables that are influencing the program's successes and failures. Programs throughout the Americas are being implemented in places like Colombia and Mexico, where some have dubbed South and Central America as the laboratories for security policy. What's interesting about this region is that the term laboratory matches the reality. In places like Brazil, Ecuador, or Mexico there are concentrated areas of extreme violence that have little to no impact on the state; here responses are tested and in Brazil's case many were failures (Appendix Four).

What makes Brazil's case interesting is its desire to be on the grand stage of world affairs, rooted in President's Vargas' desire to be the sixth permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council. Brazil is seeking pacification to reduce violence, improve the quality of life of its people, and seek modernity to achieve global recognition. World events like the



FIFA World Cup and the upcoming Olympics may significantly help the stature of the Brazilian state, but if the UPP is defunded or the state resorts back to violent and repressive policing, the country will fail to achieve the elite status it has so desired.

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## APPENDIX ONE



The wealthy neighborhoods of southern Rio de Janeiro converge. Here, Copacabana, Arpoador, and Ipanema come together showing the true *Belinda* that is visually apparent, in Brazil.  
(photo: Matthew Holden, 2014)

## APPENDIX TWO



Favela at top Corcovado Mountain, near the Christ the Redeemer Statue; this neighborhood was occupied by the UPP in 2013. (photo: Matthew Holden, 2014)



### APPENDIX THREE

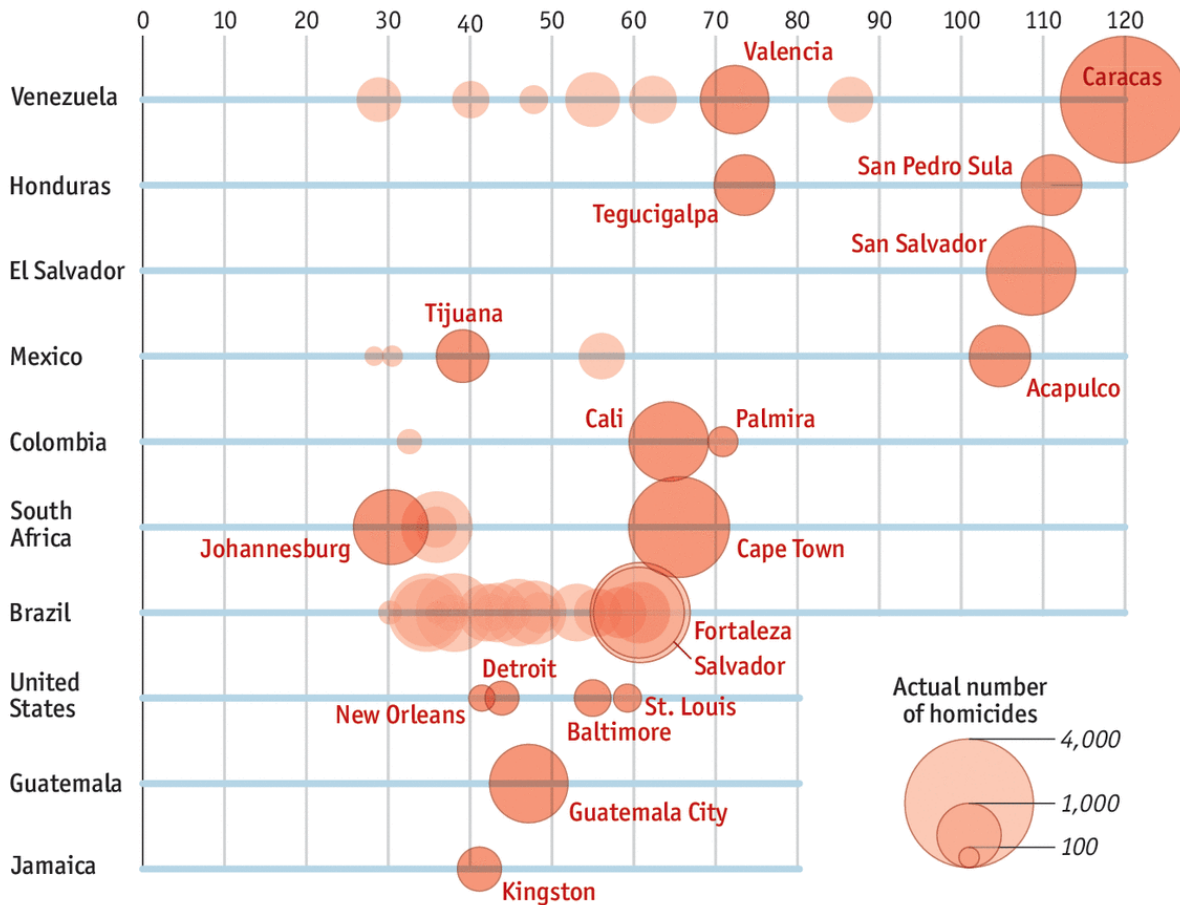


Map of Brazil's largest cities, depicting their littoral nature (ArcGIS Explorer: Matthew Holden, 2016).

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Murderous metropolises

Homicides per 100,000 population, 50 worst cities\*, 2015



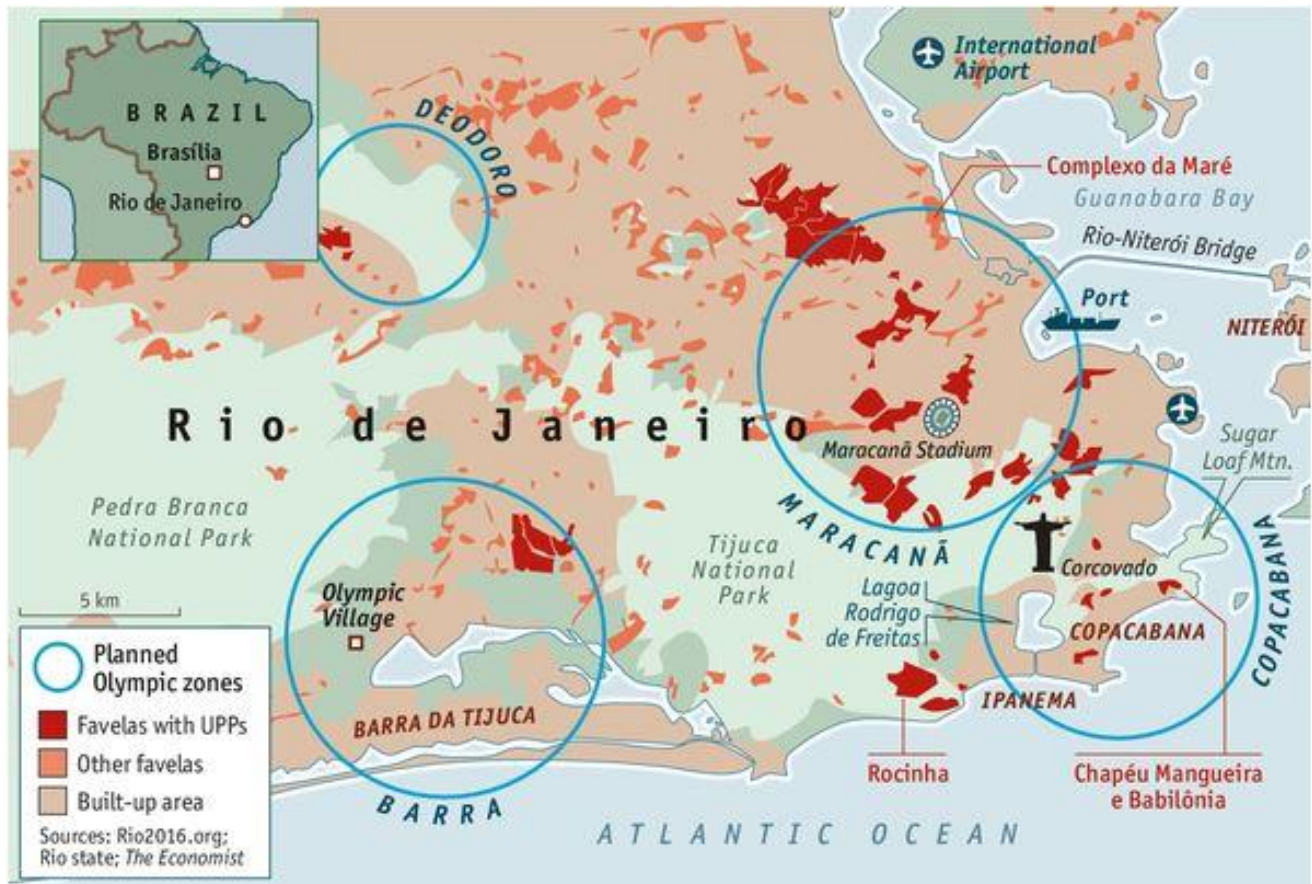
Source: Citizens' Council for Public Security and Criminal Justice

\*With populations of 300,000 or more

Economist.com

Thirty-two of Brazil's cities rank in the top fifty most violent cities. South America/Central America, as a whole, account for forty-six of the fifty. Out of the top fifty, only one Cape Town, South Africa is not in the Americas (Daily Chart, Graphic Detail 2016).

## APPENDIX FIVE



Map provided by Rio2016 and *The Economist*, depicting favela locations –as one can see their concentration in the North and West- and the implementation of UPP programs that are focused pacifying areas near the 2016 Olympic locations.