The Manguinhos communities in the history of favelas in Rio de Janeiro

Tania Maria Fernandes[1] and Renato Gama-Rosa Costa[2]

Abstract

This article aimed at discussing the trajectory of the Manguinhos communities, in the context of favelas in the city of Rio de Janeiro, mainly concerning housing and urban policies and occupation proceedings. The centennial history of this region reflects urban space disputes and the complexity of the favelas theme upon historical problems connected to this kind of housing, community, and locality.

Keywords: history; *favelas*; Manguinhos; Rio de Janeiro.

As comunidades de Manguinhos na história das favelas no Rio de Janeiro

Resumo

Este artigo buscou discutir a trajetória das comunidades de Manguinhos, no universo das favelas da cidade do Rio de Janeiro, no que diz respeito às políticas de habitação e urbanização e aos processos de ocupação. A história centenária dessa região reflete a disputa pelo espaço urbano e a complexidade do tema das favelas, frente aos problemas historicamente vinculados a tal tipo de moradia, comunidade e localidade.

Palavras-chave: história; favelas; Manguinhos; Rio de Janeiro.

Las comunidades de Manguinhos en la historia de las favelas en Río de Janeiro

Resumen

Este artículo buscó discutir la trayectoria de las comunidades de Manguinhos, en el universo de las favelas de la ciudad de Río de Janeiro, respecto a las políticas de habitación y urbanización y los procesos de ocupación. La historia centenaria de esa región refleja la disputa por el espacio urbano y la complejidad del tema de las favelas, frente a los problemas históricamente vinculados a este tipo de vivienda, comunidad, y localidad.

Palabras clave: historia; favelas; Manguinhos; Río de Janeiro.

Les communautés de Manguinhos dans l'histoire des bidonvilles à Rio de Janeiro

Résumé

Cet article traite de l´histoire des communautés de Manguinhos (RJ), dans le monde des bidonvilles (favelas) de cette ville, non seulement en ce qui concerne les politiques d´habitation et d´urbanisation, mais aussi les process de occupation. L´histoire centenaire de cette région reflète la lutte pour l´espace urbain et la complexité de la question des bidonvilles, face aux problèmes historiquement associés à ce type de logement, de communauté et d´emplacement.

Mots-clés: histoire; bidonvilles (*favelas*); Manguinhos; Rio de Janeiro.

This text was carried out as a broader historical interinstitutional research about life in Manguinhos, a popular living area in Rio de Janeiro. It focused on issues that involve the main housing and urban policies, the origin of the residents and processes of occupation throughout the 20th century, especially after the 1950s.

The team of this investigation was comprised of researchers from *Fundação Oswaldo Cruz* (Fiocruz), research technicians living in the communities and students from schools in the area who work at Fiocruz. The institution was guided by the belief that stories and memories shared between residents and investigators can contribute with the reduction of inequalities and the promotion of basic civil and political rights for this population, by means of actions and debates in interdisciplinary fields involving public health. In just a few pages, it may be hard to detect the process experienced by these actors and the mutual learning that this relationship has provided us, transforming all of those involved in the research into partners of a history being built around shared knowledge.

The area of Manguinhos, where the communities in this study are located, is to the North of Rio de Janeiro, on the banks of Baía de Guanabara, occupied throughout the 20th century by popular houses which were established due to actions from individuals and groups, or by means of public living policies in a reality that counters the abandonment of governors and the struggle of residents. The name of the location points to one of its main features, of a mangrove area, which nowadays cannot really be seen because of the intense grounding that occurred in the 20th century due to the waste coming from the city or debris from major urbanization work.

It is a set of communities with very peculiar internal specificities, which gathers different origins, stories and profiles, as well as historically shaped social constructions, with a close relation to political, economical and social determinants that built the major Brazilian cities throughout the 20th century.

The incorporation of the word "community", instead of "favela", as a socio-spatial reference has been treated as a collective group decision, since it is present in the routine of Manguinhos and explicit in the stories of the interviewees, with relation to different meanings to the several terminologies indicated for such social groups.

The words that try to replace name "favela", such as "community", "complex" and classifications such as "groups" or "subnormal agglomerates", and also "neighborhood", are actually trying to create new connotations to the term, and not really contributing with significant change. The word 'community' began to be used inside social movements with the expectation to end prejudice against both the temporariness and the violence and marginality that are associated with it. It is also connected to the work of community institutions and to some fields of social sciences, which demonstrate a form of cooperation *in common*, and such term, according to Lúcia Ozório, "confirms the community in the favela, intensifying senses connected to freedom and sharing processes".[1] Despite the perspective of replacement, the names favela

---

[1] Lúcia Ozório, *Perspectivas da pesquisa comunitária:* comunidade como práxis e seus diálogos com as histórias orais de vida, 2006. Available from: <http://www.revispsi.uerj.br/v7n1/artigos/html/v7n1a04.htm>, access on: February 28, 2012.

and community are still used, as Linda Gondim points out, "as an attribute of a social and group identity".[2] As it was possible to observe in the work with the residents, participating or not in the project, both names are associated with the context and the use to which they are related in claiming processes, brand belonging or explicit changes, functioning as a game of interests and senses.

The word 'complex' means a group of favelas, and it was first used by the police, but it is also used by the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC/Manguinhos), even though it is not used by the residents in general, at least in Manguinhos.

The denomination 'subnormal' was incorporated by the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE) to define areas that were "disposed in a disorganized and dense way, and mostly lacking essential public services" (2003),[3] and it also proves the difference between areas defined as normal and, consequently, abnormal, reaffirming them as zones of exclusion

'Urban community' or 'neighborhood' have also been recently used in Rio de Janeiro as a governmental justification to minimize the distance between the spaces in the city. However, it is set as a strategy to decrease the number of favelas, and consequently try to minimize the "problem", which led to the positioning of several public and private instances of residents. The role of the State and the distribution of public services in the different spaces of the city are matters that divide these opinions and show different views towards the populations.[4]

The word 'community' began to be used inside social movements with the expectation to end prejudice against the violence and marginality that are associated with it

The characters participating in this contemporaneous urban history were relevant for these studies, and the interviews conducted with the residents of Manguinhos enabled the identification of these actors with their space and history, in the different versions that came up concerning the several processes of occupation and relations with communities. The methodology of Oral History, in this sense, has stood out next to other sources (reports, programs and projects, legislation and press), encouraged by the broad bibliography about urbanization and favelas in Brazil. The testimonials in this scenario compose collective work, in which the narrative is seen as a process of social construction based on memory with the factors that surround it and build a set of versions, which becomes rich when seen as such.

[2]Linda Maria de Pontes Gondim, *Habitação Popular, Favela e Meio Ambiente*. I Encontro Nacional da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo, 2010, Rio de Janeiro. I ENANPARQ - Arquitetura, cidade, paisagem e território: percursos e prospectivas. Rio de Janeiro, PROURB, 2010, vol. 1, p. 12.

[3]*Censo Demográfico 2010. Aglomerados subnormais. Primeiros resultados*. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE. Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão. Available from: <http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/92/cd_2010_aglomerados_subnormais.pdf>, access on February 28, 2012.

[4]Duilo Victor; Rogério Daflon; Waleska Borges, "Novo rótulo para a velha miséria", *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 31 de maio de 2011; Rogério Daflon, Selma Schmidt, "O caminho para se chegar à cidade formal", *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 5 de junho de 2011.

The residents who have not been completely included in this text, but who compose the present studies, were selected in contacts and visits to communities with the assistance of those who work in the project and gather residents and leaderships associated with residents associations, elderly or not. Also, some technicians from the City Hall with histories connected with urbanization and housing projects addressed to favelas were interviewed.

Cities and urbanization in brazil: where do the poor stay?

The population density in major Brazilian cities, especially after the 1950s, as a consequence of the increased industrial activity in the urban space against the agricultural instability as a result of draughts and the estate system, occurred without the correlation of equality between employment, housing and urban structure, as demonstrated in the broad bibliography on the subject. Industrial cities were created and, as pointed out by Lefebvre,[5] they were also associated with the growth of commercial capital, capitalists, markets and low cost manpower — that is, poor people who, in Brazil, with the great migration, ended up concentrated in the South and Southeast regions.

The valorization of urban land led to increase and changes not only of the space characteristics, but also those of the society itself. Brazilian social and economic policies and the lack of urban and housing planning, besides the organization of the society itself, contributed to stimulate the occupation processes, typologically characterized as favelas, in differential spaces, placed apart from the city as zones of exclusions marked by social inequalities, even if being intrinsic to the physical space of the city.

The proximity of houses, the collective solutions for infrastructure problems, the sociability, the relation with poverty and temporariness, as well as the way of facing prejudicial reactions superficially characterize this typology historically built on the idea that the favela is a space guided by different norms and rules in relation to urban territorial occupation. Indeed, such places present their own meanings, rules and codes, even though, as pointed out by Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos, they are "dived and deep into the urban culture, economy and society that are part of them",[6] composing the whole city.

The 1988 Constitution, as a response to the political process of retaking democracy, included proposals to strengthen local power guided by precepts of contemporaneous urban management present in governmental indications, in international behaviors concerning globalization, in new management manners, in the popular participation and in the explicitness and involvement in local projects, as pointed out by Bonduki.[7]

[5]Henri Lefebvre, *A revolução urbana, Belo Horizonte*, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 1999.

[6]Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos, Como projetar de baixo para cima: uma experiência em favela, *Revista de Administração Municipal*, n. 156, ano 26, Rio de Janeiro, IBAM, p. 7-27, 1980 *apud* Maria Laís Pereira da Silva, "Sobre as favelas e seus moradores: palavras de Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos", *Revista da Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*, n. 1, 2008, p. 11. In this text, Maria Laís analyzed several studies by Carlos Nelson.

[7]Nabil Bonduki, "Habitat e Qualidade de Vida: as práticas bem sucedidas em cidades brasileiras", *In*: _____. (org), *Habitat:* Práticas Bem Sucedidas em habitação, meio ambiente e gestão urbana nas cidades brasileiras. São Paulo, Studio Nobel, 1996.

Between 1985 and 2006, according to these constitutional guidelines for the organization of the urban space, the creation of neighborhoods and administrative regions was observed and began to integrate the areas considered as favelas, as an officially justified measure for the management of physical space and the structure of local services.[8]

The history of Rio de Janeiro is a model in terms of the configuration of favelas in a secular process that comprehended different stages, however, it was caused by segregationism in relation to the populations of low purchasing power. Major constructions in the center of the city associated with economic and public health matters and the destruction of popular houses, in the first years of the 20th century, besides the modernization of houses from the following decades, caused population dislocations and the occupation of hillsides and other areas by a considerable part of the population who was excluded from housing and economic improvements. The economic policy and the industrialization implemented in the 1950s also led the poor population to migrate and increased the favelas, and these people were abandoned to the negligence of the State and to the prejudice of an increasingly excluding urban society.

> *The history of Rio de Janeiro is a model in terms of the configuration of favelas in a secular process [...] caused by segregationism in relation to the populations of low purchasing power*

As a solution to what was seen as a social, political and juridical "problem", the formulation of many public policies was observed, which intercalated proposals of socialization, integration and, especially, eradication as a response to the interests established between the State and the dominant class facing the valorization of specific areas of the city and electoral actions.[9]

Until the 1980s, the favela in Rio de Janeiro was separated from the formal living structure, as analyzed by Maria Lais Pereira da Silva, Guida Nunes, Licia Valladares and Rafael Soares Gonçalves,[10] among others. These researchers considered the favelas as a blank space in the city maps, even though social movements claimed for a new action from the State, which was shown by

[8]Adriano Alem, *Breve relato sobre a formação das Divisões Administrativas na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – período de 1961 a 2007*, Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo, Instituto Pereira Passos, 2008.

[9]Andrelino Campos, *Do quilombo a favela*: a produção do espaço criminalizado, Rio de Janeiro, Bertrand, 2005; Marcelo Baumann Burgos, "Dos parques proletários ao Favela-Bairro", *In*: Marcos Alvito; Alba Zaluar (org), *Um século de favela*, Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2006; Marcos Alvito, *As cores de Acari: uma favela carioca*, Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Getulio Vargas, 2001.

[10]Maria Laís Pereira Silva, *Favelas cariocas (1930-1964)*, Rio de Janeiro, Contraponto, 2005; Guida Nunes, *Rio: metrópole de favelas*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1976; Lícia do Prado Valladares, *"A invenção da Favela: do mito de origem a favela.com"*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2005; Rafael Soares Gonçalves, "A Política, o Direito e as favelas do Rio de Janeiro: um breve olhar histórico", *Urbana Revista eletrônica do Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos da Cidade*, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, vol. 1, 2006. To see this text and previous issues, access: <http://www.ifch.unicamp.br/ciec/revista/>.

discussions and accomplishments concerning the 1988 Constitution. The formalization of these new neighborhoods and the incorporation of favelas did not change them substantially, since it was based on poor housing and urban options, unequal public services in relation to the rest of the city and excluding maintenance of the division of social work.

The Residents Association of favelas presents different roles in distinct conjunctures. Created in the early 1960s, and connected to popular movements, the favelas put together the political scenario of that moment, against the transfers and military dictatorship, which at times were associated with the Brazilian Communist party. It also aimed to solve collective problems which were a responsibility of the State in relation to basic services that were lacking or were poorly offered to the favelas, such as electric energy, water, sanitation and mail distribution.

In the same decade, due to dictatorship, the work of these institutions was connected to public power, especially by means of the Social Service Secretariat, which, with legislative support,[11] established control both of the favelas, concerning constructions, commerce, and light distribution, and the residents, with the requirement of individual registration.

With the process of political openness, at the end of the 1970s, and community mobilization, new residents associations were created in the favelas and reestablished the discussion concerning the right to citizenship, while facing other forms of articulated organizations, mostly related to drug dealing, not very similar to those which originated them. Crime and violence imposed by traffic in these spaces changed the focus of interests, destroyed the current social contract and established specific rules with another logic, connected to fear and oppression. Most negotiations and claims were then intermediated by such groups in a process of criminalization of poverty and the lack of political character in popular classes.

Other leaderships and community actions were displaced to specific movements related to the different forms of cultural expression, such as the hip hop and the graffiti, looking for reflection and action trying to attract adolescents and avert them from crime and traffic. Also, some forums were created to conduct debates and actions on the democratic State of rights by the creation of managing counsels and the performance of thematic conferences, pointing to new forms of confrontation and popular organization.

Changes observed in the Brazilian urban space in the past hundred years substantially altered the cities. However, in most cases they ignored the identity of the person living in the favela as their 'place', promoting evictions and inadequate constructions to the social and familiar profiles, like in the case of Manguinhos.

In the early 21st century, the implantation of the Growth Acceleration Program and the performance of the Olympic Games reinforced the existence of favelas in Brazilian politics, with discussions on the contemporaneity of urban space, thus causing an impact over Manguinhos.

---

[11]Decrees 870, from 1967, and 3.330, from 1969, established the guidelines for the functioning and relationship between Residents Associations with the State, connecting them with public powers as an extension of the latter to the favelas.

Manguinhos in the historical contexts of urban projects: from slum to buildings

The occupation of Manguinhos in the 20th century is associated with general socioeconomic aspects, social spatial changes, public policies and dense occupation, besides the construction in the marginal areas of Baía de Guanabara, which changed its original configuration — grounding its coves, beaches, small islands, rivers and mangroves.[12] A beautiful scenario at the bay bank was destroyed by insanitary material, such as waste and debris, transforming it into a living area for "a specific type of person: those in the favelas", as pointed out by the resident Gleide Guimarães.[13]

The secular occupation of this area formed a very diverse set of houses with characteristics of what is generally called a favela, outside the formal housing standards and with absence or lack of public services, with a total of approximately 60,000 residents in 2010. It is characterized as a region with serious environmental problems, with air, water and soil pollution caused by the natural waste both from industries and houses in the rivers that pass by the region, besides the proximity to Brasil avenue and the oil refinery of Manguinhos (*Refinaria de Petróleos de Manguinhos S.A*.), as observed in Figure 1.

Between the 1920s and the 1940s, many urbanization proposals, including the Improvement Plan created by Donat-Alfred Agache,[14] were presented for the area, which still had a few houses, pointing it as being strategic for industrial and housing growth due to the proximity to the center of the city and the port region, which would contribute with the installation of an industrial zone in Manguinhos. Another project proposed for the region predicted the creation of a parkway along the river Faria-Timbó aiming to transform Manguinhos into one of the "most attractive outskirts in Rio".[15] During the administration of mayor Henrique Dodsworth (1937–1945), the 'Plan of Rio de Janeiro' was created and incorporated the Faria-Timbó parkway and the Agache Plan (1927–1930), and also proposed the transformation of Manguinhos into an urbanized industrial neighborhood. These projects were limited to grounding, river rectification and construction of some housing sets.[16]

Up until the 1970s, with the occupation of houses, Manguinhos went through the implantation of several industries and public or private companies, such as *Instituto Oswaldo Cruz* – IOC (nowadays, *Fundação Oswaldo Cruz*), the Mail and Telegraph Company (ECT), the Brazilian telecommunications company (Embratel) and the Brazilian supply

---

[12]Elmo Amadro, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 08 de setembro de 2005; Alexandre Pessoa, "Manguinhos como pôde ser, ou: pequena história esquecida do subúrbio carioca", *Revista da Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*, n. 2, 2010.

[13]Gleide Guimarães, *Manguinhos*: histórias de pessoas e lugares. Vídeo documentário. Fiocruz/ LTM e COC, 2009. To visualize it, acess: <http://www.conhecendomanguinhos.fiocruz.br/?q=node/130>.

[14]Alfred Hubert Donat Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*: remodelação, extensão e embelezamento, Plano Agache, Rio de Janeiro, Foyer Brésilien, 1930.

[15]José de Oliveira Reis, "Notícia sobre o Park-Way Faria-Timbó", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, vol. 10, n. 2, 1943, 94 p.

[16]The proposals of intervention for Manguinhos bewteen the 1920s and the 1940s were not analyzed in this text, but such analysis can be found in the publication by Tania Maria Fernandes e Renato Gama-Rosa Costa, *História de Pessoas e Lugares*: memórias das comunidades de Manguinhos. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Fiocruz, 2010.
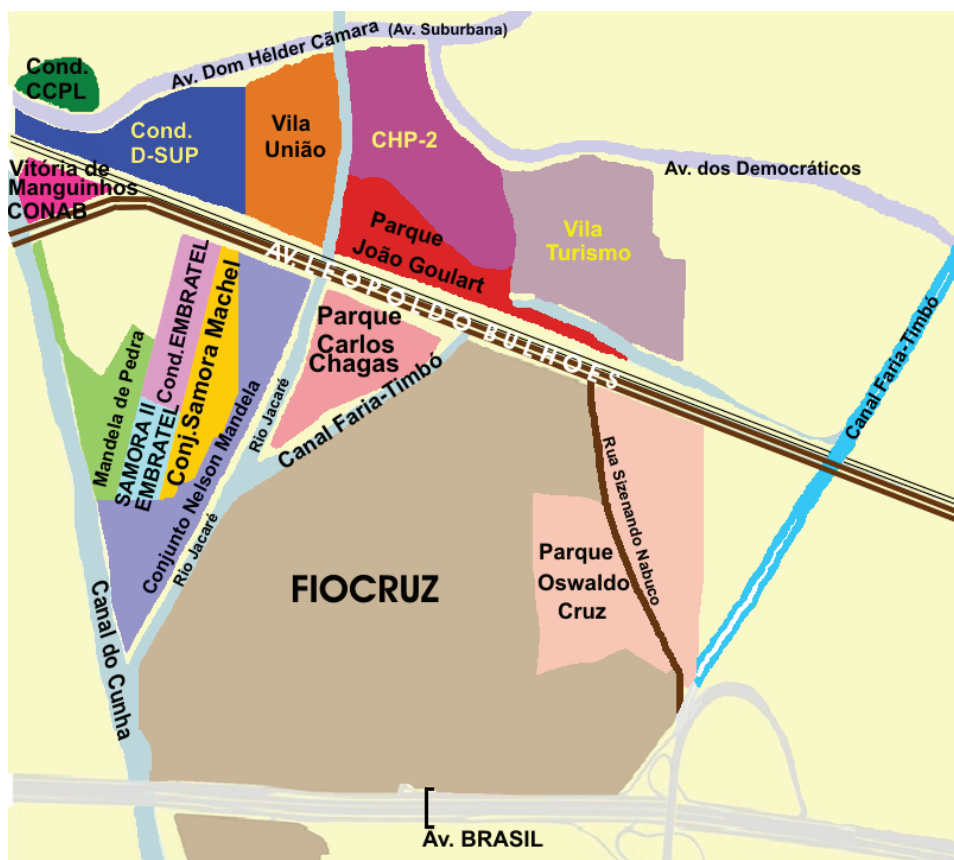
Figure 1. Illustration of the distribution of communities in the Manguinhos complex in 2013.

company (Conab), the oil refinery of Manguinhos and the cigarette factory Souza Cruz.

However, this process was not connected to a governmental program to create an industrial neighborhood, as predicted in projects proposed since the 1920s, but to economical factors, to the devaluation of the area and to the proximity to the city center. The availability of free spaces and the offer of jobs and low cost manpower were associated with population density and the implantation of companies.

The IOC, nowadays called *Fundação Oswaldo Cruz*, the oldest public institution in the area, was partly occupied by the construction of houses with no legal authorization, which reaffirmed the relationship between housing and work while incorporating the existing manpower and attracting new workers/residents. This process led to negotiations which involved the residents and the public power, in several instances and different conjunctures.[17] A deal established in 1922 between the institute, the Ministry of Transportation and Public Construction and *Empresa de Melhoramentos*, in Rio, presented the objective of "transforming the swamps and flooded areas into dry, healthy and

---

[17]The possession of the land belonging to Instituto Oswaldo Cruz was only carried out in 1948, when the Delivery Term was registered to Instituto Oswaldo Cruz concerning two pieces of land, establishing and officializing its area in Manguinhos.

irrigable fields".[18] These interventions, like others, however, did not turn the area of Manguinhos into "dry, healthy and irrigable fields", but instead they became humid and highly vulnerable, and took in a large number of people, usually migrants, who could not find a better place to stay in other parts of the city.

Throughout the 1940s and the 1950s, with populist and controlling politics, several institutions, such as *Departamento de Construções Proletárias* (DCP), *Departamento de Habitação Popular* (1946), *Fundação Leão XIII* (1947), *Cruzada São Sebastião* (1955) and the special service to recover favelas and anti-hygienic houses (SERFHA – 1956), implemented social policies and specific actions in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.[19] *Fundação Leão XIII,*[20] created by the Catholic Church because of the concern towards the possible political actions of communist groups in relation to the residents of the favelas, played an important role in these communities, in which they preached charity; registered residents for reallocation, control and maintenance of the housing complex; aimed to establish some basic services, such as water supply, functioning sewage, electric light and transports; and controlled the expansion of communities.[21]

In the 1950s, as in other parts of Rio de Janeiro, popular houses were built for specific groups, such as the Manguinhos complex, installed as a center of temporary housing, and Parque São José, supported by *Fundação das Pioneiras Sociais*, addressed to the public cleaning staff. Also, with characteristics of a permanent construction, the Mint complexes were built and addressed to its employees, ex-soldiers, and families of those who returned from the Second World War, as well as the Tiradentes Complex.

In the 1960s, in the first administrations of the Guanabara State, both Carlos Lacerda (1960–1965)[22] and Negrão de Lima (1965–1970) addressed policies for the favelas with removal actions connected to sociopolitical and economic interests. Negrão de Lima intensified removals with the work of *Coordenação de Habitação de Interesse Social da Área Metropolitana do Grande Rio* (CHISAM), and established great control on the residents associations with the Social Services Secretariat.

---

[18]Brazil Ferro-Carril, Rio de Janeiro, XIII: 271, 1922; Termo de ajuste entre o Instituto Oswaldo Cruz e a Empresa de Melhoramentos da Baixada Fluminense. DAD/FIOCRUZ, Fundo do Instituo Oswaldo Cruz, seção de Administração, série Administração Geral, 25/02/1922. Benedito Tadeu Oliveira; Renato Gama-Rosa Costa; Alexandre Pessoa, "Um Lugar para a Ciência. A formação do campus de Manguinhos". Rio de Janeiro, Fiocruz, 2003; Alexandre Pessoa, "Manguinhos como pôde ser, ou: pequena história esquecida do subúrbio carioca", *Revista da Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*, n. 2, 2010; Tania Maria Fernandes, Renato Gama-Rosa Costa, "História de Pessoas e Lugares: memórias das comunidades de Manguinhos", Rio de Janeiro, Fiocruz, 2010.

[19]Vitor Vincent Valla, "Educação, participação, urbanização: uma contribuição à análise histórica das propostas institucionais para as favelas do Rio de Janeiro, 1941-1980", *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 1, n. 3, p. 282-296, 1985; Flávia Brito, "Entre a estética e o hábito: o Departamento de Habitação Popular do Rio de Janeiro (1946-1960)", *In*: "Anais do VIII Seminário da História da Cidade e do Urbanismo". Niterói, novembro de 2004. To see this text and others, access: <http://web3.ufes.br/xishcu/cd-anais/anais-schu2010.html; Marcelo Baumann Burgos, "Dos parques proletários ao Favela-Bairro", In: Marcos Alvito, Alba Zaluar (org), *Um século de favela*, Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2006.

[20]One of the actions defined for Fundação Leão XIII was the "material and moral assistance to residents of hills and favelas in Rio de Janeiro". Estatutos da Fundação Leão XIII, Rio de Janeiro, fev. 1947, art. 1º.

[21]Gleide Guimarães, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 2004.

[22]Carlos Lacerda promoted the destruction of 27 favelas and the transference of 41,958 people. Lícia do Prado Valladares, *Passa-se uma casa: análise do Programa de remoção de favelas do rio de Janeiro*, Rio de Janeiro,Zaar Editores, 1978.

In the 1970s, the project originally designed by Jânio Quadros, in 1961, and retaken by the Supervision of Urbanization and Sanitation (SURSAN), in 1965, in the administration of Carlos Lacerda, was reanalyzed by Chagas Freitas, who founded *Projeto Rio* and *Programa de Erradicação de Favelas* (PROMORAR). Favelas have not been eradicated, and some of them went through urbanization processes, especially those located on palafittes.

The redemocratization of Brazil, at the end of the 1970s, incorporated some popular claims and inserted the creation of programs proposing urbanistic work and also including agrarian regularization, keeping the displacement between both issues. According to Rafael Gonçalves, it favored "the superdensification of favelas and the permanence of juridical precariousness".[23] The legislation that included usucapion and admitted the construction of houses without previous legal approval also contributed, and ruled out mass removals without pointing to a clear solution for the agrarian issue. The illegal occupation of lands favored the growth of the real-estate market and the constructions in favelas, whose documents had no legal value, however, they were valid inside the favela.

The movement to industrialize the area that took place in the 1950s changed directions after the last decade of the 20th century, with the deactivation of several industries and companies triggered by economical factors and, especially in this space, by the constant conflicts between groups organized around drug dealing and crime.[24] The dislocation of these institutions, or the liberation of part of these lands, was sometimes negotiated by groups of residents or leaderships, or even intermediated by the State, like the cases of Embratel and ECT, which enabled the construction of two housing complexes. Other areas, including the one of Embratel, were occupied without negotiation.

Governor Leonel Brizola, elected in 1983 with great popular support, incorporated popular claims to state policies and presented urbanization projects for the favelas, which encouraged the residents to replace the slums for brickwork. Programs such as "*Cada família um lote"* were established, however, without aggregating policies to make the property legal. Houses sold and rented in occupied lands became an important and valued market facing new constructions.

In the next decade, in the administration of César Maia, the program *Favela-Bairro* (1993) was implemented in Rio de Janeiro, obeying one of the guidelines from the 1988 Constitution and transforming favelas into neighborhoods. This factor assured the maintenance of permanent houses; however, it lacked the legal instrument of property. 'Curiously', Manguinhos was not included in this program for being an extremely complex area, with poverty pockets, high population density and drug dealing, and because it needed very complex and expensive technical alternatives due to the characteristics

---

[23]Rafael Soares Gonçalves, "A Política, o Direito e as favelas do Rio de Janeiro: um breve olhar histórico", Urbana Revista eletrônica do Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos da Cidade, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, vol. 1, 2006. p. 10.

[24]The recent process of disoccupation of urban areas by industries and companies was the result of an analysis formulated by Heitor Ney Mathias da Silva – *As ruínas da cidade industrial:* resistência e apropriação social do local – Master's dissertation presented in the Master's Degree Postgraduate Program of Urban and Regional Planning at *Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro,* Rio de Janeiro, 2008.

of the soil, the occupation of non-building areas the need of soil drainage and the installation of a wastewater collection system, as informed by the technicians of the City Hall back then, Marcia Garrido, José Stelberto Soares and Maria Lúcia Petersen.[25]

The transformation of Manguinhos into a neighborhood, according to the 1988 law, was not part of the main urban intervention for the favelas, with punctual construction sites that were in accordance with the election logic and specific interests, as reported by several residents.

Communities in manguinhos: their origins and some stories

Despite the typological similarity, the communities of Manguinhos present geographic singularities and different moments of creation, which helped to promote different identities. One of the characteristics that bring them closer is the increased population density in the past 30 years, which was mainly due to the occupation of new spaces, especially because of the companies that changed location, new constructions, verticalization, larger families, trans-

*Programs such as "Cada família um lote"
were established without aggregating
policies to make the property legal*

formation of houses into multi-family occupations, and the increased internal real-estate market. An important aspect of Manguinhos is the internal displacement caused by the real-estate market and by the fragility for renting and acquiring property.

The area which is currently called Manguinhos does not correspond to the neighborhood defined by the 1988 legislation, but to the Growth Acceleration (PAC) and Family Health (PSF) programs, which led us to redesign our research according to the list of communities in Table 1.

The denominations, which also point to the differences between them, were usually created by the residents, indicating the location by the proximity with another community, or taking the name of the company, producing multiple names that demonstrate the informality of the houses.

The beginning of the occupation took place in the first decades of the 20th century, in the only hill located in *Parque Oswaldo Cruz*, also named *Morro do Amorim*, or nowadays, just *Amorim*, by means of the subdivision of farms that produced alimentary goods to supply the city, favored by the installation of IOC.[26] The first residents were Portuguese migrants, or people from other

[25]Marcia Garrido, *Entrevista*, Rio de Janeiro, 24 abril de 2009. Projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos, Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz (Acervo DAD/ COC); José Stelberto Soares, *Entrevista*, Rio de Janeiro, 22 de abril de 2009. Projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos, Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz (Acervo DAD/ COC); Maria Lúcia Petersen, *Entrevista*, Rio de Janeiro, 2 de abril de 2009, Projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos, Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/Fiocruz (Acervo DAD/COC).
[26]Benedito Tadeu Oliveira, Renato Gama-Rosa Costa, Alexandre Pessoa, *Um Lugar para a Ciência*. A formação do campus de Manguinhos, Rio de Janeiro, Fiocruz, 2003.

Table 1. Communities of the Manguinhos Complex by date of creation and/or occupation.

Communities	Origin or restructuring (year)
Parque Oswaldo Cruz/Morro do Amorim	1901
Comunidade Vila União	1915 e 1955
Parque Carlos Chagas/Varginha	1941
Parque João Goulart	1951
Comunidade Vila Turismo	1951
Centro de Habitação Provisória nº 2 (CHP2)	1951
Conjunto Habitacional Nélson Mandela	1990
Conjunto Habitacional Samora Machel	1991
Comunidade Mandela de Pedra	1995 e 2010
Comunidade Embratel/Samora II	2001
Comunidade Vitória de Manguinhos/ Conab/Cobal	2002
Comunidade/Condomínio CCPL	2005
Comunidade Embratel II/Condomínio Embratel	2007 e 2010
Condomínio DSUP	2010

regions of the country or city, besides employees of IOC, who strongly identified with the origin of the neighborhoods in the outskirts of Rio. The term '*morro*', or hill, for the Amorim area, despite being related to the hill, is contested by some of the residents because of the favela characterization, as emphasized by Elza de Oliveira, when she expresses that she does not consider "that place a favela. They say it is, but it isn't". She also says, "it is all paved, with well built beautiful houses, well planned inside".[27]

The 1940s and the 1950s marked the early deep occupation of Manguinhos, associated with several political and social determiners, besides the opening of many transportation paths (Avenues Leopoldo Bulhões and Brasil, Rio-Bahia road) and the grounding of areas that were marginal to the avenue Leopoldo Bulhões and the rivers that cut the region. A few houses installed in unhealthy, humid area, lacking public services, marked this period, as narrated by many interviewed residents, like Nicolina Maia and her husband, João Felipe dos Santos.[28] On one side of the avenue the community of Varginha was installed, and on the other, in the region originally recognized as Manguinhos,[29] were the communities of Parque João Goulart, Vila Turismo and the center of temporary housing nº 2 (CHP2).

Varginha is the only community from this period that did not originate from housing complexes. It was created by individual initiatives, with houses made of temporary material, and then transformed into brickwork. *Parque João Goulart* and CHP2 come from housing complexes built in wood or brickwork, looking very modern and multiple. *Vila Turismo* also presents internal diversity and different stories. A settlement of about 70 families coming from

---

[27]Elza de Souza Oliveira, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/Fiocruz*,Acervo DAD/COC, 12 de abril de 2004.
[28]Nicolina Laia, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 26 de abril de 2004.
[29]Even though the neighborhood is called Manguinhos, some older residents still identify such denomination only for this area.

Ilha de Sapucaia[30] marked a section of wooden houses in the center, which were recently replaced by brickwork and almost completely remade and enlarged, including vertically. Other two spaces in the same location show the struggle of groups to occupy the ground at different times. One of these, coming from other favelas, such as Catacumba, Praia do Pinto and Esqueleto, occupied an area belonging to the Marine, used as a soccer field, with strong police repression, as reported by the resident Nazaré de Jesus.[31] Another group of residents was organized to occupy a region, which was called *Vila Democrática*, as a picture of the social struggle in the 1970s, and has currently changed into a closed street called *Rua Projetada*, confronting the informality of other spaces.

Major infrastructure issues marked the history of the three neighbor communities — CHP2, João Goulart and Vila Turismo —, such as the proximity to the water supply network of the State company of water and sewer (CEDAE), the network and high tension towers from the electric company LIGHT, and the constant fires and floods. Nowadays, its profile is very different, with broad brickwork occupation exposing the different social stratification of communities, besides the presence of armed drug dealing and militia groups which were installed after the 1980s, in constant confrontation between themselves and also with the police.

The 1950s also marked the creation of another community, *Vila União*, located on the avenue Suburbana (nowadays called Dom Helder Câmara), formed by three housing complexes — Mint, Tiradentes and Ex-Soldiers — in a field belonging to the federal government (Union), surrounded by popular houses. The name *Vila União* came with the occupation of the land surrounding the buildings along the bank of Jacaré River and the train tracks, even though there was already a small group of houses constituted from a farm leased to the Union since 1915, initially called Barracão. This region clearly shows the different social stratification of communities with the sets of buildings with origins delimitated by the State (Ex-Soldiers, Mint and Tiradentes) and the houses and slums disorderedly occupied, which led to divergence and segregation made explicit in the name of the community known as Vila União and Ex-Soldiers. The 1988 legislation, which established the delimitation of neighborhoods, ignored this possible distinction and formalized this group as *Vila União*, attached to the Benfica neighborhood, which, however, with the inclusion in PAC, became part of Manguinhos.

The most important popular movements in the 1990s led by claims for housing policies for residents of risk areas included negotiations with the City Hall and the construction of two complexes — Nelson Mandela (1990) and Samora Machel (1991) — on Leopoldo Bulhões avenue, between the Jacaré River and *Canal do Cunha*, next to Embratel and ECT. The construction of these two complexes was an example of the strength of popular claims, not only to make the project concrete, but also to establish the size of the houses or to choose the name of the complexes, as narrated by the leaderships

---

[30]These families were transfered for the construction of Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
[31]Nazaré Jesus, *Entrevista*, Rio de Janeiro, 20 de março de 2009, Projeto História e memórias de Manguinhos, Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/Fiocruz (Acervo DAD/COC).

in this movement, such as Paulo César Moreira[32] and Gleide Guimarães.[33] These constructions facilitated the intense occupation of neighboring areas, in a conjuncture of increased population density and the strengthening of armed groups, who were also responsible for part of the new occupations, which occurred in organized groups, unlike what happened in other areas of Manguinhos, with individual movements.

Four communities were created in neighboring areas belonging to Embratel, ECT and Conab, without State intermediation — Mandela de Pedra (1995), Embratel/Samora II (2001), Vitória de Manguinhos/Conab/Cobal (2002) and Embratel II (2007) —, which, despite very similar stories, present differences concerning the process of occupation and the current profile in 2012.

The community Mandela de Pedra (1995), considered as the most precarious one in the region, used part of the land that was being negotiated by the City Hall with the companies Embratel and ECT to build a new housing complex, which did not come happen because of the fast occupation and the changes in politics after the city elections. This movement, according to the resident Gleide Guimarães (2004),[34] followed the idea of "breaking in to earn the house", based on the assumption that people who occupied the land would be registered by the government for settlement, even if in another community. Part of Mandela de Pedra was included in PAC/Manguinhos (2010/2012), with sanitation and urbanization work and the reallocation of families living in risk areas.

The community Embratel (2001), also called Samora II, since it was partly in the land belonging to Embratel and contiguous to the community Samora Machel, was organized by drug dealing leaderships, according to some residents, who registered residents who were interested and coordinated the occupation. This should be in accordance with a design made of alleys and lanes, and the schedule should enable the fast occupation of the land, which indeed happened, including with the verticalization of houses, according to some residents who asked to remain anonymous.

Vitória de Manguinhos/Conab or Cobal was a community constituted in 2002 as a result of the invasion of the abandoned sheds of Conab, placed on Leopoldo Bulhões opposite to the ECT office, headed by residents in the community Mandela da Pedra. One of the leaders in this invasion, Julio César Soares Aragão (2003),[35] founder of the Association of Residents and Friends of Vitória de Manguinhos, narrated the occupation process stimulated by him facing the beginning of building dismantle led by some residents of Mandela de Pedra, thus proposing the division and installation of families in the company's fields and using the structure of the sheds. Throughout ten years, this area was increasingly populated, and also gave room to a strong drug dealing scheme.

The last area, also led by residents of Mandela de Pedra, constituted Embratel II (2007) and continued the occupation of another part of the lad and the sheds of Embratel, which were already deactivated.

---

[32]Paulo César Moreira, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 2008.

[33]Gleide Guimarães, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 08 de março de 2004.

[34]Gleide Guimarães, *op. cit.*

[35]Julio César Soares Aragão, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/ Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 26 de novembro de 2003.

From 2006 on, with the information on the possibility of PAC-Manguinhos in the region, the number of houses increased, some only with facades and internal division of the houses. The perspective of residents and local leaderships was to ensure a higher number of houses in the future complexes to be built in the area.

This program, which was a result of a partnership between the federal, state and city governments, changed some areas with sanitation and urbanization work, the construction of day-care facilities, and it reallocated part of the residents of some communities (Embratel/Samora II, Embratel II,[36] Parque João Goulart, Conjunto Nelson Mandela, Mandela de Pedra e CCPL),[37] by means of strategies such as assisted purchase, indemnification, and social rent. Three housing complexes were built — D-SUP, Embratel and CCPL — with the proposal of incorporating the idea of a residential condo.

The D-SUP condo[38] was built next to *Vila União*, location of the supply storage of the army, subsistence headquarters Pandiá Calógeras, comprised of 721 households distributed in apartment buildings. The old headquarters shed, warehouses and front entrance began to shelter some social structures, such as the library (Biblioteca Parque de Manguinhos), the Medical Unit (Unidade de Pronto Atendiment- UPA), the family health clinic (Clínica de Saúde da Família), the youth reference center (Centro de Referência da Juventude – CRJ), the women's house (Casa da Mulher), the center for Juridical Support, the group of work and income generation, the school *Compositor Luis Carlos da Vila* and the aquatic sports center.

The Embratel condo was implemented in lands occupied by the community Embratel II and by the company's sheds, which were completely demolished, giving place to a complex of 480 housing units and a day-care center. This process was led by Leonardo Januário da Silva and involved the denunciation[39] of personal and collective interests for the acquisition of apartments, not yet enlightened.

The last condo[40] to be built was CCPL, and the removal of residents for the creation of the buildings only ended in 2012, as reported by Candida Maria Privado,[41] leader of the negotiation with the public power. This community was created in 2005, with the occupation of the Central Company of Milk Producers (*Companhia Central dos Produtores de Leite LTDA* – CCPL), similarly to other communities in Manguinhos, in which industries were occupied for living.

[36]The Technical Team of Social Work of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC/Manguinhos) identifies the first part of the land belonging to Embratel as Samora II or Lands (being incorporated to the area of the Residents Association of Samora Machel), and the second part as Embratel, which at some moments was called Nova Era or Nova Mandela by some local leaderships.

[37]The community Cooperativa Central dos Produtores de Leite LTDA (CCPL) is not part of Manguinhos, but it was included in PAC Manguinhos, because of the geographic proximity and the established negotiations.

[38]The name D-SUP referring to the headquarters appears as DSUP, D SUP or DESUP in different official documents. PAC Manguinhos and social structures of the community use D-SUP. The condo is divided intwo two groups of buildings: D-SUP 1 (Blocks 1 to 5, with 568 apartments) and D-SUP 2 (Blocks 6 and 7, with 153 apartments).

[39]Vera Araújo, Líder da favela do Mandela é preso por negociar apartamentos do PAC, *O Globo*, 2 ed., Rio de Janeiro, 21 de janeiro de 2012.

[40]The condo under construction will shelter only part of the residents who are reallocated in the CCPL community; the others, according to information from social work, will be reallocated in housing units in other neighborhoods.

[41]Maria Candida Privado, *Entrevista concedida ao projeto História e Memória de Manguinhos desenvolvido pela Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/Fiocruz*, Acervo DAD/COC, 08 de agosto de 2011.

In general, in the process of organizing more recent occupations, a Residents Association was created, and one of its functions was to legalize communities towards the State by means of the National Company Registration Number (CNPJ). Therefore, the residents could be legally recognized by the State, thus enabling the access to some public services and the insertion in programs of access to school and health, since such houses were not legal and, therefore, not included in the city registers. If on one hand the residents association is a way to "legalize" citizenship, on the other it is translated by the exercise of leadership authority over the community itself, and some of them are even controlled by the parallel power of drug dealing and militia. At the moment, these organizations negotiate the recognition of the rights of people living in favelas by the leaderships, many of them with employment connections in governmental instances and politicians' offices.

If on one hand the residents association is a way to "legalize" citizenship, on the other it is translated by the exercise of leadership authority over the community itself

Conclusions

The observation of the set of communities in Manguinhos leads to the perception of occupation blocks at specific periods associated with determined sociopolitical conjunctures and moments, produced by sparse and individual movements, popular mobilizations, occupations by groups and public policies, which generated aggregation, consolidated communities and created bonds of identity and tensions.

The construction of new housing complexes in the early 20st led the region to a new phase concerning structural aspects and social power relations. Negotiations to accomplish houses, indemnifications for removed areas, social rent, the possible traffic of influences, the interference of drug dealers and the militia, and the social changes and uncertainties are established as old issues activated by a new context, in which the City Hall presents new definitions for the favelas in Rio de Janeiro.

For these redefinitions, criteria were created from the categorization of the neighborhood, which led the City Hall and *Instituto Pereira Passos* to create a new structure for the city and to count 44 ex-favelas, which would be recognized differently. This generated important discussions and different political behaviors,[42] especially concerning structural and symbolic sets historically built over the categories *favela* and *neighborhood.*

---

[42]"Moradores e vizinhos de ex-favelas discordam de critérios da Prefeitura", *O Globo*, 30 de maio de 2011, Rio de Janeiro, 13; Rogério Daflor; Selma Schmidt, "O caminho para se chegar à cidade formal", *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 5 de junho de 2011.

The changes in communities occupied after the 1990s, with the construction of emblematic sets such as condos, were officially conducted by the Social Work technical team of the PAC, which works to reallocate families into the new living units. It is also up to the social work to "form" new residents, by the so called "integration meetings"; there, procedures and guidelines as to life in a condo are recommended, ignoring the several issues related to the identity of the resident in his or her space. The close houses, the narrow streets, the neighbors, the smells, the bonds of friendship and familiarity were replaced with buildings of different characteristics, different from those which formatted the history of the involved families.

The current conjuncture of Manguinhos concerning these changes requires specific analysis and a new theme for the investigation in course.