Extend Abstract


Introduction

The city of Rio de Janeiro is experiencing an intense time of its urban history, hosting different mega events in a short period of time, giving rise to a phase of urban metamorphoses and high real estate speculation. In this context, the present work aims to observe the problem of the condition of the favelas adjacent to wealthy neighborhoods of the city and its land valuation. In fact, the Carioca capital, on one hand, still attracts more residents, investors and entrepreneurs and, on the other hand, its most valued central areas are already overcrowded and do not have much options to grow. Urban expansion possibilities exist, but are located in remote areas and have neither infrastructure nor sufficiently attractive centrality to raise interest of certain kind of residents. Because of a limited housing supply and a high demand, rental prices and sales increase steadily. Consequently, the rise in housing value hinders public access opportunities, especially as wage inflation does not track the value of the property.

Like many cities in Latin America, the social inequalities in Rio de Janeiro are extremely important and a significant part of the population is classified as low income. At the same time, one of its peculiarities is the presence of favelas in the city center, unlike other cities where the poorest people are located in the urban periphery. The particular feature of the promiscuity of the hills with the noble neighborhoods and trade areas and service of the city makes these favelas strategic areas, with crucial importance in the distribution of urban land.

The lack of sanitation and basic infrastructure combined with drug trafficking and violence always left the favelas apart of the formal city. The government did not recognize their existence as part of the city. Today, with urban growth contained and the pressure of international events becoming stronger, the
government has shown new interest in the future of this part of the town. Different actions, such as the implementation of the UPPs (Pacifying Police Unit) and works to facilitate access to the favelas, tend to value the land and drawing attention of the real estate market. Materials and studies on the fever of "chic favela", new tourist and cultural attraction to these neighborhoods, have also questioned a change of perception of the favela. It has already been observed a rise in rental and sale prices, whether in formal or informal market in the favela.

From another perspective, international research on metropolises explore a concept called gentrification, coming from the term gentrification. This concept describes a social change in the residents's profile of some devaluated neighborhoods located in the central areas of cities. Such neighborhoods begin to get wealthier, a population of middle class settles down, programs of "revitalization" urban are developed and, little by little, the original population, usually of modest income, is forced to leave.

The situation that is experiencing the city of Rio de Janeiro and the explosion of speculation in even the most undervalued areas establishes a framework calling attention to the urban dynamics and the various actors that are involved in the transformations occurring in the favelas in the heart of City.

The aim of this (master's) research is to determin if the urban transformations taking place today in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro are a case of gentrification. This study will focused on its specific features, based on a case study: the case of the favela Chapéu Mangueira, in Leme. The main objective of this research is to identify the politics, economics and socials dynamics conditions that currently exist in Rio de Janeiro which could lead to gentrification of favelas located in the central area of the city, particularly in the case study of the Chapéu Mangueira.

This work is based on a literature review of the concept of gentrification, both in the international as Brazilian context, in analyzes of political, economic and social context of the city and urban planning actions, as well as the case study of a favela: Chapéu Mangueira, located in Leme, in the South Zone (named Zona Sul) of the city of Rio de Janeiro.
The favela of Chapéu Mangueira have a privileged location, benefiting from proximity to valued districts and a spectacular sea view. Between 2013 and 2014, the community celebrated a century of occupation. The constructions were erected following the needs of each one. The individual and collective auto construction is an important factor in the question of taking roots in the territory, and the manifestation of a strong sense of collective identity. The establishment of this favela coincide with a dynamic of territories occupation of Rio de Janeiro in the early twentieth century.

Mechanisms and Political Actors

In order to understand the mechanisms and political actors involved in the processing and management of the city, we need to explain the context in which they are inscribed and the concept of urban governance.

British geographer David Harvey (in 2005) shows a significant change in the urban government’s lines of action in the advanced capitalist countries. There was an evolution of the "administrative" approach to the city in the 1960s to a form of action "entrepreneurship" in the decades 70 and 80, whose purpose was to confront the difficulties that the capitalist economies have been through because of the 1973 recession, seeking to develop economically these cities. Urban governance involves different actors in the organization of urban space with an entrepreneurial approach, where the government itself has a role of coordinator and facilitator.
The role of the government is essential in the production process of urban space. In the case of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the prospect of economic development generated by the organization of mega events led to a change in its management. In fact, urban governance has been consolidated in the last twenty years on the bases set by the governor Cesar Maia with the Strategic Plan of the City. Today it exists a strong alliance between public managers and private entrepreneurs, triggering legal and institutional tools to facilitate the execution of large urban designs. Thus, speculation becomes a public policy, followed by urban marketing strategies promoting a new competitive city image. After all, the city is administered as a big company and great works of urban renewal cause economic and social impacts.

Now, the favelas are the focus of political and economic actors and suffer from excessive increase in the land value. Urban redevelopment plans are launched, but often, these large investments are allocated to monumental interventions, such as creating lifts rather than actually needed interventions, but less visible, such as basic sanitation works. The occupation of the favelas by the new community policing also had economic and spatial impacts without reducing the spatial and social segregation.

The profile of urban interventions programs in favelas has changed over time. In the beginning, it was dedicated to the qualification of public spaces and improvements in basic services infrastructure, with the participation of the population. Interventions were made to have minimal impact on the spatial structure of existing favelas, interfering only when absolutely necessary. The last program, which is still in progress, is not restricted to these principles, it involves a spatial restructuring of areas, involving a large number of resettlements. The population is less and less involved in the participatory process, hindering dialogue between designers and beneficiaries. Rarely decisions consider the opinion of residents. Therefore, the projects are not always well accepted by the community and the delay in the achievement of works generates skepticism in the population.

The large current urban reform of Rio de Janeiro articulate with new public security which are being implemented in favelas:

The Pacifying Police Units (UPP) were created to renew and innovate traditional police practices. It is a community police, which want to follow a new model of public safety, in other words, intended to establish a community policing, with privileged relations with the locals. The objective presented by the government is the return of the control of the territories that were under the influence of drug dealers to ensure the rights of the people and facilitate the entry of public services.
and government in the local. However, behind the leitmotiv that now "the favela is part of the city" the first intentions show its flaws.

The Pacifying Police Units are mainly installed in the favelas of the South Zone, in the connecting axes and around the sports equipment, which have been or will be used during big events (World Cup, Olympic Games). The priorities are clearly defined: to improve the image of the city to satisfy the expectations of the international audience. In addition, the actions of the police during the interventions with the population of favelas are questioned. In spite of the program brought a greater sense of security for the population of the formal city, and sometimes for community residents, it is being heavily criticized.

**Economic mechanisms and Actors**

As mentioned previously, the link existing between the State and the market is defining the urban planning through the large works, accompanying the organization of mega events. These events are catalysts for the capital movements and investments in areas such as tourism, services or real estate. Consequently, breaks are created in the real estate dynamics and formation of land prices (VAINER, OLIVEIRA, JUNIOR, 2012). This is supported by the fact that the state does not assume a regulatory role of the market, but the role of facilitator, generating social impacts. For example, the emblematic case of resettlement of needy population, who were installed in speculative areas of interest like in Vila Autódromo.

In this context, the issue of the informal market and access to urban land in the favelas is paramount. In fact, the logic of necessity (ABRAMO, 2003) leads a part of the population of very low income to occupy urban land for living. Thus, in the popular settlements there is an informal market representing the main access to the property in the favela, without being regulated by the government. The lack of regularization and the regulation of access to land makes the favelas an easy target for real estate speculation, consolidating social inequalities and spatial segregation. The social and spatial restructuring governed by the law of the market is one of the features of gentrification.

In these circumstances, the favelas have become targeted for intervention and mechanisms involving the government and private power, articulating its integration with the city. The actions involve the creation of a new brand based on the positive marketing of the "cidade maravilhosa" (wonderful city). Different tools...
are being used to promote the supposed integration of favela to the formal city, but
this integration depends on the pacification needed to open the territory to the
financial market. Indeed, the integration of the individual is in the second plane.

One of the alarming impacts of favela commodification process is the loss
of their fundamental characteristics, such as social relations, material conditions,
ways of life, and at the end, all the favela distinctive way. These attributes are part
of the favela culture and play a key role in social cohesion and in the popular
resistance, which animate and structure these needy communities since their
formations.

In the case study of the favela of Chapéu Mangueira, we noted the
existence of a significant land values due to several factors. Although most of the
domiciles are own, the rental market is in full expansion. The interviews highlighted
the concern of the tenants against the rising rents and the satisfaction of owners
to see their properties valued. In general, the population is concerned about the
higher costs of living. All these factors reflect a significant change in the economic
dynamics of Chapéu Mangueira due to recent urban transformations, such as the
implementation of the UPP and expansion of the tourism sector.

Mechanisms and Social Actors

The concept of gentrification is at the basis of our theoretical framework, it
involves many aspects as political, economic and social. The topic has always
been controversial and has generated numerous debates in the academic
environment. The most delicate matter is to specify whether the concept should be
restricted to certain factors and variables or on the contrary, if it earns to be opened
and involving more determining factors. What seems interesting is to point out that
the mechanisms described in different research on gentrification have similarities,
though applied in neighborhoods with their own characteristics.

In this research, we adopt a broad definition of the concept. It appeared
pertinent to study changes in social structures of various cities around the world
from a certain framework with the flexibility due to the importance of the specific
attributes of each urban area, which are influencing its transformations. Despite its
peculiarities, many metropolises have global aspects and are affected by the same
development strategies and urban planning, led by the same actors.
« Gentrification is a process involving change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of higher socio-economic status that the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital.» (CLARK apud LEES e al., 2008, p. 159-160)

The favela Chapéu Mangueira is an area corresponding to the possible gentrification criteria: an area that was devalued, which received new investments due to important urban transformations and with a heated economic context. By the conjuncture of state and market action, territorial and social changes are taking place. The original population has indicators showing a low social level, even if not completely homogeneous. The degree of employment informality is relatively high in the community, working mainly in the areas of services and trade.

Such data demonstrate a certain vulnerability of the population in case of gentrification. However, historically, the Chapéu Mangueira always had a great social mobilization even if today the implication is weakened. This is a strength and important awareness factor that does not always exist in the depreciated areas that are suddenly the focus of private investors. The fact that most domiciles are own may also limit or slow the movement of gentrification.

Although, the interviews shown a higher costs of living then before, and the opportunity given to owners to sell their properties at a value that was never reached before and neither thought was possible. Many of them think in selling even if so far it seems that few did. On the other hand, many owners are taking advantage of the situation to rent their property or even part of them, like a room of their own home, when they do not improvise the establishment of a hostel for tourists.

Indeed, a university student and foreign public are demanding housing affordable, which does not exist in the formal city so close to all amenities. Until now, it does not seem to have a significant population of middle-class settling in Chapéu Mangueira as in classic case of gentrification. Prejudice against the favela is still deeply rooted.

**Conclusion**

We are still in the premises of the changes of the social structure of the Chapéu Mangueira and many variables can influence its continuity. Imagining that after the Olympic Games in 2016 the UPP is withdrawn, will the dynamic will remain the same? We cannot say today that the transformation is perennial. Therefore, we cannot conclude this research affirming or denying the gentrification of our case
study, the Chapéu Mangueira, but we can affirm the existence of social change and draw attention to the likely consequences ensuing.

Despite the political and media efforts to promote social inclusion and empowerment for the poorest populations by urban entrepreneurialism, the lack of regulation and oversight by the government leave the favelas of the city of Rio de Janeiro facing a position of vulnerability to market law. It is still not the end of the divided city.

**Keywords**

Gentrification; Urban Governance; Favela; Urban Planning