Åsne Håndlykken-Luz

Licence-to-kill

Residents' experiences of living in a 'pacified' favela in Rio de Janeiro, 2011-2018

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A PhD dissertation in
Culture Studies

Dedication

For Jean and Gaius.

For Geralda, who passed away in 2020

Abstract

Since 2008, Police Pacification Units (UPPs) have been installed in numerous favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Drawing on multi-phase ethnographic fieldwork in the favelas of Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo (PPG), I analysed residents' everyday experiences of living in a so-called 'pacified' favela from 2011 to 2018. In the first few years, residents emphasised several positive aspects of the pacification programme; it was a period in which the presence of weapons and shootouts on the streets decreased. The results suggest that, although the UPP police were trained in human rights and promoted a discourse of citizenship, the pacification process aimed at 'civilising' residents who were regarded as 'undesirable others'. In the period 2017 to 2019, shootouts have occurred daily, weapons are back on the streets, and residents noted that they felt like hostages between the police and traffickers.

Drawing on black Brazilian scholars, activists, and feminists as well as decolonial, postcolonial, and poststructural scholars, I argue that pacification and urban militarisation are increasingly racialising and targeting blacks through necropolitical violence in a context that simultaneously celebrates both whiteness *and* diversity and where bodies are increasingly borderised through the work of death.

First, the findings indicate how residents' experiences of living alongside changing urban (in)security politics across a decade display unforeseen or 'polyhedral' facets of power and practices of everyday resistance. Second, I argue that the pacification and militarisation processes operated as a 'changing same' articulated through polyhedral facets genealogically re-actualised through the 'coloniality of power' (Quijano, 2008), and new forms of 'borderising bodies' (Mbembe, 2019a), drawing on racialisation. The 'changing same' of pacification/militarisation displays itself as a physical, social, and cultural lynching of Afro-Brazilians. This is articulated through what I call the '(de)colonial polyhedron of powers', which unfolds dynamics of necropolitical violence challenged by everyday quilombo (Afro-Brazilian maroon societies) practices and cultural resistance (Nascimento, 2021), beyond the physical territory of the favela; this is conceptualised through the notion of the 'corpo-fronteira' (body-border).

List of papers

Article 1

Håndlykken-Luz, Å. (2019). Polyhedron of powers, displacements, socio-spatial negotiations and residents' everyday experiences in a 'pacified' favela. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 18(6): 1321–1346. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1800774.

Article 2

Håndlykken-Luz, Å. (2020). 'Racism is a perfect crime': Favela residents' everyday experiences of police pacification, urban militarization, and prejudice in Rio de Janeiro. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43(16): 348–367. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1800774.

Article 3

Håndlykken-Luz, Å. (2021). From 'pacification' to 'licence-to-kill': Favela residents' experience with the UPP, 2011-2018. *Brasiliana: Journal for Brazilian Studies*, *10* (1): 126-153. doi: 10.25160/bjbs.v10i1.126199

Article 4

Håndlykken-Luz, Å. (2022). Field note – extracts: Visual field notes from a fractured longitudinal ethnographic research of Rio de Janeiro's favelas (in review *Cultural Geographies*).

List of tables

List of figures

Abbreviations

A1Polyhedron: Article 1.

A2Racism: Article 2.

A3UPP: Article 3.

A4Field: Article 4.

Asfalto: Asphalt; referring to the formal city in contrast to the favela.

Bolsonaro: Jair Bolsonaro, president of Brazil since 2018. He is from the far-right Christian Social Liberal Party (PSL). He launched a new political party in 2019.

Brizola: Leonel Brizola, former leftist governor of Rio from 1982–86 and 1990–94. He implemented favela upgrade programmes across housing, infrastructure, and schools for poor residents in Rio. A mayor street in PPG was named after him, and the school/cultural complex is named Brizolão.

Dilma: Dilma Rousseff from the PT Workers' Party and former president of the Republic of Brazil from 2011–2016. She was impeached in 2016 and accused of breaking Brazil's budget laws.

Favela: An informal city of low-income neighbourhoods that is in contrast to the asfalto. It is also referred to as a 'morro' (hill). The favela Providência, often mentioned as the first 'favela' or 'morro da favella', was founded in Rio in 1897 by soldiers of the War of Canudos. Favelas also emerged as self-constructed homes by urban migrants and former slaves. Roughly 1.5 million people (or 24 percent of Rio's population) live in more than 1000 favelas.

Favela-Bairro: A housing and urban upgrade programme developed between 1993 and 1995.

Lula: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva; former leader of the federal PT and former president of the Republic of Brazil from 2003–2011. Charged for corruption and

	imprisoned following Operação Lava Jato (*Operation Car Wash)*. He was released in 2020, and the charges were dropped in 2021.
Mega-events:	Brazil hosted the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Summer Olympics in 2016.
Morar Carioca:	A programme for favela urbanisation in Rio de Janeiro.
Morro:	Portuguese for 'hill', referring to a favela or informal city.
PAC:	'O Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento': Growth Acceleration Program.
PDT:	'O Partido Democrático Trabalhista': Workers' Democratic Party
PPG:	The favelas of Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo.
PT:	'O Partido dos Trabalhadores': Workers' Party.
Quilombo:	A quilombo settlement (Afro-Brazilian maroon societies) established by fugitive slaves since the seventeenth century. The most famous, the Quilombo of Palmares, lasted for nearly a century. Many favelas emerged from quilombos, and thousands are still in existence in Brazil today. Some have gained access to land rights. They are an important symbol for black resistance movements in Brazil.
Sérgio Cabral:	Former governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro from the PMDB. He served from 2007 to 2014 and was sentenced to 14 years in prison in 2017 for corruption.
UPP:	'A Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora': Police Pacifying Unit, also referred to as 'pacification', 'the pacification programme', or the 'UPP programme'.
UPP Social:	Social programmes implemented by the UPP. Later changed to Rio+Social.

Wilson Witzel: Governor of Rio from 2019 to 2020 from the Social Christian Party. He was suspended in August 2020 due to corruption charges.

Zumbi: The last leader of the Quilombo de Palmares (1680–1695). He is an important symbol of black resistance in Brazil. Black Consciousness Day on November 20th marks the day he was killed.

Table of contents

1 Introduction

This cumulative thesis, consisting of four peer-reviewed articles and this extended abstract provides a study of residents' experiences of living in a so-called 'pacified favela' from 2011 to 2018. In this introductory chapter, I provide a brief introduction of the Police Pacification Units (UPPs), the research journey, the research questions examined in the four articles I wrote as a part of this PhD project. Based on residents' experiences, the four articles explore different facets of the pacification and urban militarisation process across the decade in greater depth. This extended abstract presents a summary and discussion of the core of my thesis, the four articles, in addition to an overview of the methodology, ethical considerations, and theoretical landscape. In the final discussion and conclusion, I reflect on the conceptual, methodological, and political contributions of the project.

The UPPs were installed in more than forty of the thousand favelas[1] (low-income neighbourhoods) of Rio de Janeiro from 2008 to 2014. Drawing on multi-phase[2] ethnographic fieldwork (2011–2013 and 2018) in the favelas of the Pavão-Pavãozinho-Cantagalo (PPG) neighbourhood in Rio de Janeiro and residents' everyday experiences of living in a so-called 'pacified' favela from 2011 to 2018, I argue that the

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[1] The term 'favela' is often translated into English as 'slum' or 'shantytown'. Brazilian cities and favelas are diverse; many are constructed with bricks, are several stories high, and are not necessarily in the periphery of the city. Residents have been living there for decades without formal property rights. As such, it would not be correct to use the word 'slum' as a direct translation. 'Favela', or 'favelado' and 'favelada' (slum dweller) could be considered pejorative in many contexts. Therefore, 'community' or 'morro' (hill) is often used instead. However, many residents in these sites use the word 'favela', and many social movements are also seen to reclaim the word in order to reverse the pejorative connotation. For a discussion of the word 'favela', see Perlman (2010, 29) and Valladares (2006) for an etymological definition.

[2] See Chapter 3 for an explanation of the multi-phase fieldwork and fractured longitudinal approach and Chapter 7.1 for a discussion on the combination of fractured longitudinal ethnography and genealogy in addition to the first article (A1Polyhedron) and the fourth article (A4Field). On genealogy, see Chapters 3.2 and 5.1.1.

pacification/militarisation process emerged as a 'changing same'[3], despite the purported aim of providing 'full citizenship' to favela residents, who are increasingly living in a context of necropolitical[4] violence and police terror.

The pacification of the favelas was initiated via the discourse of bringing peace, public security, and 'full citizenship' to residents. Currently, the pacification of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro appears to have failed, and half of the UPPs were closed in 2018. Urban militarisation and police killings have only increased. In 2018, the federal military took control of the security in Rio for the first time in democratic Brazil, and in 2019, snipers operated with the 'licence-to-kill'. The wave of protests in 2013 was perceived as a possible agent for social and political change. Although the government of the Workers' Party under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula) and Dilma Rousseff from 2003 to 2016 showed that millions could be lifted out of poverty into the so-called middle class, the social and economic inequalities of Brazil remain among the highest in the world[5] Since Rio's 2016 economic crisis and cuts in social programmes for the poor under former centre-right President Temer in 2016—and later under the extreme-right Bolsonaro government again—social and racial inequalities are on the rise. A fractured longitudinal study of residents' experiences of living in a favela alongside the UPP provides a deeper

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[3] I am thankful to an anonymous reviewer on an early draft of the third article (A3UPP) who gave extensive feedback and commented on my initial analysis of the dialectic of militarisation/pacification operating as a 'changing same'. I thus decided to expand on the notion of the 'changing same' (Gilroy, 1991), which provides a useful concept for understanding the dynamics of militarisation/pacification transforming itself in unforeseen and polyhedral ways that have targeted blacks and marginalised populations in Brazil for centuries (See A3UPP on pacification). The dynamics of pacification and militarisation also mobilise the physical, social, and cultural lynching of blacks in Brazil (Nascimento, 1989) or the 'genocide' of black Brazilians as discussed by Nascimento (2016) and Vargas (2008) and evoked in protests against police violence. See my third article (A3UPP) for further analysis and discussion. See also Rahier (2020) for an analysis of the 'changing same' of anti-black racism revealed in lawsuits filed by afrodescendants in Ecuador (Rahier, 2020).

[4] See Mbembe (2003, 2019b).

[5] Brazil remains a champion in terms of social inequality and racism (Schwarcz LM and Starling, 2018). Even when Brazil became the eight-largest economy in the world besides having one of the highest social and economic inequalities in the world (Valladares, 2019, 110; World Bank, 2013).

understanding of what is at stake in the 'pacification' and militarisation of urban spaces over a long period.

The period 2011 to 2018 was marked by an apparent rise and fall of the pacification programme. I have examined residents' everyday living with a variety of changes in urban politics and insecurity as power dynamics shifted and were re-actualised beyond the rise and fall of the UPP and the 'city of exception' thesis[6] surrounding the mega-events (the World Cup in 2014 and the Summer Olympics in 2016). This thesis explores what characterises residents' experiences of the everyday in a 'pacified' favela in the context of increasing necropolitical violence.

The residents emphasised several positive aspects of the pacification programme during the first few years of this study, when the presence of weapons and shootouts decreased. The findings suggest that despite the pacification programme promoting a discourse of citizenship with police trained in human rights, the process nevertheless aimed at 'civilising' residents seen as 'undesirable others'.

Since 2017, shootouts have occurred daily, weapons are back on the streets, and residents noted that they felt like hostages between the police and traffickers. In 2019, the numbers of people killed by police in Rio de Janeiro were the highest reported in twenty years (ISP, 2020). Urban militarisation targeting black and poor favela residents has gained increasing legitimacy since the 2018 federal military intervention in Rio, the election of the extreme-right Bolsonaro government in 2019, Governor Wilson Witzel's (2019–2020) urban insecurity politics promoting the 'licence-to-kill', and the most recent favela occupation programme launched by Governor Cláudio Castro in 2022. These insecurity politics reveal a combination of pacification and militarisation processes operating as a 'changing same' unfolding unforeseen or polyhedral facets. They target favela residents and blacks (e.g. police snipers who shoot favela residents from

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[6] See Richmond and Garmany (2016).

helicopters), thereby increasingly 'borderising bodies'[7] through the work of death and drawing on racialisation.

Research statistics published in the past decade (Telles, 2014; Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014; Roncolato et al., 2018; Telles, 2006), in addition to statistics on homicide and police violence, indicate that social inequalities are increasing. Concurrently, access to services, education and health, deaths, and incarceration are divided according to a 'pigmentocracy' (Telles, 2014).

The situation in Rio is critical, particularly for poor black residents of favelas, who are increasingly targeted by urban warfare strategies and extrajudicial killings supported by the municipality and state officials, as well as 'Cidade Integrada' (Integrated City), the new security programme launched by Governor Castro in 2022.

In this introductory chapter, I present the research journey across a fractured decade and how this project came into being. I introduce the favelas of PPG before I outline my research questions. I present an outline of the dissertation at the end of the chapter.

1.1 The done and to be done: Writing a research journey across a decade

The research journey of this PhD project spans a whole decade. Multiple changes along the way have shaped the trajectory for the final dissertation and articles. Therefore, I first present my research journey as an introduction to the project. Due to the multiple phases, detours, and challenges I encountered in the course of my project, I provide an in-depth account of my research as a process in the extended abstract, moving between descriptions, theory, and analysis.

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[7] Here I draw on Achille Mbembe's notion of 'borderising bodies' (2019a; 2020).

The sinuous path of this PhD project began when I decided to enrol in an Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate in 2010. Following up on my master's project wherein I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in South Africa, I wanted to investigate residents' perceptions and use of digital media, mechanisms of control and power, and resistance in urban communities. Brazil had never been on my research horizon, and I was employed as a research fellow at the University of Bergamo in Italy. I had meant to conduct my research in New Delhi in India, but due to last-minute administrative contingencies, I was sent to Rio de Janeiro in March 2011 instead.

For a Norwegian coming from a bubble of social comfort and privilege in a Scandinavian welfare state, to be thrown into Rio de Janeiro was completely unexpected and somewhat unimaginable, not only in terms of research but also any previous experience I had. This was despite having lived and studied for many years in different countries as well as on the peripheries of capitalism in the Global South.

The city of Rio de Janeiro is all too complex; in the words of Brazilian composer Tom Jobin, 'Brazil is not for beginners'. I agree wholeheartedly with this sentiment. From the very first moment I set foot in Rio, my time was a period of both learning and unlearning. For instance, in terms of social codes and language, I was 'thinking with an accent' (Caldeira, 2000; 2017). Even upon my return from Brazil, I continue to learn and unlearn. My time in Brazil was intense, and yet I have the privilege of movement. I have been able to leave and return, and I write this from a place of comfort far removed from the realities of Rio de Janeiro. I continue to learn about the extreme social contrasts that intersect people's everyday lives, particularly those of the non-white poor. Brazilian racism, or 'racismo à Brasileira', operates differently than that of the former British colonies (e.g. the United States or South Africa). After the abolishment of slavery in 1888, Brazil did not practise formal segregation (juridical) between blacks and whites but rather endorsed an ideology of 'whitening', promoting the incentives of 'misigenação' (race-mixing) to ensure the 'social cleansing' of the cultures and customs of non-whites and an alternative system of eugenics aiming for a literal whitening of the population over time. However, though the Brazilian population is largely mixed, many emphasise their white (European) heritage if

possible, searching for some manner of distinction in intersubjective treatment. In addition, people are perceived and treated according to their appearance and presumed social place ('lugar social'), which can change depending on context. In Brazil, there is an extreme preoccupation with appearance: cosmetics, fitness, beauty salons, plastic surgery, etc. 'Good appearance' ('boa aparência') was commonly used to refer to a white or non-black appearance, which has become a euphemism for beauty while not overtly referring to a white person. A person with the appearance of being black and poor with low social status, formal education, and professional experience are factors that in combination shape the social success or failure of an individual in Brazil. It is a country wherein people with social privileges would frequently not show empathy with the suffering and difficulties experienced by the mass of poor non-whites. It remains difficult to comprehend the social indifference displayed towards the poor as well as the performative nuances of Brazilian racism.

When I enrolled at the university in Brazil in 2011, I perceived that what was visible in the classroom was not so in the street. The literature and narratives presented in the lectures appeared to be disconnected from social reality. All my professors were white, and a minority of students were non-white; there was only one in my class of twenty. However, in the past decade, a larger number of black students have entered the university as social and racial quotas became mandatory in public universities in 2012. Many of my teachers and fellow students did not use public transport and only navigated the city in private cabs. To broaden my social circle of most Eurocentric, white, middle- and upper-class Brazilians, I decided to visit other social contexts and places to get a glimpse into the everyday lives of most Brazilians. I visited the favelas of Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo (PPG) and the local family clinic located in the South Zone of Rio near Ipanema and Copacabana where there are upper-class neighbourhoods further down the street. At the family clinic, I met a group working in an interdisciplinary education, culture, and health project in the field of health promotion. They provided social support, mental health, and nutrition services to favela residents. I met a philosophy teacher there who participated in the health promotion project by organising philosophical encounters with the residents

in the favela and the staff at the clinic. At present, that teacher is a sociologist and my husband. Marrying an Afro-Brazilian who is neither white nor black ('preto'), neither rich nor poor, and from a working-class background shifted my reflections on Brazilian society. I found it to be characterised by struggles for justifying or legitimating the reproduction of inequalities and the silences of racism. I learned Portuguese from my husband, and I became acquainted with Brazilian social life.

All these aspects and experiences have influenced my reflections on Brazilian society and the phenomena that emerged from my fieldwork. This largely comprises what was unsaid (or what I did not hear at the university) and what I gleaned from various discussions (e.g. with Brazilian teachers at the university on social inequalities and the state of racism in Brazil). Therefore, thinking with an accent (to borrow from Caldeira, 2000; 2017) and the process of learning and unlearning (Brice, 2018) was crucial at the beginning stages of this research journey.

I participated in various philosophical encounters and community meetings at the clinic and made friends who shared their experiences and concerns about the police pacification and evictions that had occurred in the community. These encounters, personal connections, and the residents' preoccupations with the pacification programme also shaped the direction my research took, drawing on a 'situated ethics' (Perez, 2019). These personal connections and my informal study of the Portuguese language facilitated my ability to communicate and gain residents' trust so as to share their knowledge and accounts of their lived everyday social realities. This process further revealed crucial questions on the limits of ethnographic intimacy, as discussed by Caldeira (Gil, 2018).

The block of flats where my husband lived was on a street that provided access to the favela. Although physically close to each other, there were few social bonds between the favela (informal city) and the asfalto (formal city). Many people from the favela worked in the asfalto, but it was largely limited to a professional relationship. It was socially understood that people from the favela had to know their 'lugar social' (social place). I experienced how my husband lived a 'dual existence' when he worked in the favela; being

Afro-Brazilian like most residents from the favela, he was nevertheless from the *asfalto*. Because he had a different body language and another way of speaking Portuguese and was from another socio-economic reality—yet so similar in terms of appearance—he was perceived as different primarily due to habitus. Based on this alone, several favela residents were suspicious and even treated him with aggression because he was from the *asfalto*. I was on one occasion even worried that he would be physically attacked. However, tensions and conflicts occurred constantly during my fieldwork and revealed the production of social reality and everyday life and its practices. I learned more about Brazilian society in such moments than I had in the context of the Eurocentric university. With regard to the everyday life of Brazil's urban peripheries, marginalised knowledge production, and residents in the favelas, the academic space in many ways concealed more than it revealed.

My husband was perceived as someone from the asfalto when we were in the favela; however, in the asfalto, he was seen as someone from the favela because of his skin colour. I was made aware of how this difference was enacted when we were once stopped by the police while running to catch the sunset on Arpoador beach in Ipanema. He ran in front with a camera, and I followed him just behind. This scene was perceived in the social imaginations of the Brazilian police as the following: a black man from the favela running with an expensive camera he had stolen from the rich blonde foreign woman running after him. The police followed us, and when the car stopped, two police officers pointed machine guns at my husband's face. It was a terrible scene, and I was very frightened. The police started interrogating and searching him. The police suddenly asked in which state unit he worked. The police officer then seemed to become less sure of himself. This sudden change happened due to my husband's vocabulary and body language when he was questioned while being searched. This is one of numerous examples in Brazil where, once prejudice is engendered, a certain kind of treatment is given based on social distinction and privilege. If the same incident had occurred in a poorer area of the city that receives less media coverage, it is not unlikely that the police might have used their firearms before asking questions.

In 2012, my mother-in-law urged us to move to Norway despite my husband's reluctance to leave Brazil because of the language and culture. She was afraid that her only son was going to be killed by the police. She was even more concerned after he began a new job as a philosophy teacher in the prison school of Bangu in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro, the most violent part of the city. This is unfortunately a common fear of Afro-Brazilian families—both the poor and the rich. They are particularly worried that their sons might be mistaken for a criminal by the police in Rio de Janeiro. Due to numerous factors, we decided to move to Norway in 2013; my husband was granted a permit, and I continued my research at a distance. I had to take up another job to have the sufficient yearly salary required for a family reunion residency permit with a non-European citizen. In 2013, I had an accident and had to be on leave for 18 months. I lost my fellowship and did not have any right to social security from my PhD contract. With bitterness in my heart working as a shop clerk and my husband doing an internship in a kindergarten in Norway, I left my PhD project and participants behind. In 2018, I finally managed to get support from my employer, the University of South-Eastern Norway, to take up the research that I had abandoned for nearly five years.

To sum up, this project emerged through numerous contingencies, deviations, and failures along the way. I carried 'abandoned ideas' with me for many years, preserved in my body as experiences of failure, tension, and shame (Sjøvoll et al., 2020). I was even advised to hide the uncompleted doctorate from my CV when searching for jobs between 2014 and 2016. Despite closely following Brazil from afar through the news, social media, articles, and keeping in contact with relatives and friends, it was many years before I managed to transform this abandoned project into a study of residents' experiences with UPP across a fractured decade. In 2017 and 2018, I managed to meet up with some of the participants from the first phase of the project. According to the residents, 'it had changed a lot' when I returned to Brazil for the final fieldwork process in 2018. Not only had UPP revealed itself to be a failed project, but numerous changes were still to come with the populist far-right Bolsonaro government.

Immense shifts have occurred in Brazil in the past decade: after Lula and the Workers' Party (PT) reign ended, PT governed Brazil from 2003 to 2011 and sought to improve the economy and implement social reforms, followed by Dilma (also from PT), who took office in 2011. Mass protests began in June 2013, and Dilma was impeached in an 'institutional coup' in 2016 while increasing poverty, and an economic crisis ensued. Temer from the centre-right MDB and later Bolsonaro reversed many of the existing social programmes, and the far-right Bolsonaro government, which denies the existence of racism in Brazil (Alfonso, 2019), defends Brazil's military dictatorship with (1964–1985), and downplayed the medical emergency of COVID-19 in 2020 and 2021, was elected in 2018.

Wrapping up this research journey, while I write these sentences with the privilege of social distancing in my home office in Norway in 2021, Brazil is in the middle of a disaster. Bolsonaro continues to downplay the pandemic, and April 2021 was registered as the deadliest month with more than 82,000 officially dead due to COVID-19 (MS, 2021). Afro-Brazilian and black women are the hardest hit by the pandemic, both in terms of deaths, exposure, and unemployment. Extreme poverty and hunger are on the rise, particularly in favelas. The total number of starving people has doubled since 2018. Vaccination allocated by age is being distributed to older white Brazilians who have a longer life expectancy than the Afro-Brazilian population (Dantas, 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic thus provides a glimpse into the Brazilian pigmentocracy, biopolitics, and terrible social inequalities. The first person registered as dead by COVID-19 in Rio de Janeiro in March 2020 was a black maid working in a rich neighbourhood located in the South Zone. She was infected with COVID-19 that was transmitted by the wealthy family she worked for who had been travelling in Europe (de Melo, 2020). Further, poor favela residents dependant on informal work—many living in small and crowded housing conditions with dire sanitation standards—are starving, and social distancing is nearly impossible. As residents battle to survive the pandemic introduced by elites travelling to Europe, they also struggle with older forms of distancing and exclusion. As Bhan et al. note, the 'Pandemic provisions exacerbate ongoing structural racisms, class inequalities, and

gender and sexuality hierarchies upon which the massifying cities of the colonies, the third world, the global south, have been built' (2020). Many favelas have organised support for residents during the pandemic and offer new alternatives of care (Bhan et al., 2020). Some favelas had curfews imposed by local drug gangs, as was the case in PPG in 2020, while President Bolsonaro continually undermines the initiatives of prevention put forward by local governors. Over 600,000 were registered dead by COVID-19 by December 2021. Despite the court ban of police operations in Rio's favelas since 2020 (MPRJ, 2020), police violence continues to kill people in the favelas with police raids occurring almost daily. On May 6, 2021, 28 people were killed when police raided the favela of Jacarezinho, while in January 2022 the Cidade Integrada programme was launched in the same favela. It is the second deadliest massacre by police in Rio's history (Deister, 2021). While blacks and residents of the favelas continue to be criminalised and treated with permanent suspicion, it seems that some lives matter more than others.

1.2 Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo

This section provides a brief overview of the history of Pavão-Pavãozinho-Cantagalo, a complex of two neighbouring favelas in Rio de Janeiro, where more than 22 percent of the population live in favelas. For the history of the favelas and urban renewal and UPP, see chapters 2.1 and 2.3.

The neighbourhoods of the Pavão-Pavãozinho-Cantagalo favelas—collectively referred to as PPG—are located on the hillsides of the rich South Zone of Rio de Janeiro, a few hundred metres from the famous beaches and upper-class neighbourhoods of Copacabana, Ipanema, and Lagoa, providing breath-taking views of the city. PPG is a privileged locality insofar as a large portion of residents work in nearby neighbourhoods; most of the houses are built from brick; and there are numerous residential flats and shops. Since the implementation of PAC in 2007 and UPP in 2009, the favelas have been treated as a common territory, known as PPG or euphemistically as 'comunidade' (community). However, several residents emphasise the differences between the neighbourhoods in PPG, with the two differing in terms of neighbourhood associations and the presence of NGOs, services, and infrastructure.

Figure 1 The main street in PPG. Pavão-Pavãozinho is on the left, and Cantagalo is on the right with numerous shops, restaurants, a school, a bank, and churches (photo by the author, 2018).

The above photo was taken on a walk with Pedro, a resident from PPG, who said I should photograph the youngsters playing with a kite on the roof while also trying to catch a glimpse of a UPP officer who walked in front of the cars, not captured.

PPG mainly consists of self-built homes constructed over several decades. Homes range from the one-story wooden houses built in Cantagalo in the early twentieth century to the two- to four-story autoconstructed brick-and-cement houses that have proliferated across the entire area in recent decades. However, the top of the hill in Pavão-Pavãozinho—the most difficult area to access due to the steep incline—is still home to shacks built from wood and paper and characterised by poor sanitary conditions (see figure 32). Labelled high risk, these houses were marked for eviction in 2011–2013, despite the municipality constructing a large water reserve in the area in 2011 (see chapter 4). Although several households still have limited access to basic services, the housing conditions are often better than those in the formal housing blocks in the poor areas of the city. In the 1980s, PPG was already considered a model for favela improvement and a showcase for Governor Brizola's reforms (McCann, 2014, loc. 2076). In this regard, the implementation of various infrastructure and sanitation projects and construction of a Centro Integrado de Educação Pública (CIEP)—that is, a public school

and education centre—marked a shift towards a politics of favela 'integration'. Although the two neighbouring favelas comprising PPG have a shared history, they have distinct foundations, demographics, and migrant origins. Both endured hostilities due to the growth of drug trafficking in the 1980s, when two distinct drug factions fought turf wars— the territories of Cantagalo on the one hand and those of Pavão-Pavãozinho on the other. As in numerous other favelas, these local conflicts were related to larger criminal networks in the city that engaged in capillary turf struggles[8] (McCann, 2014, loc.). While its demography and economy have diversified (2014), in the 2000s, PPG also fell under the control of a single drug faction. The neighbourhoods have been considered part of a 'complex' of favelas (2014) since the early 2000s, one widely referred to as PPG, including by the community police and UPP.

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[8] See McCann (2014) for an overview of the criminal networks and drug trafficking in Rio. McCann (2014) also presents a chapter on PPG and discusses the relations between drug trafficking, the state, neighborhood associations, and NGOs in the favelas of Rio.

Figure 2 The borders of PPG with Cantagalo on the left and pavao-pavaozinho on the right. (Rio Mais Social, 2016).

Cantagalo was founded by migrants from the Minas Gerais region and the descendants of slaves in the early 1900s, and remains largely black in terms of demography. The population of Pavão-Pavãozinho primarily comprises immigrants from the Northeast. The painting in Figure 3 below depicts the history of Cantagalo. Founded in 1907, Cantagalo was established on a hill known to be a refuge for the descendants of slaves.

Figure 3 'Casa-tela' by local artists in PPG. the painting depicts the history of Cantagalo, which was founded on a hill in the south zone of Rio in 1907. According to The text, the hill was an alocation for escaped slaves (photo by Marcia, 2018).[9].

This text regarding the foundation of Cantagalo is part of the history of PPG narrated by the NGO Museu da Favela (MUF),[10] which was established by PPG residents, and featured in a 2012 MUF publication recounting the community's history through the 'circuito das casas-tela' (canvas-houses). The hill may well have been the location of a community established by escaped slaves, and the first residents certainly were descendants of slaves from Mina Gerais. However, it is unclear whether the hill was already inhabited by descendants of slaves and possibly a Quilombo in 1907, the year in which Cantagalo is considered to have been established. According to one resident, as well as the artist ACME, one of the founders of the MUF (ACME, 2016), the residents recently discovered

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[9] The text reads as follows: 'Em 1907 / Um morro interiorano / Foi refúgio de escravos / E dos que vinham chegando / De Minas Gerais de maleta / No lago Rodrigo de Freitas / Passavam os dias pescando / Plantava e comia do cacho / No mesmo quintal das galinhas / De lá do alto do morro / Serviço barato descia / Na hora que o galo cantava / O povo de baixo escutava / E acordava para mais um dia' (see MUF, 2012)

[10] There is a large amount of research on memory studies, museology, and tourism in the carioca favelas and PPG (Cardoso, 2017; Costa, 2020; Fagerlande, 2015, 2020; Freire-Medeiros and Moraes, 2022; Leite, 2019; Machado, 2017; Moraes, 2011; Moraes et al., 2022; Portilho, 2016; Torres, 2012). I have limited my study hånd excluded the MUF and studies on MUF directly, as including them would require an extensive study of NGOs and museology and memory studies in the area. This is beyond the scope of my research.

that the favela emerged from a Quilombo. [11] Research drawing on oral history also indicates that a Quilombo may have existed in Cantagalo (Portilho, 2016, 174). The stories of the origin of PPG and the favelas illustrate the various oral histories and origin myths of the favelas as described by Valladares (2005) (see chapter 2.1.1). Research also points to a resident in Pavão-Pavãozinho who described the hill as a 'virgin jungle' when the first residents arrived in 1945 (Pereira da Silva Interviewed by Cassia in 2003; Fischer, 2008, 225).

Pavão-Pavãozinho (PP) expanded in the 1950s, with the influx of residents from Brazil's Northeast Region. As Paula notes, although several residents originated from Minas Gerais also live in Pavão-Pavãozinho, the preponderance of migrants from Northeast Brazil can be reflected in the proliferation of shops and restaurants offering specialities from the region. In the 1980s and 1990s, two competing drug factions operated in the neighbouring favelas. Indeed, residents told me of how they had to hide from the crossfire during the turf wars of the two favelas, and many had lost relatives. Although residents told me about this history of violence, they did so reluctantly. In light of this, I have opted not to cite residents directly in this respect. The killing of numerous young men, predominantly young black men, in police operations and by drug factions has had repercussions across generations, impacting family members—particularly mothers, who are left to raise their children or age alone. This has display some of the intersections of gendered antiblackness and necropolitics in the favelas (see section 2.1.3). Estrada da Cantagalo, the main and only street with car access to PPG, was constructed as a part of

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[11] For more information on the Quilombos and favelas, see section 2.1.1. (also see Campos, 2010). While some favelas on the hills of Rio emerged from quilombos, some remain intact in urban Rio today (see chapter 2.1 for a discussion of the history of the favelas in Rio). The information on the 'casas-tela' (also depicted in the book published by MUF, 2012) is open to multiple interpretations. After all, if the hill was a refuge for escaped slaves, that is, a quilombo, in 1907, Cantagalo must have been inhabited by escaped slaves since before the end of slavery in 1888. The residents from Minas Gerais, who settled in the area from 1907, were also descendants of slaves. However, few written sources elucidate this history (see Interview with ACME in 2016, and Portilho, 2016). Portilho (2016) notes that the date of 1907 can be found in the book by Seth (1985) entitled, 'Pavão-Pavãozinho/Cantagalo, o Povo Sobe no Governo Brizola' (177).

the urban renewal programs initiated by Brizola in the 1980s and is located on the border between Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho.

For the past decade, PPG has been under the control of the 'Comando Vermelho' (CV) faction. The UPP unit and several NGOs and social projects cover the PPG territory; however, there are two separate neighbourhood associations. PPG is home to more than 20 NGOs. While some NGOs have expanded through new projects in cooperation with the PAC and UPP, several NGOs—such as Criança Esperança and AfroReggae—left PPG in 2018. In terms of education and health, PPG has a family health clinic (Clínica da Família) as well as multiple kindergartens, schools, and a CIEP. The latter was established in the abandoned Hotel Panorama by Brizola in 1984; re-named Brizolão, it hosted up to 4,000 children and currently houses the CIEP and numerous NGOs. After the landslide in Pavão-Pavãozinho in 1983, which killed 18 people, Brizola developed plans for a 'plano inclinado' and a trolley/elevator (McCann, 2014, loc. 2118) with five stops that could transport up to eight people, and a street providing access from the 'asfalto' up to the Brizolão and CIEP. Constructed under Brizola, the hillside trolley/elevator was among the first public transportation projects designed for favela residents (McCann, 2014. Loc. 2118). Brizola invested heavily in developing the favelas in PPG, including the establishment of municipal utilities to providing water, sewage, electrical, and trash services to Pavão and Cantagalo, as well as apartment block for residents who lost their homes in the landslide (McCann, 2014, loc. 2118). However, despite resident comments regarding the investment in infrastructure over the past few decades, not all areas have access to complete services. As Marcia explained (see A1Polyhedron), although there was investment, it was insufficient in both quantity and quality and not maintained. While most houses at present are built from brick, some are still built from wood and paper, particularly at the top of the hill, with open sewage in some areas.

There is an abundance of research on PPG[12] as well as numerous urban renewal projects proposed by politicians since the urban infrastructure development initiatives of the 1980s. Conducted in the 1950s, one of the first censuses of the favelas provides a hand drawn map of Cantagalo (see figure below and Valladares, 2005).

Figure 4 Map of cantagalo,1953 (Valladares, 2005, 57).

Carlos Lacerda, who was responsible for the mass eviction of favelas in the 1960s, launched a campaign in PPG in the 1960s (Fischer, 2008). Until the 1960s, PPG residents had to walk all the way to Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas and Catacumba to fetch water. This changed when Lacerda who also fought a war on the favelas installed a water pipe in Ipanema, at the bottom of Cantagalo hill. This history features in numerous accounts by residents and MUF publications. However, residents rejected the suggestion of a casa-tela featuring Lacerda and the water pipe, emphasising Lacerda's anti-favela politics in contrast to those of Governor Brizola, who promoted development projects and invested in infrastructure in PPG in the 1980s. In 1984, Brizola posed for photos with an older-adult black woman from Cantagalo. Indeed, Brizola was among the first politicians to

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[12] See Portilho (2016) and Pinto (2016).

embrace favela residents as equals (Mccann, 2014 loc. 1393) and attempted to make PPG a model favela, visiting the favelas on numerous occasions in 1984 and 1985 (see Mccann, 2014).

Figure 5 Brizola photographed togehter with a resident in Cantagalo in 1984 (Photo by Theobald in Mccann, 2014).

Marcia also recounted stories of women fetching water in Catacuma—her grandmother having done so in the 1940s (video interview, 2018). Marcia told me this one night when we walked up to Brizolão, the once abandoned hotel that now hosts numerous NGOs, a school, and social projects. We looked out over the Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas, the wealthy neighbourhood of Lagoa, and Catacumba—the area having been reforested and turned into a park following the eviction of favela residents.

Since the UPP's introduction to the favela in 2009, numerous houses have been marked for eviction under the banner of federal public infrastructural investments headed by the Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (Growth Acceleration Programme, PAC). The community has been gentrified—or undergone 'hygienisation' (Garmany and Richmond, 2020)—while residents from the asfalto moved in during the first years of the UPP's involvement in the favela. In that sense, I was also a part of the gentrification of the community when I rented a flat there in 2011. Some of my neighbours from the asfalto a few blocks down from me also moved to the favela in 2012 due to increasing property

prices in the rest of the city. About 77,000 people were evicted from their homes on the pretence of living in so-called areas of risk as well as investments made in infrastructural projects such as PAC and Morar Carioca preparing for the previously mentioned mega-events that occurred between 2009 and 2015 (Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro, 2015). The Morar Carioca was a municipal programme that aimed to 'integrate' the favelas into the 'formal' city and urbanise all of Rio's favelas by 2020, following the Favela-Bairro project (Cavalcanti, 2014).
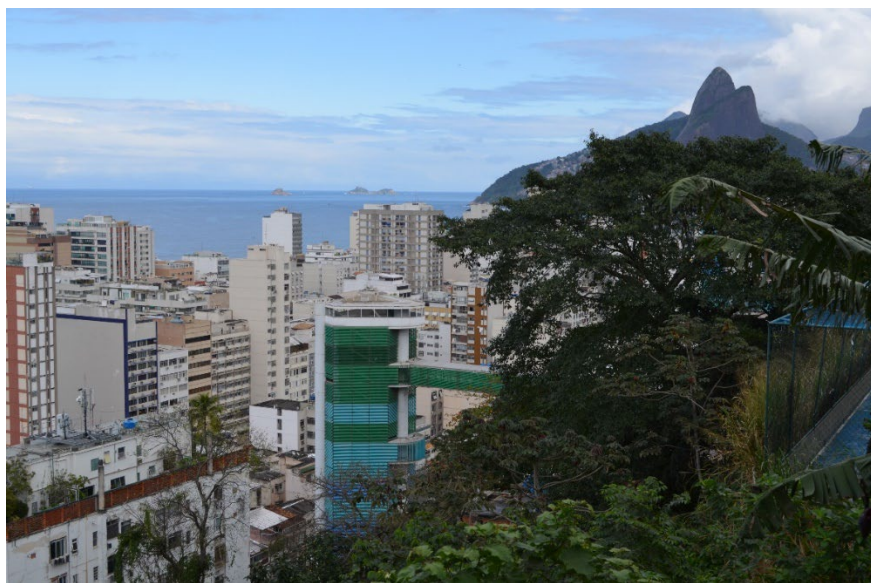
Figure 6 View from PPG of Ipanema and the elevator that provided access to the favela from the metro station. It was constructed as A part of the PAC (photo by the author, 2018)

According to the official data, PPG is home to 10,338 residents (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), 2010). Local residents have, however, emphasised that more than 30,000 might live there.

PPG experienced its first initiative of 'community policing' with the Grupo de Policiamento em Áreas Especiais (GPAE, Policing Group in Special Areas) in the 2000s (M Cardoso, 2016). In December 2009, Rio's fifth UPP with 176 police officers was installed permanently in PPG. Since 2007, the federal PAC programme has invested R$35.2 million (5.8 million Euros) in infrastructure (Banco Mundial, 2012). An elevator linking the metro and main square of Ipanema with PPG was constructed as a part of the PAC project, providing tourists with a panoramic view of Ipanema and Copacabana (see chapter 4.1).

Hundreds of houses were marked for eviction in that period, and the PAC's investment in infrastructure was later abandoned in 2014. When I went back in 2018, the public works and roads that were earmarked for construction had been abandoned, and evicted houses were built up again by residents or, in some cases, by traffickers who had occupied the evicted spaces and abandoned public works.

Figure 7 A house marked for eviction in Pavão-Pavãozinho (photo by the author, 2012).

I tried to find the same houses and residents that I had visited in previous years. I could not access some of the sites due to safety concerns. Armed drug traffickers were controlling the area, and there were numerous shootouts. The residents told me it was no longer safe to walk up to that area as we had done in 2012. Dona Ione, one of the women I tried to find, had passed away just before I arrived in July 2018. However, talking with other residents and showing them photos I had taken in 2012, I was told that the houses had not yet been evicted. The public investments and eviction process were abandoned in 2014, partly due to the economic crisis, a lack of funds, and corruption. The residents were still living there, uncertain of what the future may bring.

These unforeseen changes, abandoned plans, and deviations across a decade were studied drawing on fractured longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork and genealogy[13]. (see A1Polyhedron) Various deviations and the (in)visible or unfolding of the unforeseen (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004) shaped this project empirically, methodologically, epistemologically, and theoretically.

1.3 Aims and research questions

In times of brutality, global capitalism, destruction, and crisis, populations considered 'surplus' are increasingly being targeted by colonial tactics and racialised or left to die 'out of breath' (Mbembe, 2020; 2021). They are targeted by police in the guises of so-called pacification, militarisation, and urban warfare. I situate my research in dialogue with the thoughts of Achille Mbembe, who analyses the most urgent forms of brutalism wherein contemporary states increasingly escalate digital technologies, thereby contributing to accelerating racialisation and extraction while 'the state and corporations deem Black people disposable yet indispensable while plundering the planet' (2021. In a period of neoliberal insecurity and the mechanisms of 'policing the crisis' (Hall et al., 2017), it is crucial to further investigate the possibilities of resistance and rethinking methods, epistemologies, and new planetary politics based on repairing and re-assemblage. This is explored by Mbembe through the notion of 'becoming black of the world'[14].

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[13] See Chapter 5.2.2.

[14] These thoughts are relevant to the Brazilian context where favelas with a majority of black residents are codified as black (Alves, 2014, 328; Vargas, 2004, 455) constituting black(ened) spaces. Therefore, poor non-black residents from the favelas might also be associated with blackness and criminalised as a 'surplus' population in Brazil's anti-black cities (Alves, 2018). These aspects thus relate to the 'becoming black of the world' and the 'code noir' discussed by Mbembe, which refers to a specific juridical mechanism under slavery allowing rulers to treat blacks in a different way. In the contemporary neoliberalism crisis, Mbembe states that more and more people, constituting a 'surplus' population, might be treated as if they were black (Mbembe, 2021b; 2020; 2017). I am thankful for discussions with Jean Håndlykken-Luz who pointed to the relevance of 'becoming black of the world' in the Brazilian context.

I depart from these reflections by drawing on Mbembe to situate my research politically, ontologically, and epistemologically in the current moment of crisis. This moment unfolds increasingly neoliberal insecurity politics, ethnonationalism, and the racialisation process of populations considered surplus (Mbembe, 2020). Disposable bodies are borderised through the work of death in urban peripheries, oceans, and the Mediterranean Sea[15] or in the so-called ghettos of the Global North. On a planetary level, this research poses questions related to planetary habitability and life futures (Mbembe, 2020). This extended abstract draws together experiences and thoughts unfolding from an Amefrican Southern Atlantic[16] (Gonzalez, 1988; Nascimento, 2021), the favelas in Rio, and the notion of the 'becoming black of the world' (Mbembe, 2021b; 2020; 2017). I have hitherto engaged with theories emerging from the Global South, particularly Latin American and Brazilian black scholars in dialogue with decolonial and postcolonial scholarship. Drawing on Mbembe and his interest in the 'complex architecture of control and partition' and the possibilities of repair and re-assemblage (2021), the question of dealing with 'surplus' populations unfolds. Blacks and surplus populations are targeted through biopolitics and necropolitics, borderised through the work of death in a period wherein colonial tactics accelerate in a moment of increased exposure to 'social death' (Mbembe, 2021). In the case of Rio de Janeiro, this manifests in cases of increasing

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[15] See Mbembe's book *Brutalisme* (2020a, 146–147), more on the Danish 'ghetto-package' (Bendixen, 2018) and on citizenship provided to deceased refugees in Italy (in 2013) while living refugees were left to die at sea. See de Haas (2013) on the tragedy of Lampedusa in October 2013 where hundreds of immigrants were 'let do die' (Foucault, 2004, 241) in the Mediterranean Sea. In a necropolitical sense, those individuals were treated as the 'living dead' (Mbembe, 2003) or as 'bare life' (Agamben, 1998). One of the traumas of modernity is the questioning of the limits of life. The legal protection of life emerges when illegal immigrants are criminalised and one is only afforded Italian citizenship post-mortem. 'Only the dead can stay' ('Solo los muertos puden quedarse') (Ordaz, 2013) while 'public prosecutors are planning to charge the survivors with "illegal migration"' (de Haas, 2013).

[16] Amongst scholars theorising from an Amefrican Southern Atlantic, I locate researchers and activists such as L. Gonzalez (2020; 1988; 2019a; 2019b), Nascimento (2021), and Nascimento (1989) in dialogue with decolonial scholars such as Mignolo and Walsh (2018) and Quijano (2007) and postcolonial scholars such as Mbembe (2021). There are divergences in these scholarships, but I recognise how these are fruitful in the debate and reflections on the trajectory of my research as it shifted over a fractured decade. Perspectives from Latin America for the study of planetary urbanisation are particularly important as regards to reconfiguration and the re-articulation of 'socio-spatial structures inherited from colonialism' and the need to 'postcolonize planetary urbanism' (Vegliò, 2021).

necropolitical violence and the physical, social, and cultural lynching of blacks (Nascimento, 1989). Finally, what does it mean for the everyday experiences of residents in a 'pacified' favela, a black(ened) and criminalised space, across a decade in a moment of increasing necropolitical violence?

This project draws on my previous research in Rio de Janeiro from fieldwork conducted in the period 2011–2013, an informal visit to the area in 2017, and additional fieldwork in 2018. Urban upgrade programmes are often studied over a short period and ignore events occurring after the 'event' (Degen, 2017); therefore, this project adds to the literature by adopting a fractured longitudinal perspective (2008–2018). Frers and Meier (2017) have emphasised the need for critical research on movements of resistance and the limits thereof, namely with regard to 'their impact beyond the site of their original enactment' (Frers and Meier, 2017, 135). The opportunity to continue my research in Rio drawing on a multi-phase ethnographic fieldwork provided me with more in-depth knowledge about the complex processes underlying various movements of resistance and the militarisation of urban spaces and communities over time. In the preparations leading up to Rio de Janeiro becoming a global Olympic city in 2016, military interventions, state control, and surveillance were increased as favela residents were evicted in a process of gentrification, social cleansing, and hygienisation (Garmany and Richmond, 2020). That critical period of implementing urban politics in Rio has often been studied as a 'state of exception' where powerful actors and the state ignored the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1995) for certain residents in the spectacularisation and re-making of urban space. The tendency of researchers to apply the 'city of exception thesis' to Rio de Janeiro has, however, been questioned by some (Richmond and Garmany, 2016).

The overall aim of this research project is to explore residents' perceptions and everyday experiences of living in a 'pacified' favela over time, in a context of increasing necropolitical violence and social and racial inequalities in Rio de Janeiro. The objectives of this research are both political, methodological, and theoretical. First, I attempt to contribute to understanding the complex dynamics of power, displacement, racialisation, and socio-spatial control directed at the favela and its residents. These insights may be

useful in better understanding and challenging so-called ghetto-politics and the marginalisation of the urban poor globally. My second objective is to contribute a methodological innovation in the context of visual and participatory methods, which is particularly relevant for research with residents living in urban marginalised neighbourhoods. Third, my objective is to make a theoretical contribution to debates on urbanisation, cultural, decolonial, and postcolonial studies and theorise drawing on Southern Atlantic scholars and activists. This project was exploratory, and the research questions examined in the articles emerged from photo walks and participatory photography with residents who shared their reflections on daily life and changes in the favela over time. I did not enter the field with a predefined overall research question. The following research questions emerged during the *in situ* fieldwork and are explored in my four articles:

a. How do residents experience and negotiate space, power, everyday uncertainty, and displacement in a 'pacified' favela? (A1Polyhedron)

b. How are everyday pigmentocratic practices lived, challenged, and negotiated within the context of necropolitical violence in a favela with UPP? (A2Racism)

c. What are favela residents' everyday experiences of 'pacification' and the so-called inclusion of the favelas into the formal city from 2011 to 2018? (A2UPP)

d. What are the limits and possibilities of visual participatory methods and situated ethics in a fractured longitudinal community research? (A4Field)

The research questions explored in the articles were developed and modified during the research process and fieldwork.

1.4 Dissertation outline

The extended abstract consists of eight chapters, thereby situating the research genealogically and drawing from the practice of learning and unlearning, discussing the methodology and theoretical journey, and ending with a discussion on the contributions beyond the four articles. The first introductory chapter presented the research journey over a fractured decade, further introducing the favelas of PPG and the research questions. In Chapter 2, I introduce the favelas in Rio de Janeiro in greater detail and

present a genealogy of the so-called 'favela problem' by drawing on the literature and a history of the favelas. In addition, I discuss the intersection of gender, race and urban politics, increased militarisation and police terror in Rio de Janeiro, in order situate the 'pacification' within the historical and political context of changing urban insecurity politics and war on the favelas and black urban poor in Brazil. I thereafter discuss the life and politics of Marielle Franco providing a window into both the necropolitics of Rio de Janeiro, and black women political resistance, and present an overview of the UPPs, and situate my study in debates on the global south, peripheral urbanisation, and insurgent citizenship. These debates provide the historical and current, empirical and theoretical contextualization of my research articles which helps me analyse dynamics of power, racialisation, socio-spatial negotiations and resistance, and residents' everyday experiences of living in a 'pacified' favela over time.

Chapter 3 provides reflections on the process of learning and unlearning, drawing on my reflections on ethnographic multi-phase (2011-2013 and 2018) fieldwork, methodology, epistemology, and ethics. Due to the format of this project and the process of research across a decade, I have decided to present an extensive discussion in Chapter 3 by engaging with reflections and extracts emerging from the fieldwork before presenting the theoretical landscape. Before I explore the theoretical landscape, I return to the field in Chapter 4 and provide a glimpse into some of the crucial questions that emerged from my ethnographic fieldwork. Chapter 5 offers an overview of the theoretical journey of this research project. Chapter 6 summarises the core of my thesis: the four articles. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the insights gleaned from the articles in addition to the ethnographic fieldwork presented in Chapter 4 and reflections on the research's political and conceptual contributions. Due to the complexity of the dissertation as a whole and the extensive format of some of the chapters in the extended abstract, I decided to keep the conclusion brief and concise. In the concluding chapter 8, I reflect on the study's contributions and limitations as well as possibilities for future research.

2   Favelas, everyday urban politics and pacification

In this chapter, I present a brief genealogy of the so-called 'favela problem', urban coloniality, the war on blackness, and the processes of pacification and militarisation in Rio de Janeiro. This research is situated in debates surrounding the favelas and the intersection of racism (see A2Racism) and gender, autoconstruction, resistance, and urban politics (see also A1Polyhedron).[17] First, I briefly introduce the emergence of the 'favela problem' and the resultant urban security strategies. In this context, I discuss black urban life and anti-blackness in Rio de Janeiro before considering the intersection of gender and racialisation in the socio-spatial ordering of the city and urban politics. Thereafter, I address the practices of resistance in the context of increasing necropolitical violence and police terror in Rio de Janeiro, before I interrogate a multiplicity of cartographies and mappings of the favelas.

Second, in a section entitled 'Marielle Presente' ('Marielle is here'), I overview the life, politics, and legacy of Marielle Franco, the black councilwoman and human rights activist who was brutally killed in 2018.

Based in a favela, her political activism and scholarship on UPP provide a window into the necropolitical violence in Rio and the importance of black feminist political activism emerging from the favelas to challenge the increasing police brutality, anti-blackness, and gendered genocide in Brazil.

Third, I present an overview of the so-called 'rise and fall' of the UPP from 2008–2018, and urban insecurity politics in Rio. In concluding this chapter, I situate my study in the context of scholarship on everyday urban politics, peripheral urbanisation, and insurgent

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[17] For a further discussion on favelas, urban reforms, racism, pacification, militarisation, and resistance, see my previous work (A1Polyhedron, A2Racism and A3UPP). To supplement the discussion in these articles, I present a brief overview of some studies on favelas and urban politics in Brazil, which is both important and extensive. To further situate the methodological and theoretical discussion in this extended abstract, I briefly repeat some of the information provided in prior articles. Accordingly, this section of the extended abstract aims to supply relevant information for the reader; it does not provide a comprehensive historico-theoretical account of scholarship on favelas, and its numerous different facets and directions, as this would go beyond the scope of this extended abstract.

citizenship. I further suggest a dialogue on an American Southern Atlantic drawing on the prominent black Brazilian Feminist Lélia Gonzalez (1980; 2021) and Beatriz Nascimento (2021; 1979), expanding on this in the theoretical landscape established in chapter five.

2.1 A genealogy of the favela problem and urban coloniality

The current militarisation of life in the city of Rio de Janeiro actualises the historical processes of 'civilising' blacks in Brazil, epistemic and physical violence, disciplinarisation, and the moralisation of poor and black urban residents—that is, the Rio's 'favelados' (de Mattos Rocha et al., 2018, 12). As I argue in A1Polyhedron, these processes unfold through different *dispositifs* such as the pacification programme (2008–2018) (see A1Polyhedron), which was established in the context of preparing for the megaevents of 2014 and 2016, including mass evictions, that actualised the historical attempts of urban coloniality. Such attempts by white elites to 'civilize' and modernise the city promoted a war on blacks. Indeed, despite efforts to present Brazil as racially harmonious (Vargas, 2013, Alvito and Zaluar 2006; Amar 2013; Vargas 2010), Brazilian cities are constructed for maintaining white privilege (Oliveira in Caetaono, 2021; Oliveira, 2013).

In this section, I outline a genealogy [18] of the so-called 'favela problem' and the intersection of urban space, anti-blackness, and gender in the production of the city. For any attempt to understand the current favela politics, such a historical understanding is crucial, as 'the favela-problem' appears as deeply entrenched in the development of urban politics and the legitimation of the 'pacification' and war on black urban poor. This is followed by a brief overview of the multiple cartographies and mapping of Rio's favelas, which constitute both a mechanism of control and possibilities of resistance in the re-actualisation of urban coloniality.

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[18] Genealogy (…) is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents' (Foucault, 1984, 81).

2.1.1 The emergence of the 'favela problem', hygienisation and strategies of urban security

The favelas emerged in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 1800s,[19] providing a home to numerous poor and black residents and migrants in the city—that is, the city's labour and cheap work force. The most well-known history of the favela pertains to the 'morro da favela' in Rio de Janeiro—later known as *morro da Providencia*—the first favela in the city. Towards the end of the 1800s, soldiers returning from the Canudos War in the Northeast settled on a hill in the city, where they had been promised land (Abreu, 2006; Valladares, 2005). They built their shacks on a hill later known as *morro da favela* or *morro da Providencia*. The soldiers named the hill after a plant they recognised from the Northeast as the favella plant. Valladares (2008; 2019) describes this claim as the origin myth of the favela.

Indubitably, settlements comprising the poor and former slaves were hardly novel in Rio. While the term 'favela' was used later, such settlements already existed on some of the hills—or 'morros'—of Rio at the end of the nineteenth century, such as Santo Antonio.[20]

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[19] Founded in 1565, Rio de Janeiro was declared the capital of the Portuguese Empire in 1808, when the entire Portuguese royal court and King Dom João moved to Brazil following Napoleon's invasion of Portugal. The imperial capital was later moved back to Portugal, while Dom Pedro I, the prince, remained in Brazil. He became the emperor in 1822, when Brazil declared independence from Portugal. The republic was declared in 1889. Slavery was fully abolished in Brazil in 1888, making it one of the last countries to end slavery in the western hemisphere (Schwarcz and Starling, 2015). Between 1501 and 1866, 4,9 million slaves were taken to Brazil by Portuguese slave traders (of a total estimated 8-11 million slaves transported to the Americas) (Schwarcz and Starling, 2015, 84). Brazil received the largest number of enslaved Africans in the Americas (Reis et al, 2021). By 1844, half of Rio's population—approximately 85,000 residents—was estimated to comprise slaves (Karasch and Soares, 2000). In 1960, the capital was moved to Brasilia. Today, Brazil is home to the largest black population outside Nigeria (Schwarcz and Starling, 2015, 15). For more information on the history of slavery and colonialism, see Schwarcz and Starling (2015), Reis et al. (2021) and Schwarcz and Gomes (2018). For an overview of research on racism and urban space in Brazil see the edited books by Santos RE dos (ed.) (2012) *Questões Urbanas e Racismo* and Oliveira (ed.) (2013) *A Cidade e o Negro no Brasil*.

[20] Santo Antônio had 400 shacks by 1901, though the police destroyed the favela that same year. Although residents soon rebuilt their houses, they struggled against evictions for years. In the 1930s, the residents wrote a letter to President Vargas on this subject. In the 1940s, they wrote to politicians demanding services. However, in the 1950s, the favela was torn down and replaced with a seaside park and the upper-class neighborhood of Botafogo (see Fischer, 2008, 84–86).

Some researchers such as Gustavo Barroso in (1958; cited in Almeida, 2016, 6) and Andrelino Campos (2010) highlight the relationship between the quilombos[21] (Maroon communities originally established by escaped slaves and now inhabited by their descendants) and favelas, with some favelas having emerged in areas of urban quilombos. However, some have questioned this association (Almeida, 2016: 6). The most famous quilombo, the Quilombo of Palmares (Gomes, 2012), endured for nearly a century. This quilombo's last leader, Zumbi (1680–1695), is an important symbol of black resistance in Brazil, with Black Consciousness Day on 20 November marking the day Zumbi was killed. Some quilombos have obtained land rights. Indubitably, the quilombos of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries constitute important symbols of resistance, struggle, and political organisation for black Brazilians. First dehumanised as slaves in the colonial era, black Brazilians have continued to be deprived of their humanity and substantive citizenship since the abolition of slavery in 1888. Afterall, according to Gilmore, racism can be defined as 'the state-sanctioned or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death' (Gilmore, 2007, 247; Alves, 2014, 336).

While the favelas were associated with poverty and illness and targeted by hygiene reforms, such as Morro do Favella, this was also the case for the *corti*ços or tenement buildings hosting urban poor and black populations in the central areas of Rio (Maede, 1999). For instance, an 1893 decree prohibited the construction and operation of cortiços in Rio. The hygiene reforms targeted the *corti*ços and later the first known favelas, including the morro da favela (Abreu, 2006; Fischer, 2008; Maede, 1999; Valladares, 2005). In the period following the abolition of slavery and the emergence of favelas,

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[21] See Campos' *Do Quilombo à Favela* (2010) for a discussion on the relationship between the urban and semi-urban Quilombos and favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Although questions regarding the generalization of favelas emerging from quilombos arise, it seems probable that some did, given the fact that many of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro are located on the hills where fugitive slaves established quilombos (See also Maede 1999, Almeida 2016; Gomes 1996, 2012).

hygiene reforms and a policy aimed at 'civilising' the favelas that labelled residents 'others' were implemented (Maede, 1999; Andrews, 2004). While the favela has been presented as an 'area of risk' and the site of moral and sanitary reform, the widescale eviction and demolition of cortiços, which housed poor immigrants and freed slaves, occurred since the 1870s and intensified in the early 1900s (Fischer, 2008, 33).
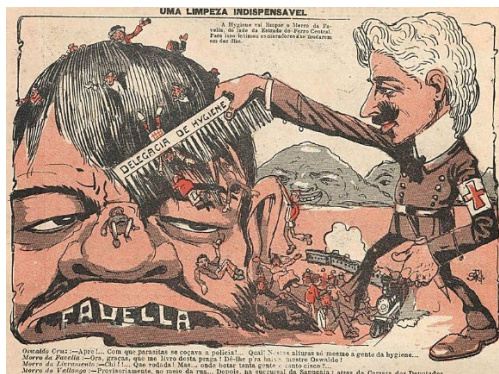
Figure 8 Dr Oswaldo Cruz, representing the hygiene reforms, cleans the 'morro da favella'. (Unknown author, published in O Malho, nº 247, 1907).

In Figure 8, Dr Oswaldo Cruz cleans the 'morro da favella' with a comb. He represents the hygiene reforms and policy aimed at 'civilizing' the favelas and labelling residents 'others' through biopolitical practices and strategies. Cruz is portrayed as having blond hair and holding a comb with the inscription 'delegacia de hygiene'; he is depicted as representing civilization and progress with a train travelling at his feet. Elite accounts of life in the city of Rio de Janeiro during the period of urban reform at the beginning of the 1900s, such as that of writer and engineer Vivaldo Coaracy, claimed 'that the renovation was necessary in the name of "civilization and progress"' (Coaracy cited in Maede, 1999, 43). The cities were rebuilt in a European style, as reflected in the aspirations of Mayor Pereira Passos, who sought to make Rio de Janeiro a modern metropole in the image of the Haussmann architecture of Paris (Maede, 1999; Fischer, 2008). The crowded cortiços (beehives) housing urban labourers and former slaves were destroyed, the streets widened, and the black population chased from the urban centre. Significantly, 'urban reforms' were not only aimed at modernising the city and the infrastructure but 'transforming their class and racial composition' (Andrews, 2004, 120). According to the health inspector Souza Lima, the cortiços were demolished 'in the interests of freeing the

central city from the vice and visible poverty'. However, as Meade notes (1999, 74), he also justified the tearing down of the cortiços 'in the interest of preventing spread of disease'. These statements clearly reflect a public discourse on (in)security in the sense that poor and black residents were seen as 'others' and considered responsible for the growing violence and crime in Rio at the time. In this respect, elite discourses sought to justify an Anglo-Saxon racial superiority based on 'science', eugenics, and the idea of 'racial improvement' (Maede, 1999, 115).

In addition to the forced evictions and violent attitude towards the former residents of the cortiços, the inhabitants fought against vaccine campaigns in a week-long urban riot that became known as the Vaccine Revolt of 1904 (Maede, 1999, 120). The poor population, and afro-descendants in particular, suffered 'the aggressive state intrusion into their home', with health officials entering homes without permission to vaccinate all family members against smallpox (Maede, 1999, 120). The discourse seeking to justify 'urban reforms' and a social cleansing through arguments regarding health, sanitation, progress, and 'civilizing' the population illustrates how biopolitics, as well as disciplinary mechanisms in the case of medicine and vaccination, contributed in the shaping of the urban space of Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the 1900s. Ideas of racial superiority—integral to the colonial project—were also used to reserve wealth and power for those who identified as white and further deny access to wealth and resources to people socially hierarchised and classified as 'brown' and 'black' (Andrews, 2004, 6). 'Race was an important subtext for urban renewal' in Rio, where central areas with visible multiracial neighbourhoods were described as areas of disease and 'moral corruption' (Alberto, 2011, loc. 1530). Since the discovery of the New World, 'the argument went that although the cannibals found there were devoid of the values of Western civilisation, they could be put to good use as slaves' (Schwarcz and Starling, 2018). This 'civilising process' was also used in creating the modern state of Brazil, with the republic elite seeking to discard the image of Brazil as a backward country associated with slavery. However, these views were premised on the notion of European culture and whiteness

as superior. Renovations and evictions were justified under the pretext of 'civilization and progress' (Maede, 1999, 43).

The favelas expanded in the twentieth century. As the city expanded with the formation of an industrial centre, poor residents and migrants constructed houses on the surrounding hills and unused land. During the mid-twentieth century, the lack of affordable housing and public housing market resulted in immigrants continuing to settle on the hills (Perlman; 1976; Valladares, 2005). Fischer (2008) has investigated the intertwining histories of urbanisation and citizenship through the 'poverty of rights' and the struggle of the favelados and poor communities to obtain urban rights in twentieth-century Rio. In the populist era of President Getúlio Vargas in the 1930s and 1940s, Brazilian citizenship was reformed and the extension of social, economic, and legal rights for working people gained support (Fischer, 2008). However, citizenship was only partially extended to the urban and rural poor, resulting in a large portion of the Brazilian poor and underclass continuing their 'quest for rights' (Fischer, 2008).

Drawing on Gilberto Freyre (1987), Vargas also harnessed the idea of a racial democracy in constructing a Brazilian identity based racial harmony and intermixing. Vargas extended more rights to poor and working people to gain their support. Writing on the favelas in the 1970s, Perlman (1976) found that the 'problem of the favela' was socially constructed through the myth of marginality[22] and that the city relied on the favelas for cheap labour supply. In this respect, favelas provided a solution for the lack of access to housing for the poor and the influx of migrants into the city. The idea of the favela as a problem and an issue of marginality has, thus, been challenged by research emphasising the agency and struggles of the urban poor and favela residents to obtain rights in the mid-twentieth century, an aspect frequently overlooked in the literature.[23]

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[22] See *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Perlman, 1976).
[23] For extensive research on the 'poverty of rights' of urban poor and favela residents in the twentieth century, see Fischer (2008).

Fischer (2008) discusses the land wars in Rio's favelas in the 1940s and 1950s, and how residents mobilised against forced evictions. Although this mobilisation could be considered an aborted social movement, Fischer (2008) argues that the majority of central favelas would have been torn down without these struggles (302–303). The evictions of favela residents and corresponding resistance and land wars of the 1940s and 1950s were important, with the Catacumba favela located in the South Zone resisting such measures for decades. Catacumba finally succumbed in 1970, when Brazil was under military dictatorship (Perlman, 2010, 78). Mass evictions in the 1960s and 1970s were initiated by Governor Carlos Lacerda, with over 41, 447 families losing their homes between 1962 and 1973 (Fischer, 2008, 302). Numerous residents were displaced to model villages (Parques proletários) financed by the state and located on the outskirts of the city (Burgos, 1998; Valladares, 2005). In a period marked by the military coup of 1964, several settlements were evicted and torn down despite residents' activism and struggle, with numerous activists from the favelas forced into exile (Fischer, 2008).[24] The mass removal of favelas under the military dictatorship appears to have come to end when the favela of Vidigal managed to resist evictions in 1977.

In Rio, the politics of tearing down the favelas changed under Governor Leonel Brizola (1983–1987 and 1991–1994; Nogueira Dos Santos, 2017, 64), who was responsible for the institution of important urban political developments in the 1980s, including those in PPG (see section 1.2). Mass removals were declared illegal in the post-dictatorship era, that is, after 1985. However, according to Freeman and Burgos (2017), evictions and removals of favela residents simply continued in new forms through various federal, state, and municipal programmes, while several favelas were declared 'areas of risk' by Geo-Rio, the city's geological survey agency (551). Certainly, a large amount of research

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[24] Researchers such as Leeds (2015), Valladares (2005), Perlman (1976; 2011), and Machado da Silva (2008; 2004) have provided key research on the favelas insofar as they have documented these struggles and investigated this period of brutal evictions.

(Azevedo and Faulhaber, 2015) has documented evictions in the mega-event phase through programs, such as the Growth Acceleration Programme (O Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento'; PAC), which paved way for forced removals. Indeed, despite resident pleas for the provision of basic services, the PAC programme invested in infrastructure targeted at tourists rather than. For instance, in PPG, the elevator tower was constructed to provide tourists with a panoramic view accessible from the metro. In Complexo do Alemão and Providencia, cable cars were primarily constructed so that tourists could overlook the favelas. There were similar plans for the construction of a cable car in Rochina, while the cable care in complex do Alemão was abandoned soon after the mega events.

Important urban upgrade programmes in Rio's favelas include: 'Morar Carioca' (Carioca living') implemented in 2010; the rebranding of Favela-Bairro (the Favela Neighbourhood) between 1994 and 2008; Programa Minha casa Minha Vida (My House My Life), a federal housing programme launched by the Lula government in 2009; and the PAC, which has been in operation since 2007 (see Freeman and Burgos, 2017, 551). In respect to the latter, President Lula launched the first PAC in Brazil in the PPG in 2007.

Since the 1980s, the favelas have been dominated by the narco factions[25] (Misse, 2008) and shaped by the emergence of drug trafficking, growing cocaine trade, and the war on drugs. In the 1990s, the favelas were characterised by an increase in the number of violent conflicts, deaths, and police terror, with the latter forming part of a war on the favelas. The image of the favelas as violent spaces dominated by criminality and drug

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[25] The drug faction 'Comando Vermelho' (red command), which, at present has control in PPG, was the first large drug faction in Rio emerging in the 1970s. The two other major factions in Rio, which also gained control of several favelas since the 1980s are 'Terceiro Comando' (the third command) and 'Amigos dos Amigos' (friends of friends). Both inter-faction conflicts and confrontations with the police force precipitate a policy with war on drugs in the 1980s and 1990s with increasing violence (da Cunha, 2020, Souza, 1996). There were, however, some important urban renewal projects and investment in infrastructure in PPG during the Brizola era in the 1980s. The Favela-Bairro program implemented since 1993 slightly changed discourse as it invested in public services and infrastructure (Leitão G and Delacave, 2015: da Cunha, 2020).

trafficking and of young black men as criminals who can be executed by the police remains prevalent. Indeed, 2018 and 2018 saw the highest number of registered police killings in Rio over the past twenty years (ISP, 2020). Moreover, despite the discourse shifting from one of war to one of peace and inclusion with the implementation of the pacification programme in some of Rio's favelas in 2008 (Leite, 2014), the militarised approach persists, continuing to draw on racialisation and 'civilizing' and justify police brutality towards and killings of black residents.

However, reviewing the various urban renewal programmes targeting Rio's favelas over the past century, reveals that 20,000 people were displaced under the administration of major Perreira Passos (1902–1906), over 30,000 people under the Carlos Lacerda administration (1960–1965), and approximately 68,000 people under the Eduardo Paes administration (2009–2016). In the lead up to the megaevents, the latter saw favela residents displaced to areas about 70 km from their former houses (da Cunha, 2020; Faulhaber and Azevedo, 2015).

Urban development programmes and strategies to deal with the so-called favela problem targeted settlements through discourses of 'hygienisation' (Richmond and Garmany, 2020), 'civilisation', integration, and citizenship. More specifically, these approaches sought to 'civilize' favelas and favela residents through hygiene measures, security interventions, forced evictions, and the destruction of the favelas. Such approaches to the favela and favelados as ungovernable and criminalised spaces and bodies that need to be 'civilized' unfold a racial and spatial ordering of the city and a war on blackness—as the subsequent section discusses in further detail.

2.1.2 Black urban life and the anti-black city

In this section, I provide an overview of the racial and spatial ordering of the city. Using a variety of examples, I show how urban renewal programmes and strategies towards the favelas have drawn on racialisation and anti-blackness. The racism towards and criminalisation of Afro-Brazilians has a long history, originating with the forced migration

of millions of Africans brought to the country as slaves, with Brazil now home to the largest black population outside Nigeria (Schwarcz and Starling, 2015, 15).

According to Reinaldo José de Oliveira, 'Brazilian cities were designed so that whites should not be disturbed' and built to protect white privilege (Cited in Caetano, 2021, my translation). In this respect, Oliveira points to the late abolition of slavery in Brazil, the lack of public policies curtailing discrimination and poor living conditions for people on the peripheries, and the formation of Brazilian cities as constructed for maintaining white privilege (Oliveira cited in Caetano 2021; Oliveira, 2013).

I do not seek to trace a linear relationship between the war on blackness and coloniality over the past centuries. Rather than a linear legacy, the afterlife of slavery can be explored genealogically through examples such as the *quilombo* and *favela*, the *Capitão do Mato* (bush captain) and the military police, and the 'changing-same' of militarisation and pacification (A3UPP). The intersections of racialisation, urban space, and gender are discussed in the subsequent section. The necropolitical violence and criminalising of black urban life articulate the gendered dimension of necropolitics, coloniality, and borderising of bodies through death. This was made brutally clear in the recent murder of Marielle Franco, a black councilwoman. Her political activism and research on the UPPs, human right violations, and police violence (Franco, 2014) are discussed in section 2.2.

Numerous reports by the court police (Polícia da Corte) in Rio de Janeiro from 1808, 1823, and 1825, among others, refer to multiple quilombos in the area of Rio de Janeiro and the 'problem' of fugitive slaves.[26] According to an 1812 relate from the court police to the commandant of the district of Freguesia de Santo Antônio de Jacutinga, the bush-captain Claudio Antonio was to receive support 'to execute an operation to chase the escaped slaves located in the quilombos' (Gomes, 1996, 270, my translation). The formation of the military police in 1808—known as the 'polícia da corte' at the time and

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[26] Cited in F. Santos Gomes, 'Quilombos do Rio de Janeiro no século XIX,' in J.J. Reis and F. Santos Gomes (eds), *Liberdade por fio Historia dos Quilombos no Brasil*, São Paulo: Compania das Letras, 1996.

still bearing the same symbol today—reveals a genealogical relation to the *capitão-do mato*, who chased the fugitive slaves for the 'fazendeiros' (farm owners), and is, thus, genealogically related to the racialised violence exerted by the military police to this day. For instance, the Military Police of São Paulo provided a written recommendation ordering its police officers to search 'negros' and 'pardos' on 21 December 2012. This case was highly controversial, the Defensoria Pública eventually denouncing the Military Police for racism and ordering that the case be investigated. Moreover, an image of the official order was widely disseminated by the news and social media.[27]

The chasing of fugitive slaves, destruction of quilombos, and criminalisation of 'blackness' can be perceived in police attitudes towards the black urban population. In 1836, it was decided that authorities of the court would patrol and inspect the city streets and question 'pretos' (blacks). From 1838, people who engaged in commerce with 'quilombolas' and slaves were fined and could be imprisoned (Gomes, 1996, 276). Afro-Brazilian religions such as Kandomlé were similarly discriminated against and even criminalised. Having been declared illegal in 1890, capoeira was suppressed throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed, over 600 'capoeiristas' (practitioners of capoeira) were sent to a penal colony on the island Fernando de Noronha (Andrews, 2004, 122).

The war on blackness adopted a novel direction after the abolition of the slavery in Brazil, one of the last countries to do so, in 1888. Like several South American countries at the time, Brazil's efforts to construct a 'civilized' and 'progressive' nation can also be seen in attempts to 'whiten' the country by facilitating white European immigration. Such pursuits were based on the idea that 'white' blood would become dominant over. As the legislator and coffee farmer Bento de Paulo Souza explained, 'it is necessary to inject new

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27 For more information on this case, see:
http://www.diariosp.com.br/noticia/detalhe/42509/PM+da+ordem+para+abordar+%91negros+e+pardos%92 and 'Defensoria Pública denuncia PM por ordem para abordar negros e pardos. Defensores também pediram que MP investigue o crime de racismo no caso. Ordem tida como discriminatória partiu de comandante da PM de Campinas'. Retrieved August 30, 2013 from http://g1.globo.com/sp/campinas-regiao/noticia/2013/02/defensoria-publica-denuncia-pm-por-ordem-para-abordar-negros-e-pardos.html

blood in our veins, because ours is watered down' (cited in Andrews 119). Immigration was only one aspect of such a 'whitening'; Brazil's cities also had to be culturally and aesthetically whitened (Andrews, 2004, 119).

Since the 1840s, Brazil among other Latin American countries has allocated state funds to sponsor white immigration. Between 1880 and 1930, a total of 3.5 million Europeans migrated to Brazil, several receiving subsidies from the state to do so (e.g. for transportation; Andrews, 2004, 136). Making the Brazilian population whiter was an established goal. With the ideology of whitening espoused in 'academic and political circles, elites openly debated whitening through immigration as the solution for Brazilians' racial inferiority' (Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014, 176). For a long time, the preference for white European labour was conventionally attributed to a shortage of black workers—a claim that has since been proven false (Andrews, 1991, 235). In short, the objective was to whiten the population and eliminate the black population by importing a white work force.

The ideology of a 'racial democracy' helped shape the notion that racism did not exist in Brazil, which had no formal racial segregation following the abolition of slavery, and that its national identity celebrated its cultural mixture and miscegenation (Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014, 172). In this respect, Skidmore (1993) noted how, in 1974, white elites used racial democracy to veil racial oppression. The idea of 'racial democracy' and 'racial harmony' was crucial to the nation-building politics of Vargas in the 1930s and 1940s. Vargas was inspired by the work of the influential anthropologist Gilberto Freyre (1987). Most scholars refer to Freyre as the originator of the term 'racial democracy', despite the fact that the actual term only was mentioned in the 1950s and within critiques of Freyre's presentation of 'racial harmony' and a 'soft slavery' in Brazil (Guimarães, 2001; Alberto 2011). Abdias Nascimento used the term 'racial democracy' in a speech at the first congress for Black Brazilians in 1950 (Guimarães, 2001, 2). Freyre used the concept of luso-tropicalism to portray Portuguese colonialism as less brutal and encouraging racial miscegenation (see Freyre, 1987 and A2Racism). Although he recognised the discrimination occurring in Brazil, Freyre claimed that the racial divisions had been

overcome through the mixture of 'the tale of three races' (Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014, 172).

This image was contested in the 1950s, when the United Nations invested in exploring Brazil's 'racial paradise' during a time of racial conflicts in the USA and apartheid in South Africa (Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014, 179). Research soon revealed that racism was prolific in Brazil in terms of both prejudice and socio-racial inequalities. Among others, sociologist Florestan Fernandes conducted ethnographical and statistical analyses. Although Fernandes wrote extensively on racism, as a Marxist, he thought that such inequalities were primarily rooted in class discrimination (Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014, 179; Fernandes, 1965). This was the prevailing view on the socio-racial inequalities in Brazil for a long time.

While numerous scholars have examined the concept of racial democracy with reference to Freyre and the nationalist politics of exceptional racial harmony since the 1930s, researchers have also claimed that black Brazilians were prevented from challenging and grasping the deep racial inequalities of the country until the black movements of the 1970s (Maede, 1999). According to Maede (1999), 'there have been frequent challenges to the white superiority at various times in Brazilian history, the absence of strong "black power" ideologies and of social movements based on Pan-Africanism are a striking testament to the pervasiveness of the whitening ideal' (30). However, Maede points to the exception of the Frente Negra Brasileira movements in the 1920s and 1930s, which were was successful in Rio and São Paulo before being brutally repressed by Getúlio Vargas (Maede, 1999, 30). The view that Black Brazilian were prevented from grasping and mobilising against racial inequalities with the common reference to racial democracy (Maede, 1999), referring to Freyre has been challenged by Alberto (2011, 2012) and Guimarães (2001). Examining black movements and press in the early 1920s, Alberto (2011) argues that the 'ideologies of Brazilian racial harmony were both constructed and contested from below' (loc. 161). As black activists fought for citizenship, rights, and social inclusion, black thinkers in the early 1900s saw racial democracy not as a reality but as an ideal of what Brazil could become (loc. 308). In the 1920s, several publications for—

and by black—intellectuals advanced abandoning race and colour altogether (Alberto, 2011). It is important to note the struggle against racial discrimination also in the early 1900s (see Alberto, 2012; 2011). Abdias do Nascimento[28] (1914-2011)—one of the most influential anti-racists and black thinkers of the past century who openly denounced racism in the 1930s—wrote extensively on the black genocide in Brazil (2016), critiquing Paulo Freyre and his sugar-coated portrayal of race-relations in Brazil and the false image of mild slavery in the country (1989, 3; see A2Racism). In 1944, Nascimento founded the Teatro Experimental do Negro (TEN) in Rio de Janeiro. The organisation encountered difficulties under the military dictatorship in 1964; shuttered in 1968, its leader, Abdias do Nascimento, was granted asylum in the United States (Domingues, 2007, 110). During the dictatorship, questions pertaining to race and racial discrimination were quashed, with the leaders of the Black Movement being accused of creating a problem that did not exist as racism did not exist in Brazil (Skidmore, 1993, 137; Domingues, 2007, 111). According to Skidmore (1993, 137), the Brazilian elite diffused an image of Brazil as a 'racial democracy'. However, the first law prohibiting racial discrimination was passed by Congress in 1951, after a black American dancer was refused entrance by a hotel in São Paulo (111).

Created towards the end of the 1970s, the Movimento Negro Unificada (MNU) played a significant role in the Black Movement insofar as it brought together the numerous movements that dispersed under the dictatorship.[29] The MNU also intervened in the field of education, managing to remove discriminatory content from educational material and include black history (115). More recent achievements by the Black Movement include the introduction of affirmative action in 2002, which was made mandatory in public

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[28] Abdias do Nascimento was a prominent black thinker, activist, artist, and anti-racist. For publications in English, see (1980, 1989, 2016). For an overview of the black movement in Brazil and the legacy of Abdias Nascimento see Domingues, (2007) and Hanchard (1998).

[29] For an overview of the Black Movement in Brazil, see Hanchard (1998), Domingues, (2007), Domingues (2018) and SA dos Santos (2012). For mor information on resistance and slave revolts in Brazil see Reis (2021) and Reis (2018) in the edited volume by Schwarcz and Gomes (2018) on the history of slavery in Brazil. Further expansion lies beyond the scope of this section. See section 2.1.3 for the black women movement in Brazil.

universities in 2012 (see A2Racism), and the development of public policies for teaching Afro-Brazilian and indigenous history and culture in Brazil in the twenty-first century. The NGOs AfroReggae and CUFA (Central Única de Favelas (Central Favela Confederation) [30] have been crucial developing projects in the favelas in Rio aiming for social justice, a rehabilitation of the image of the favela and Afro-Brazilian cultures and history. The international recognition of the urgency of racism and the situation of blacks in Brazil was discussed at the 2001 UN conference in Durban, South Africa (Moraes Silva and Paixão, 2014, 181); thereafter, the brutality of racism and police violence affecting blacks in Brazil was recognized internationally. Currently, most Brazilians (approximately 60 percent) self-identify as Afro-Brazilians (Schwarcz and Starling, 2018, loc. 168). In addition to proving that racial democracy was a myth, researchers have underscored the brutal treatment of blacks in Brazil—their treatment as a surplus and disposable population leading researchers to declare a 'genocide of blacks in Brazil' (Nascimento, 2016; Vargas, 2008, 754). Indeed, although racial democracy has been recognised as fallacious, it has long served as a means by which white elites could negate the reality of racism (See A2Racism, Nascimento, 1989).

Vargas (2004) identifies a dialectic of race in Brazil: a hyper consciousness of race on the one hand, and a denial of its importance on the other. As I have discussed in a previous article, the hyperconsciousness and negation of race dialectic is mobilised through notions of 'racism as a perfect crime' (Håndlykken-Luz, 2020; Munanga, 2012) and

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[30] For more information on CUFA see https://www.cufa.org.br/, and for AfroReggea see https://www.afroreggae.org/. Such NGOs have been doing important cultural and social projects in the favelas in Brazil over the past twenty years, including social cultural and political projects, courses in sport and music, and community development. AfroReggea has been sponsored by preeminent organisations; notably, in addition to fighting for social justice and against drug trafficking, it is also a profitable business. CUFA was founded in 1999 by Celso Athyade, now a recognized social entrepreneur, and the rapper and social activist MV Bill, who are both favela residents. Through various social, cultural and entrepreneurial projects, MV Bill and Athyade have published books, produced music and movies, and a range of projects all over Brazil, also establishing branches internationally. See also one of the books by MV Bill and Athayde (2007) 'Falcão: mulheres e o tráfico. For more information on Athyade and 'Favela holding' see: https://www.schwabfound.org/awardees/celso-athayde. Unesco sponsored research on these NGOs to document their impact in the favelas (see research by Jovchelovitch, 2013).

'pigmentocratic everyday practices'[31] (Håndlykken-Luz, 2020) and alongside the brutal and highly visible killings of black Brazilians by police as well as the lack of access to healthcare, mass incarceration, and poor working conditions. Therefore, it is important to consider police terror and the lack of access to services as reflected in the extreme social inequalities in Brazil, where black citizens—and black women in particular—are at the bottom of a 'pigmentocracy' in terms of life expectancy (Telles, 2006; 2014). However, with respect to police brutality and killings, noteworthily, when racism, the colour of victims by police violence victims are questioned black activists have responded that 'if you want to know who is black or brown in Brazil , just ask the police' (Alves, 2018, 20). More specifically, the gradation of a person's skin colour (e.g. from brown to black) as associated with blackness or being categorised as black by police is irrelevant to their treatment; rather, police kill with impunity in spaces codified as black (Alves, 2014, 328; Vargas, 2004, 455)).

In this regard, Ruth Gilmore's definition of racism as 'the state-sanctioned or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death' is

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[31] Here, reference to 'pigmentocratic everyday practices' aligns with the hyperconsciousness and negation of race dialectic (Vargas, 2012), wherein references to colour and race are hyper-present, despite the negation of race as important. When I refer to Telles (2006) and 'pigmentocracy', I refer to structural racism in Brazil in terms of social and racial inequalities, wherein brown and black citizens, and black women in particular, are at the very bottom of the statistical pyramid in terms of health, education, salary, early death, incarceration and so on, indicating the higher vulnerability to death of these demographic groups. However, Telles (2006) and PERLA (2014) have been criticised for the classification of participants according to graduation of skin tone by interviewers (Monk, 2016). Although darker skinned blacks may suffer more direct discrimination and racism (as emphasised by residents in PPG, also on racism within the favela), noteworthily, the gradation of skin colour, whether the residents are brown or black does not influence police terror. The actual gradation of skin colour is irrelevant, it has been pointed out that 'if you want to know who is black or brown in Brazil, just ask the police' (Alves, 2018). Indeed, in Brazil, the definition of 'Negro' (black and Afro-Brazilian) includes 'pardo' (brown) and 'preto' (black) as the national census categories. In addition to 'pardo' and 'preto the other categories in the census are Branco (White), Amarelo/Asiático (Yellow/Asian), and Indígena (Indigenous) (IBGE). Significantly, the favela is codified as black, which means that poor and white favelados associated with the favela and blackness are also targets of police terror. See Alberto (2011) who has done an extensive study on the black movement in the early 1900s in Brazil. She refers to the 'Frente Negra' founded in 1931 emphasising that 'The Frente Negra's official racial vocabulary—its proud and insistent repetition of the term negro as the proper category of racial identification for people of African descent—finalized the transition from Paulista activists' earlier use of color categories like preto or de cor to a unified black racial category imagined as a fixed community of descent' (138). See also Domingues (2018) on the Frente NegrA. Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU) has since the 1970s preferred the term 'negro', however the recent generation of black movement has re-claimed the term 'preto' (see Rodrigues cited in Martins and Cruz (2020), and Rodrigues, 2020)).

crucial (Gilmore, 2007, 247; Alves, 2014, 336). These power dynamics and public services or absence thereof are mobilised by the state, and foment an intersectional dimension of power through axes of race, class, and gender (see section 2.1.3). Alongside the high number of black Brazilian killed by police[32], and particularly and young men killed by police, black women are also vulnerable to death due to police violence, feminicide, and lack of access to or poor health services.[33] With respect to the latter, a significantly higher number of poor black women die as a result of illegal abortion compared to wealthy white women, who have access to private clinics. COVID-19 similarly reflected such inequalities, with a greater vulnerability to death among blacks and especially black women indicating structural racism (Bhan et al., 2020)In this respect, Rocha (2012) points to the reality of a 'gendered genocide' in Brazil, as discussed further in the subsequent section.

Nonetheless, the control of black urban life in Brazil unfolds in numerous ways. With respect to police terror, a paradox exists between the hyper visible killing of mostly black youth by the police through necropolitical violence and denial of race as important (Vargas, 2004; see also A2Racism and A3UPP).[34] Such a paradox is indicative of socio-spatial practices that re-actualise urban coloniality and 're-produce geographies of death and privilege' in Brazil (Alves, 2018). As the Brazilian anthropologist Jaime Amparo Alves (2018, 213) asserts:

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[32] Black Brazilian are 2,7 times more likely to be killed by police than white Brazilian, and 75,5 per cent of victims of police violence are Black (Cerqueira, 2019). This is also emphasized by Amnesty in 2015 reporting that 79 per cent of victims killed by police in Rio between 2010 and 2013 were Black (Håndlykken-Luz, 2020; Amnesty, 2015, 35).

[33] On racism, Black women reproductive rights and health see Carneiro (2020; 2016), Werneck (2004) Carvalho, Santos (2012) and Elias (2020), Oliveira (2021), Carvalho (2018), Nielsson et al, (2020) and Teixeira and Gallo (2021) The forced sterilization of women has been a critical case in Brazil. Benedita da Silva (1997), herself a black favelada and prominent politician (see section 2.1.3), has led mobilization and investigation into mass sterilization of women in Brazil and fought for greater rights for women in respect to health and reproductive rights.

[34] In my articles, I have discussed 'racism as a perfect crime' (A2Racism) and the 'changing-same' of pacification and militarisation (A3UPP). Although I give a brief overview here, please consult these articles for more detailed discussion on racism, coloniality, necropolitical violence, and police killings in Rio.

> The necropolitical neoliberal order of the Brazilian city operates in a temporally and spatially dispersed manner: the police apparatus kills black people in highly visible spectacles of violence in the city's peripheries; bodies are disposed of in gruesome fashion; the dead are then 'socially killed', as state and media rhetorically link them to criminality and narco factions; and their families—particularly mothers—encounter a slow death as they battle the 'soft knife' of state bureaucracy.

In this section, I provide a brief account and some examples of the dynamics of the socio-spatial and racialised order of the city of Rio de Janeiro, where black urban life is curtailed and controlled while whiteness is protected (Oliveira in Caetaono, 2021; Oliveira, 2013). In the subsequent section, I elaborate on the gendered dimension of anti-blackness as highlighted by Alves (2018) and Rocha (2012).

The 'civilising' of territories and articulation of bodies as threats (Valente, 2016, 63–66), moralisation of the urban poor and 'favelados' (de Mattos Rocha et al., 2018, 12), and war on blackness display the spatial dimension of racism and the racial order of the city. Oliveira (2020, 312) points to 'how black people were invented as a spatial problem due to whiteness since the beginning of our formation'. As Gonzalez (1979; 2021, 153) explains:

> From colonial times to the present day, there is an evident separation in terms of the physical space occupied by dominators and dominated. The natural place of the dominant White group is healthy housing, located in the most beautiful corners of the city or in the countryside and properly protected by different forms of policing ranging from the overseers, bounty hunters, henchmen, etc., to the formally constituted police. From the Big House and the townhouse to the beautiful buildings and current residences, the criterion has always been the same. The natural place of the Black, on the other hand, is the opposite, of course: from the slave quarters to the slums, tenements, invasions, wetlands and housing estates [...] today, the criterion has been symmetrically the same: the racial division of space [...] In the case of the dominated group, what can be seen are whole families huddled in cubicles whose hygiene and health conditions are the most precarious. Additionally, there is also the presence of the police here; only it's not to protect, but to repress, violate and frighten. That is how we can understand why the other natural place for the Black man is in jail. The systematic police repression, given its racist character, has as its main goal the establishment of psychological submission through fear. In the long run, the aim is to prevent any form of unity of the dominated group, by using all means that perpetuate its

internal division. Meanwhile, the dominant discourse justifies the performance of this repressive apparatus, speaking of social order and security.

In this respect, Gonzalez highlights the racial divisions of space from the colonial era to present day Brazil, where police protect whiteness and repress black communities, where the 'natural place' of black men is jail (or death at the hands of police), and where—as discussed in the subsequent section—the 'natural place' for black women is as subordinated service providers (2021, 153). The racial and spatial production of the city is characterised by necropolitical violence whereby blacks can be and are killed or incarcerated with impunity by police or 'left to die' by biopolitics in order to protect and enhance white lives (see chapter 5). Such necro- and bio-politics also have a gendered dimension (Smith, 2016b), and Brazil is guilty of gendered genocide (Rocha, 2012) and gendered antiblackness (Vargas, 2012). Dispositifs of control—such as the pacification programme (2008–2018) and militarization (Rocha et al, 2018)—unfold in the necropolitical, neoliberal order of the city (Alves, 2018), in which the state is one of the principal actors in the genocide of blacks in Brazil (Oliveira, 2020, 314). As the subsequent section explores, this genocide reflects the intersection of racism, sexism, and socio-spatial inequalities in Brazil.

2.1.3 'Gendering black genocide'

The place in which we find ourselves will shape our interpretation of the double phenomenon of racism and sexism. For us, racism is the symptom that characterizes the Brazilian cultural neurosis. In this sense, we will see that its articulation with sexism produces violent effects particularly on Black women. (Gonzalez, 2021 [1980], 148)

The intersection of race and sexism and the oppression and exploitation of black women is fundamental to the scholarship of Lélia Gonzalez, particularly her seminal work from 1980 ('Racism and Sexism in Brazilian Culture', translated and published in English in 2021). Gonzalez has also examined how the black woman is situated in the discourse on racial democracy (148). Drawing on the resistance to colonial violence of black and indigenous women in the Americas, Gonzalez coined the term 'Amefricanity' and explored the Amefrican diaspora (1988). Below, I provide a brief overview of the relevant

scholarship on—and examples of—gendered genocide (Rocha, 2012) and gendered antiblackness (Vargas, 2012), as well as the resistance of black women and faveladas in Brazil (Perry, 2016, 2013; Smith, 2016a; Caldwell, 2022: Carneiro, Werneck, 2004; Akotirene, 2021; Rocha, 2012, 2014;, Alves, 2018; Nascimento, 2007; Gonzalez 2021; Carneiro, 2011).

The gendered dimensions of antiblackness (Vargas, 2012) unfold in multiple dimensions through the experiences of black mothers whose children were victims of police killings and violence (Rocha 2014; 2012; Perry 2013; Rocha, 2014, Alves, 2010, 2018; Smith, 2016a; Araújo et al, 2022) and their resistance and spatial praxis (Alves, 2010, 2018). In identifying 'gendering genocide', Rocha (2012) emphasises how anti-black violence is often understood as limited to black men. Numerous studies have examined the gendered dimension of the police and anti-blackness with attention to masculinity (Alves, 2014; Zaluar, 2019; Salem and Larkins, 2021). However, the police killing of mainly black and young men significantly affects their families and mothers, who struggle beyond the loss of their children or family member. Women suffered particular forms of violence under pacification, with mothers rendered the head of households in the favelas and responsible for caring for their families and children (Veillette and Nunes, 2017). The police terror against black women is also 'a spiritual terror—an attack not only on the body but also the psyche and refuge of the soul' (Smith, 2021b, 21; Smith 2016a).

Drawing on the work of medical doctor Andreia Beatriz dos Santos (cited in Smith, 2016), Christen Smith (2016a) uses the term '*sequelae'* to refer to the 'gendered, reverberating, deadly effects of state terror that infect the affective communities of the dead' (Smith, 2021b, 27; Smith, 2016b). The word 'sequelae' means 'a condition that is the consequence of a previous disease or injury'. Here, Smith emphasises that police violence kills like a nuclear bomb on the one hand, and gradually over time, like a disease, on the other (Smith, 2021b, 27; Smith 2016b). In understanding the gendered necropolitical violence and how black women have been 'un/gendered by the spiritual terror of white supremacy in the Americas', Smith (2021b) points to both interiorised and externalised acts of torture, namely, the 'unprotection' and the 'violation of mind and body in order

to strip Black women of the possibility of female subjectivity (idealised as white womanhood)'. She also emphasises that 'policing is the enactment of unprotection' (Smith, 2021b, 22). According to Smith (2021a), 'police terror is not predicated upon gender; rather, it enacts gender by undoing gender' (25). While most studies on police violence focus on the 'body count' of mostly young black men killed by the police, the notion of *sequelae* suggests the need to consider the degree and nature of police terror targeting black women (Smith, 2021a, 25).

Afro-Brazilian LGBTQ+ women are often neglected in studies and discourses on state-sanctioned violence (Swift, 2021). When police officers beat Luana Barbosa dos Reis, a black lesbian mother, to death in 2016, it was an act of (un)gendering and disciplining her as a mother and a denial of her humanity (Smith, 2021a). LGBTQ+ women suffer both gendered and racialised violence in Brazil. Certainly, both the society and politics of the Bolsonaro government are characterised by anti-black and anti-LGTBQ+ sentiments, with an increase in hate crimes. Swift (2021) argues that Afro-Brazilian LGTBQ+ women have also been omitted and silenced as socio-political and intellectual agents of change in the field of black politics.

Rocha (2014) has explored black motherhood and black mothering in a favela in Brazil. She argues that black mothering can be considered a form of resistance to the black genocide and killing of blacks in Brazil, as black mothers preserve blackness (Rocha, 2014; Loureiro, 2020). It is important to recognise the resistance of black women, including their struggles and representatives, such as Marielle, who fought to expand the rights of black women in Brazil—where patriarchy, racism, and sexism are complicated by extraordinary police violence, militarisation, and human rights violation. Marielle Franco emphasized that: 'Though we may earn lower salaries, be relegated to lower positions, work triple workdays, be judged for our clothing, be subjected to sexual, physical, psychological violence, killed daily by our partners, we will not be silenced: our lives matter!' (Franco, 2018).

The foregoing themes of black mothering as resistance to black genocide and the gendered dimension of black genocide and necropolitics is illustrated by Governor Cabral rationale for legalising abortion in Rio's favelas in 2007. According to Cabral, the 'favelados' are 'bandits' and the favelas are the 'fabric of producing marginals' in Brazil; therefore, abortion should be legalised in the favelas in order to reduce the production of marginals (Munos, 2013). Cabral's argument reflects both the biopolitical aspects of population control and the gendered nature of necropolitics and black genocide. Indeed, his claim infers that certain demographic groups do not have the right to life. More specifically, the favelados originating in the black spaces of the favelas are not only less than human but need to be eliminated. By contrast, white lives need to be protected, and the city maintained as a space of white privilege (Oliveira cited in Caetano 2021; Oliveira, 2013).

Cabral's remarks also illustrate how bodies become borders (Mbembe, 2019) through death and racialized. I suggest that borderisation of the body also produces resistance, as captured by the notion of 'corpo-fronteira' (see section 7.3). The statement by Cabral also reveals the gendered dimension of socio-spatial and racial production of the city seeking to eliminate and control black motherhood and black life. Indeed, the rights of black mothers as empregadas and informal workers are limited and many are still confined to the kitchen in the South Zone of Rio, where many of the flats in elite neighbourhoods are constructed with a 'quarto de empregada' close to the kitchen, without windows, and with a separate entrance and elevator to the kitchen. In this respect, several black women are charged with protecting white life and caring for children in elite homes, while being denied basic rights and the ability to care for and nurture their own family and children, whose lives are often seen as a threat to the 'civilized' order of the city. In this regard, Gonzalez identifies the 'natural place' allocated to black women as one that is subordinate and limited to providing services, including

mucama, *Mãe preta*, *mulata*, *and domestica* (2021, 153). [35] Gonzalez points to the 'natural place' and subordinated position allocated to the black woman as *mucama* (enslaved woman, 'slave mistress', and, occasionally, wet nurse), *Mãe preta* (the black mother; the word is also used to refer to enslaved black women who were wet nurses), *mulata* (a term used for women with both African and European descent, usually with sexual and stereotypical connotations), and *domestica* (maids who also take care of children; 2021, originally published in 1980).

In 2007, when Governor Cabral made his case for legalising abortion in the favelas, Rio was preparing to install the UPP. Such statements display the war tactics targeting and killing blacks and favelados , the criminalisation of Afro-Brazilian cultures, and a gendered necropolitics. Indeed, the image of a growing black population on the hills of Rio is particularly powerful, particularly in view of the historical fear of the favelas located on central hills in the city spreading down the hill and into rich neighbourhoods, and the fear of a majority of Blacks and a Black nation in Brazil (Alves & Vargas, 2020).

Against increasing surveillance, police terror, anti-black violence, pacification, and new forms of militarisation targeting favela residents, black women's resistance and political activism have been instrumental to challenging eviction policies, racism, coloniality, and police violence (Smith 2016; Perry, 2013). However, the diverse involvement of women in politics and resistance (Perry, 2016), gendered anti-blackness (Vargas,2012) and the gendered [36] dimension of necropolitics and genocide), and the coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2014) in Brazil have historically been overlooked in both media coverage and

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[35] See my article, A2Racism, which explores the image of black *empregadas* in white uniforms accompanying a white family in the 2013 protests and debates surrounding the extension of rights for *empregadas.*

[36] I thank the committee members for emphasising the importance of including a discussion of the aspects of gender in this introductory chapter. Despite study and spatial limitations, I note some examples and current debates emphasising aspects of gender beyond the masculinity of police violence. Specifically, I examine the violence suffered by black women and the crucial and emerging resistance of black women to human rights violations, racism, and police violence.

the academic literature, which tend to dismiss such arenas as apolitical (Alves, 2018; Perry, 2016). The voices of marginalized women and those located in the criminal world have rarely gained recognition as a form of political action (Alves, 2016, 2018). However, in recent years, the fight of black women against sexism, patriarchy, and antiblack racism has been gaining recognition and representation in politics. Black women activists emerging from the favelas and grassroots movements are also increasingly being represented in politics in the context of resurgent far right violence in Brazil (Perry, 2020). More recent trends notwithstanding, women in the favelas and peripheries have long played a critical role in urban politics and basic rights in terms of issues pertaining to spatial praxis, including struggles for land and the autoconstruction of neighbourhoods, reflecting insurgent citizenship and struggles from below (Perry, 2016). Indeed, withstanding death threats and assassination attempts, black women from the peripheries have worked to create new politics and futures, inspired by 'Marielle presente' ('Marielle is here'), as explored in the next section.

Marielle Franco and several other black women initiated their political struggles in the favelas, often emerging from the autoconstruction movements. For instance, in 1998, Benedita da Silva, who grew up in Mangueira, a favela in the South Zone of Rio, was the first black woman elected as senator and continued living in a favela during that period. In 2002, she became the first black women governor of the state of Rio (Swift, 2018). Like Benedita da Silva, numerous black women began their struggle for human rights and political activism through everyday resistance in the favelas and involvement in neighbourhood associations. As noted, the everyday struggles and resistance by women in the favelas have been undervalued and overlooked as apolitical (Alves, 2018; Perry, 2016). However, many of these women have significantly impacted politics and the fight for human rights that continue to influence urban politics (Perry, 2016). Therefore, it is vital that we redress the omission of black women as both intellectual and political agents of change. The work of important black feminist activists and intellectuals, such as Leila Gonzalez (1979; 2021) and Beatriz Nascimento (2020: 2021), is discussed later.

One of the limitations of this study that requires further investigation is the intersection of gender in the analysis of the favela, racism, and spatial reproduction of the city. Given this limitation, which has political and epistemic consequences, I opted to expand on the process of unlearning and learning as a means by which to reflect on the methodology and theory not included in the four articles comprising the main part of this PhD dissertation. Although beyond the scope of this study, the gendered dimension of urban security and racialisation, and the experiences of LGBTQ+ people, activists, minorities, mothers, and children under UPP, as emphasised in A2Racism (Håndlykken-Luz, 2020, 362), also require further study (for a study of women's experiences under pacification see Nunes and Veillette, 2017).[37] The gendered dimension of necropolitics, genocide, and anti-blackness as discussed in this section is also an important area requiring further research.

Aiming for control of the favelas and black lives, the studies and mapping of the favelas by state officials and researchers are a crucial element of the dispositifs of control (see A1Polyhedron), urban politics, and hygienisation directed at the favelas for over a century. In the next section, I present a brief overview of the cartographies and maps of the favelas, which have contributed in the construction of the favela problem as well as hygienisation and urban renewal strategies.

2.1.4 (In)visible maps and cartographies of the favelas

The favelas have been both explicitly mapped and rendered invisible by various mapping initiatives over the course of the century. Such cartographies provide an insight into how

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[37] Studies by Veillette and Nunes (2017) and Veillette (2021) of women's experiences with police violence under pacification in seven different favelas in Rio draw on extensive research, including interviews of dozens of Afro-Brazilian women. In my study, I conducted a limited number of interviews. Beyond the individual accounts of a few women, I cannot generalise on how women or black women as groups experienced 'peace' and 'war' in UPP. This marks an important area for further research as violence towards black women and feminicide are increasing in Brazil alongside increased militarisation and new community policing projects like 'Cidade Integrada', which was introduced in 2022. For an extensive study on women's organisation and intersectionality based on 100 interviews with women leaders in favelas, see Nunes (2021).

mapping and cartography are parts of changing dispositifs, networks and ecologies of power and power-knowledge, biopolitics, and the techniques and technologies of urban population control, and of possible resistance (see Massive Urbanisation Collective, 2021). In this section, I present some of the various cartographies and maps of the favelas constructed over the span of a century.

The favelas were absent from official city maps for decades. Figure 9 depicts one such map of Morro da Favella (1903), in which the term 'favela' was omitted. As research shows, mapping the favelas was an essential tool for controlling the favelas and favelados, and the censusing can be seen as 'a technology of governance and a performance of North Atlantic modernity' (Fischer, 2019). It was also largely through print that the informal settlements in Rio became known as 'favelas' and depicted in sharp contrast to the 'electrified and sanitized' city (Fischer, 2014). Although informal settlements were deeply present, the favelas did not automatically signify 'the emergence of "favela" or "mocambo" as a socio-spatial category' (2014). The mapping and visuals of the favelas were techniques that enforced the idea of a separated informal city to be 'civilized' in contrast to the formal city, although the relations were often ambiguous, with no clear boundary between the formal and informal (2014). As early as the 1950s, the first census on and maps of the favelas in PPG (see Section 1.2) generated data contributing to the knowledge economy or power-knowledge, with the favelas targeted by various hygienist measures and eviction policies over the decades. The censusing and the 'statistical favela' both served to define urban informality as a problem and were crucial in the development of urban and social policy (see Fischer, 2019). Residents mobilised in struggles for rights and shaped urban politics in multiple ways and were thus an integral part of the city from the outset. While the favelas were mapped and (in)visibilised through shifting dispositifs and technologies of governance, residents of the favelas have also mapped the everyday in ways that demonstrate resistance and have translated urban life into social data as a form of resistance, even during the COVID-19 pandemic (see Massive Urbanisation Collective, 2021). Favela residents have destabilized the norms of these dominant maps in their everyday practices. However, during the 2010s in Rio de Janeiro, the mapping and counting of the city was crucial in the context of infrastructural work, evictions and the

Mega-Event. Civil right organisations have also kept track of human rights violations and residents have participated in collaborative platforms, such as the 'Fogo Cruzado', which maps shootouts in real time (see Figure 12) (2021). Indeed, given the racialised and anti-black approaches to the favelas and favelados that regard them as disposable, the mapping of the favelas often intends to render them invisible, or to visibilise them as a problem; in order to control, 'civilise' and 'clean' these spaces.

Figure 9 A map of Morro da Providência (or Morro da Favella) in 1903. The term 'favela' was omitted from the map in the area highlighted in red; the area was slated for eviction at the time (Malho, June 13, in Novaes, 2014).

One can still find tourist maps on which the favelas appear as green spots, meaning that they are listed as natural reserves. For instance, the map in Figure 7 was distributed to tourists as recently as 2017[38].

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[38] Maps distributed to tourists in Rio in 2017 (see Figure 10) presented favelas in the South Zone such as PPG, which is located near Ipanema and Copacabana, as 'white spots' or green 'natural reserves'. Only in 2013 did the official maps of the city, made by Instituto Pereiro Passos (IPP), include favelas into the official maps of the city.

Figure 10 Map of Copacabana and Ipanema. Here, the favelas of PPG are depicted as green spaces on the hills (Ferraz et al., 2018; mobilizadores.org, 2017).

Attempts to map parts of the so-called 'informal city' while including these spaces into the 'formal city' were also a part of the UPP's social initiatives. They were important to legitimise any planned interventions. As seen in the maps of Cantagalo from 2011 (see A1Polyhedron), the planned street, which was a part of urban infrastructure programmes such as PAC, was presented on maps distributed to residents. Research has also emphasised how mapping initiatives during the period of the mega-events made these spaces visible and were, thus, used by the state as a form of social control. For instance, streets once unnamed and excluded from maps were named and mapped, their consequent visibility facilitating state interventions or eviction (Freeman, 2014, 31; Chisholm, 2019, 29). This was evident in PPG, where the PAC and mapping of the streets formed part of the infrastructural works and evictions conducted in the period leading up to the mega-events, alongside the UPP and increased gentrification. However, PPG residents emphasised the importance of being included on maps, as such inclusion inferred recognition as an integral part of the city. Nevertheless, Ronaldo highlighted that the names of streets on such maps occasionally differed from those used by residents for decades (Interview, 2012).

As stated in the introduction, the aim of the UPP-programme was to re-conquest the territories of the favelas from the drug traffickers and 'give' the territory back to residents, including the favelas into the so-called formal city. This rhetoric emphasises the view of the favelas as parallel areas. However, Novaes (2014) demonstrated that the

image of the favelas as 'parallel areas' cut off from the 'formal city' was simplistic and problematic;[39] rather, the favelas are integral parts of the Rio economy.

Figure 11 Rio Comprido as represented on Google Maps in 2011 and 2013 (Comitê Popular do Rio, 2013).

Many favelas were virtually removed from Google Maps in 2013; that is, the term 'favela' was changed to 'morro,' 'communidade,' or 'hill'[40]. This was an attempt by the prefecture of Rio to change the city's public image. These examples illustrate the powerful political interests involved in shaping the representations and imagery of the city in addition to how the favelas were represented, gentrified, evicted, and transformed through

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[39] While other areas of the city might be characterised by an absence of the state, such as the wealthy gated communities (Davies, 2006; Novaes, 2014), this alludes to Caldeira's study of urban spaces and gated communities in Brazil: 'favelados are every bit as subjectified and corporeally disciplined by the state as their richer counterparts', who, in many cases, live in gated 'condominiums' where 'disrespect of the law is almost a rule' (Caldeira, 1996).

[40] When Google Maps started to add the favelas to the digital maps, the city of Rio and the Prefecture sent a complaint to Google and asked them to delete or reduce the size of some of the communities because, when looking at the digital overview of Rio, the city appeared to be mostly constituted of favelas. Retrieved August 10, 2013, from http://comitepopulario.wordpress.com/2013/04/07/a-pedido-da-prefeitura-google-faz-remocao-virtual-no-mapa-do-rio-de-janeiro/

euphemisms. Several residents showed me their communities on Google Maps and explained how the street names differed from how the local community had referred to them for decades.

Digital mapping initiatives [41] involving urban informalities and favelas have been presented as a way of providing means of inclusion and 'rescuing citizenship'. This notion was expressed by several NGOs that, together with local residents, 'mapped' many of the favelas in a project named 'Ta na mapa' (literally, 'it is on the map') using Google services (Luque-Ayala and Neves Maia, 2018, 7). Google launched 'Beyond the Map' in 2016, which was a project aimed at challenging the 'invisibility of the favelas [to provide] images and narratives from residents on the streets' no matter how 'discursively constructed, so that it can overcome [this issue] via a digital presence' (2018, 10–11). These initiatives were clearly market-oriented. They were aimed at economic inclusion but were added to a digital map that 'removes conflicts and politics' (2018, 12), thereby focusing not on the everyday challenges of residents but on their consumption patterns. The mapping initiatives were performed in 80 percent of the 'pacified' favelas. Some residents, however, emphasised the value of being invisible on digital maps due to a fear of eviction and displacement (2018, 13–14).

More recent apps and maps such as Fogo Cruzado have also been used by many residents (see A1Polyhedron). The app shows where shootouts occur in real time, and users can upload information to the server. It provides multiple intersecting layers of information, thereby shaping the mental maps of the urban space and residents' movements across the city.

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[41] For more information on recent mapping initiatives in Rio, see: http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=32519 One of the earliest initiatives were Wikimapia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikimapia); although open, it is also privately owned. Google created an alternative cultural map of some of the favelas (see https://beyondthemap.withgoogle.com/en-us/beyond-the-map/rio/mototaxi-location-1). Google and Microsoft competed on mapping the favelas along with a variety of organisations, NGOs, and local initiatives aiming at a more realistic representation of favela life. For more information about public private partnership, NGOs, clientelism, and the often closed relation between NGOs, civic organisations, and urbanisation programmes, see Lanz (2012).
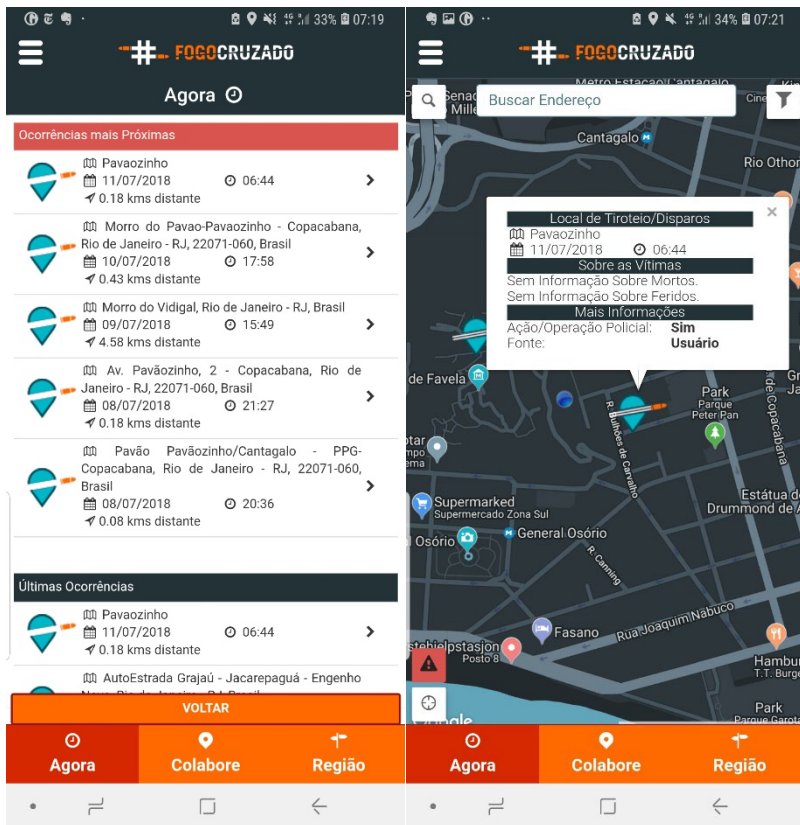
Figure 12. Screenshots from the Fogo Cruzado app in July 2018. They show my location at the time and nearby reported shootouts (Author, 2018).

These screenshots show the latest registered shootouts in my neighbourhood, which was close to PPG, at the time. The blue point on the map indicates where my location was. The shootout was registered at a street approximately 0.18 km from Pavão-Pavãozinho. The user who registered the shootout noted that it was a police operation (see A1Polyedron).

The above examples display how power and space can be articulated in a local context, thus revealing the changes that affect spatial strategies and urban politics when dealing with the so-called 'favela problem' (see A1Polyhedron). Mapping resident experiences and movements in the city reveal polyhedral and unforeseen intersections of power. It is important to note the introduction of smart police apps (Igarapé Institute, 2016); the instalment of permanent cameras with facial recognition capabilities; the Cidade

Integrada programme initiated in Jacarezinho 2022; and the MIT project, which has been using 3D laser scans to map the favela of Rocinha since 2021[42] (Tesler, 2022).
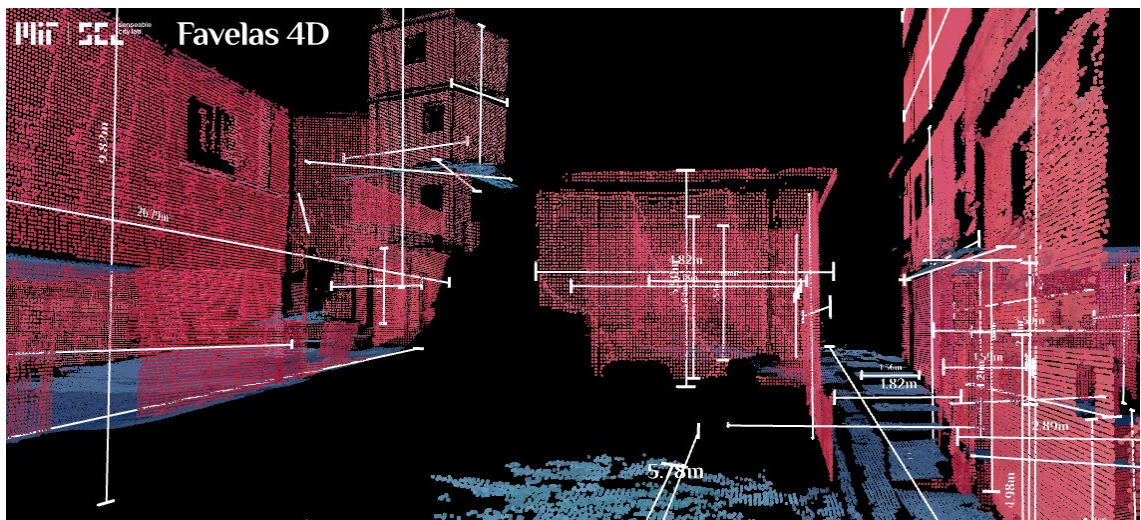
Figure 13 Mapping in 3D of the favela Rocinha by MIT Senseable city lab (2022).

The architect Ratti, who leads the MIT city lab, pointed out that 'This bottom-up planning process and the complex architectural forms it produces can challenge the standard way of designing cities' (Tesler, 2022). However, such mapping initiatives raise concerns about the unforeseen and polyhedral aspects of such technologies. Indeed, in addition to mapping favelas for the purposes of urban development, such technologies are also being

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[42] See https://senseable.mit.edu/favelas/ and Tesler (2022).

harnessed to monitor and control residents. For instance, facial recognition has increasingly targeted black residents, who are incarcerated en masse, indicating a racial bias (Santos Filho, 2022). As such, mapping the favelas and residents in real time and institution of permanent cameras with facial recognition has worked to express and re-actualise another facet of the socio-spatial and racial ordering of the city and urban coloniality—whereby capital and technology allows certain bodies to move freely in an increasingly entangled world, while others are steadily more confined, borderised (Mbembe, 2019), and racialised.

Therefore, these multiple cartographies display layers of socio-spatial control and urban coloniality. Recent community mapping initiatives have sought to add visibility to favelas as integral to the city by including them on maps, thus challenging a long history of 'invisibilisation'. However, many of the mapping initiatives promoted as inclusive and as giving a voice and visibility to favela residents are funded by private actors and corporations (see e.g. Google). For instance, the recent project in the favela of Rochina in the South Zone is funded by MIT (2022), with the aim of designing cities for the future and challenging how residents in informal settlements 'are largely impervious to traditional mapping technologies, making them invisible and devoid of urban rights' (The Senseable City Lab, 2022). Real time, sentient, and three-dimensional mapping underpinned by discourses of development and rights to the cityshould be investigated further, particularly insofar as the implications for residents are unclear, After all, such sophisticated mapping also provides exemplary data that can be used for control, surveillance, and ultimately the implementation of forced eviction and new forms of hygienisation, militarisation, and pacification.

In the subsequent section, I briefly explore the life, struggle, death, and contributions of Marielle Franco as a lens into the necropolitical cartographies and intersectional dimensions of the anti-black city and the political struggles emerging from favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

2.2 Marielle presente (Marielle is here)

'To be a black woman is to resist and survive at every moment…' (Franco, 2017)

The life, death, and contributions of Marielle Franco (1979-2018) provide a window into the intersections of race, gender, class, and urban space in the context of increasing necropolitical violence in Rio de Janeiro. Franco investigated and debated the necropolitical violence and systemic mass executions of black favela residents in what became one of the most significant cases (Cavalcanti, 2020).

The brutal killing of Marielle Franco, a black council member and human rights activist, on 14 March 2018, sparked protests across Brazil and the world. Merely 38 when she was murdered, Franco was a political activist, sociologist, and feminist from the favela Maré; she also identified as bisexual. The day before she and her driver, Anderson Pedro Gomes, were killed by two gunmen, Franco spoke at a panel on 'Jovens Negras Movendo as Estruturas' (Young Black Women Moving Power Structures) at Casa da Pretas (Black Women's House) in Rio (Swift, 2021; Caldwell et., al 2018). She was critical of the federal military intervention in Rio in 2018, which she oversaw as the rapporteur of a special commission evaluating the impact of the military intervention. As a sociologist, Franco was a staunch critic of the military police and police pacification, which she investigated in her master's thesis on the UPP (2014). Before running for council, she worked for Rio's human rights commission and strongly denounced police violence, militias[43], and violence towards children and mothers (Franco, 2018). In 2008, Franco was involved in the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission into Militias (CPI) in Rio, which revealed ties between paramilitary groups, the police force, and politicians (Caldwell, 2022; Smith,

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[43] See Cano and Duarte (2012). The Militias (Milícias) are criminal paramilitary groups often consisting of current and former soldiers, police and firefighters. The militias were praised by former major in Rio such as Eduardo Paes (Cavalcanti, 2020). Franco and Freixo pushed for investagtion into the militias, and a report published in 2008 recommended the indictment of 266 people including seven politicians. The sociologist Claudio Souza (cited in Cavalcanti, 2020), pointed out that 'for decades now' (…) 'the Milícia in Rio are "formed by agents of the state. Without this direct connection to the state there would be no Milícia"' (225).

2018). Franco also critiqued the state violence towards and genocide of black people and the favelas in Brazil (Caldwell, 2022; Smith, 2018). Upon taking office, Franco was made chair of the Rio de Janeiro City Council Women's Commission (Franco, 2018).

The murder of Marielle Franco remains unsolved. Although two ex-police officers are in prisoned for the murder itself, who ordered her execution is still unknown. However, the police investigation points to the involvement of government agents and appears to have ties to the Bolsonaro regime. The bullets came from a large stock of ammunition purchased by the Federal Police in 2016, though bullets from the same stock were used in the massacre of 17 people in São Paulo in 2015 (Caldwell, 2022; McCoy et. Al, 2019; Smith, 2018).

Franco spoke out against the black genocide in Brazil and was brutally killed by the same necropolitical violence she denounced. The day before her murder, Franco tweeted about police killings in Rio: 'Another killing of a young person possibly committed by the Military Police. Matheus was leaving church. How many more must die for this war to end?'.

Figure 14 protest against the killing of Marielle Franco and police violence in Rio de Janeiro in front of the city hall. Banners with 'Marielle lives' and 'black lives matter' were brandished by mothers and families who had lost their children to state terror (Photo, author, 2018).

Marielle Franco was elected to the Rio city council in 2016, as a member of the leftwing political party, Socialism and Liberty (Partido de Socialismo e Liberdade, PSOL). Franco received the fifth highest number of votes of fifty-one candidates. She was the only black woman on the city council of Rio de Janeiro from 2017 to 2018 (Caldwell, 2022).

Franco was also a mother and favelada. She emhasised that 'to be a black woman is to resist and survive at every moment... [they] look at our bodies and diminish us, checking to see if there are drugs or lice beneath our headwraps; they deny our existence'. One of her last legislative proposals in the city council was related to black mothering, with Franco suggesting a right to humane care for women going though abortion and proposing a project to extend public childcare (Loureiro, 2020, 56). In 2017, Franco wrote: 'The black body is a central element in the reproduction of inequalities. It's in the overfilled prisons, in the favelas and peripheries designated as shelter.' Marielle Franco's life, political activism, and death reflect the necropolitical governance and gendered

dimension of anti-black violence and resistance in Brazil. In a 2017 interview, Franco asserted:

> [My] aspiration is that this house [city council] becomes more *favelizada*, Black, with more women and more amplified gender identities. Lana, a trans woman that is part of the team, was the first woman to have her social name in her work identity, so this is what we mean when we say that one lifts the other, this is specially a Black women's motto, with Black women occupying many spaces, with their turbans, with their sexual orientation, occupying this space that unfortunately still denies them access. (Franco, 2017 cited in Loureiro, 2020, 56)

Franco inspired other black women to fight against racism, engage in politics, and strive for democracy and human rights (Franco, 2014; Franco, 2018). Black women are historically underrepresented in Brazil, with a 2016 study revealing that black women make up 26 percent of the population but hold less than 5 percent of the seats in Brazilian legislative councils (2020, Fernandes de Negreiros). However, a record number of black women ran for office in Brazil's 2020 elections. Although more black women now hold office, they are subjected to racism, political violence, and death threats (Fiuza, 2022), particularly with the growth of far-right violence and Bolsonaro's vilification of human rights activists (Amnesty, 2022, 99). Under Bolsonaro, there has been a flurry of attacks on basic rights and social gains for blacks, quilombo and indigenous communities, women, the LGBTQ+ community, and poor and marginalised populations. An increasing number of political and environmental activists, indigenous and Quilombola communities, as well as LGBTQ+ and black citizens are being threatened or killed in Brazil (Amnesty, 2022; 2015).

At this critical historical juncture, the struggle and contributions of Marielle Franco are crucial, not least because they provide a window into this context (Caldwell, 2022). Her life and ideas have been spread through the widely shared, '*Marielle Presente' (Marielle is here; 'Marielle is here! Today and forever!'*). In this respect, Caldwell (2018) emphasises how Franco's influences were transnational and inspired by Angela Davies, who was present at the ceremony honouring Franco in 2019, a year after her death, thus

highlighting the transnational solidarity network. Franco remains *presente* (present) and continues to inspire the struggles of black feminists in Brazil and the diaspora (232).

The execution of Marielle Franco can be understood as a part of the necropolitical and racialised governance of Rio (Loureio, 2020) and indicative of the city's gendered black genocide and anti-blackness (Vargas, 2012). Besides the brutal execution of Marielle Franco which indicates gendered black genocide in the racial and spatial production of the city, her resistance though activism and research unfold a political praxis which can be conceptualized as *amefricanity*, drawing on the black Brazilian feminist Lélia Gonzalez (1979) who also was an important inspiration for Franco.

In her master's thesis on the UPP (2014), Franco asserted that the 'characterisation of the favelas, as places of danger, of fear, that spreads through the city, evokes the myth of dangerous classes […] placing the favela as object and public enemy number one' (2014). In a time when Bolsonaro's far-right government and his followers have incentivised anti-blackness, police brutality, and violence towards minorities, the legacy of Marielle Franco has inspired an entire generation of black Brazilian feminists and faveladas to mobilise and fight back. Benedita da Silva described Franco as 'a black woman who made people uncomfortable. She made the elite uncomfortable, she made the masculine world, the politicians, uncomfortable (cited in Caldwell, 2022; Mesquita 2019). In addition to inspiring new generations of black faveladas, as well as the fight for human rights and against black genocide and police violence in the favelas, Franco's MA research on the UPP (2014) is increasingly relevant. To understand the intersection of race, gender, class, and urban space unfolded through the insecurity politics, the subsequent section will provide an overview of the police pacification programme and Rio as a laboratory for urban insecurity.

In January 2022, a new police programme entitled 'Cidade Integrada' was launched in Rio. Under the guise of this new name, Rio and the favelas continue to be targeted by the state as a laboratory for urban insecurity, whereby black and favelados are killed en masse. Franco (2018) identified this trend four years earlier: 'First they generate a violent inequality and create a war to exterminate the Black and poor population, then they use

the fear discourse to generate even more violence. Until when will we be hostage to this extermination politics?' (Franco, 2018).

As Caldwell et al. (2018) assert, 'Policies of genocide and extermination have been enacted against black communities in major cities throughout Brazil since its founding, and have only heightened in recent years. In this sense, Marielle's murder is a continuation of a long-standing state practice of killing Black people'. In light of the war against black people in the context of urban renewal, militarisation and pacification unfold as a 'changing-same' re-actualised in the new security programmes targeting Rio's favelas serving as laboratories.(see A3UPP). In the next section, I present a brief overview of the 'rise and fall' of 'pacification' and the UPP from 2008–2018.

2.3 From pacification to the 'licence-to-kill'

In this section, I expand on the brief overview of the UPP provided in the introduction to demonstrate that the UPP serves as a laboratory for urban (in)security in Rio de Janeiro. In doing so, I discuss the so-called 'rise and fall' of the UPP between 2008 and 2018.

The period of 2011–2018 provides an important window into the changing discourses surrounding security politics in Rio. In 2018, the discourse of pacification that first emerged in 2008, shifted to one of increased militarisation through federal military interventions and a licence-to-kill in the favelas. This period also marks a critical moment in Rio's changing urban politics, where the central approach of pacification turned to one of 'militarisation'. As shown by Franco's research on the UPPs (2014) and Rocha et al.'s (2018) work on militarisation in Rio de Janeiro, between 2008 and 2018, urban politics and discourse shifted from pacification to militarisation and intervention. Ethnographic fieldwork in PPG from 2011–2013 and 2018 covers the rise and fall of the UPP and was conducted both pre- and post- megaevents (2014 and 2016). The period spans the changing political landscape from the launch of the PAC in PPG by President Lula da Silva in 2007, to the promotion of 'pacification' from 2008, including the establishment of UPP in PPG in 2009. The period also covers the mass protests of 2013, and the impeachment of Dilma Rouseff in the institutional coup of 2016. Rouseff was replaced by Michel Temer,

who went on to order federal military intervention in Rio in 2018, the first such intervention since the end of the military dictatorship in 1985, and introduction of a democratic constitution in 1988. Indubitably, 2018 was also the year in which Marielle Franco was executed. The period was thus characterised by military intervention and a 'licence-to-kill' in Rio. The latter was further encouraged by Governor Witzel, who bolstered the shoot-to-kill policy by allowing snipers to shoot favela residents from helicopters and the deployment of drones. With a licence-to-kill, police officers were able to kill with impunity. In 2018, the election of Bolsonaro saw increasing war waged against minorities and the highest number of police killings on record, from 236 in 2013 to 1,810 in 2019), despite the military intervention in 2018 (ISP, 2020). In 2022, a new programme called 'Cidade integarda' was launched in Rio. The new programme follows in the wake of multiple instances of the brutal massacre of dozens of young black men in Rio's favelas by military police in 2021 and 2022 (Santos Filho, 2022).

This section provides a brief overview of some of the extensive scholarship on the pacification programme, including Franco's (2014) research on the UPP, as well as PPG residents' perceptions of the pacification programme. This section also discusses the role of the UPP[44].

2.3.1 UPP: A laboratory of urban (in)security

> Federal interventeur General Braga Netto declared that 'Rio de Janeiro is a laboratory for Brazil.' And what we see is that in this 'laboratory,' the guinea pigs are black, from the periphery, from the favelas, workers. People's lives cannot serve as an experiment for security models. (Marielle Franco, 2014)

As Franco (2014) emphasised, while Rio became a laboratory for security programmes such as the UPP, the favelas and black residents constituted 'the guinea pigs'. In 2008, Governor Sérgio Cabral and Secretary of Security José Mariono Beltrame launched the

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[44] For analysis of residents' experiences with the UPP in PPG, see A3UPP.

UPP programme in preparation for the planned megaevents of 2014 and 2016[45]. The so-called 'pacification' programme marked a new direction in the security paradigms directed at favelas, namely, the shift from the 'war on drugs' to a discourse of 'peace', human rights, and the provision of full citizenship to favela residents and the 'inclusion' of the favelas in the formal city (Leite, 2015, 384–385). The UPP was inspired by 'policing of proximity', as the UPP's webpage explained in 2013:

> The UPPs are managed under the principles of Police of Proximity. This is a concept that goes beyond the community police approach and has its strategy based on the partnership between local residents and law enforcement institutions. The pacifying police approach, which is guided by dialogue and respect to the culture and uniqueness of each community, eases conversations and stimulates the growth of local leaders.

The pacification policy was established by the Rio de Janeiro state government in 2008, with the instalment of 38 UPPs by 2014. The first UPP was launched in Santa Marta, which is located in the upper middleclass neighbourhood of Botafogo in the South Zone, in 2008 (Franco, 2018; Cano, 2012, 4). After the installation of the first UPP, the media proclaimed its positive results—presenting the image of favela streets free of shootouts and heavy weaponry, expanding support for the UPP. Moreover, for the first time, the private sector and businesses engaged directly in a public security intervention (Cano, 2012, 4). In 2009, the fifth UPP was established in PPG with 176 specially trained police officers. The majority of the UPPs were located close to the South Zone, tourist areas, rich neighbourhoods, the Maracanã Stadium, and the sites of the 2016 Olympics and 2014 FIFA World Cup. The principal factors for the localities of the UPPs were economic and tactical and included favelas which were not dominated by militias[46] (with one exception) (Magolini and et al., 2018, 8).

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[45] To provide the necessary context for the reader, I have repeated some of the information from my article, A3UPP. For an analysis of residents' experiences with UPP, see A3UPP.

[46] As Franco noted, if the aim of the UPP was to fight criminality and drugs and actually provide peace for poor and black residents, it is striking that the areas dominated by the militias were excluded, with the exception of one UPP in Batan (Franco, 2014; 2018). In her political work, Franco investigated the militias and pointed to their close link to politics and the state, which may have led to her murder (see Cavalcanti, 2020 and Franco, 2014).

UPP officers received special training in human rights and how to 'pacify' the favelas. The Rio de Janeiro State Military Police (PMERJ) is responsible for co-ordinating the UPPs.[47] According to José Mariano Beltrame, Rio's Secretaria de Estado de Segurança (State Secretary of Security), who was fundamental to the implementation of the UPPs, the UPPs' mission was to 'regain impoverished territories dominated for decades by traffickers and armed milícias' and 'bring peace to communities' (Burgos, 2016, 177; Mello and Cunha 2011: 273). In this respect, the UPP and the intent to 'pacify' the favelas emerged from the National Public Security with Citizenship Program (PRONASCI), which was launched by the federal government in 2007, as a means to address the public security crisis since the 1980s (Burgos, 2016, 184; Zaluar 2004; 2913; Cano, 2006, 134). Significantly, PRONASCI recommended the 'territorial pacification' of the favelas [48] (Burgos, 2016, 185).

Along with the establishment of the UPP, various urban infrastructure initiatives, such as the PAC, and social programmes (UPP social) were implemented.[49] Economically, the favelas were treated as markets and the residents as consumers (de Queiroz Ribeiro and Olinger, 2017)—a development clearly driven by the establishment of service-based businesses, rise in property prices (over 400 percent in pacified favelas), and opening of

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[47] In 2017, the UPPs started being incorporated into the administrative structure of the Military Police. According to Franco (2018), 'When the project was first introduced, the units were separate from the other operating bodies of the Military Police and placed under the command of the Police Pacification Coordination Office. In mid-2017, the UPPs became subordinate to the battalions responsible for each area. This change were not merely administrative—the autonomy of the UPPs was justified as a way to create a new culture and manner of policing, in which new police officers would not be guided by the same rationale of confrontation historically employed by the Military Police battalions. The joining of the structures also signifies the joining of policing practices and the complete abandonment of any attempt at distinguishing forms of policing—even though this had only been superficial and with limited evidence of success' (189). Along with reports of numerous abuses and lack of support of the UPPs, only intensifying after the 2016 Olympics, this change in the administration of the UPP highlights the dysfunction and breakdown of the UPPs, as Franco pointed out in a presentation in 2017 (Franco, 2018, 190).

[48] 'PRONASCI also recommended the creation of a community-based police force and required that state and local authorities guarantee more participation of communities in the management and control of local law enforcement initiatives. Despite its preventive and community-based discourse, Article VI, Section V, of Federal Act No. 11.530 (10/24/2007), required state police forces to commit to "territorial pacification," i.e., favela pacification' (Burgos, 2016, 185).

[49] For a study on UPP social and the militarisation of the social as a strategy for integration, see Fleury (2012).

bank branches in the pacified favelas, as was the case in PPG. The UPP was also financed by private investors,[50] with the favelas regarded as markets under a neoliberal approach to urban development. In this respect, the PAC and UPP were considered crucial at a time when Rio was branded a world city and 'cidade negocio'. Other projects targeting the favelas include those providing land titles (see A1Polyhedron for land titling in PPG). All of these initiatives draw on discourses regarding the provision of citizenship to residents through neoliberal urban politics where favela residents are seen as consumers included in the formal city as 'full citizens. This contrasts sharply with discourses pertaining to the 'civilizing' and 'moralising' of bodies and territories seen as threats (Valente, 2016, 63–66), where favela residents are considered enemies (Leite and Farias, 2018, 257) and not as full citizens or worthy of 'full citizenship'.

As noted, the UPP aimed to re-take territory lost to drug factions and integrate favela residents as full citizens of the formal city. Manned by police pacification officers,[51] the UPP bases were installed after large-scale military operations in which the Military

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[50] The EBX group led by Eike Batista, the former richest man in Brazil, provided BRL 20 million (approximately USD 40 million) per year to the 'pacification' projects of the UPP, including sophisticated arms and vehicles for the police (Werneck, 2010). However, funding was cut in 2013 due to financial difficulties). Batista also secured construction contracts for EBX through the PAC for building housing in Rio's favelas. The private interests and war market, where weapons are imported from countries like Israel and tested in Brazilian favelas, is another example of the operation of transnational security-networks and testing of neoliberal urban security programmes in cities across the world—from Bogota to the peace mission of the Brazilian army in Haiti, to Israel's occupation of Palestine. Recently, weapons like drones and sniper equipment have been imported from Israel, which 'tested' them in Palestine, for use in Rio's favelas, and Brazil is one of the major buyers of Military technology and weapons from Israel (Dolce and Labaki, 2017).

[51] It is important to recognise that although having undergone special training in peace and human rights, UPP officers are recruited from the corrupt and anti-black Military Police (PM), the roots of which can be traced back to the dictatorship. (Vargas, 2013, 277). PMs only receive about two weeks of training (277). The anti-black sentiment of the police can be genealogically traced to the Royal Police Court and slave hunters during slavery (see section 2.1.). The anti-black police force is largely comprised of poor black residents from the favelas, who are killed en masse while the government denies responsibility. Amid such anti-blackness, black police officers are also racially stigmatised (French, 2013, 162-163; Håndlykken-Luz, 2020). (see also Alves, 2018).

Police[52] and Special Police Operations Battalion (BOPE) expelled armed traffickers and 're-claimed' the territory for the state. Once a UPP base was established, specially trained police officers were deployed on a permanent basis. The favela selected for pacification was identified by the Military Police one day ahead, giving traffickers time to flee and residents warning to prepare for the invasion of the BOPE. Pacification was a military operation, with BOPE members chasing traffickers and searching for weapons and drugs, often resulting in the deaths of residents and reports of police brutality and invasion of houses). Pacification was deemed successful and the operation complete when the BOPE planted the Brazilian flag on the top of the hill in the favela, thus announcing that the area belonged to the state and was integrated into the city. Operations were broadcasted in spectacular fashion by the national broadcaster, TVGlobo, which observed the scene by helicopter, providing panoramic footage of the invasion of the favelas.[53] The UPP aimed to return 'peace and public tranquillity to the local residents' so that they might exercise 'full citizenship that guarantees both social and economic development' (UPP, 2013).

Previous community police programmes were tested in PPG in the 2000s (Cardoso, 2016). Attempts to reintegrate historically black areas have been launched since the end of the 1980s and throughout the period of the democratisation in Brazil, including initiatives involving infrastructure and networks of sociability, and most visibly through policing (Vargas, 2013, 276). In the 1980s, PPG saw the implementation of several urban renewal projects and infrastructure investment (see sections 1.2 and 2.1).

Nonetheless, despite discourses of peace and human rights, the UPPs deployed a militarised approach to re-gain territory controlled by drug factions (see A3UPP), thus re-

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[52] The police force in Brazil is divided into the Polícia Militar (Military Police or PM) and the Polícia Civil (Civil Police or PC). In the favelas, the military police comprise the PMs, UPPs, and BOPE (Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais, Special Police Operations Battalion), the latter of which is the elite special forces unit of the Military Police for the state of Rio de Janeiro. Under the supervision of the UPP, the armed forces, the army, and the special police troupes with dogs, the Civil Police, and BOPE with helicopters and snipers conducted operations in PPG in 2018.

[53] See Vargas (2013) for an analysis of the representation of the UPP and the new security paradigm drawing on print and visual media reporting, including TV Globo.

actualising historical processes of the physical, cultural, and social lynching of blacks in Brazil (Nascimento, 1989, 59) (see also A2Racism and A3UPP). Franco emphasised the UPP's militarised approach in her master's thesis entitled, 'UPP, the Reduction of the Favela to Three Letters: An Analysis of Public Security Policy in the State of Rio de Janeiro'. Contrary to the discourse of peace and human rights and inclusion into the city, the UPP is predicated on militarised police occupation and a punishment of the poor (Franco, 2014, 52). Drawing on Wacquant's (2003) notion of the Penal State, Franco (2014; 2018) argued that Brazil had adopted a similar neoliberal model of governance, namely, a Penal State that punishes the poor (also see Loureiro, 2020).

The UPP draws on the concept of community policing (also tested in the early 2000s in, for instance, the PPG area) (Cardoso, 2014). The pacification police had received training in Haiti—and were inspired by the approaches of so-called community police forces in Bogota in Colombia, and in Israel (Murakami-Wood, 2013)—while the Brazilian military was involved in so-called peace missions in Haiti from 2004 to 2017 (Simon and Santos, 2018). As such, the UPP was ensconced within a transnational (in)security network and market (Murakami-Wood, 2013), and power-knowledge constellations (Foucault, 1980b, 51) with Rio as a laboratory for dealing with the urban poor and slums increasingly targeting the favelas and favelados (see A3UPP). In the following sections, I present an overview of the so-called 'rise and fall' of UPPs by drawing on extant research and reflections from my first phase of fieldwork in 2011–2013. Further in this project and in the articles, I attempt to provide an analysis beyond the narrative of a 'rise' and 'fall' of the pacification programme as it was regarded in both the media coverage at the time and research on the UPPs.

2.3.2 The rise of UPPs (2011–2013)

> Well, we went through an occupation by UPP, right, in 2010. And when it arrived, we got improved access, the visualisation of armed trafficking diminished, right (Ronaldo, Interview, August 2, 2018, age 29).

The UPP was installed in PPG in 2009, with the official headquarters opened in September, 2011. The UPP initially occupied a dilapidated housing project that had been home to those who had been evicted. The UPP subsequently moved to another building constructed by the PAC. Residents criticised the manner in which the UPP occupied and renovated the block, noting that it was supposed to be used by residents.

Figure 15 The opening of the upp headquarter in PPG, september 2011 (Mariana Azevedo, Globo, 2011).

The first years of the UPPs were marked by mostly positive representations and reports that promoted the successes in their pacification and 'proximity policing' methods; however, in the period 2011–2013, the UPPs were also criticised after their failures in social investments through 'UPP Social' (Fleury, 2012), the rise of non-lethal crime, and property speculation practices came to light. Numerous studies emphasised the successes of the UPPs in the first years of their implementation (Banco Mundial, 2012;

Cano et al., 2012).[54] Studies drawing on surveys of numerous favelas in the South Zone, including those conducted in Cantagalo in 2010–2013, reveal a general support for the presence of the UPP in the community (Oliveira, 2014, 175). However, residents also noted numerous issues with the UPP and its objective to expand rights and citizenship, particularly insofar as they felt they were being deprived of their rights (Oliveira, 2014, 108). In April 2018, it was decided that nearly half of the UPPs were to be closed down. Most of the residents I talked to, including Ronaldo and Paula, highlighted that the most positive aspects of the UPPs were that weapons were less visible in the street and shootouts were less frequent. The children who grew up in PPG in the early phase (2009–2013) seldom experienced shootouts or played with bullet or grenade fragments they found in the streets.

According to a 2012 study by Cano et al., there was a 775 percent decrease in homicides and a 50 percent drop in robberies in the first favelas with a UPP presence between 2008 and 2011. However, there was an increase in the number of people who went missing in the same period (Misse, 2014), while 2018 saw the highest number of homicides and people killed by police in the past twenty years (ISP, 2019).

When asked about the entrance of the UPP in 2009, Paula responded: 'The change was to not have so much violence, but the [drug] trafficking continued everywhere'. When asked to elaborate, Paula added:

> Yes, when the UPP came, during the same period as the PAC, everything changed, because there [were] visible heavy arms and the indices of violence were very high […] And with the arrival of the UPP, there was that impact because they managed to get the heavy weapons out of the favela, right. The heavy weapons you saw were then only carried by the police. But together with these police officers also came a social project [UPP social]; in this social project, there was integration of the police with residents, and this integration started with the children and they [the UPP police] offered many courses on… sports, football, judo, karate, playing music instruments. There was

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[54] A study by Menezes and Corrêa (2017) lists some of the elements of UPPs' successes in the period 2010–2013 (Menezes and Corrêa, 2017, 197).

trumpet, guitar, percussion. They [also] initiated classes for the women, the elderly, courses in gymnastics—the policewomen started giving gymnastics classes—and they started giving school support, so it started to integrate (Paula, age 54, interview, July 18, 2018).

According to Dona Vieira, 'the only difference it [the UPP] made was that we didn't hear gunshots, right. There were no more shootouts... ehh, the atmosphere appeared quieter, more peaceful' (see A3UPP). Despite the tranquillity emphasised by many, police walked with weapons pointed at residents and drove with guns and machine-guns pointing out the windows. One could nevertheless feel the tangible sense of fear among residents that the police could walk in at any moment with their arms pointed at residents, or the police tanks driving up the hill at any moment. In the asfalto of the South Zone, it would be an unusual thing to see the police driving or walking with their guns aimed at people. During 2011–2013, one would hear manifold tales about abuses and corruption, but as Paula said, it was not that visible anymore.

Young people frequenting 'baile funk' parties (favela funk music parties) in the favelas would be upset about the police wanting to ban or control when the parties begin or end. In contrast, older residents would point out that they could now sleep. However, those in Ipanema had the liberty to host huge parties with loud music a few hundred metres down the street with no noise restrictions. The upshot was that people felt criminalised and claimed that the police should not enter the area and ban the music, which was also associated with drug trafficking.

As in the case of community policing (GPAE) implemented in PPG in the period 2001–2007, studied by Cardoso (2014), the UPP was also thought to have a positive influence during the first few years. However, it is important to note that the implementation, in this case, was in a favela in the South Zone, a privileged area due to its location. Further, it was deemed important by the authorities due to its proximity to tourist areas, and it experienced fewer violent clashes with the police, as compared to the implementation of UPPs in the North Zone.

As in the case study of Cardoso, it was also noted in my fieldwork in 2011–2013 that the situation was characterised by fewer violent conflicts and shootouts, less visible heavy

weaponry on the streets, and, to a certain extent, positive evaluations of the UPP's involvement. This was contrasted with, for instance, the UPP in Complexo do Alemão in the North Zone, which experienced a greater number of violent clashes. Residents also felt that they were afforded less respect here. According to Cardoso, the narratives indicate a demand for 'moral recognition' (Cardoso 2014; Honneth 1996; Taylor 1994; Cardoso de Oliveira, 2002). The meaning of dignity and respect—both constructed and shared locally (Cardoso, 2014, 62)—was crucial to understanding what was at stake. An important aspect to this is that the lack of dignity and respect did not necessarily mean that the favela residents felt that there was a lack of rights and equality but rather that the residents as subjects were not recognised as having the sufficient moral conditions to be treated with respect and dignity (Cardoso, 2014, 65). Similar observations of the mechanism involved in the rise and fall of UPPs can be observed, particularly in favelas where the UPP was described by many as being successful during the first few years of implementation. However, the role of the media and researchers in writing about the favelas (Fischer, 2014), and the 'rise' and 'fall' of the UPPs was also crucial in this period. Although the above-mentioned positive aspects were pointed out, the civilising and moralising intentions had been integral to the UPPs' approach from the very beginning (Rocha et al., 2018).

2.3.3 'The UPP never worked' (2014-2018)

> In the beginning it even changed. We saw nobody armed or selling drugs. We could at times see it, but it was very difficult. Since the UPP [...] joined the community, then it got worse than with the meninos [the boys, referring to the drug traffickers]. They fired shots for anything [...] the past two years I can say [...] it became bad [*porcaria*]. For me really, the UPP is the same thing as nothing. At first, I liked it, but now, if they leave they will not be missed. (Dona Vieira, Interview 2018, age 54)[55]

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[55] The excerpt in this section and interview with Dona Vieira are drawn from my third article, A3UPP.

Since 2014, residents asserted that the situation in PPG had changed and that the UPP had lost its legitimacy in Rio, particularly insofar as it had been found to be involved in numerous massacres. In addition to a rise in visible and armed policing and violent altercations and shootouts between police and drug traffickers in the streets, UPP officers have also been involved in corruption and trafficking. This was evident in PPG. Dona Vieira and Paula noted that the changes occurred in the wake of the 2016 Olympics and economic crisis in Rio, when the traffickers became more visible and regained control in PPG. Residents subsequently began claiming that the 'UPP never worked' or that 'it was a facade and made-up'. Certainly, where I rarely saw armed people except the police from 2011–s2013, in 2017, I saw heavily armed young traffickers walking the streets and as look outs near drug sale points. When I was with Paula, we were also observed and met by the *Dono do morro*—that is, the 'King of the hill', the leader of the faction—and his armed guards while looking out from the elevator tower. Residents where clearly afraid and reluctant to talk about the changing situation, even in informal conversations. They always looked around in the street before commenting that 'it has changed a lot since you were [last] here…'

Moreover, since 2017, the drug traffickers were from the 'outside' (i.e., not PPG natives) and, thus, acted more arbitrarily as they did not know the residents (see A3UPP). Consequently, shootouts could happen at any time, with the UPP officers firing shots towards the favela. The street I lived on provided access to PPG; bullet holes were now visible on the façade of the block, and at some occasions we had to hide from shootouts. This situation was particularly terrifying for children, especially insofar as the younger ones had grown up without daily shoutouts, armed traffickers in the streets, and weekly police operations. In 2018, the military interventions produced warlike scenes. Numerous people have been killed by the police in PPG since 2014, including a dancer and actor in 2014 (Hilderbrand, 2014), two adolescents in 2017, (Ponte Jornalismo, 2017) and a women hit by stray bullets in 2019.

The pacifying police lost legitimacy when they were shown to be involved in massacres characterised by a military approach. This differed starkly from its aims of 'pacification'

and dialogue. More violent and fatal clashes occurred in the pacification process of larger favelas such as Rocinha and Alemão, and UPPs were found to be involved in murders and corruption. Criticisms of the pacification process gained momentum, thereby demonstrating that the UPPs adopted an approach based on war and military tactics. Following the disappearance and torture of the bricklayer Amarildo de Souza in 2013 in Rocinha by UPP officers, and the Brazilian mass protests of 2013, criticism of the state-sanctioned violence intensified and gained even more attention. José Beltrame, the then-Secretary of Security of Rio de Janeiro, recognised that adjustments were necessary for the first time in late 2013; however, he nevertheless also emphasised the positive results of the UPPs (Corrêa and Menezes, 2017, 207).

In 2017, the new Secretary of Security of Rio de Janeiro 'affirmed that the choice of the term "pacification" had been a mistake (…) and soon after declared that the pacification program was a utopia for those who believed' (Corrêa and Menezes, 2017, 210). In 2018, it was announced that 17 of the 38 UPPs were to be discontinued, and the first three were shut down in June 2018 (Diário Oficial do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2018). From February 2018, the federal military oversaw security in Rio de Janeiro for a period of ten months, the first time since the end of the 21-year military dictatorship in Brazil in 1985 and the 1988 constitution. The current period appears to be marked by a return to increased militarisation, rearmament, police executions and urban warfare. Despite military intervention, which was seen by some as the only possible way of dealing with urban violence, the number of deaths and clashes with police increased. This was the context for my last phase of fieldwork in 2018.

In January 2022, Governor Castro launched a new programme targeting Rio's favelas called 'Cidade Integrada' (integrated city). The Cidade Integrada programme has a similar approach to that of the UPP in that it aims to 'integrate' the so-called 'informal city' of the favelas into the formal city and 'retake' the territory lost to drug factions. The programme was first implemented in Jacarezinho (Santos Filho, 2022), merely eight months after the favela had suffered the massacre of 28 people during a police operation

in May 2021. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Brazilian Supreme Court (STF) decided to restrict police interventions in Rio's favelas (ADPF-635) (MPRJ, 2020). However, the number of people killed by police continued increasing, with another deadly massacre by the Rio police in 2021 (Deister, 2021). In May 2022, the police invaded the favela of Vila Cruzeiro, killing twenty-six people over the course of an eight-hour operation (Vigna, 2022). The Cidade Integrada programme employs a militarised approach, including greater use of video surveillance technology, such as the placement of facial recognition cameras in the favela. However, the increased use of facial recognition in Brazil since 2019 is not a neutral technology, but one with 'racial, social and gender biases' (Santos Filho, 2022).

The UPPs, the federal military intervention in Rio in 2018, the brutal killing of black city council member and political activist Marielle Franco in 2018, the growing police terror and massacres of blacks and favela residents at the hand of the police in 2021 and 2022, and the Cidade Integrada programme launched in 2022 (Santos Filho, 2022) reveal the increasing police terror of and war on blacks and blackness and the militarisation of everyday life unfolding the racial, gendered, and spatial ordering of the city of Rio. As Franco (2018, 191) noted:

> It is a genocidal policy that systematically violates the rights of the residents of the favelas and primarily victimises black youth. The persistence of this type of policy is related to issues that run much deeper than merely the 'culture of policing' that is so often claimed to be new about the UPP project. While the approach to public security is structurally associated with the profitable black market in arms and drugs and to the corruption of state agents, any pretense of 'pacification' will have no more meaning than an armored vehicle painted white.

As Franco argued, despite the discourse of peace represented by an armoured UPP vehicles painted in white, [56] the UPP advanced a 'militarised' and genocidal policy primarily targeting black youth in the favelas. According to Vargas (2013), 'democracy and human rights are not antithetical to—and indeed seem to depend on, precisely—the maintenance of such antiblack sentiments and principles' (294). Rocha et. al. (2018) also

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[56] see A3UPP for a photo of the pacification armoured vehicle 'Caveirão' painted in white.

emphasised that the pacification leading up to military intervention served to legitimate the militarisation of the everyday life of favela residents.[57]

While I have provided an overview of the so-called 'favela problem' and pacification as an urban politics directed towards favela residents who are seen as threats, urban politics directed towards 'surplus' and racialised populations are emerging globally. In the next section, I provide an overview of the extant research and locate my study in the context of peripheral urbanisation and everyday urban practices, and I reflect on 'what is slipping away from us' (Simone, 2011, 356).

2.4 Thinking planetary humanism, peripheral urbanisation and insurgent citizenship otherwise: an Amefrican Southern Atlantic?

In this section, I situate my research in debates on the global south, peripheral urbanisation, and insurgent citizenship. In doing so, I suggest a dialogue drawing on the Amefrican Southern Atlantic thoughts of black Brazilian feminist activists and scholars Lélia Gonzalez and Beatriz Nascimento, and highlight their contribution to debates on planetary humanism and the notion of a Southern Black Atlantic.

This research examines urgent questions of control over bodies that are seen as risks in an urban context in the Global South. I would, however, like to emphasise the relevance of this study beyond the dichotomy of the Global North and Global South. As Mbembe, states,

> At the very least, it is now recognized that the world can be studied from everywhere and anywhere. Major transformations in the way in which we think about the histories of the world are underway. In this context, any inquiry into the place of Africa—and by extension the global

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[57] For a further discussion of the entanglement of pacification and militarisation as a 'changing-same', see A3UPP.

South—in theory is necessarily an interrogation concerning the experience of the world in an epoch when "the planet is no longer as large as it once was" (2021).

Mbembe has written extensively on the relevance of 'devenir afrique du monde' or 'becoming black of the world' (Mbembe, 2020; Mbembe, 2017; 2021), pointing to the continued growth of planetary brutalism. In other words, reading the world from the South is necessary to understand our global future, the treatment of a large part of the population as surplus analogous to how black people have been treated as surplus and disposable. It is this brutalism that Mbembe emphasises in 'becoming black of the world'. The conflicts and crises of the so-called North may come to resemble those of the so-called Global South (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2011). In this sense, 'the becoming Africa of the world' or 'becoming black of the world'(Mbembe, 2020) is not confined to a geographical location. Although Mbembe's thoughts on necropolitics and the relevance of becoming black of the world point to the brutalism of our contemporary world, the gendered dimensions of necropolitics are overlooked (Loureiro, 2020; Smith, 2016).

In challenging brutalism and 'becoming black of the world', Mbembe suggests a planetary humanism drawing on the arguments of Fanon (1967; 2001) and Cesaire (2000) regarding the need for a 'humanism made to the measure of the world'. However, this overlooks both the gendered dimension of necropolitics and resistance and perspectives from the Southern Black Atlantic. Theories by prominent black Brazilian feminists Beatriz Nascimento and Lélia Gonzalez align with and add to the dialogue on the planetary, particularly in terms of the notion of an Amefrican Southern Atlantic.[58] Significantly, attention to their work integrates the dimension of gender into this dialogue (see Gonzalez, 2021; 2019; and Nascimento, 2021). Lélia Gonzalez's work on Americanity allows for the unpacking of understandings of coloniality and slavery and the ideology of

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[58] See Chapters 5.1.4. to 5.2.3 on the Amefrican Southern Atlantic, which builds on the Gilroy's (1993) notion of the Black Atlantic by integrating the work of Gonzalez (2021; 2020; 1988; 2019a; 2019b) and Nascimento (2021) on resistance and 'Amefricanidade' (Amefricanity), which emerge from black and indigenous struggles and quilombola practices in the Americas. Also see Smith (2016) on Beatriz Nascimento and a black feminist model of the Black Atlantic.

racial democracy and 'whitening' in Brazil, concepts premised on a racial axis, gendered anti-blackness, and sexual violence towards black and indigenous women. Gonzalez emphasises the experiences and resistance of both indigenous people and enslaved Africans transported to Brazil via the transatlantic slave trade. The recognition of resistance through Gonzalez's notion of Amefricanity and of the quilombo and the Atlantic in the work of Beatriz Nascimento (2021, 1979) emphasise the intersection of race, gender, class, and women's experiences of oppression and resistance. Utilizing Amefrican and southern black Atlantic experiences, these theories emphasise the potential healing of black woman and creation of a new common world. While they align with notions of a planetary humanism (Mbembe, 2021; Gilroy, 2002) or Black Atlantic (Gilroy, 1993), these theories highlight the experiences of the Amefrican Southern Atlantic, thereby enabling analysis of the gendered and racialised oppression suffered by Amefrican and black women and their resistance.

In addition to engaging in dialogue with scholars who write on insurgencies, brutalism, borderising bodies, corpo-territories, planetary humanism, forms of power, oppression, racialisation, and resistance, I draw on the debates surrounding everyday practices and the urban. As Simone writes:

> … the acknowledgment of multiple realities—visible and invisible—means that the urban is always "slipping away" from us, always also somewhere else than where we expect it to be (Simone, 2011, 356).

Genealogies of the everyday urban, built forms, and residents' solutions and practices, which for may challenge dispositifs of control to some extent, create new urban politics through the land struggles, autoconstruction, and political activism of black Brazilian women in the favelas (Perry, 2016). Such actions also emerge as everyday practices of resistance and align with the concept of Afropolitanism[59] (Mbembe, 2021), Amefricanity

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[59] See Chapter 5.3.

(Gonzalez, 2019), and Quilombo practices of resistance (A4Field; Nascimento, 2021). The everyday urban experiences and autoconstruction are explored in my first article (A1Polyhedron), which also relates to the debates on peripheral urbanisation and insurgent citizenship theorised on urban peripheries in Brazil. However, important notions in the scholarship on peripheries and territories in Latin America—such as peripheral urbanisation, decolonial territory (Halvorsen, 2019), and corpo-territory (Haesbaert, 2020; Zaragocin and Caretta, 2021)—encompass resistances and struggles beyond the physical territory of the favela. Caldeira defines 'peripheral urbanisation' as 'modes of the production of space that (a) operate with a specific temporality and agency, (b) engage transversally with official logics, (c) generate new modes of politics, and (d) create highly unequal and heterogeneous cities' (Caldeira, 2017, 3). However, peripheral urbanisation 'does not simply refer to a spatial location in the city—its margins—but rather to a way of producing space that can be anywhere' (3).

Holston's notion of insurgent citizenship (2008) focuses on the everyday practices and experiences of residents and how citizenship emerges from them. In the context of Brazil, Holston shows that although, in the past century, all Brazilians have formally been considered citizens, the practice of differentiated citizenship still persists. This system has been extremely efficient in maintaining the extreme social inequalities in Brazil (14). Holston thus suggests that all democracies are 'disjunctive in their realization of citizenship' (14). He explains how the residents of many Brazilian cities have spent decades transforming their shacks into masonry homes. Conceptualising insurgent citizenship, which emerges from the urban peripheries, Holston points to the working classes and city builders who construct their own houses.

Political activism and the struggle for rights and citizenship can also be viewed through the lens of autoconstruction as political and social praxis (Perry, 2016). Certainly, resistance to forced evictions has played an important role in shaping the everyday urban politics of black Brazilian feminists in favelas, who have resisted the spatial and racial exclusion of the city (as discussed in 2.1.3). Research on autoconstruction in Brazilian favelas points to the importance of acknowledging the political activism and action of

women in constructing citizenship from below. As Perry (2016) argues, 'spatial exclusion is at the core of gendered racial stratification in Brazilian cities, and this exclusion produces mass political organization'. However, the gendered dimension of both the oppression and violence in urban renewal initiatives and evictions and the politics and theories emerging from grassroots movements of *faveladas* are rarely recognised as political (Perry, 2016). Moreover, Perry (2012) emphasises that scholars of urban politics in Brazil have mainly focused on the relation of class and urban space, 'while silencing meanings of gendered blackness embedded in discourses around land and spatial location' (Caldeira, 2000; Holston, 1991; Maede, 1999; Rolnik, 1994; Zaluar, 1994)' (172). In this respect, prominent black women such as Marielle Franco and Benedita da Silva have demonstrated the significance of black women's activism, politics, and theories, particularly those emerging from the favelas and autoconstruction movements in the struggle for human rights and social justice for blacks and favelados, who are often regarded as a surplus population. Autoconstruction as everyday practice, urban politics and resistance to dispositifs of control, and spatial and racial exclusion are also evident in the reflections of Marcia and Fabio on their photos and everyday life, as well as in resident accounts of the role of women in autoconstruction, resistance to evictions, and urban renewal projects in PPG.[60] The notion of insurgent citizenship and autoconstruction might, following Holston's conception, undermine the role of autoconstruction beyond the favela, as well as the gendered and racialised dimension of autoconstruction in shaping urban politics (see Perry, 2011; 2016. Similarly, it may lead to a focus on insurgent citizenship and social organisation as isolated phenomena peculiar to favelas. When I draw on the notion of insurgent citizenship, I include movements *beyond* the physical territory of the favelas.

The reason why I have briefly explained the most important approaches to studies emerging from the southern Atlantic, southern cities, or southern perspectives, as

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[60] see Article 1 (A1Polyhedron), article 4 (A4Field) and chapter 4 and chapter 7.

outlined above, is also to emphasise that I will not engage in a debate on the so-called Global South or Global North as such, or alternative knowledge systems with a focus on difference to oppose the so-called northern theories. My study aims at contributing to 'an interrogation concerning the experience of the world', as emphasised by Mbembe (2021), that has relevance also beyond the favelas and Brazil. I am particularly interested in the 'slipping away of the urban', the 'unfolding of the unforeseen' (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004), and 'brutalisme', which Mbembe borrows from the field of architecture. I further emphasise the politics of material, construction, and assemblage and redistribution, 'both spatial and corporeal' and immaterial (Mbembe, 2020, 7). Mbembe writes, 'And it is on the level of the conjunction of the immaterial, corporeality, and materials where *brutalisme* is localised' (2020, 8; my translation and emphasis). In this project, I thus engage with the abandoned, displaced, left-over, or re-assembled materials, infrastructure, housing, and people affected by 'brutalisme'. New forms of domination, oppression, and resistance unfold in a context of increasing police terror, and neoliberal insecurity politics are targeted towards the racialised urban poor. In a context of increasing necropolitical violence, disposable and risky bodies can be killed with impunity. The social lynching or physical killing of black Brazilians, who are treated as a disposable and surplus population, occurs in both formal Brazilian **neighbourhoods** and the favelas. This is clearly evidenced in recent massacres in the favelas of Rio in 2021 and 2022, the brutal murder of Marielle Franco in 2018, the lynching of the Congolese refugee Moïse on a beach in Rio in February 2022 (Brizo and Phillips, 2022), and the death of Genivaldo de Jesus Santos, a mentally-ill man, who was gassed to death in a police car in Bahia in May 2022 (Malleret, 2022). These elements are also of relevance in the 'borderising of bodies' (Mbembe, 2019a) witnessed elsewhere: for example, in the Mediterranean Sea or the 'left-over bodies' in the time of the COVID-19 pandemic (Mbembe, 2020), where the border is no longer a line but an 'ontological dispositif': the

'name of the organised violence of contemporary capitalism, the order of our world in general—the child imprisoned in a cage' (2020, 67, my translation)[61].

Finally, my research trajectory changed over time and unfolded through everyday conversations with the residents of PPG from 2011 to 2013, and later in 2017 and 2018. Therefore, in Chapter 3, I draw on the learning and unlearning processes of the fieldwork to present my reflections and the ethics that shaped the study's epistemological and methodological trajectory.

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[61] Mbembe refers to studies on child separations at the borders and studies on 'fifteen years of detaining children who sees asylum in Australia' (Mbembe, 2020).

3 Learning and unlearning in the field: Methodology, ethics, genealogy, and fractured longitudinal ethnography

In this chapter, I provide a glimpse into the fieldwork and the epistemological and ontological reflections that emerged from my process of learning and unlearning. This chapter is extensive and provides one of the major contributions of the thesis while discussing complex and crucial questions relating to methodology, methods, ethics, and theory in an in situ fractured longitudinal research process. This chapter goes beyond the mere interrelations and intersections of method(ology) and ethics, which is the most common approach to PhD theses. This is also why I present a theoretical chapter later in this dissertation. The first part of this chapter is written according to my reflections that emerged from my first stay in PPG in 2011.

The structure of this chapter is circular: learning and unlearning as I enter the field, autoconstructing methodologies, and drawing on situated ethics and genealogy in combination with multi-phase ethnography. While I begin this chapter with my entrance into the field, before I engage in the theoretical landscape, I return to the field with a chapter on my fractured longitudinal fieldwork. The ethnographic intermezzo in Chapter 4 provides a glimpse into the crucial questions that emerged during my ethnographic fieldwork, which later shaped the shifting research questions, my autoconstructing methodology, and the theoretical frameworks across a fractured decade.

In the figure below, I provide an overview of this circular approach, which, in addition to providing a structure for this chapter, introduces my autoconstructing methodology. This was inspired by the conception of a circular relationship between ontology, epistemology, methodology, and ethics (Wilson, 2015, 70).
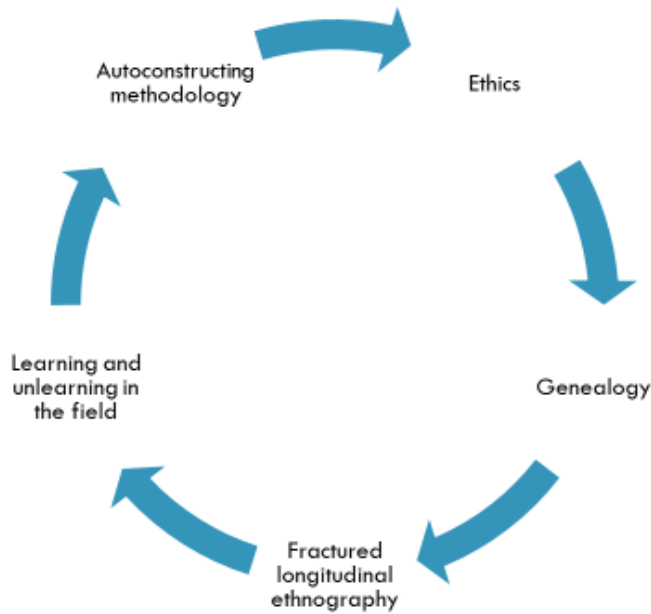
Figure 16 Presentation of the circular structure of this chapter and my methodology based on my experience of learning and unlearning in the field.

It was a process of learning and unlearning. From the time when I was reading theoretical texts by European thinkers at the university in Rio de Janeiro[62] to when I moved to PPG, began learning the Portuguese language, talking with residents, and considering doing fieldwork in the favela, I kept asking myself: 'am I the right researcher to do this?' (LT Smith, 2021). I later developed a dialogue on decolonising knowledge, which implied that one ought 'to not stand in one place' (Newell and Pype, 2021, 5; Nyamnjoh, 2020, 13; drawing on Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God* (2016)) over a decade while wrapping up this research[63].

A situated ethics (Perez, 2019) shaped the development of the methodology, research questions, and collaborations with the residents and participants of the project. The aim

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[62] I was affiliated as a research fellow in Italy and the Erasmus Mundus Doctorate programme and was allocated to Brazil and Rio de Janeiro.

[63] In my project, I also draw on genealogy in combination with longitudinal ethnography. While doing fieldwork, analysis, and reflecting on the research process, I developed a methodological approach combining genealogy and longitudinal ethnography.

was relationality rather than a search for a global truth (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018) or towards what Mbembe [64] describes as 'future knowledges' beyond the 'European Cartesian delimitation of knowledges' (Mbembe, 2016a; Newell and Pype, 2021, 6)[65]. This is further discussed in the theoretical landscape presented in Chapter 5.

In this chapter, I first explore the multiple intersections of practices, ethics, and knowledge creation in in situ ethnographic fieldwork. I discuss how research questions, situated ethics (Perez, 2019), methodologies, and epistemologies unfold in the interactions between the researcher and participants. I explore how genealogy[66] and an 'ontology of the present'[67] (Foucault, 2010) can be integrated in a reflection on the philosophy of science and ethics in dialogue with ethnography. Finally, before I present the theoretical landscape in Chapter 5, I return to the field in Chapter 4, as outlined in the circular approach presented in Figure 10.

3.1 Learning and unlearning in the field

Entering the field and moving to PPG in 2011, I began informally learning the Portuguese language; it was a process wherein I, as the researcher, felt particularly vulnerable. I noted that I was being treated like a young student when I spoke with residents in the street. This may have destabilised the power relations between me and the residents for a certain period of time. It did, however, establish trust in the knowledge-sharing and knowledge co-creation processes, which were crucial to the photo walks. I later reflected that I may have put residents in a situation of discomfort on some occasions, which I discuss later in this chapter. I decided to conduct interviews after ten months of my stay

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[64] See Mbembe's *Critique of Black Reason* (2017, 2021).

[65] See Comaroff and Comaroff (2011) and Mbembe (2017).

[66] Foucault explains that genealogy is not to seek the origin of truth and 'does not map the destiny of a people'; instead, 'it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents' (Foucault, 2007, 343-344).

[67] A conception of an 'ontology of the present' or writing a history of the present, a critical investigation or diagnosis of the present is developed by Foucault who draws on Nietzsche and, to some extent, Kant. See the section on genealogy and ontology of the present later in Chapter 3.4.1. See Foucault (2010, 21).

there when I became proficient enough in my Portuguese to engage in quotidian conversations.

The researcher's relations with their study participants or co-researchers inherently involve power relations in the process of knowledge creation. In this case, the researcher's language skills as a part of the learning process and power relations are an aspect that should be explored further as many researchers conduct studies in areas where they do not necessarily speak the local language. This example reveals how knowledge creation is embedded with power relations. It exemplifies the contingent nature of knowledge creation and interactions between the researcher and participants.

However, beyond verbal language, I have experienced that there are numerous other challenges with regard to working with the visual and multisensory, along with continuous changes in the field. These include dialogues and negotiations related to security, control, ethics, power, the unexpected, and the inaccessible. The notions of the 'unexpected' and 'messiness' (Frers, 2009) were an integral part of the issues and research questions that emerged during my in situ fieldwork. Due to changing situations in the field (increased militarisation, for instance), I was not able to use the same methods or access the same areas when I went back in 2018. Moreover, the perceptions and experiences of the residents in PPG and the ethical challenges I faced had also changed over time. These changes affected the possibility of access and methodology (either by choice or by forced by circumstance), resulting in different trajectories of questions and knowledge creation processes. However, these changes and challenges also provided an insight into the everyday lives of residents and their negotiations of power and displacement in a changing militarised urban space. An 'ontology of the present' emerged from the actual fieldwork; the 'not yet known' opened up new questions that drew on residents' everyday struggles and knowledge.

In this section, I reflect on the practice of participatory photography and photo walks. Two of the research participants, Fabio and Marcia, borrowed a camera and photographed everyday urban space and changes in the favela (i.e. what they as residents

wanted to show). Fabio ended up not taking photographs with the camera but sent me photos taken with his cellphone. He did not feel comfortable walking with a camera. As I was thought of as a tourist or 'outsider'[68], taking photographs with me was easier, but he felt it was suspicious when he as a resident took photographs alone. Marcia said she only managed to take photographs in a select few places due to safety reasons. She took photographs of the space and various constructions, capturing both the challenges and solutions experienced by residents. One resident said he wanted to photograph the police, but he could not do so due to the same security concerns. Hence, becoming acquainted with the residents' experiences regarding the inaccessible, that which is not or cannot be pictured, and residents' knowledges became a crucial part of my research.

There are numerous issues and questions as regards ethics, knowledge creation, and power in the field. However, while my initial intention was to amplify residents' voices, it is important to be aware that involving residents in participatory research and 'giving people a voice' (Dennis et al., 2009) does not necessarily imply that there would be a tangible social impact or that they might benefit from the research. The notion of 'giving a voice' is also problematic as it implies that people do not have a voice or are inherently silent, which may not necessarily align with residents' perceptions and opinions. It might even imply a colonial attitude on the part of the researcher. Self-reflection on the part of the researcher is crucial when working with participatory methods that aim at decolonial practices, amplifying residents' voices, and bringing about change or transformation. I cannot assert that my study will provide any social change or benefit to the residents other than on a very small scale at an individual level.

One of the research participants decided which of her photos to include in this project and received printed copies. She also wanted to display the photos for a community

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[68] Changing positions on the part of the researcher as an insider/outsider/tourist/neighbour poses questions as regards strategic positionality and intersectional positionality (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014; Christoffersen, 2018; Schurr and Segebart, 2012; Soedirgo and Glas, 2020), in addition to limits, possibilities, and negotiations of hierarchies, ethics, power relations, and the (co-)construction of knowledges. See Caldeira interviewed by Gil (2018) on urban practices and ethnographic intimacy and Lunn (2014) on ethics and doing fieldwork in the Global South.

exhibition. We discussed everyday life and the changes that had occurred in the favela over the past decade. At first, she asked me to select the photos, saying that I knew what I wanted to include. I asked her to point out what was important to her and explain why. I had to emphasise that it was she who had the knowledge about the favelas and that I was just a visitor interested in *her* reflections. She appeared satisfied by this and categorised the photos according to various themes, such as nature and flowers, construction and housing, and solutions found by residents. She explained the challenges of everyday life in the favela and spoke about the solutions arrived at by residents, particularly those relating to autoconstruction, repair, and re-assemblage. Below, I present two examples of the photos that she selected to include in the research (included in article A1Polyhedron). The first photo illustrates changes in relation to the UPP in the favela, where, in 2011, she had taken a photo of two officers. They posed for the photo in front of a painting made by a local artist with 'look at us!' written on the wall behind them. In 2018, it had become impossible to photograph the police due to increases in violent conflict and militarisation.

Figure 17 Photograph of two UPP officers, taken by Marcia, 2011. They stand in front of a painting by a local graffiti artist. The other photograph depict a single UPP officer, field notes extracts, and the view of Copacabana from Pavão-Pavãozinho taken by the author, 2012.

Marcia's photographs and her interpretation of the images emphasise the importance of autoconstruction in the favelas. Moreover, as Perry's (2016) work on autoconstruction shows, in making and building houses, women produce crucial sites of struggle and everyday politics (Perry, on autoconstruction (2016). Marcia's emphasis on resident solutions and repair also links to the concept of Afropolitanism (Mbembe, 2021), emphasising repair, re-assemblage, and solution-finding, which also aligns with quilombola cultural practices of resistance (Beatriz Nascimento in Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 304). Without residents' participation in sharing photographs, their experiences, and interpretations of their own photos, I would not have gained access to these layers of knowledge. From the residents' concerns emerged an ontology of the present in genealogical terms, beyond ethnographic research, which also relates to the im/possibility of decolonising anthropology (Daswani, 2021), ethnography, and cultural studies.

Figure 18 Photos of everyday solutions by residents. Published in A1Polyhedron (photos by Marcia, 2018).

This project thus builds on an inductive approach, including a situated ethics (Perez, 2019), the acknowledgement of a multiplicity of power relations and the contingent nature of knowledge production, a plurality of knowledges, and residents' voices and everyday practices. As Perez (2019, 150) pointed out in her research of a stigmatised group of waste pickers in Cape Town, South Africa, 'adherence to abstract ethical codes

has the potential to exacerbate experiences of inferiority'. I experienced a similar phenomenon during my research when I struggled to make an informed consent form that was easily understandable to residents yet would be accepted by the ethical guidelines of my country[69]. I thus adopted a more flexible approach of recording my conversations with residents about informed consent and what it implied for them and their rights. This example reveals the importance of involving residents within the research process, acknowledging their knowledge and rights, and reflecting on the unexpected and questions beyond what is expected from an ethical committee or institution. This also relates to the epistemological assumptions of my research project.

Acknowledging residents' voices, knowledges, and participation in the research process also revealed questions of recognition beyond those relating to, for instance, anonymity; it opens up an ontological and epistemological discussion that will be developed further in this chapter. Although I cannot claim to have actuated any actual social change or transformation, the acknowledgement of residents' voices and knowledge is crucial not only in terms of ethics, access to knowledge, and the co-creation of knowledge and methods. It is also useful in reflecting on epistemologies and an ontology of the present emerging from the interactions between the researcher and participants and how social reality unfolds in genealogical terms. While the multiplicity of realities is acknowledged, the deviations, the unexpected (Frers, 2009), failures (Sjøvoll et al., 2020), and messiness (Harrowell et al., 2018) in the production of social realities and urban life give rise to numerous questions of 'visibility':

> Within prevailing trajectories of urban power, is visibility always a critical resource; do the processes that render things visible also threaten the very existence of that which exists outside of view? (Simone, 2011, 360).

As I decided to limit my research to PPG, numerous important issues remain unaddressed. First, I initiated my research in 2011, visiting multiple favelas, and the

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[69] See sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.3 for the challenges related to the required written informed consent in my country.

indigenous museum Aldeia Maracanã, which has been occupied by indigenous movements facing eviction due to it being situated near the Olympic stadium. Common themes were thus resistance, the right to the city, evictions, and police violence.

Another important issue that is not addressed in my study is the mass protests of 2013 and the political changes that ensued. I have concentrated my research on the everyday experiences of residents in PPG who do not represent a common group or NGO but are diverse in terms of age, gender, working conditions, etc. Power dynamics, issues of class, gender, and the practices of NGOs operating in the favela are beyond the scope of this thesis but would constitute another important subject for further research. There are multiple NGOs in existence in PPG; some carry out projects sponsored by international organisations such as UNESCO. Several residents asked me to investigate what some of these NGOs were doing in the favelas. I found that some were involved in projects regarding land regularisation and property rights (see article A1Polyhedron). This would comprise another crucial study of international relevance as similar land distribution projects are occurring in informal settlements worldwide; they are, however, of questionable value for residents. Another important aspect is transnational neoliberal insecurity networks of power-knowledge (Murakami-Wood, 2013), technology, warfare, pacification politics, and urban politics directed towards urban poor and racialised populations across the world. Private interests, neoliberal insecurity, warfare technology, and the multiple mapping initiatives, such as the Senseable city lab in Rochina (2022), and the 'smart city' projects in Rio (Singer, 2012) are other issues that ought to be researched further.

In this section, I have provided a glimpse into how research questions, ethics, epistemologies, and ontologies emerged in the interactions between the researcher, participants, and other actors in a community over time and how methods are involved in creating social realities (Law, 2004). In the following section, I discuss in greater detail the fieldwork that was performed in PPG and the challenges I experienced across a fractured decade.

3.2 Autoconstructing methodology, multimodal methods, and walking with participants

3.2.1 Autoconstructing methodologies

In this section, I discuss the methodology and building practices (i.e. autoconstruction) of the research project as they evolved and changed over a decade.

Although my methodological approach has not explicitly been a decolonising one, I have attempted to sketch some of the building blocks and crucial facets in the process of learning and unlearning by drawing on autoconstruction and building practices in the favelas, where that which has failed and is left unfinished further opens the way for new building practices. Reflecting backwards, this also resonates with my engagement with decolonising methodologies and changing theoretical trajectories while writing up this extended abstract.

The below figure demonstrates my autoconstructing methodology, which, in addition to providing the circular structure of this chapter, also gives insight into how my methodology emerged from a process of learning and unlearning and a combination of fractured longitudinal ethnography and genealogy, deploying participatory visual methods. Research was conducted as a multi-phase fieldwork in 2011–2013 and 2018, however it aimed to obtain longitudinal[70] data pertaining to resident experiences in a pacified favela. Although I was not present in PPG throughout the 10-year period, the multi-phase, or fractured ethnographic fieldwork provided opportunities for a longitudinal perspective while raising numerous methodological and ethical challenges,

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[70] In the extended abstract, I have changed the term 'longitudinal ethnography' to conducting multi-phase ethnographic fieldwork and a fractured longitudinal study, using both terms to highlight the structured and unplanned aspects of my approach. In my first three articles, I used the term longitudinal ethnography. This example illustrates some of the challenges of writing an article based PhD dissertation, where intentions and methods can change during the research process as the project evolves after initial publications.

as discussed in this chapter and my article, A4Field. Inspired by Wilson (2015), it draws on a circular relation of epistemology, axiology, methodology, and ontology.
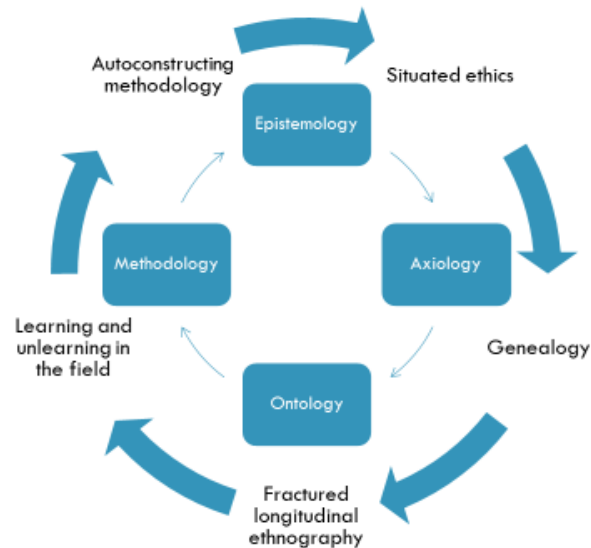
Figure 19 Presentation of the circular structure of this chapter and my methodology unfolding from learning and unlearning in the field, inspired by Wilson (2015) and the circular relation between methodology, epistemology, ontology, and axiology.

Autoconstruction involves being attentive to changes in the field, power relations, and the unfolding of the unforeseen or the polyhedral. Further, autoconstructing methodologies involves both particular attention to the possibilities and challenges of building further over time, both as regards methods and theory and not standing in one place over a decade, as in the case of this fractured longitudinal study.

The idea of autoconstruction, including new forms of social organisation, resistance, insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2008), and quilombola practices[71] of cultural resistance (Nascimento, 2021), with attention to power dynamics and (de)coloniality, was crucial in developing the methodological approach my research would take. Additional factors such as reconstitution, ethicality, and dignity, and failures were also important.

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[71] Black Brazilian feminists, researchers, and activists such as Gonzalez (1988) and Nascimento (2021) have theorised on resistance by drawing on the quilombos aligning with decolonial struggles.

In my research, residents emphasised how their houses had been built over several decades. The residents had extensive knowledge of construction. They adapted their houses to local conditions and found practical solutions to the bad infrastructure provided by the state, or the absence thereof. The roofs, or 'lage', were built in such a way as to be ready for future construction projects; the walls, stairs, and windows had been adapted along the way according to changing conditions and needs.

The autoconstruction methodology recognises the importance of decolonising struggles, resistance, and co-creation as well as the uncomfortable failures and entanglement of coloniality in knowledge production. These processes are also captured in the notion of (de)colonial polyhedron of powers (see Chapter 7). In the next section, I discuss in greater detail the process of unfolding my multi-phase ethnographic fieldwork in PPG.

3.2.2 Fieldwork in PPG and walking with participants

The fieldwork in this project evolved across two phases from 2011 to 2018. The first was from 2011 to 2013 over a period of 21 months, and the second in 2018 when I went back to PPG for a total of six weeks. In addition, I also spent six weeks in Rio in 2017 when I tried to contact the former participants and visit the neighbourhood to prepare for the 2018 fieldwork. When my fieldwork had begun in 2011, I lived in PPG for three months and spent the remaining time in a place nearby (100 metres further down from the street that led into PPG), which facilitated daily interactions, observations, and walks in the neighbourhood with the participants. I also participated in events and community meetings organised by resident associations and the family health clinic as well as the monthly UPP meetings[72]. After 10 months of participant observation and learning Portuguese, I conducted the first informal interviews. To learn the language and be able to interact and conduct interviews in the field was a challenge. It brought out a feeling of failure (Harrowell et al., 2018, 233); on the other hand, it might also have destabilized

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[72] See Section 1.1 in the first chapter on the research journey.

power relations to some extend that because I did not speak an academic or formal Portuguese, I was treated like a student or tourist[73]. I also took part in a photo club organised by the residents from various favelas and in so doing got to know numerous favelas in different areas of Rio. The figure below provides an overview of the fieldwork.

Phase 1.

(2011; 7 months)
- Participation in community meetings in PPG and learning Portuguese (May–December)
- Living in PPG (September-November)
- Pilot surveys and discussions in PPG* (december)
- Moving to a block in Ipanema/Copacabana in a street providing access to PPG (December 2011-)

(2012-2013; 14 months)
- First semi-structured recorded interview (December)
- Informal photowalks with the favela photo associations (7 favelas)**
- Photowalks with community leader PPG (video interviews 10 residents)***
- Recorded semi-structured interviews in PPG, Rocinha, Mare, Complexo do Alemão and the indigenous community of Aldeia Maracanã (9 participants)
- Daily informal conversations, observation, and community meeting participation

Phase 2.

(2017; 1,5 months)
- Informal visit and talk with residents in PPG
- Preparation new fieldwork

(2018; 1,5 month)
- In PPG: Participant observation, field notes, photo walks, participatory photomapping, informal talks, recorded interviews (6 participants; four of whom I knew since 2011)
- Six follow-up photo walks (2 participants) and walking video interviews (2 participants)

* challenges surveys, **informal context, ***no recorded informed consent, ethical issues and power relations/interests collaborations → contextual information, but not included in further research

Figure 20 Overview of the phases in my fieldwork.

When I went back to Rio in 2017, I stayed in the same street that provided easy access to PPG but did not conduct any interviews or walks due to intense daily shootouts and police operations in the neighbourhood. I did, however, talk informally with people in the street and prepared for my new fieldwork in 2018.

In 2018, due to the tense situation, it was difficult to find residents who wanted to be interviewed again. Residents from one area of the community in particular did not respond or were hesitant to speak. This was also probably due to the increased number

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[73] All interviews were conducted by the author in Portuguese and translated into English. I am responsible for any mistakes or misunderstandings.

of shootouts and police operations and the presence of armed traffickers in that part of the favela. This was confirmed by other residents. The unexpected and messiness was integral to my fieldwork as I had to adapt my methods and a situated ethics due to numerous changes in the field. In 2018, I conducted several photo walks, walking interviews, and follow-up interviews with the residents I had met during the first phase of the fieldwork. On some days, we had to cancel our walks and interviews due to police operations and shootouts. Most of the interviews were conducted either on foot (Evans and Jones, 2011; O'Neill and Roberts, 2019) or sitting in the street in informal conversation. One resident opted to meet outside the favela for the recorded interview; we also went for numerous informal walks and visited events together in the favela. In 2013, we were able to photograph the UPP and all the areas in PPG without being concerned about our safety. In 2018, the residents said that I should not walk alone and only go out to take photographs in a few areas. A few residents also participated with their own photos in 2018; they emphasised, however, that they could no longer photograph the police or the military. When asked to participate with their own photos in photo walks, many residents preferred that I take photographs instead as I would be taken for a tourist, making it less suspicious. The photo below shows the increasing construction in the favela in the past years, as emphasised by residents.

Figure 21 A photo of favela houses, illustrating the constructions that have taken place over the past decade. Many of the houses had expanded to four or five stories (photo by Marcia, 2018).

As stated before, the recognition of participants' voices, knowledges, and reflections were crucial in this in situ research as it evolved over time with regard to ethics, choice of method, and research questions. Meanings can be invisible to a researcher depending on their pre-knowledge (Santos, 2007, 168); therefore, the recognition of participants' knowledges and experiences was crucial in this research.

Multimodal methods like the photo walks were thus open for residents to '(re-)produce space at a symbolic level' (Cuny, 2019, 911) in addition to accessing the unexpected or engaging with what could not be photographed due to changes in the field. This fractured longitudinal research thus adds to the literature on the pacification process as a 'failed' project (de Mattos Rocha et al., 2018, 13), as discussed in section 3.2. The numerous unexpected changes and ongoing negotiations in the field as regards perceptions, methods, ethics, and safety (for both the researcher and the residents involved) were nevertheless crucial.

Many changes had taken place across a decade. The increasingly necropolitical violence and the killing of black residents in Rio's favelas by the police made it even more important to discuss racism when I went back to PPG in 2018.

I limited my direct questions about racism in 2018 to only those whom I knew from 2013. Most of the interviews were done on foot, sitting in the street, or inside people's houses where there were often other relatives present. However, I did not feel comfortable asking questions about racism during conversations with people I had not met before, particularly when talking to them in front of their families and children. For instance, I conducted a short and informal interview with two older women in front of their families. Rather than my role or experiences related to my whiteness, my discomfort was related to putting interviewees on the spot in front of their families[74]. This example illustrates the emotional aspects of research and the discomfort of talking about racism **with people**

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[74] Questions of racial identity as noted in research in Brazilian favelas indicated that residents rarely spoke about racial identities (Alves, 2014; Sheriff, 2001).

whom I did not already knew well. This was also the reason for not directly asking about racism in the period 2011 to 2013. However, it was impossible to not notice the presence of racism, which is why I followed up with direct questions about racism in 2018. This was despite many people I met from the asfalto, also at the university, who claimed that racism does not exist in Brazil. They cited such examples as the mixed neighbourhoods, the fact that the beaches are shared, and that blacks and whites live side by side in the South Zone as evidence. However, it turned out that many people in the favela commented, despite the feeling of close relations and conviviality, that as a black person 'you know your place'. Going to areas that are more expensive or academic conferences and even the university itself, it was impossible not to note the fact that the attendees in these spaces were nearly all white. Black people were mostly employed in these spaces as cleaners, guards, or waiters, thereby exemplifying in many ways the different treatment a person socially recognised as white receives.

In the next section, I reflect on the ethical challenges of this study, namely a situated ethics in the context of a fractured longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork, specifically drawing on visual and multimodal methods.

3.2.3 Note on ethics and multimodal analysis

After the first phase of fieldwork in 2011–2013, the next phase of ethnographic fieldwork drew even more explicitly on participatory, multimodal, and visual methods. I experienced how discourses change depending on different settings. These range from a more formal interview and questionnaire to an informal conversation on foot. My thinking was that drawing on visual, participatory, and sensory ethnography might add multifaceted meanings and perceptions that would not have been accessible otherwise.

Figure 22 Extracts from visual field notes, photowalks, and a screenshot from Google Maps in 2011 (photos by author, 2011–2013).

The map above is a collage of screenshots from Google Earth in 2011 combined with various photos from photo walks in PPG. The aim was to initiate a participatory digital mapping project (or a 'Quilombo Virtual') where narratives, videos, and photos from PPG residents could be uploaded in real-time. I abandoned the idea of 'Quilombo Virtual' as a digital-sharing platform, which moreover reveals the experience of failure. I finally left that initiative behind as one of the participants wanted to use the material for political purposes and present it on the web page of their NGO.

In this section, I want to include my reflections on a photo walk I went on with a resident in 2012 to illustrate some of the ethical and methodological challenges in participative and multisensory ethnography. In the first phase of the fieldwork, I participated in a photo club led by favela residents and visited numerous favelas in Rio. I also met neighbouring residents at numerous community meetings in the favela at different locations, such as the family clinic, the UPP headquarters, and neighbourhood associations.

For ethical reasons, I have not included the interviews and videos with residents from that walk as I did not use a consent form and decided not to enforce written informed consent in my first informal improvised encounters with residents on the street. In dialogue with the participants, I decided to make contact and share with them a survey with more information in it in a second encounter so that they could consider whether they wanted to participate. However, there were disagreements with the participant who

invited me for the walk, who wanted to use the videos of residents despite our discussion on the lack of recorded informed consent. I had been transparent that the research could not be used for the publicity of the NGO with which the person was affiliated and its political purposes as the person wanted to present themselves in the local elections. I have thus reflected on this material as something that was left behind, part of a 'failed' project or abandoned idea (Sjøvoll et al, 2021). It is an opportunity to reflect on the failures, tensions, contrasting interests, and power relations in the field that shape the themes for further research.

However, I continued my research from 2011 to 2013, using a snowballing method in my informal network (as explained in Section 1.1 on my research journey). I sought not to recruit a common group of participants from an activist group, NGOs, or individuals with official political positions. Many researchers collaborate with a specific NGO or collective; my approach deviates from this with the intent that it might enable an alternative account from a different variety of people living in PPG. I managed to retrace some of the participants from the first period again in 2017 and 2018, and we discussed the possibilities of new interviews and the use of previous material. Three of the residents I had talked to between 2011 and 2013 had unfortunately passed away.

One woman who shared her story about the fear of eviction was over 80 years old at the time and had lived her whole life in PPG. I shared a photo of her with a relative and learned that her house had not yet been evicted. The woman insisted at the time that I had to tell her story and share information about the fear of eviction, lack of information, and its impact on one's health. It was reported in other favelas that residents suffered from heart attacks in the process of being evicted. The compensation evictees would receive would not cover a new house or even rent in the area, leading to increased property speculation, tourism, and gentrification. A few residents managed to get an apartment in the social building complexes; however, they were of bad construction quality and too small for big families who often lived in separate flats in the vertical constructions two to five stories high. The 'ownership' of property was also limited to 99 years, which many of the residents were unaware of. Finally, the elderly woman I talked

with in 2012, in her garden of flowers and birds, explained how she had built her home and had lived there her whole life. It was a green and spacious house. She said she would never leave for a small apartment in a block of flats in the peripheries of Rio far from the South Zone. Another resident who received me in her home in 2012 had wanted to share her story of building the house and her fear of eviction. She did not answer my request for a second interview in 2017.

In 2018, I had made preparations for sound walks (recording sounds in the street), surveys, interview guides, and participatory photography and video trips. After talking informally with residents about the tense situation and many not responding to my request for interviews in the second phase of fieldwork, I decided to only keep close contact with those whom I knew from before. Two of the residents were keen to share their reflections on the situation in the neighbourhood but not to record sounds by walking or carry around materials like surveys and cameras. However, they volunteered to walk with me in areas far away from drug sale points and armed traffickers, while I took photographs. I was also open to meeting up with them for informal interviews at a site of their choosing. One resident just wanted to walk around and show me the area as a tourist. We sat down on the pavement in front of a bakery to record a short interview. However, one resident wanted to meet in my flat, a few others in their homes, or else meet for lunch. I took all the field notes on my cellphone while sitting somewhere waiting for them, mostly in a cafe or in front of a bakery. This felt safer than carrying a notebook around. This was also markedly different from 2011 and 2013, when I could make notes in a notebook during community meetings at the neighbourhood associations, family clinic, or the UPP unit. Many researchers and NGOs workers were doing the same, so it had then seemed quite reasonable. In the first phase of the fieldwork, I presented myself as a student who lived in the neighbourhood doing fieldwork there on the use of social media and the dynamics of resistance and control. After meeting many people who shared their concerns on the UPPs and evictions, I was incentivised to go ahead with my research. I thus decided to conduct a few interviews and surveys from 2011 to 2013. I used my network from the community meetings at the health clinic. Most participants had an informal job and were occupied with everyday survival. They were foremost

concerned with the UPP, evictions, gentrification, social inequalities, access to education, everyday violence, and children's welfare. Discrimination, racism, police violence, and the violent control of drug traffickers were seldom mentioned in recorded interviews but emerged in informal conversations. I thus abandoned the idea of surveys as the participants would ask others to fill them in, ask me what to write, or mostly just write positive comments on the UPP. The locations of the interviews also influenced the conversations; walking around with participants in the favelas, sitting on a street corner or on the pavement in front of a variety of buildings—such as houses with multiple families, banks, hostels, shops, constructions sites, schools, churches, resident associations, blocks of flats, hairdressers, bakeries, social and cultural associations, sports fields, informal stands (which I learned were established by traffickers in the street towards Copacabana)—people talked about the construction work, housing expansions, family constitutions, building practices, infrastructure, class and power relations in the favelas, and relations to the asfalto, which was visible close by. They discussed how their families or themselves had struggled to build their homes for years and how the process of autoconstruction unfolded (Caldeira, 2017; Holston, 1991, 2008). They mentioned the presence of the police, drug traffickers, the challenges they faced, and the solutions they found. This also led to informal conversations with other residents we met along the way. Therefore, I decided to only record the interviews that I had had with people I had met multiple times or where I was invited by other participants I knew well and had established trust and intimacy over time. I nevertheless constantly reflected on the limits of ethnographic intimacy (Caldeira interview by Gil, 2018). That is also why I only asked direct questions about things like racism in recorded follow-up interviews in 2018.

Finally, walking with residents (O'Neill and Roberts, 2019), multiple encounters, in-depths interviews, participative photomapping, video and multimodal methods, participative field observations, and the relationships established through my neighbours were all important facets in the data-collecting process; reflecting on the limitations of both intimacy and decolonial or transformative aspirations became crucial in wrapping up this research project in the extended abstract.

I also conducted interviews and photo walks with residents in different favelas that had UPP units in 2012 and 2013. However, I decided to follow up the research with residents in PPG over time. This was because, despite the presence of the UPPs, the favelas were all very different and were located across diverse areas in the city. Visiting and conducting interviews or photo walks in favelas such as Rochina, Mare, and Complexo do Alemão provided important background and contextual information to the project. I also visited some of these favelas before and after UPP were present. Some of that material is included in my fourth article, which sheds light on what otherwise might have been left out of the publication process despite important encounters and interviews. Below I have included a table with an overview of the methods used in this multi-phase ethnographic research.

Table 1 overview of the methods used in this multi-phase research drawing on visual participatory methods and ethnographic fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro

Methods	Phase 1		Fracture phase A	Fracture phase B	Phase 2	
	2011	2012–2013	2014–2016	2017	2018	2019
Participant observation	x	x			x	
Preliminary survey	x					
Informal conversations	x	x		*x*	x	
Recorded interviews		x			x	
Field notes	x	x		*x*	x	
Video walks		x			x	
Photo walks		x			x	

Walking with participants	X	X			X	
Photo elicitation interview					X	
Community meetings and events	X	X			X	
Following news and social media	X	X	*X*	*X*	X	X
Reviewing the literature	X	X	*X*	*X*	X	X
Fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro	21 months			6 weeks (informal visit— preparing for new fieldwork)	6 weeks	

In addition to drawing on walking interviews, photo walks, and semistructured interviews, during the fieldwork, I wrote down the daily news about Brazil and Rio (collected in Evernote) together with more than 100 pages of typed field observations. I also clipped my annotations and collected news and academic articles on Brazil, the favelas, Rio de Janeiro, politics, police violence, and protests from 2011 until 2021. The ethnographic data—consisting of interviews, photos, participatory photomapping, videos, and field notes—were analysed over time. They were triangulated with a continuous mapping process of news articles, academic literature on Brazil, the favelas, and the UPPs. My main source for news articles were social media, major newspapers, community journals, and independent media outlets covering the favelas in Rio. The literature search was conducted in databases such as Scopus, in English, Portuguese, and French, with the following keywords: 'UPP', 'pacification', 'police violence', 'racism', and general searches on the favelas in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro. However, I also did manual searches by

following recent publications on Brazil, the favelas, UPP, peripheral urbanisation, southern urbanism, and decoloniality.

In addition, I used digital mapping and the presentation software Prezi to map photos, videos, and the research themes. I also used handmade and digital mind maps to analyse the ethnographic material as well as for presentations of my research.

For some of the material I transcribed and coded in the software Nvivo; however, for a period in Rio and Lisbon, I did not have broadband access, and it was impossible to use the software, so I analysed the data by mapping the themes and doing the coding manually. The analysis and themes were annotated in both English and Portuguese. I transcribed the interviews in Portuguese and translated selected elements to include the articles and translated them to English. The field notes were written in a mixture of Portuguese, English, and, in a few cases, Norwegian, depending on the context and sources. I drew on the notions of 'thinking with an accent' through translation and re-assemblage, or, as Homi K. Bhabha noted on decolonisation, 'where there is no single language, that's what I meant by translation'. It is, in other words, a way of continuously subverting the authority of the author with alterity (Mbembe and Bhabha, 2021). I also recorded audio field notes while walking in both Brazil and Norway. Three of the articles have been through double-blinded peer review processes, and I have received extensive feedback from Brazilian scholars in the field of geography, urban studies, ethnic and racial studies, sociology, and anthropology. This is an important part of the 'validation' process of the research. Receiving multiple rounds of feedback from three or four reviewers on articles 1 to 3 markedly improved the analysis and presentation of the findings; however, the feedback also shaped the direction of the research and what should be followed up on or abandoned. In Chapters 5 and 6, I elaborate on this aspect and explain my choice to include new theories in this extended abstract, going beyond the theories included in the published articles.

3.2.4 Ethnography with an accent

The process of ethnographic fieldwork, translation, and reading the literature in multiple languages was part of the process of learning and unlearning, an approach of 'anthropology with an accent' and thinking with an accent (Caldeira, 2000, 1; 2017). In addition to the evident accents present in languages, writing, thinking, and talking across multiple languages is the process of continuous translation. Despite encountering manifold difficulties and challenges, this time-consuming translation process provided me with the opportunity to dwell on the content and its significance in a different way than I would have working in my native language. Despite encountering language difficulties in the first phase of the research, I decided to not use an interpreter or student assistant as many other researchers have done.

Intersectional positionality (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014; Christoffersen, 2018; Schurr and Segebart, 2012; Soedirgo and Glas, 2020) and strategic positionality (Reyes, 2018) are two concepts that relate to ethnography with an accent. Being taken for a tourist, student, or journalist may put the participants at risk. Residents mobilised strategic positionality when we encountered, for instance, situations of potential conflict and tension in the street with police, army personnel, or drug traffickers. I also mobilised strategic positionality (Reyes, 2018. In some situations, it was beneficial to be taken for a student. I reflected on intersectional positionality in different contexts that shifted across time. Being a tourist, young student, neighbour, white European woman, the wife of a local teacher from the nearby asfalto, or researcher implied that I negotiated changing positionalities and mobilised strategic positionality. However, being a white European woman would also shape my relations with residents. I was visible everywhere, and people would come and ask me what I was doing there. In 2018, being taken for a tourist because of my appearance was, however, useful in terms of security, both for myself and the residents. Had I been a male Brazilian researcher, for instance, I might have been taken for an undercover police officer and approached by the traffickers. However, residents also mobilised strategic positionality during the photo walks (see section 3.2.3

and my article A1Polyhedron on residents' tactics and pathways) as illustrated in the ethnographic vignette below.

Paula, a resident in PPG who was accompanying me to the top of the elevator complex (see section 4.1), said that it was the first time that she had seen the 'dono do morro' (king of the hill, or chief of the drug-trafficking gang in the favela), and it was very strange that he had arrived all the way to the top of the elevator tower (just above the metro in Ipanema) with a group of men armed with machine guns. I managed to hide the camera, and we walked in the direction of PPG through the elevator complex. Paula showed me the infrastructure, talking about the changes that had taken place since I was there last. She spoke to me as though I were a friend that had been to PPG many times before, taking time to explain to me all the details of the elevator and tower while we walked past the armed men.

Paula continued to talk and point at the lamps and cables, saying that it was now the residents who repair the lamps, fix the cables on the roofs, and repaint where the walls had begun to peel. I asked her for more details and avoided looking into the faces of the men. We walked past them, still in conversation about the construction. We passed the alley and the next tower and walked up the stairs past the 'boca do fumo'. She showed me the playground and the 'horta' (garden) and the variety of plants and fruits that were now growing there.

It had been a strange encounter at the top of the elevator complex with the armed traffickers and their machine guns. Paula had never seen them there before, visibly exposing their arms at the top of the public metro station. After this encounter, I decided to not take the camera around anymore and insisted on only meeting residents during the day and in the main streets of PPG. This experience exemplifies the mobilising of strategic positionality and intersectionality and how they might change the relations and security of both the researcher and participants in unexpected and unforeseen ways. It would also have been more dangerous if I were a man and potential undercover police officer. In the next section, I dwell on the failures and tensions experiences in this

research project discussing encounters in the field and own research practice related to the challenges and possibilities of decolonising ethics and methodology.

3.3 Decolonising ethics, epistemology, and methodology

In this project, I firstly approached epistemology and knowledge in plural and from the perspective of what Foucault terms 'subjugated knowledges'. This refers to the need to recognise subaltern knowledges[75] or knowledges that have been oppressed, disqualified, or seen as non-scientific (Foucault, 1980a, 81–82). As the project developed over time and I discovered new theories and challenges emerging during the fieldwork, I questioned my research practices and the theories I worked with. From the beginning of my research, I endeavoured to include participants and their knowledges, thereby trying not to locate the researcher as an expert. This was in addition to a genealogical approach tracing knowledges and practices and its contingent processes that might have been oppressed or invisibilised. This aspect poses challenges as regards positionality and privilege in critical research (de Souza, 2019). In addition to recognising so-called subaltern knowledges, it is also crucial to reflect on the strategic function of the episteme as highlighted by Foucault: '(…) in any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one episteme that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in a theory or silently invested in a practice' (Foucault, 1994, 168). This aspect might, however, be challenged in the context of global, cross-national, and cross-cultural critical perspectives. As Mbembe discussed in his latest books *Brutalism* (2020a) and *Critique of Black Reason* (2017) the notion of 'becoming black of the world' points to the potential of future critical research from the south. It is relevant in the pursuit to understand emergent issues and crises in the so-called Global North and mega processes on a planetary scale (Mbembe, 2021 2020; 2017).

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[75] See Spivak (1988), Mbembe (2017), Fanon (2001), Mignolo and Walsh (2018), Mignolo (2012), and Santos (2014).

3.3.1 Situated ethics, coloniality, and positionality

It is important to note that at the university I attended in Brazil in 2011, the major references were Eurocentric. Foucault (1980a, 1998) and Deleuze (2002) and Deleuze and Guattari (2010) thus dominated the curricula. It was only later—beyond the university—that I got to know Brazilian social thought, decolonial scholars from Latin America, and black Brazilian feminist scholars such as Beatriz Nascimento (2021)[76] and Lélia Gonzalez (2019). Hence, although my starting point was a Brazilian university, this research is also a trajectory of unmasking coloniality and Eurocentrism inherent to contemporary Brazil and my own trajectory. I sought to unveil power structures and coloniality in knowledge creation in the universities and beyond as well as the processes of learning and unlearning in different locations and changing positionalities.

Knowledge creation and ethics are entangled. Who owns the knowledge is a crucial question alongside who is being listened to as well as the colonial attitude of researchers (often from the North) in the South. Souza (2019) emphasises that white middle class scholars in Brazil might condemn racism internationally, but they are nevertheless unaware of how their own colonial behaviour is often towards 'ordinary natives' such as indigenous people or black favela residents. Such aspects of coloniality are visible in the vignette from my fieldwork presented below. The South might also, in this instance, be understood beyond its geographical location. I want to highlight some of the ambivalences and frictions this created during my research and use the following episode to give an account of how this impacted my research process. I was accused of being ethnocentric while questioning the lack of consent and anonymity of a resident exposed in a vulnerable situation. Below follows a vignette from a meeting with a senior colleague

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[76] Black Brazilian feminist scholars were only recently included in my PhD project after publishing my first article. It thus became an important political positioning and narrative in my final extended abstract to reflect on the scholars who were left out during the writing and review process. See CP Cardoso (2016), Gonzalez (2019a), and Smith (2016). It is also a political act to cite black female scholars (Craven, 2021; Smith, Williams et al., 2021) and put forward the important work of black Brazilian feminists such as Lélia Gonzalez (1988) and Beatriz Nascimento (2021) who have long been overlooked in Brazil. Only in 2021 was a complete collection of Beatriz Nascimento's articles published in Portuguese (Nascimento, 2021). Articles by Beatriz Nascimento were translated into English in 2021 in *Antipode* (Smith, Davies et al., 2021).

who wanted me to collaborate with their colleague and friend who had previously conducted research in PPG. I rejected meeting up with the anthropologist and pointed out the non-anonymisation and exposure of one of the participants who had also participated in my research. There were numerous concerns as described in the vignette below:

> As none of the informants in the research were anonymised (and no information if they were or not), I could recognise most of them as community leaders and other participants in the meetings I also had attended in 2011 and 2012. I will name the participant as N. N. had expelled the anthropologist (A.) from a planned community meeting and asked A. what she would give back to the community. S., another person I recognised from the field and described as a community leader collaborating with the anthropologist as a main informant, then said that, if the anthropologist could not join, there would be no meeting as A. was invited by them.

> There were numerous ethical issues at stake: 1) N. was not anonymised. 2) The anthropologist's abuse of power when publishing the scene where they were expelled, while ridicularising N. in the manner N. was portrayed. There were good reasons to ask what the anthropologist could offer. And they could have described N. in such a manner that N. was anonymised'.

> I was told to be careful particularly as I was doing research in a non-European country (so-called periphery, and former colony); I should think of the history of anthropology and western researchers in the colonies. I said that the most important for me was to 'protect' N. as a research participant and that my senior colleague could not disqualify me because I was a foreigner. There were witnesses, and I had conferred with others (locals) as regards to my interpretations (and knew A. was also expelled from another meeting with local residents in the family clinic). I said that behaving according to these ethical standards the research would not be accepted by ethical committees in my country, or not even in Europe as such (where A. and my senior colleague also had ongoing collaborations) also due to the GDPR and requirement of informed consent oral or written to be documented. I am quite sure that N. never gave her consent, even less to be characterised in that way, as 'hysterical' and not anonymised. I knew there were ethical guidelines in Brazil too and asked how it worked there; would a committee accept a PhD thesis with these ethical standards? They responded that, if it was discovered, probably not, and that they did not know the research of the anthropologist in detail. However, they still disqualified my argument and said that I was ethnocentric and that there must have been a misunderstanding.

As explained above, my senior colleague attempted to impose a collaboration with their friend whom I had observed and questioned critically as regards research ethics following my meeting with them in the field in 2011. From my perspective, I could do this only because of my now privileged position as an employed research fellow in Norway. I was able to question the unethical behaviour and working relations of a senior colleague as a PhD student; I do not think this would have been a self-evident thing to do in many other countries. This case can be used to shed light on the multiplicity of power relations, coloniality, and situated ethics entangled in the field and beyond. I had the choice to make a complaint or leave it in the 'complaint graveyard' (Ahmed, 2021). Ahmed suggests 'Complaint as feminist pedagogy: what you are told you need to do to progress further and faster in the system is what reproduces the system' (Ahmed, 2021). As a PhD student preoccupied with situated ethics, power relations, and the dignity of research participants, I was accused by a senior colleague to be ethnocentric while questioning unethical behaviour (such as intruding in spaces without asking for consent and citing people in vulnerable situations with their names without consent). It is thus crucial to take into consideration not only the relations between researchers and participants in a research project but also encounters with other researchers in the field, the universities with networks of co-supervisors, and colleagues also embedded with coloniality and power relations. These examples reveal positionality as a 'toolbox'—a 'strategic positionality' (Reyes, 2014). Moreover, it exemplifies how positionality is entangled with ethics (see Rowley, 2014, 22), the possible colonial attitudes of researchers in the South towards their fellow residents (de Souza, 2019, 6), and the dilemmas of the im/possibilities of decolonising anthropology (Daswani, 2021), which I will further address in the following section.

A PhD student, who may be even more vulnerable to power structures in academia than established researchers, should question not only their own positionality and relationship with research participants but also how issues of coloniality, ethics, and methodology shape their research journey and publications in relation to participants, other researchers, supervisors, and even peer reviewers. These aspects may end up changing the direction of the research from any 'decolonial' aspirations many might have while

initiating a research project. Hence, it is important to consider either the researcher's ethnocentrism or Eurocentrism and the dilemmas of working with anthropological methods with decolonial aspirations. Researchers also need to further reflect on postcolonial research ethics (Tikly and Bond, 2013) and decolonial ethics challenging 'abstract global designs' in favour of 'inter-cultural dialogue' (Dunford, 2017).

3.3.2 The im/possibilities of decolonising the social sciences

It is crucial to reflect upon questions related to the im/possibilities of decolonising anthropology (Daswani, 2021), ethnography or cultural studies, and 'decolonial whiteness' (Ahmed, 2021). These include reflections on ethics, power, racism, methodologies, and knowledge production, encouraging the author to consider how 'research is theft' (Robbins, 2006, 314) and take seriously the following poem by Abhay Xaxa: 'I am not your data, I am not' (Smith, 2021, 231-232). It is important to be aware that decolonising methodologies could also reproduce the very structures it seeks to dismantle and thus unfold 'decolonial whiteness'. This is also of relevance for researchers in the area of culture studies and is the main focus of this chapter.

As stated above, working with anthropological and ethnographical methods—also in the field of culture studies—poses questions as regards difference, othering, decoloniality, and coloniality. The practice of ethnography and, for instance, conducting interviews is embedded with power asymmetries and 'othering'; the researcher is studying 'others' or 'strangers', and there is 'a structural possibility that we may not be able to read the bodies of others' (Ahmed, 2020, loc. 329). The stranger 'becomes a figure and fetish', while recognised as 'the body out of place' and the origin of danger and crime (2000, loc 512), which would also be the case for favela residents and blacks in Brazil. Researchers such as myself might behave with a certain aspect of coloniality. Researchers might use disadvantaged areas as the 'raw material' for their research (Robbins, 2006). This might, as Robbins points outs, be thought of 'research is theft' as researchers' appropriate local resources and voices (2006, 314). Writing in the field of culture studies, where the focus is often on difference and 'multiculturalism', it is important, as Ahmed states, to examine

'the ways in which contemporary discourses of globalisation and multiculturalism involve the reproduction of the figure of the stranger, and the enforcement of boundaries, through the very emphasis on becoming, hybridity and inbetweenness' (2000, loc. 460).

Arriving in Brazil without speaking the language and considering my fieldwork the 'pilot phase' of surveys and interviews reflects my own coloniality as a researcher. I came from a 'traditional discipline' wherein I was not forced to reflect on 'other belief systems' and had 'no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems' (Smith, 2012, 65)[77]. In the beginning, it appeared easier for me to distribute surveys and conduct interviews with an interview guide rather than engaging in an open dialogue based on 'relationality and relational accountability' (Wilson, 2008) and no audio or visual recording, which would align more with decolonial ethics or indigenous research paradigms drawing on conversation and sharing (Chilisa, 2021; Kovach, 2010; Wilson, 2008). At first, I did not reflect on the possibility of any alternative to informal audio or video interviews, informed consent forms, and anonymisation while distributing the surveys. This illustrates several aspects of my coloniality; however, encountering the many challenges of life in PPG and observing and talking with people both informally and in the context of structured interviews, I realised that I had put residents in a situation of discomfort. Recording audio or video in a more formalised context such as sitting at a table in an office, my flat, or in

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[77] Only after completing the fieldwork did I include decolonising methodologies in my project and reflect on the coloniality and decoloniality that unfolded in my research project across a fractured decade. As I was wrapping up my research, I was reflecting further on my positionality and coloniality in the research process and fieldwork. Although I did not 'apply' decolonising methods or aim explicitly to adopt decolonising methodologies following, for instance, Smith (2015), it has been a very important process reflecting 'backwards' on my learning and unlearning in dialogue with scholarship on decolonising methodologies and epistemologies (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005; Cleaver, 2020; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008) and decolonial thoughts and praxis (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo and Walsh, 2018; Quijano, 2007). However, researchers have also emphasised that directly 'applying' a decolonial approach without looking for alternatives might end up reproducing structures that decolonising methodologies aim to dismantle. Even if I did not explicitly posit my research as 'decolonial' or follow decolonial thoughts and decolonising methodologies, it might nevertheless align with decolonial thought and decolonising methodologies (Smith, 2015) and even with Mbembe who might be classified as a postcolonial researcher. Despite their differences on many aspects, thinking through and with these approaches while aiming for social justice, decolonising (which has often been used as a buzz word and does not necessarily signify a diverse curricula) has been crucial in my research. An introduction to decolonising methodologies would be of relevance for any PhD student (Hogan and Topkok, 2015).

a public building, in contrast to sitting on the ground in the street or asking people to fill out surveys meant that many would ask me 'is this what you want?' or 'is this answer ok?'. Some even asked others to write out the answers for them. I quickly realised that this was not the way I ought to proceed and thereafter engaged in more informal conversations and walks where some residents also would express criticism to the UPP in contrast to what they had said in the recorded interview or survey. Walking and taking photographs with the participants changed the power relations between us. I was no longer the one who guided the conversations, so residents were engaged in telling stories about their community, the forced evictions they had faced, and stories about the police when we met UPP officers along the way. They would otherwise tell me about incidents that had occurred. An example of this is one such account from 2018 when the situation was quite tense, and we had just passed some armed traffickers. Pedro, a resident from PPG said: 'Look at the police driving up the hill. They're getting out of the car. Why do you think they stopped the car and got out so quickly?' I observed the police jumping quickly out of the car, pointing their weapons towards each side of the road while walking up the steep hill. I was a bit tense, worried they would come in our direction, and we were at that point just in front of the armed traffickers. I suspected that it was the beginning of a police operation. The resident laughed and said that this happens often; their cars are in bad condition, and they have no money to repair them. After the economic crisis, the police have damaged cars that often break down with no gasoline. There had been no police operation; the car was simply unable to drive up the steep hill with four UPP police officers inside, so they had to jump out and walk up the rest of the way. I also laughed and realised that my gaze as a tourist was more focused on spectacular and visible conflicts than on the veiled daily practices and knowledge about everyday life in the favela. Residents had to explain these elements to me.

3.3.3 Ethical considerations, privacy, and anonymity

This section will further discuss aspects of ethics, anonymisation, and consent. I recognise the importance of anonymisation when people may be at risk (Wilson, 2008). This is a difficult thing to gauge because a situation might change over time. In the following

section, I discuss questions related to consent, ethics, privacy, and anonymisation in greater detail. I chose to include one article with participatory photography where participants were not anonymised (A1Polyhedron); the participants' names accompanied their photos according to their suggestions (Chilisa, 2021). However, I did not include the participants' surnames. Sensitive information related to racism, police, corruption, and drug trafficking discussed in the other articles were treated with caution in order to anonymise the residents' identities (Wilson, 2008). This was the result of me trying to navigate a situated and flexible approach to ethics with numerous negotiations. On previous occasions, residents had been upset about researchers who came to the area for a short time and published their books internationally but did not even cite them or give anything back to the community. This made the dilemma even more difficult.

It was a huge challenge to obtain the validation of The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), which is a national resource centre servicing the research community to ensure that researchers apply for ethical validation of their research projects mostly related to formal regulations on consent, privacy, data storage, etc. There were numerous challenges in validating my research project in Norway in 2018 in the following aspects: 1) using the ethnographic material from 2011 to 2013 that I collected with no institutional connection to Norway while living in Brazil and Italy. It was the first time that the NSD had to deal with such a request. 2) It was difficult to obtain acceptance from the NSD to not anonymise some of the participants although it had been their own request. I argued for non-anonymisation by pointing to the relevant literature and aspects of recognition and dignity as an important aspect of doing research in a community where it was quite common that researchers come and never 'give something back'. Residents complained they were 'not even cited by name'. 3) Another challenge in my contact with the NSD was that according to the guidelines, I needed to obtain written informed consent from the participants. I argued that in many cases, it would not be in the interest of the participants. Forcing them to sign such a document may end up doing them harm. Further, forcing this upon people who did not know how to read or write formal letters or were afraid to be forced to sign any document in the context of forced evictions in PPG seemed unethical. It was thus difficult to obtain acceptance for a more easily

understandable informed consent form. The NSD finally accepted oral consent if I recorded the discussion and informed consent was given orally. However, the NSD thus had to change their guidelines and discuss all these aspects in internal meetings. I discussed the possibility of signing informed consent forms with one of the residents of the favela who has a university degree. She said I should not ask for participants' signatures, as some people had had bad experiences in being forced to sign documents by local authorities.

Going beyond what is expected or what is standard procedure in research institutions and ethical committees unveils the complexities of working with a situated ethics (Rowley, 2014). The mechanisms that are established to protect participants in research could also be harmful and should thus be revised critically. The solution I found meant that I filled in the forms in discussion with the residents on whether they wanted to appear in the research with their names attached or have their photo published in a journal, conference, and so on. I recorded our discussions but did not ask for their signatures. I said that they could contact me at any time if they changed their minds. I provided printed documents of both the forms and a more easily understandable information sheet. In such cases where it was not possible to record the conversations (due to security reasons, for example), I filled in the forms and sent them to residents via WhatsApp messages and then asked if they agreed with each of the previously discussed sections in the consent form. If there were any doubts, I made sure to contact them about it at a later stage. In the end, I decided not to anonymise articles A1Polyhedron and A4Field so that the participants could get their names printed below the photos they had taken. As stated above, this was different for articles two and three, which I decided to anonymise due to the higher risk and sensitivity of the data.

However, wrapping up this study in the extended abstract revealed some visible dilemmas and contradictions, which may be particular to an article-based PhD thesis. As noted, in Norway, the guidelines on ethics and especially privacy are fairly restrictive, with particular sensitivity to the risk of informant identities being exposed. As discussed above, at the request of informants, I decided not to anonymise informant identities in my first

article, thus allowing residents to claim recognition and acknowledgment for their participation and photos. However, I had to anonymise informants in articles 2 and 4, which dealt with racism and police violence. Providing more information about their individual histories may have exposed their identities through a cross-examination of articles. In conducting my PhD, I could not risk exposing the identities of informants who spoke about sensitive issues, such as racism, religion, and police violence. Consequently, despite my aim to share their stories and amplify their voices, there is limited information on the participants. Retrospectively, opting for anonymisation from the outset may have allowed for the inclusion of much more personal information, which would also have served as a form of recognition.

These dilemmas and contradictions have been important throughout the project, and explain why I included more ethnographic material on women and resistance in the extended abstract (chapter 4) and black feminist theory from Brazil, as well as an extended discussion of ethics and the researcher's role. Although I do not think this issue is resolved, I hope that these experiences may be beneficial to other PhD students or researchers writing article-based PhD projects. The purpose of the extended abstract is to add self- reflections and identify limitations in addition to discussing methods, ethics, and theory. However, I recognise that there may be a contradiction between my aim of including black feminist theory and the experience of women's resistance, which I did not include in my articles, where I expanded on theories by writers like Foucault, Fanon, and Mbembe. As I did not manage to write an article about this, it constitutes a study limitation. There is also a dilemma in the prominence of my 'voice' in the narrative of my extended abstract, particularly insofar as I wish to elucidate the history and resistance of residents.

Because the context in the communities is critical as regards security, violence, and human rights, it was extremely important to make visible the voices of the participants. Further, it was necessary to make sure that the research represented the participants with dignity as well as ensuring their protection and avoiding any potential risks

In many cases, I felt that my presence in those spaces in 2018 posed a risk to some residents, as in the case when a participant and I suddenly met the 'dono do morro' and only just managed to hide the camera in time (see section 3.2.4). I recounted this moment to a relative of mine and said that I had decided not to go to PPG in the last three days of my time in Rio. 'I don't want to put residents at risk', I said. 'You already are', he responded.

Therefore, the issue of putting residents at risk (in addition to the researcher's safety) should be examined further. I was not prepared well enough to deal with these changes in the field as I had not met armed people or gang members during the first phase of the fieldwork.

3.3.4 Intimacy, ethics, and positionality

Another aspect of power relations, ethics, and positionality involved in participatory research is related to intimacy and family relations. I lived close to the favela and walked on the streets daily. I bought lunch, or a 'quentinha', everyday from the favela while living in Rio and informally spoke to the residents over many years. Residing on the street with access to the favela provided me with both possibilities and challenges, as will be discussed in the following section. I also ended up going to dance lessons at night with a woman who participated in my project. She was single and did not have anyone to go with her, and so she insisted that I joined. When I decided that I would join, I met other neighbours there. I danced with my neighbouring security guard and other residents in the favela. After going to some of these dance lessons at night, my husband was harassed in the street by a man who screamed at him that his wife was dancing in the favela alone at night.

> On one night, I was supposed to go for dance lessons in Cantagalo with one of the participants in this project. I learned that my husband had been humiliated in the street by a resident from the favela on his way to picking up food from a small restaurant (where we had been going for years). The man shouted aloud, 'your wife is cheating on you!' ('sua mulher está te traindo!'). My husband responded, giving him the possibility to change his word: 'you mean where she is, she is with S. at the moment?' (*'você quer dizer, ela está indo para onde'*)? The man replied, 'no, she is cheating

on you' ('*não, ela está te traindo*'). My husband replied that he knew that I was having a meeting with S. Now, you could write for *Dia* (a tabloid newspaper) with such stories.

This was probably because I had been seen walking with different men or having lunch at that time further up the street with S. in addition to going dancing in the favela at night. I decided that it was safer to not go to the favela or to the dance lessons alone at night anymore; my husband did not want to go to the favela in 2018 anyway while the situation was so tense with daily shootouts. Being Brazilian, he could also easily be taken for a resident or an undercover police officer.

As such, there are challenges to being a woman, walking alone in the favela at night, and being seen with other men alone (despite the fact that we were doing interviews). Living close to the favela, trying to frequent and socialise with residents, eating in the same places, and going to events and dance lessons has turned out to be difficult. It may be due to the intimacy, the laidback relations, and living in a more mixed working-class street that the resident felt that he could openly humiliate my husband and indirectly saying that I was a 'puta' (bitch). Such confrontations could lead to physical assault. Thus, in order to avoid any escalation of the conflict, I decided to not go out alone anymore and not at night at all to avoid being seen alone again with the two men I had interviewed. One of them must hand back the camera to me on Sunday and so it might be better to meet him around the corner in a cafe with my husband.

Living close to the favela where I am doing my fieldwork, frequenting the same places at different times during the day, and being a woman that's married to a Brazilian (who is sometimes perceived as being from the favela due to his appearance), we felt that some of our social control was at stake in the favela. This tension was reproduced in our social relations when we attempted to frequent some of the places we had gone to so many times over the years (Field notes, August 2, 2018).

The man in the street had also commented that he had seen me with other men in the favela. I could not make it public knowledge in any encounter that I was a researcher; it was not a good idea amid the tense situation of 2018, and so I was taken as a student, tourist, or even a student who had lived here many years ago. At this time, I was nearing the end of my fieldwork in 2018, and I decided to discontinue the dance lessons at night as it affected the safety of my family. This incident revealed certain aspects of intersectionality, gender, intersectional and strategic positionality, and social control. If I had been living there with a foreign husband and did not stay around for a long time, nobody would have questioned my movements. But married to a Brazilian living close by,

becoming intimate with residents across many years, talking informally in the street, and buying 'quentinha' or lunch made me the object of other residents' close scrutiny. As Degen (2008) points out,

> The lived is a unifying place, which encompasses the conceived and perceived through personal perceptions and relations. It is the space in which the micro-relations of power are played out in everyday life, the tangible space of domination and resistance (loc. 425).

This moment could come across as an unexpected failure. It may have affected the methods I used and my relationships with my family and my neighbours who witnessed the incident. Nevertheless, the incidents revealed how intersectionality can 'shed light on "blind spots" concerning the politics of fieldwork' and how 'academic knowledge production is embedded in struggles for symbolic power' (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014, 273). Hence, 'examining the sensory politics in urban environments helps to reveal more subtle forms of power that are transmitted and experienced through cultural practices' (Degen, 2008, loc. 260). However, this unexpected incident also indicated how intersectionality highlights 'relevant dimensions of social power and domination that situate research partners and researchers in social space' (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014, 273). The incident also provided access to reflections on multiple layers of social relations, social control, and the limits of ethnographical intimacy within the neighbourhood (Caldeira, 2018).

3.4 Genealogy, ontology, and epistemology

This section presents my reflections on the ontological and epistemological foundations of my project that emerged from a genealogical approach.

3.4.1 Genealogy and writing an ontology of the present

> What is present reality? What is the present field of our experiences? Here it is not a question of the analytic of truth but involves what could be called an ontology of the present, of present reality, an ontology of modernity, an ontology of ourselves (Foucault, 2010, 21).

What Foucault describes here as an ontology of the present fosters a critical examination of our present that draws on genealogy, a term he borrows from Nietzsche (2013). Foucault's aim is not to seek the origins of truth but to investigate how contemporary phenomena, institutions, or practices that have emerged out of struggles, conflicts, and power relations are in many cases forgotten (Garland, 2014, 372).

Garland (2014, 370) points out that on a superficial level, Foucault's approach might resemble Kuhn's 'paradigm shifts' in the history of science (1996). Although Kuhn focuses on discontinuity and structural difference, his emphasis is on a shared understanding of communities of scientists and the 'social processes of acculturation and replication' (Garland, 2014, 379), whereas Foucault focuses on the 'unconscious operation of historically specific epistemological structures that function as the unthought conditions of possibility of specific ways of thinking and of generating statements' (Garland, 2014, 370–371). Foucault's work since the mid-1970s developed from a focus on archaeology to that on genealogy, a term that he borrows from Nietzsche. Foucault's work can be seen as a new 'genealogy of morals', and in this context, a 'historico-critical genealogical approach' develops in his writings as a 'history of the present' (Garland, 2014, 371).

Foucault criticises Kant's focus on difference and comparisons between today and yesterday (Patton, 2014, 102–103). Although Foucault's 'history of the present' and critical investigation of the present can be traced back to Kant, he rejects the notion of universal truths; instead, he is preoccupied with questions of truth and subjectivation in terms of power struggles, deviations, hazards, and what has been omitted or forgotten. It is important to note that when Foucault writes a history of the present, he does not read present phenomena or cultural meanings back into history (Garland, 2014, 367) but aims at a diagnosis of the present. I have thus adopted Foucault's approach in this research project. In an interview, Foucault explains: 'I set out from a problem expressed in the terms current today and I try to work out its genealogy. Genealogy means that I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present' (Garland, 2014, 367; Kritzman, 1988). The question is thus, as Foucault notes, 'to make visible all those discontinuities that cross us' (Foucault, 2007, 350). A genealogy 'seeks to re-establish the various

systems of subjection: not the anticipatory power of meaning but the hazardous play of dominations' (Foucault, 1984, 83).

In the words of Foucault:

> Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents (1984, 81).

I draw on residents' experiences and perceptions to write an ontology of the present concerned with a diagnosis of the present situation in PPG, drawing on a genealogical approach. Where Foucault is concerned with the archive, I am drawing on genealogy in the context of multi-phase ethnography of residents' experiences with the pacification process.

3.4.2 Genealogy, knowledges, the missing masses, and failure

> Writing has nothing to do with signifying. It has to do with surveying, mapping, even realms that are yet to come (Deleuze and Guattari, 2010, 5).

Drawing on genealogy and seeking to analyse the present and changing experiences of residents living with the UPP in their neighbourhoods, this project is also an analysis that goes 'backwards into futury' (Koopman, 2013, 140), unfolding the unforeseen or polyhedral, concerned with what is veiled and takes deviation, or, as Deleuze and Guattari (2010) suggest, 'what is yet to come'.

Foucault states the following:

> A genealogy should be seen as a kind of attempt to emancipate historical knowledges from that subjection, to render them, that is, capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse. It is based on a reactivation of local knowledges—of minor knowledges, as Deleuze might call them—in opposition to the scientific hierarchisation of knowledges and the effects intrinsic to their power (Foucault, 1980, 85).

The term 'subjugated knowledges', which Foucault, following Deleuze, refers to as minor knowledges, has been criticised by Nascimento. She states, 'I disagree that there is a definitive desire to be minoritarian' (B. Nascimento in Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 309), and proclaims, 'So I accept the challenge. I hope to deliver a text in a "minor tongue". I free myself from any blame for pretence that this could contain' (307). She emphasises that after years of research and activism, she came to a personal rejection of everything European and western thoughts that had been a part of her training (306).

> This has accompanied a desire for a rupture with strictly scientific thought. This puts me in an ambivalent position: even as this thought fascinates me (I have been socialised in it, I cannot escape it), I reject it as being premised on colonisation. I turn to Clarice Lispector's words—an author who has influenced me a great deal—"To write is my freedom" (306).

These discussions shed light on the complexities of Beatriz Nascimento being a black feminist, activist, and intellectual trained in European-centred 'western rationalist thought' in a Brazilian context. Her thoughts align with the decolonising struggle in a Southern Atlantic context. However, Nascimento opted for a transatlantic struggle by drawing on the notion of the quilombo[78], which also challenges binary thoughts and an emphasis placed on difference. On the contrary, much of the decolonial scholarship comprises a complete rejection of Eurocentric scholars such as Deleuze and Foucault. In her writing and cinematic cartographies, Nascimento also expresses the kind of genealogical approach seen in her film *Ori* (1989), directed by Raquel Gerber.

I suggest that genealogy opens for going beyond the binary opposition of North and South[79], emphasising both a plurality of discontinuous knowledges and epistemologies

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[78] For more information on the quilombos, see p. 30 and footnote 21.

[79] Scholars have pointed out the inadequacy of such terms. See Müller (2018) and Yetiskul and Demirel (2018). However, I recognise the importance of Southern Urbanism and Southern Atlantic thoughts while not only focusing on differences but aiming for a transatlantic dialogue. I recognise the relevance of the 'becoming black of the world' and the Southern Atlantic emerging from the thoughts of Beatriz Nascimento.

that have been masked or disqualified. However, to analyse Foucault's thoughts on subjugated knowledges that draw on genealogy would imply unfolding the unsaid hierarchisation of knowledge inherent in his writing, wherein he refers to low-ranking knowledges aligned with minor knowledges, as stated by Deleuze. Nascimento's reflections thus hint at how genealogy might be useful in a critical study on the scholarship of Foucault or Deleuze. As other prominent scholars who have theorised on knowledges and cultures have overlooked or silenced aspects of racism and colonialism, social classifications and hierarchisation of cultures, knowledges, and people have been crucial in legitimating scientific racism and colonialism. These aspects are still relevant today where racism is increasingly centred on culture and 'biological justifications of racism are re-emerging' (Mbembe, 2016b).

In the area of culture studies, Geertz draws on Weber and conceives man as: 'an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning' (Geertz, 1973, 5). Drawing on Geertz's approach to culture as a 'web of significance', I add Latour's emphasis that 'the empty spaces "in between" the networks, those *terra incognita* (…) show the extent of our ignorance and the immense reserve that is open to change' (1999, 19). In addition to viewing culture as a dynamic net or web of significance, I argue that we should analyse discontinuities, 'missing masses', power, and politics embedded in these webs. Latour notes that, 'To every action I have described so far, you have to add an immense repertoire of missing masses. They are needed to balance the accounts, but they are missing' (Latour, 2007, 245).

However, I will argue that there are problematic elements to this approach, namely in how an anthropologist can gain access to and describe such webs or networks. I argue that both Geertz and Latour fail to account for this aspect. Drawing on Latour, one might add the aspect of power and politics, which is a limitation in Geertz's 'thick description' (1973), which alludes to how the anthropologist should include descriptions and interpretations of situations and social contexts while compiling ethnographic vignettes.

However, Latour fails to account for issues of racism and gender. My suggestion here is that Foucault's conception of power and genealogy provides the means for an analysis that also takes into account the 'missing masses', the unsaid, and discontinuity. However, there are certain limits to ethnography, anthropology, and the study of 'others' with the emergence of the conception of culture as part of the social classification of people and practices. It results in the subordination of certain groups, which is a practice inherent to the legitimation of the colonial project and scientific racism.

This is thus an important element to the discussion on the im/possibility of decolonising anthropology (Daswani, 2021) or ethnography, which is also relevant for my study, which aligns with a decolonial praxis (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018) or decolonising[80] pedagogies. These are, however, criticised by Tuck and Yang as producing 'settler moves to innocence' that aim to alleviate guilt without actually supporting 'the repatriation of Indigenous land and life' (2012). Despite aiming for social change and racial justice, including residents as participants in the co-creation of knowledges, this research illustrates both the limits and im/possibilities of decolonising ethnography. It sheds light on the deviations, tensions, and experiences of failure. For a certain time I left this project behind as an abandoned idea (Sjøvoll et al., 2020). After the first phase of the research project, I felt an emerging sense of shame, not only for myself as a researcher, my career, and the non-completion of a project, but also, most importantly, for what I had 'promised' the residents. I had ideally aimed for transformation and social justice, and to create a participatory digital mapping platform entitled 'Quilombo Virtual'. I had aimed that residents would get the opportunity to share and upload photos, stories, and narratives as well as receive copies of my dissertation and publications and be invited to the viva in Brazil. This never happened, and it haunted me for years. However, I believe that many researchers working with participatory methods aiming for social change, transformation, justice, and

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[80] It is important to be aware of the often superficial adoption of the language of decolonisation. Decolonising is more than 'diversity' or a diverse curricula: '*Decolonizing Methodologies* is an invitation to stimulate the work that is possible for research when we as researchers decolonize our minds, our discourses, our understandings, our practices and our institutions' (Smith, 2021, 13). See also Tuck and Yang (2012).

decolonising ethnography struggle with the tensions and contradictions inherent in research, which, in most cases, is hampered by limited time, the pressure of publishing, peer review constraints, expectations from funding agencies, and conflicting interests amongst supervisors, colleagues, researchers, and residents. These factors make this task very challenging. Further, within the university space, there are multiple challenges as regards critical research with decolonising aspirations. I experienced this in relation to my colleagues and professors and the university where I initiated the research. I was told to not be too critical in my research, as my project was affiliated with a Brazilian university. Issues of racism were uncomfortable for me to discuss at the time, and I continued my ethnographic research but did not make a complaint (Ahmed, 2021) as I was dependent on the fellowship and I was, ultimately, a foreigner. As Sjøvoll et al. (2020) point out:

> To acknowledge the abandoned, the failure, to keep mentioning it, can provide us with gentler emotional geographies, but perhaps also more imaginative geographies, geographies that offer us the space we need to continue to think, feel, make and care. To do so is in our opinion to open up for generating different practices, practices that are highly needed in our current climate of conformity, constant evaluation and streamlined efficiency (6).

To recognise these uncomfortable tensions, or geographies of failure are thus important to reflect on while wrapping up this project, particularly while working with participatory methods and aiming for a 'decolonial praxis'. These discomforts here are mine, in difference to the discomfort of others as I have commented above in the meeting with the elder women in front of their families.

3.4.3 Learning and unlearning—thinking otherwise

Mbembe (2021) proposes an alternative decolonising or epistemological project oriented towards the future: in challenging the 'devenir afrique du monde', which does not refer to the geographical location of Africa, he suggests a planetary humanism. This also aligns with black Brazilian feminists Beatriz Nascimento on the 'quilombo' (2021) and Lélia Gonzalez on 'Amefricanity' (1988) both of whom emphasise the role of gender and black women, a group otherwise overlooked in Mbembe's work on necropolitics. The theories of Gonzalez expand on Afro-Brazilian and indigenous thoughts and practices by women

in Latin America but orientate them towards the future. Gonzalez takes these ideas beyond indigenous, pre-colonial, and contemporary African-American (referring to the American continent) experiences and practices of resistance.

Although I initiated this project drawing on Foucault, who has been criticised for failing to conduct an analysis of power and racism in slavery and colonialism, I would, as per Beatriz Nascimento or Achille Mbembe, not reject so-called western thought outright but rather engage in dialogue with it. Accordingly, this project analyses the intertwined practices of coloniality, resistance, and knowledges oriented towards the future with a focus on dialogue and not on difference or the idealisation of indigenous and pre-colonial thought. However, in the context of Brazil, drawing on Nascimento and Gonzalez opens the possibility for a rehumanisation of black people, the black woman, and Afro-Brazilian cultural practices that have been dehumanised through physical, social, and cultural lynching and whitening (Nascimento, 1989) for centuries.

Following my reflections on ethics, methodology, epistemology, and ontology—backwards into futurity—I now return to the learning and unlearning processes in the field. In the circular structure of this chapter, which started with my experiences in the field, I will now make a detour to discuss on the ethnographic vignettes from PPG and participatory photography in Chapter 4, which shaped my research questions and direction of 'thinking otherwise' before I move on to the theoretical landscape in Chapter 5.

4   Intermezzo: Walking with residents

This chapter is omitted from the online version due to embargo.

5   Theoretical landscape

As described in the introduction, the theoretical landscape of this research journey was shaped alongside my in situ ethnographic fieldwork in PPG while I attended the university in Rio. This journey emerged from the theories on power postulated by Foucault. His articles happened to be the first I read in the classes I attended at the university from 2011 to 2012. I read the articles in Portuguese and translated them to English; otherwise, I searched for French translations because, at the time, I was still learning Portuguese. I only encountered Brazilian sociologists, theories on decoloniality by Latin American scholars such as Mignolo and Quijano, and black feminist Brazilian scholars such as Beatriz Nascimento later in my research journey, where they became very important. My journey thus allowed me to recognise the Eurocentrism of the largely white Brazilian academia. This theoretical development is particularly significant, because it parallels everyday power dynamics in Brazilian society, shedding light on the racism, coloniality, social inequalities, and 'epistemicide' (Carneiro, 2005)—and the cultural and social lynching of Afro-Brazilian through whitening (Nascimento, 1989)—inherent to Brazilian society.

This chapter discuss theories on power, coloniality and resistance, establishing a dialogue between Southern Atlantic, decolonial and poststructuralist thoughts. Rather than leaving out euro-centric scholars, I establish a dialogue between theories on power, racism and resistance, drawing on scholars who have been crucial at different moments in this research trajectory, both in writing up the articles and this extended abstract. I begin with theories on power, biopolitics, and 'dispositifs' (Foucault, 2004; 1980); second, I discuss racism (Appiah, 1993; Foucault, 2004; Gilroy, 2001; Mbembe, 2017; Munanga, 2012), necropolitics (Mbembe, 2003), coloniality of power (Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2008), and borderising bodies (Mbembe, 2019a); third, I discuss everyday cultural practices and (transatlantic) resistance by drawing on the theories of Brazilian Black feminists scholars Beatriz Nascimento (2020) on the quilombo, and Lélia Gonzalez on Amefricanidade (1988) in dialogue with theories by postcolonial and culture studies scholars on Afropolitanism (Mbembe, 2021) and the Black Atlantic (Gilroy, 1993).

5.1 A genealogy of powers and (de)coloniality

In this section, I draw on reflections discussed in Chapter 3.4 on genealogy, power, and coloniality. Despite predominantly drawing on Southern Atlantic, postcolonial, or decolonial scholars in this extended abstract, examining the work of Foucault as well allows for an epistemological discussion on coloniality and Eurocentrism also present in the Brazilian academy and, as discussed in Chapter 3, the im/possibilities of decolonising the social sciences. This approach allows the researcher 'to not stand in one place' (Newell and Pype, 2021, 5; Nyamnjoh, 2020, 13, who draws on Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God* (2016)) by following one theoretical approach. Instead, this approach leads one to engage with multiple theoretical approaches over time and evaluate their gaps and contradictions.

5.1.1 Genealogy and the dispositif

In trying to understand and recognise subaltern (Spivak, 1988) voices, masked or disqualified knowledge, Foucault suggests that the term 'subjugated knowledges' is most appropriate. However, Foucault has been criticised for Eurocentrism and the 'whitewashing of the raciality and coloniality of modern power and violence' (Howell and Richter-Montpetit, 2019). Thus, drawing on decolonial scholarship is crucial in highlighting the entanglement of coloniality and modernity. It draws attention to the emergency of the racist categorisation of Africans and the indigenous as non-human, a viewpoint that legitimised slavery. The decolonial literature reveals the relation between race and labour as central to the coloniality of power since the time of the colonial conquests. Hence, a genealogical reading of Foucault allows for an examination into the notion of coloniality in and beyond Brazil. Although decolonial scholarship is important in this project, it imposes certain limitations in the attempt to distancing itself from western scholarship. Despite decolonial scholarship's focus on non-western and pre-colonial indigenous thought (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018), many prominent scholars draw on male European authors and engage very little with contemporary black feminism from Latin America, for instance. The Eurocentric and western, American, Anglophone, and Spanish

education of many of the decolonial scholars such as Walsh and Mignolo is discussed, though scarcely, in their scholarship, despite engaging with concepts such as the 'locus of enunciation', which relates to 'the disciplinary, geocultural, and ideological space from which discourses of power and resistance are elaborated' (Moraña, Dussel, and Jáuregui 2008, 3).

As Foucault points out, the question is thus to capture 'those discontinuities that cross us' (2007, 350). They are unveiled in the context of writing a theoretical trajectory, conducting ethnography, and living in a changing 'pacified' urban space and witnessing the strategies, micro-powers, resistances, tactics, spatial practices, and knowledges of everyday life.

A critical genealogical approach merged with multi-phase ethnography, allows us to analyse the actualisation, reproduction, and de-codification of forms of racism appearing in everyday life in the city over time.

The notion of the dispositif as posited by Foucault is useful in the analysis of dynamics of power dealing with the so-called 'favela problem' in Brazil. In my first article (A1 Polyhedron), I draw on the notion of the dispositif. Although pacification/militarisation in Brazil has a centuries-long history of targeting blacks and favela residents, as a 'changing same' (see A3UPP), different dispositifs such as 'pacification', 'whitening', and 'racial democracy' unfolded and manifested itself as matrices containing as much the 'said and unsaid' with polyhedral qualities that are mobilised at specific moments with a strategic function. Foucault offers the following definition of the dispositif (apparatus)[98]:

> What I am trying to pick out with this term is, firstly a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus [dispositif]. The apparatus [dispositif] itself is the system of relations that can be established

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[98] English translations of Foucault sometimes translate 'dispositif' (in French) to 'apparatus'. The later translations more frequently use the term dispositif in English. See a comment by Deleuze on this concept, where the title is translated as 'dispositif [apparatus]' (Deleuze, 2014).

between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connections that can exist between these heterogenous elements. Thus, a particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution, and at another it can function as a means of justifying or making a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality. In short, between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary widely. Thirdly, I understand by the term 'apparatus' a sort of—shall we say—formation which has its major function at a given historical moment corresponding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function (Foucault, 1980, 194–195).

The dispositif, as coined by Foucault, has been applied as a concept analysing how subjects are controlled by dispositifs of control (Frost, 2019). Although few studies have applied the concept in the study of cities, it has mostly been used as a technical analytical tool to analyse spatial control and urban planning (Håndlykken-Luz, 2019, 1324; Pløger, 2008). This could also imply that it might be strategically important to work the dispositif from the other side, through the marginalised—as exemplified by Deleuze, who asks, 'Couldn't we cite apparatuses [dispositifs] where subjectification no longer goes through aristocratic life or the aestheticised existence of free men but through the marginalised existence of the "excluded"?' (Deleuze, 2014, 128). It is thus important to go beyond the dispositif and genealogy that is theoretically discussed here. In the context of Brazil, it is important to note how Brazilian scholars respond to these theories and how Eurocentric scholarship is dominant in the universities. Most importantly, it is necessary to examine how residents in the favelas, who are seen as threats and are subsequently marginalised, challenge the dispositifs of security and control, such as the pacification programme, and thus investigate unforeseen facets, everyday practices, and resistance (see A1Polyhedron).

5.1.2 Biopolitics, necropolitics, and racism

Following the concepts of Foucault's biopolitics and disciplinary power in combination with Mbembe's concept of necropolitics (2003) enables an understanding of the complex interplay of power in police pacification and police violence. Biopolitics deals with the

control of the population across health, security, sexuality, economy, and race-war matrices. In Brazil, the black population is controlled by biopolitical mechanisms, which amount to socio-spatial control. It is a process that draws on racialisation, where blacks, and black women in particular, are at the bottom of the social pyramid with regard to life expectancy, health, income, education, incarceration etc. Mbembe conceived necropolitics as 'the reading of politics as the work of death' that controls who dies (Mbembe, 2003, 16). The pacification programme as a dispositif—presented as an inclusive urban politics providing rights and full citizenship to residents—clearly draws on biopolitics; however, the extreme level of militarisation and police violence reveals disciplinary power in combination with necropolitics where blacks are seen as unworthy of life or as disposable bodies 'to let die' (Foucault, 2004, 241).

Referring to medicine, smallpox, and vaccination practices, Foucault states, 'What is involved is the emergence of technologies of security within mechanisms that are either specifically mechanisms of social control, as in the case of the penal system, or mechanisms with the function of modifying something in the biological destiny of the species' (Foucault, 2007, 10). Favela residents and poor Afro-Brazilian populations have historically been targeted by a variety of mechanisms, illustrated by the hygiene reforms and forced vaccinations that led to the 1904 uprising and 'vaccine revolts' in Rio (Andrews, 2004, 120). Further examples include the penal system incarcerating blacks en masse, or, more recently, the suggestion that abortion should be allowed in the favelas (see section 2.1). All these biopolitical mechanisms target favela residents in the context of necropolitical violence in an anti-black city (Alves, 2018). Biopolitical practices can also be found in relation to urban 'problems': 'some of biopolitics' starting points, some of its practices and the first of its domains of intervention, knowledge and power: biopolitics will derive its knowledge from and define its power's field of intervention in terms of the birth rate, mortality rate, various biological disabilities, and the effects of the environment' (Foucault, 2004, 245). The favelas and the Afro-Brazilian population have been placed in such a biopolitical regime and suffer under interventions and 'civilizing' pedagogies, also and specifically directed towards blacks since the time of slavery, and towards the indigenous population since the first colonial occupations. Hence, in order

to study the durability of coloniality (Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2007) and the physical, social and cultural lynching of blacks in Brazil (Nascimento, 1989), it is crucial to investigate how racism operated in Brazil historically and how it is re-actualised in new forms (see A2Racism). The enduring legacy of colonialism and the coloniality of power manifested in pacification/militarisation must then be analysed genealogically. Instead of focusing on the linear legacy of colonialism, it is crucial to investigate the re-actualisation of racism at present, displayed through everyday practices, insecurity programmes, and necropolitical violence targeted at the urban 'undesirable' poor. According to Mbembe:

> It does not matter that race does not actually exist as such, and not only because of the extraordinary genetic homogeneity of human beings. It continues to produce its effects of mutilation because from the beginning it is, and always will be, that for which and in whose name the hyphens at the center of society are created, warlike relationships established, colonial relationships regulated, and people distributed and locked up. The lives and presence of such people are considered symptoms of a delimited condition (2017, 34).

According to Fanon (1967), 'race' is socially structured and a process constructed in the social world. Correspondingly, as Fanon notes, 'the social constellation, the cultural whole, is deeply modified by the existence of racism' (1994, 36). This is in line with Appiah (1993) and Mbembe (2017), who describe 'race' as a fiction that nevertheless has real and tangible effects today as we 'live in amongst racialised structures of social meaning' (Erasmus, 2017, loc. 199). Race 'is what makes it acceptable to categorise abstractly in order to stigmatise, disqualify morally, and eventually imprison or expel. It is the mechanism through which a group is reified' (Mbembe, 2017, 35). The way in which racism takes form in Brazil is also described as 'a perfect crime' (Håndlykken-Luz, 2020; Munanga 2012; see A2Racism).

As Foucault points out: 'racism is bound up with the working of a State that is obliged to use race, the elimination of races and the purification of the race, to exercise its sovereign power. The juxtaposition of—or the way biopower functions through—the old sovereign power of life and death implies the workings, the introduction and activation of racism' (Foucault, 2004, 258). According to Foucault, the 'sovereignty's old right—to take life or

let live'—was not replaced but complemented with an opposite right: 'the power to "make" live and "let" die' (241). This new strategy of the state to 'make' live and 'let die' are related to the biopolitics of seeking to control the masses of the population through regularisation. echniques of intervention and control require data about the population, and the object of knowledge was then turned to 'a set of processes such as the ratio of births to deaths, the rate of reproduction, the fertility of a population and so on' (243). The city plays an important role in controlling the population and dealing with the emergence of new techniques of power. The policing and spatial control of cities are crucial in disciplinary regimes to control the behaviour of individual bodies (251). With emerging biopolitics, 'urban reforms'—including regulations and interventions in sanitation, health, and medicine, legitimated by 'scientific' discourse—became crucial in the socio-spatial control over former slaves and the Afro-Brazilian population occupying central areas of Rio de Janeiro in the emerging favelas in the 1890s.

The rhetoric of seeking to justify 'urban reforms' and social cleansing with arguments of health, sanitation, progress, and 'civilising' the population illustrates how biopolitics, as well as disciplinary mechanisms (in the case of medicine and vaccination, for instance), contributed to shape the urban space of Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the 1900s. Foucault asks if 'the general economy of power in our societies is becoming a domain of security?' (Foucault, 2007, 10). This question is still of relevance for us today while analysing the emergent urban (in)security politics, the new techniques of power and knowledge, as well as its application and mercantilisation. Many of the aspects in this section are further developed in my articles A2Racism and A3UPP.

5.1.3 The coloniality of power and decoloniality

The invention of the idea of 'race' and 'civilising' was a way of legitimising slavery, colonialism, and forms of violence (Moraña et al. 2008, 9) in terms of both brutal physical violence and genocide and colonisation of the imaginary and of culture in forms of epistemic suppression (Quijano 2008, 189). As discussed by Quijano through the notion

of 'coloniality of power', in addition to military power, the matrix of power consisted of a 'colonization of the imaginary' (2007, 169) as a civilising goal that was made possible through the idea of race as 'a mental category of modernity' (Quijano 2008, 182). Mbembe (2017) comments on the workings of racism in our society and states that 'in relegating it to the background or covering it with a veil', race and racism operates through a 'double' or 'a mask, a simulacrum'. It is not enough to say that 'race' has no essence; it is a way of 'anchoring and affirming power' (Mbembe, 2017, 31–32). Mbembe refers to Foucault, who notes that 'in a normalizing society', it 'is the precondition that makes killing acceptable' (Mbembe, 2017, 33–35). Coloniality of power thus includes both physical and epistemic oppression legitimised through the idea of race, or a 'racial axis' (Quijano, 2008) that has been durable until today, as I have discussed in the context of the favelas and Brazil in Chapter 2. The coloniality of power thus 'underlines a spatial articulation of power rather than a linear succession of events', which was evident since the sixteenth century and the 'Atlantic commercial circuit' (Mignolo 2008, 228).

Mignolo and other decolonial scholars draw on the notion of Quijano, who defined 'coloniality of power' as the following:

> one of the specific and constitutive elements of the global model of capitalist power. It is based on the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the global population as the cornerstone of that model of power, and it operates on every level, in every arena and dimension (both material and subjective) of everyday social existence, and does so on a societal scale (Quijano, 2000, 342).

The 'coloniality of power' developed by Quijano (2008) refers to a 'new technology of domination/exploitation—in this case, race/labour' articulated and naturalised in the colonisation of Americas. Social classification according to the mental category of 'race' was intrinsic in the construction of modernity, and 'this strategy has been exceptionally successful' until now (Quijano, 2008, 185).

During and preceding the colonial period, struggles and resistance of 'decoloniality' unfolded, which

> denotes ways of thinking, knowing, being, and doing that began with, but also precede, the colonial enterprise and invasion. It implies the recognition and undoing of the hierarchical structures of race, gender, heteropatriarchy, and class that continue to control life, knowledge, spirituality, and thought, structures that are clearly intertwined with and constitutive of global capitalism and Western modernity. Moreover, it is indicative of the ongoing nature of struggles, constructions, and creations that continue to work within coloniality's margins and fissures to affirm that which coloniality has attempted to negate. (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, 17).

Furthermore, decolonial scholars such as Mignolo and Walsh emphasise 'relationality' grounded in local knowledges, histories, and practice (2018, 1). As stated earlier[99], decolonial pedagogies have been criticised by Tuck and Yang (2012), who state that 'decolonization should not be a metaphor'; it should not result in a form of settler innocence but rather include support for the return of indigenous lands. Scholars such as Mbembe (2021) have also criticised Latin American scholars' theories on decoloniality, which emphasise 'difference' and the rehabilitation of the subaltern or 'indigenous knowledges and life-worlds', while a decolonial act takes the form of 'disconnection and separation' (15, 32). The importance of the 'return of land' in decolonial struggles is not the centre of focus as Mignolo and Walsh predominantly focus on epistemology and pedagogy. Mignolo defines decoloniality as part of a collective project in South America by investigating 'the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality' (2018, 105–106, 108). Despite Walsh's reference to indigenous struggles and activists, there is a lack of criticism directed at the Eurocentrism of postcolonial states.

The risk of focusing primarily on slavery as a factor that determines present socio-racial relations is also emphasised by Andrews (1991), who refers to the work of Gilberto Freyre and racial democracy (6–7). The influential Coloniality group, represented by Mignolo and Walsh, has also been criticised for their focus on the lasting effects of 'the colonial heritage' (Salvatore, 2010, 340). Finally, as discussed in this section, I thus suggest a genealogical (Foucault, 1984) reading of 'coloniality' to move away from a reading of coloniality as a linear legacy. In the next section, I move beyond the decolonial scholarship

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[99] See section 3.4.2.

by establishing a Southern Atlantic dialogue with black Brazilian feminists Beatriz Nascimento and Lélia Gonzalez.

5.2 An Amefrican Southern Atlantic

In this section, I discuss theories on resistance by black Brazilian feminists and black Brazilian scholars and activists who fill the lacunas in decolonial, postcolonial, and cultural studies scholarship. Black feminists from Latin America such as Beatriz Nascimento (1979, 2021) and Lélia Gonzalez (1988, 2020) have largely been sidelined, and I will show that their theories contribute towards the future and not a pre-colonial past. Although not considered decolonial scholars, the thinkers presented in this section are nevertheless aligned with the decolonial struggle with an orientation towards the future; they draw on the transatlantic experience of black women, and the quilombo as the site of cultural resistance and practice.

In this extended abstract, I also aim to include black Brazilian feminist theories in decolonial, postcolonial, and culture studies discourses. I hope to foster a dialogue that involves Southern Atlantic scholars and activists. I point out some of the limitations in these approaches and will expand on a dialogue that emphasises overlapping interests while aiming for racial and social justice.

Based on my experiences in Brazil and the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, I argue for a more diverse understanding of the Black Atlantic, a term coined by Gilroy (1993), to include the particularities and heterogeneities of the Southern American experiences that have largely been left out of the analysis. I also draw on the concept of 'Amefricanidade' (Amefricanity) as coined by Lélia Gonzalez (1988), a prominent black Brazilian feminist and activist, which includes the experiences and practices of resistance of both indigenous and Afro-Latin American populations. I thus suggest an 'Amefrican Southern Atlantic'. Beatriz Nascimento, another prominent but overlooked black Brazilian feminist, aimed to re-humanise the black body and self-image and restore dignity through the exploration of the quilombo as the site of cultural resistance (B. Nascimento in Smith, Davies et al., 2021) in contrast to the dehumanised image of the slave.

During the transatlantic slave trade [100], the majority of slaves were brought to the southern Americas and to Brazil (more than 3.8 million). Today, more than a hundred million Afro-Brazilians live in Brazil, comprising 60 percent of the population (Schwarcz and Starling, 2018, loc. 168). Many studies on colonialism and racism have focused on North America and the Caribbean, ignoring the South[101].

I provide a glimpse into black feminist radical thought in Brazil. Their theories are presented in a dialogue with other important postcolonial and decolonial scholars and are relevant in the analysis of everyday practices, racism, and resistance 'towards a black feminist liberation' (Smith, 2016, 71).

5.2.1 Quilombo - quilombismo

Quilombos (maroon communities established by fugitive slaves) in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have been important symbols of resistance, struggle, and political organisation for Afro-Brazilians. This majority population of Brazil were first dehumanised as slaves in colonial times but have since the abolition in 1888 been deprived of their humanity and citizenship. As Abdias Nascimento emphasises, Africans and their descendants were never treated as the equals of the white minority in Brazil. The poor white European immigrants, subsidised by the Brazilian state to migrate to Brazil in the early 1900s in order to 'whiten' the population, enjoyed privileges such as access to land. They were also preferred as workers in contrast to ex-slaves and poor Afro-Brazilians who were abandoned by the state without work and social rights. The white Europeans who gained these privileges were thus 'partners in race and Eurocentric supremacy' (Nascimento, 1980, 149). The white minority has maintained its privileges

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[100] For more information on the transatlantic slave trade, see www.slavevoyages.org, which registered 36,000 slave expeditions between 1514 and 1866. Slavery was abolished in Brazil as late as 1888. Recent data indicate that 4,9 million slaves were transported to Brazil between 1501 and 1866. See Schwarcz and Starling (2018) and Schwartcz and Gomes (2018).

[101] See Gilroy's influential book *The Black Atlantic* as a source for cultural construction (1993).

and power in terms of welfare, health, education, and national income (Nascimento, 1980, 149). Thus, in terms of biopolitics, the minority of whites have the 'right to life' while blacks are 'let to die' (Foucault, 2004). In addition to physical oppression, police violence, and incarceration en masse, blacks are seen as a threat and are subsequently deprived of the right to life. This is a process of social and cultural lynching of Blacks through whitening (Nascimento, 1989). Thousands of quilombo communities still exist in Brazil today in both rural and urban areas. A few have gained the right to land while the majority still struggle with invasions from landowners or property speculation processes in the area. African languages, Afro-Brazilian cultures, practices, and religions such as Kandomblé are still present in many quilombos despite having been persecuted and taking new forms for centuries. More recently, evangelic movements also persecute Afro-Brazilian religions such as Kandomblé. In Rio's favelas, the number of Kandomblé 'worship houses' ('terreiros') have drastically reduced since the expansion of evangelic religions, or they have been 'whitened'.

The quilombo as a symbol of resistance, theorised through the notion of 'quilombo' by Beatriz Nascimento and 'Kilombismo' by Abdias Nascimento, has been important in Afro-Brazilians' struggle for rights and the reclamation of their humanity and dignity, particularly since the establishment of Movimento Negro Unificado in the 1970s.

> During its existence, the quilombo has served as a symbol for ethnic and political resistance. As an institution it retains unique characteristics from its African model. As political practice it proclaims liberal, emancipatory ideas which resist the distortions imposed by hegemony at moments of national crisis. For Black people, often figured as docile and subservient, the figure of heroism fortifies everyday struggles against oppression and social inequality.

> Quilombo is a powerful tool in the process of recognising a Black Brazilian identity, and moving towards deeper self-affirmation as Black and Brazilian. Alongside other practices which strengthen cultural identity, the history of quilombo as an actually existing breach in the system of oppression of Black people offers hope that similar institutions can have the same effect today (Beatriz Nascimento, translated by Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 304).

The 'Quilombo dos Palmares', which survived for a century during the time of slavery, was led by the acclaimed hero Zumbi (see Gomes, 2012). The quilombo possessed a

mythical significance for centuries that was important to the black movement. The quilombo was later theorised as a practice of cultural resistance and becoming by thinkers such as Beatriz Nascimento (Nascimento, 1979; Ratts, 2007; Smith, Davies et al., 2021), and Lélia Gonzalez, who coined the concept of Amefricanidade (amefricanity) (Gonzalez, 1988; 2019a; 2019b; 2020). Gonzalez and Nascimento, prominent black feminist intellectuals and activists, were often overlooked and have only recently gained acknowledgement. Beatriz Nascimento gained further international prominence when several of her texts were translated into English in the academic *Journal of Antipode* in 2021.

5.2.2 'Eu sou Atlantica' (I am Atlantic)

Drawing on the experiences of women and the body or 'flesh', Beatriz Nascimento aimed to 're-claim' the dignity and humanity of the black (female) body mostly presented as dehumanised 'no-bodies' (da Silva, 2009). She drew on Kandomblé cosmologies, the transatlantic history and Afro-Brazilian diaspora, and the experiences of being a black woman intellectual and activist in Brazil.

The texts by black Brazilian feminists are thus crucial in re-humanising blacks and organising cultural resistance beyond the territory of the quilombos for black liberation. Beatriz Nascimento theorised on the 'quilombo as a multi-sited Black space' of resistance that includes favelas, bailes funk, and Kandoblé terreiros (Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 287). The spiritual and transcendent dimension was central: 'the Black body as an extension of the land—the subject of Black migration, escape and liberation. The Black body is not de-humanised, un-feeling flesh, but an extension of the spiritual terrain of the earth as it is defined by Afro-Brazilian cosmological understandings of the relationship between the orixas, nkisi and vodun (Afro-Brazilian spiritual entities)' (Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 287).

She privileged the body as a political site (Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 287) of migration, escape, liberation, and the 'territory of becoming' (Ratts, 2007; Smith, Davies et al., 2021). These are symbolised with the quilombo in the following ways:

corporeal (located in the Black body), transcendent (anchored in the spiritual simultaneity of the here and there of Black life between the Americas and Africa) and transatlantic (born out of a new spatial zone of being that was created by the transatlantic slave trade). She saw quilombos as sites of resistance at which Black collective, transnational experiences with violence, through time and space, construct and deconstruct, make and unmake the world (Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 287).

The quilombo as corporeal (in the black body) thus challenges the historical account of it as a physical place of resistance. It also challenges the idea of loss as it aims at healing the wounded or broken black body.

> The political and cultural implications of the category of *amefricanity* are, in fact, democratic precisely because the term itself allows us to overcome territorial, linguistic, and ideological limitations, opening new perspectives for a deeper understanding of that part of the world where it manifests itself: AMERICA as a whole (South, Central, North, and the Islands). In addition to its purely geographical character, the category of *amefricanity* incorporates a whole historical process of intense cultural dynamics (adaptation, resistance, reinterpretation, and the creation of new forms) that is Afrocentric, that is, referenced in models such as Jamaica and the Akan, its dominant model; Brazil and its Yoruba, Bantu, and Ewe-fon models (Gonzalez, 2020, 176–177, my translation).

While Gonzalez and Nascimento theorised on resistance by drawing on the quilombo and indigenous and black experiences as colonised peoples, they also suggested ways to create new perspectives: an openness towards the world or 'to put you once again in front of the world' (B. Nascimento in Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 316). While these perspectives go beyond the physical localities and emphasise resistance through a multitude of practices and expressions, they also align with Mbembe's notion of 'Afropolitanism' as 'a migrant and circulatory form of modernity, born out of overlapping genealogies, at the intersection of multiple encounters with multiple elsewhere' (Mbembe, 2021). He elaborates on Afropolitanism in his latest book *Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization* (2021):

> Thus, it is not only that there is a part of African history found elsewhere, outside of Africa. There is also a history of the rest of the world in which, through the force of circumstance, Africans are actors and of which they are guardians. At the same time, their way of being in the world, their manner of 'being world,' of inhabiting the world has always taken place under the sign of cultural

métissage or the imbrication of worlds, in a slow and sometimes incoherent dance with signs that they did not have the luxury of choosing freely, but that they have managed, haphazardly, to domesticate and put to their own use. It is this cultural, historical, and aesthetic sensibility—the awareness of the imbrication of here and elsewhere, the presence of elsewhere here and vice versa, this relativization of roots and primary belongings and this manner of embracing, with full knowledge of the facts, the foreign, the foreigner, and the far-off, this capacity to recognize one's face in the face of the foreigner and to valorize the traces of the far-off in the nearby, to domesticate the unfamiliar, to work with what appear to be contradictions—that the term Afropolitanism indicates (Mbembe, 2021).

In conclusion, the discussion emerging from the Amefrican Southern Atlantic, including a dialogue between black Brazilian activists and scholars Abdias Nascimento, Beatriz Nascimento, and Lélia Gonzalez—the latter two also prominent feminists in the field— and postcolonial scholars such as Mbembe and decolonial scholars such as Mignolo and Quijano, provided important insights beyond the articles and will allow for new perspectives for further discussion in Chapter 7.

6 Results

This chapter presents the findings from the articles and their common themes. In the following sections, I present the results from each article, thereby providing a discussion on the relations between the articles, while in chapter 7, I discuss conceptual contributions beyond the results presented in this chapter.

The main themes—explored in all the articles that draw on a combination of genealogy and multi-phase or fractured longitudinal ethnography—are related to everyday urban politics, racialisation, spatiality, and corporality. I have analysed new forms of militarisation/pacification, everyday practices and resistance challenging dispositifs of socio-spatial control, and the physical, social and cultural massacre of Afro-Brazilians and favelas/favelados.

The table below provides an overview of the articles, outlining the research questions, keywords, and theoretical contributions.

Table 2 Overview of my four articles, research questions, theories, and concepts

	Article title	RQ	Keywords	Theories	Concepts
A1 Polyhedron	**Polyhedron of powers, displacements, socio-spatial negotiations, and residents' everyday experiences in a 'pacified' favela**	How do residents experience and negotiate space, power, everyday uncertainty, and displacement in a 'pacified' favela?	Favela, UPP (Police Pacification Unit), dispositif, polyhedron, everyday urban politics, urbanisation in the Global South	Dispositif, biopolitics (Foucault), insurgent citizenship, autoconstruction (Holston)	*Polyhedron of powers*
A2 Racism	**'Racism is a perfect crime': Favela residents' everyday experiences of police pacification, urban militarisation, and prejudice in Rio de Janeiro**	How do residents perceive police violence, prejudice, and racism in a 'pacified' favela?	Racism, police violence, urban militarisation, whiteness, UPP, Brazil	Cultural and social lynching (A. Nascimento)	*Pigmentocratic everyday practices*
A3 UPP	**From 'pacification' to 'licence-to-kill': Favela residents' experience with UPP, 2011-2018**	What are favela residents' everyday experiences of 'pacification' and the so-called inclusion of the favelas into the formal city from 2011 to 2018? (A2UPP)	UPP (Police Pacification Unit), urban militarisation, coloniality of power, borderising bodies, decolonising territory	Coloniality of power (Quijano, Mignolo) Borderising bodies (Mbembe)	*Pacification/militarisation as a 'changing same'* *Borderising bodies through the work of death*
A4 FIELD	**Field note – extracts: visual field notes from a fractured longitudinal ethnographic research of Rio de Janeiro's favelas**	What are the limits and possibilities of visual participatory methods and situated ethics in fractured longitudinal community research?	Learning and unlearning, visual participatory methods, failure, genealogy, fractured longitudinal ethnography, decolonising methodology	Learning/unlearning, situated ethics, power, decolonising methods, failure, quilombo (B. Nascimento)	*Sensing the polyhedral and everyday city life* *Combining fractured longitudinal ethnography and genealogy*

Below follows an overview of the results and the conceptual contributions of the articles.

6.1 Article 1

The first article explored the unforeseen facets and polyhedral aspects of living in a pacified favela over time and coined the concept 'polyhedron of powers'. Residents explained the changes and 'the unexpected' over several years from a period of hope and the appearance of tranquillity with a police force trained in human rights. They emphasised the deprivation of their rights, revealing socio-spatial negotiations of citizenship, and practices of everyday resistance and autoconstruction that might challenge the strategies of power and the dispositifs of control for a certain period of time.
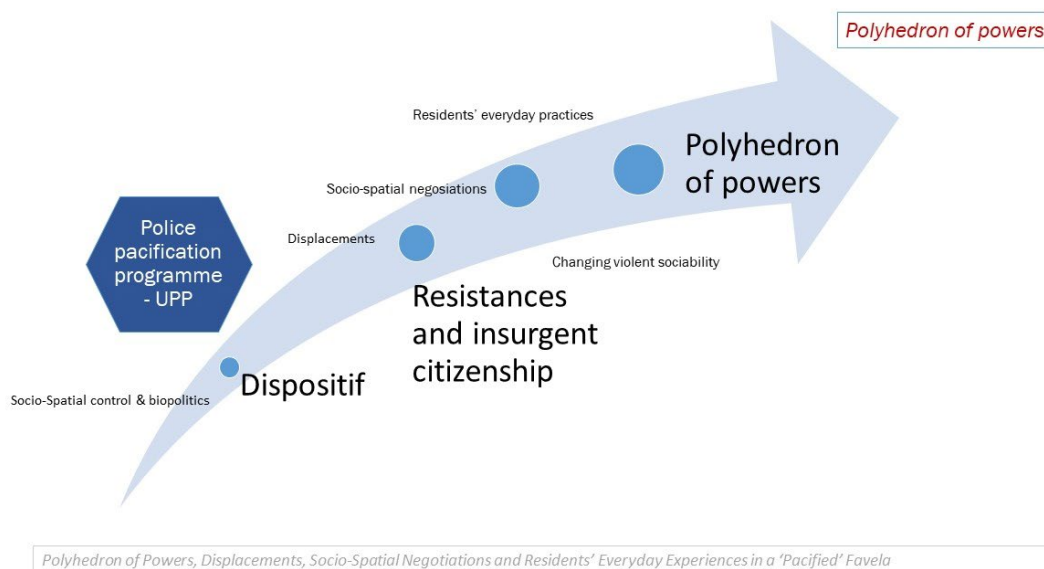
Figure 54 Overview of the concepts discussed in A1Polyhedron.

The analysis of the 'polyhedron of powers' in this article gave us an insight into everyday micro practices as well as autoconstruction and building practices and solutions in which strategies of power (such as the pacification programme) as a dispositif intersect and combine with necropolitics, biopolitics, and disciplinary power (Alves, 2018; Mbembe, 2001).

6.2 Article 2

The second article discussed 'racism as a perfect crime' and analysed favela residents' perceptions of racism unfolding in what I termed 'everyday pigmentocratic practices. I demonstrated how everyday pigmentocratic practices re-actualise processes of racialisation and how racism in Brazil, a nation that officially praises diversity and a racial democracy, simultaneously creates increasing necropolitical violence, structural racism, police terror and a social and cultural lynching of Afro-Brazilians through 'whitening' (Nascimento, 1989).
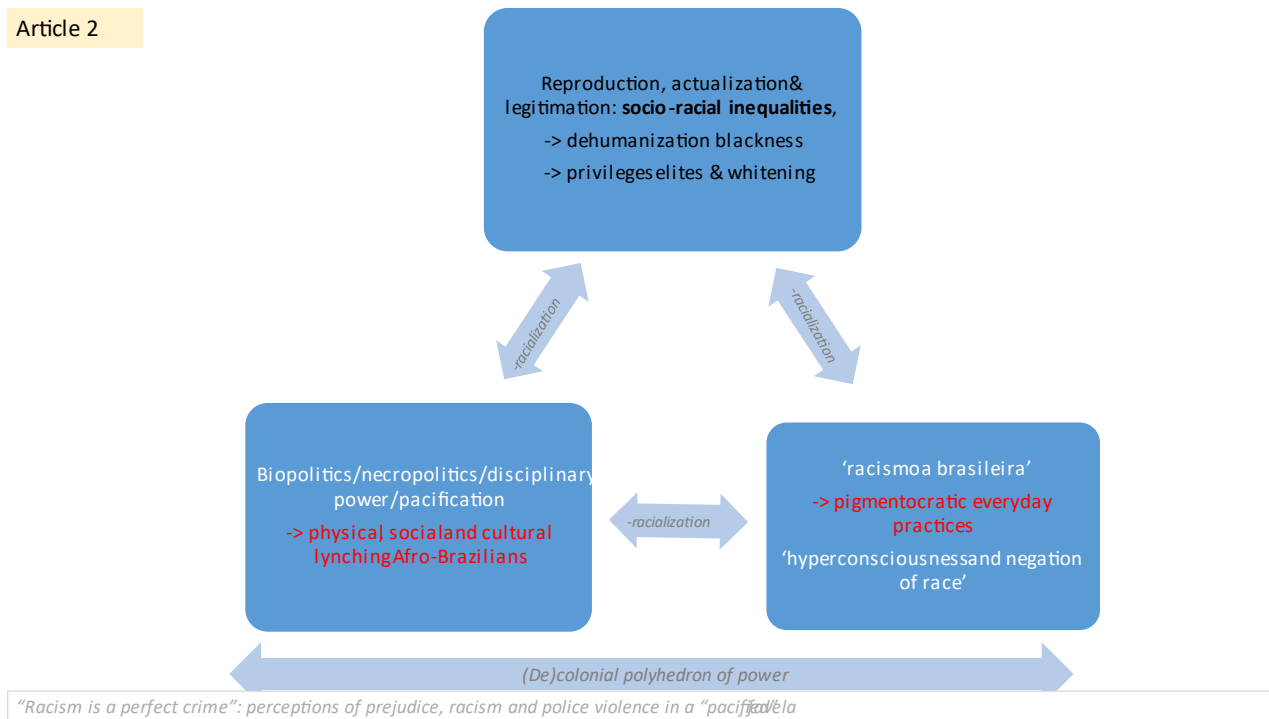
Figure 55 This figure illustrates the concepts elaborated in article A2Racism.

I investigated the mostly 'unsaid' and the veiled in the everyday underlying facets of power that reshape the dynamics of power: race and space re-actualised through 'everyday pigmentocratic practices' and 'racism as a perfect crime' in the necropolitical context of Rio's favelas.

The findings suggest that despite the societal discourse on inclusion, human rights, and citizenship, the police pacification programme and urban security interventions of Rio

aimed at 'civilising' the favela residents as 'undesirable others'. Pigmentocratic everyday practices are displayed through both the hyperconsciousness and negation of race dialectic (Vargas, 2008). These processes continually shape the condition of possibilities for the dehumanisation of blackness, exclusion, inclusion, and resistance in a society influenced by the myth of racial democracy and that simultaneously celebrates diversity and the ideology of whitening.

6.3 Article 3

The third article demonstrated how militarisation/pacification unfolds as a 'changing same', drawing on racialisation that enables the socio-spatial control of black bodies borderised through the work of death. Residents shared their experiences of the pacification programme over a decade, of living with unpredictability, and the naturalisation of violence.
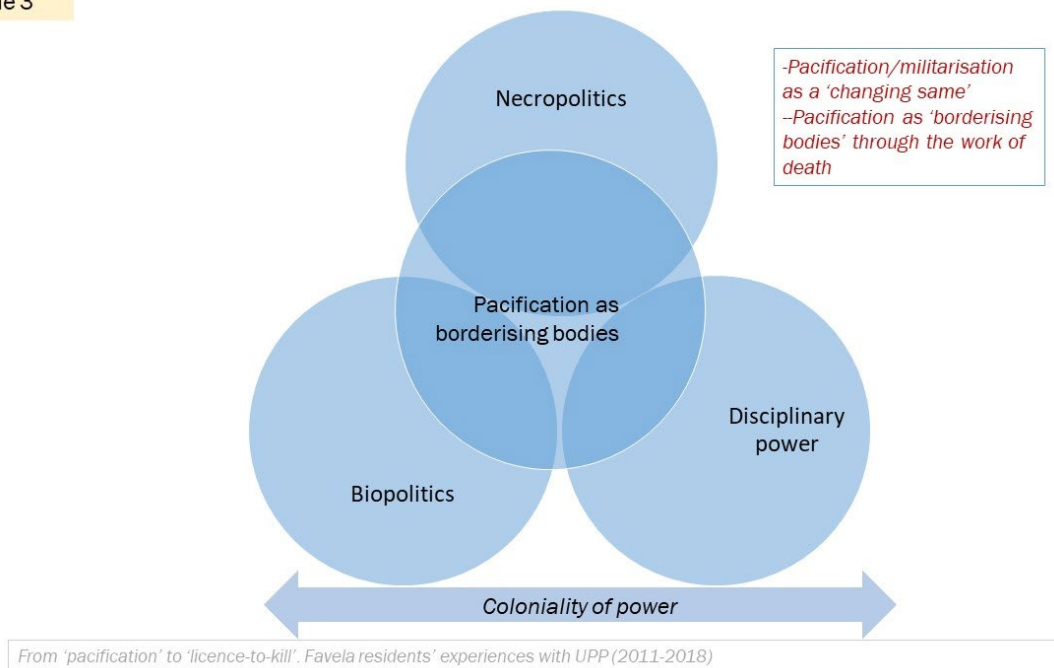
Figure 56 Overview of the main concepts elaborated in A3UPP.

I have shown how the pacification programme operated by drawing on the coloniality of power and a social, cultural, and physical lynching of Afro-Brazilians. The pacification

programme unfolded new forms of militarisation/pacification by borderising bodies through the work of death, while resistance emerged beyond the physical territories of the favelas.

6.4 Article 4

The fourth article presented extracts from the research process drawing on fractured longitudinal ethnography in combination with genealogy and the process of learning and unlearning. I analysed some of the fragments and trajectories left behind or re-actualized a decade later, such as residents' changing experiences of living in a 'pacified' favela, Quilombola practices of cultural resistance, and discussed ethics, failures and decolonizing methodologies. All these were accompanied by the use of multisensory and visual methods, revealing limitations, possibilities, and challenges – the unfolding of the polyhedral, the unexpected, and its deviations – and that which is left behind.

Article 4

Genealogy and ethnography

Urban politics in contested spaces, power, and the unexpected

Sensing the polyhedral everyday city life

Visual ethnography and participatory multimodal methods

Learning and unlearning, ethics, and decolonising methodologies

Fieldnote - extracts: visual field notes from a fractured longitudinal ethnographic research of Rio de Janeiro'd favelas

Figure 57 Overview of the approaches and concepts discussed in the visual field notes extracts, A4Field.

In the figure below, I present the concepts constituting the fundamental theoretical contributions of the articles; moreover, these facets display polyhedral dynamics of power and everyday resistance in a context of increasing necropolitical violence towards

black urban poor, unfolding the intersection of race, gender and urban insecurity politics in the re-actualisation and reproduction of the city of Rio.
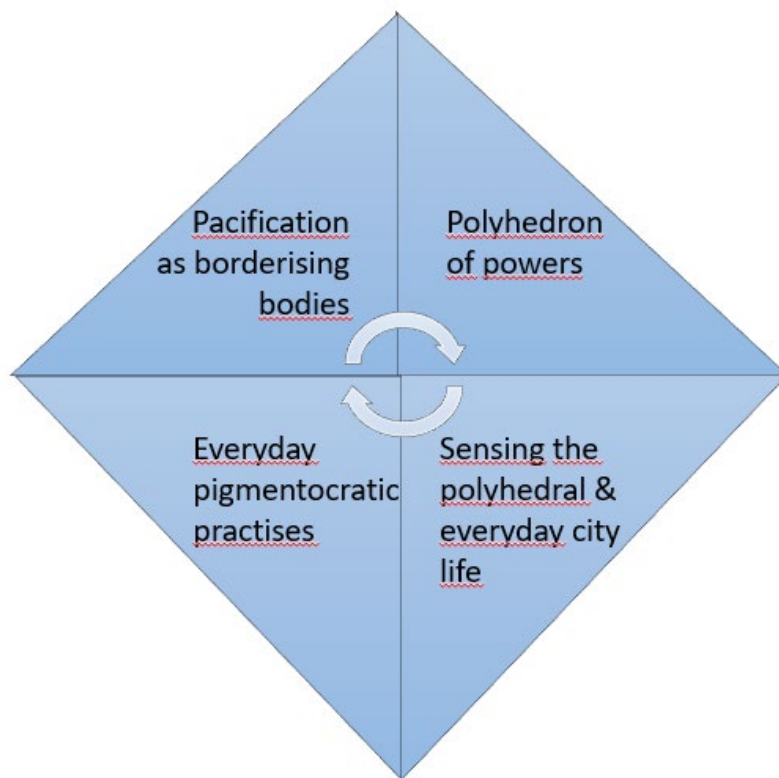
Figure 58 An overview of the concepts raised in the articles.

In the next chapter, I attempt to integrate the discussion on the polyhedron of powers and everyday pigmentocratic practices that unfolded through racialisation and space, the pacification/militarisation as a 'changing same', and bodies borderised by the work of death. As seen in my study of residents' everyday experiences of living in a pacified favela across a decade, the decade of pacification and militarisation also gave rise to new forms of resistance beyond the physical territory of the favela.

The figure below integrates the articles by outlining the research questions, theoretical contributions, and concepts, thus providing an overview of my theoretical contributions and the concepts discussed in this extended abstract.
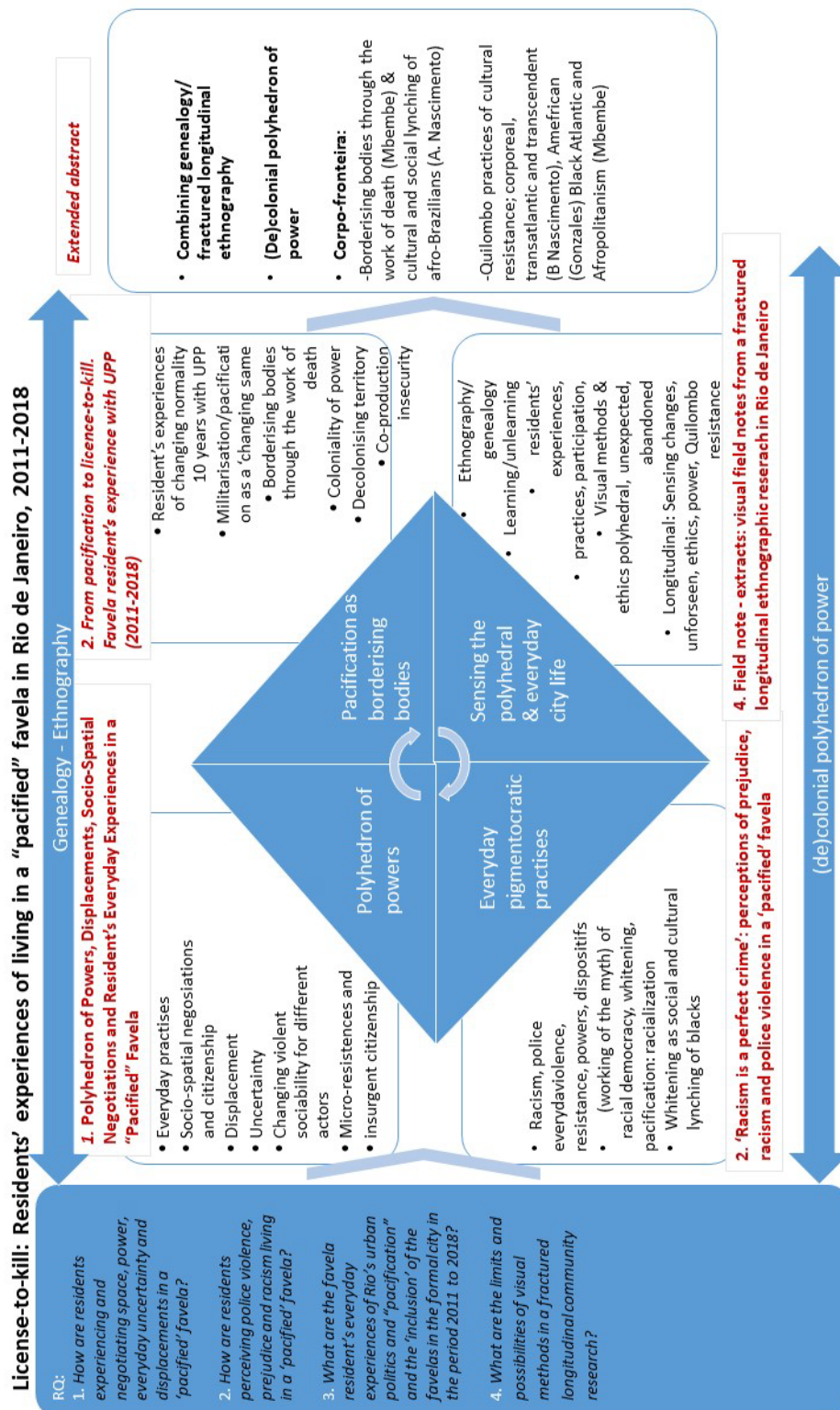
Figure 59 Overview of the integration of research questions, concepts, and theorethical contributions in the articles and extended abstract.

7 Discussion

This chapter provides a discussion on the core empirical, theoretical, methodological, and political contributions of the research project which lie in the four articles. In addition to the findings in the articles on residents' everyday experiences of living in a favela with UPP over time, presented in Chapter 6, I also supplement this thesis by drawing on ethnographic material presented in the intermezzo and field excursion in Chapter 4. In order to expand the discussion beyond the four articles, in this chapter I also reflect on the dimensions of gender, race and urban space presented in Chapter 2, and theories by Black Brazilian feminists, such as Gonzalez and Nascimento, discussed in Chapter 5. I decided to include those perspectives and re-think the ethnographic encounters and contributions by residents as a part of the polyhedral and fractured longitudinal approach of this project, even if they add significantly to the complexity of the thesis. The inclusion thus expands the discussion and conceptual contributions of my study beyond the published material in the articles, which were also profoundly shaped by the format and process of publishing and by individual peer reviewers. Much of the ethnographic material emerging from photo walks with residents needed to be left behind in the articles, but they are nevertheless of importance to the thesis as a whole. In this section, I discuss residents' experiences of everyday life and changes within and beyond PPG, drawing from the ethnographic material presented in Chapter 4 and insights from my articles.

The vignettes presented in Chapters 2.1.4 and 4 emerged from photo walks and participatory photography with residents in PPG, revealing facets of everyday life and changes in PPG in the context of pacification. The research questions and subsequent articles emerged from these encounters. In addition to the material analysed in my articles, this chapter examines some of the visual ethnographical field notes that were not used. They provide a point of departure for the conceptual contributions discussed in this chapter. In the figure below, I present extracts from my visual field notes and participatory photography and walks with residents derived from the multi-phase ethnography over a fractured decade.

Figure 60 Overview of the extracts from the field excursions and intermezzo presented in chapters 4 and 2.1.4.

Multiple modalities of power (such as necropolitics, disciplinary power, biopolitics, and borderising bodies) are unfolded, changed and re-actualised in polyhedral ways through the dispositifs of control (such as the UPP programme operating as a *changing same* of pacification/militarisation) (see A3UPP). They are also demonstrated through urban upgrade projects via the examples of maps, construction, architecture, and attempts at land regularisation (see A1Polyehdron). Resistance or forms of decolonial struggle are displayed in unforeseen or polyhedral ways through everyday practices such as autoconstruction (see A1Polyhedron), re-assemblage, repairs and building practices, community gardens, and artworks. Residents' photographs, such as those of favela backyards as interpreted by Marcia, illustrate how the shifting relations of power and control by traffickers and police affect everyday life, while some experiences indicated changing forms and resistance to living with 'violent sociability' (see A1Polyhedron and A3UPP) and more veiled forms of borderising bodies through death, unfolding within and beyond the PPG territory.

Examples of everyday practices of resistance are illustrated by residents' autoconstruction, resistance to eviction and pacification, and through the stories of 'women warriors'. Everyday practices such as autoconstruction and residents resisting evictions thus also shape urban politics, and are able to challenge dispositifs of control for a certain period of time (see A1Polyhedron). The stories of Dona Vieira, Dona Celestina and Marcia's grandmother also indicate a gendered and racial dimension of both spatial exclusion and of resistance and struggles for citizenship and rights, shaping and re-negotiating the city. However, some of these cases also indicate mechanisms of social control, the cultural and social lynching of blacks (Nascimento, 1989), and everyday pigmentocratic practices (see A2Racism). These are not isolated everyday practices of resistance and insurgent citizenship that only take place in PPG; they also display socio-spatial negotiations, displacement, processes of social control, and the polyhedron of powers intersecting with and beyond the physical territory.

As relayed to me by a resident, the 'casa-tela' depicting an Afro-Brazilian woman associated with Kandomblé, which was requested to be re-painted, draws attention to

the social control and an intolerance of Afro-Brazilian religions, further unveiling everyday pigmentocratic practices in PPG. It is also an indication of a wider evangelic movement beyond the physical territory of the favela. These processes are also a re-actualisation of criminalisation and the social and physical lynching of Afro-Brazilian cultures. Presented in section 4.1.6, the case of the artist ACME, who successfully resisted evictions, mobilised an international network and a crowdfunding campaign for an art school for children, and facilitated the rehabilitation of a garden and a square, reveals the polyhedral aspects of resistance, control, and socio-spatial negotiations to challenging dispositifs of control for a period of time.

I argue that these practices draw attention to the dynamics of a '(de)colonial polyhedron of powers' and can be understood through the concept of 'corpo-fronteira' (body-border), which draws on racialisation, wherein bodies are physically, socially, and culturally borderised through the work of death. These dynamics are challenged by everyday quilombo practices and cultural resistance, unfolding a re-valorisation of Afro-Brazilian cultural expression through everyday practices and artworks alongside struggles for the right to housing beyond the physical territory of PPG.

The below figure presents the main conceptual contributions of the research project discussed in this extended abstract, thereby moving beyond the articles and further following the trajectory of the ethnographic vignettes discussed above.

Extended
abstract -
discussion

Ethnography/
genealogy

(de)colonial
polyhedron
of power

Corpo-fronteira

Black Brazilian feminists
Amefrican Southern Atlantic
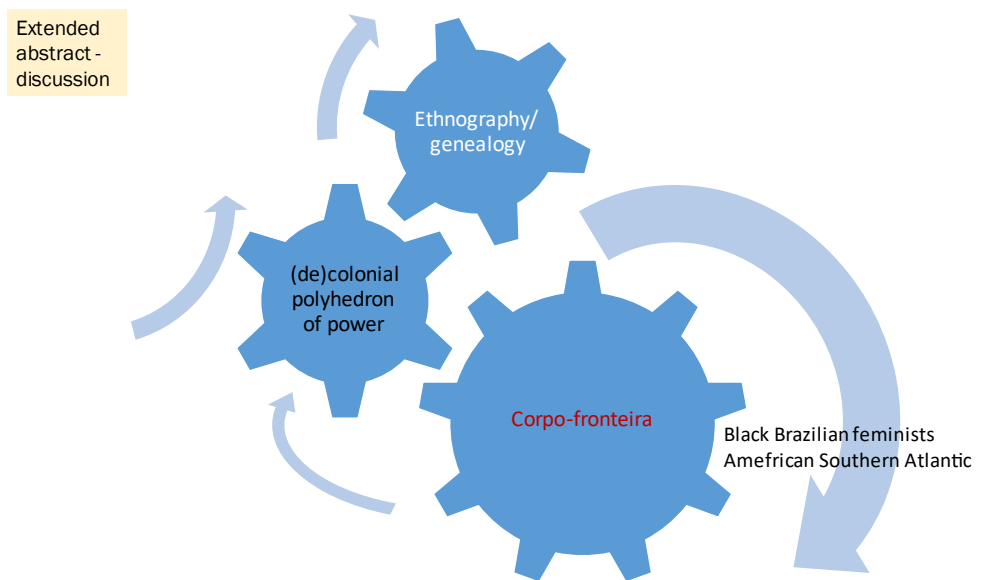
Figure 61 Overview of concepts discussed in the extended abstract.

7.1 Combination of genealogy and multi-phase ethnography

The combination of multi-phase or fractured longitudinal ethnography and genealogy opens up the potential for research to capture deviations and unforeseen changes in the field. I explored these aspects in conceptualising a polyhedron of power in my first article (A1Polyhedron). Although some studies of the favelas have drawn on time-based ethnographic studies as well as genealogical historical overviews (Perlman, 2010), they did not focus on either the unforeseen or deviations—to borrow Foucault's genealogical terms—during the actual fieldwork.

A genealogical approach invites us to examine what has been omitted from history: its deviations, the visible and the invisible, and the said and the unsaid. It is important to consider the complex processes of social and cultural changes, which, in my project, unfolded in multiple ways. This includes my research trajectory across a fractured decade with regard to ethics, methods, ethnographical research, and theories I drew on and in the publication process and writing up of this extended abstract, wherein I include extracts from my ethnographic fieldwork that unfolded a process of learning and unlearning. I have chosen to include and keep my deviations transparent, trying to not

pretend to have stood in a singular place while wrapping up this research journey as regards the writing process, methodology, and theory. This project departed from a fractured longitudinal ethnography and an ontology of the present, drawing on residents' experiences and knowledges to then engage with contingencies and historical trajectories of forms of politics directed towards the favela and the Afro-Brazilian population. Taking a genealogical approach allows the researcher to demonstrate 'how the contingencies of these processes continue to shape the present' (Garland, 2014, 371). Genealogy is thus particularly important to grasp the complex processes and changing forms of urban politics, racism, gendering, inclusion or exclusion, and struggles for rights and social justice. This seems especially important in this thesis's context; documenting the sinuous and polyhedral research process creates complexity, but this complexity also unfolds a multiplicity of tensions, geographies of failure, and (de)colonial struggles articulated methodologically, theoretically, epistemologically, and politically.

7.2 (De)colonial polyhedron of powers

The concept of a (de)colonial polyhedron of powers emerged from the polyhedron of powers coined in my first article (A1Polyhedron). It alludes to 'not-yet-known' facets or an 'unfolding of the unforeseen' (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). The (de)colonial thus includes the enduring genealogies of coloniality, coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2014) and necropolitical violence, articulated through the physical, cultural, and social lynching of blacks in Brazil and drawing on racialisation.

Coloniality is here not read as the linear legacy of slavery and colonialism but as the ongoing re-actualisation of racialisation in multiple forms, including 'not-yet-known' facets of neoliberal insecurity politics, capitalism, and ethnonationalism.

I here allude to decoloniality with reference to resistance in various forms; in particular, it alludes to the multiple facets of everyday cultural resistance[102] in addition to the struggle for land and the physical territories of the quilombo or favela. The notions of resistance and decoloniality encompass the historical moment of decolonisation and pre-colonial struggles, practices, thoughts, and resistances. My references to the (de)colonial encompass the notion of coloniality and decoloniality discussed by Mignolo and Walsh (2018) and Quijano (2008); however, it also draws on Mbembe, who criticises the decolonial scholars for their focus on difference and separation (2021). In this respect, I introduce Nascimento (2021) and Gonzalez (1979), as expanded upon in the following section.

7.3 'Corpo-fronteira'

The understanding of 'corpo-fronteira'[103] encompasses Mbembe's notion of borderising bodies (Mbembe, 2019a) through the work of death as well as corporeal and transatlantic resistance through the notion of the quilombo and the black Atlantic theorised by Beatriz Nascimento. In addition, I am also inspired by the notion of 'corpo-territorio/terra' (Haesbaert, 2020; Zaragocin and Caretta, 2021), which is a fundamental conception of indigenous resistance and the relation between the body and territory. This is of great importance in Latin American geography and feminist decolonial methodologies. Territory and decolonising territory in Latin America relate to resistance and struggles beyond that of the physical territory (Halvorsen, 2019; Porto-Gonçalves, 2012) (see also my article A3UPP). The 'corpo-fronteira' thus entangles the idea of borderising bodies

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[102] However, I am aware of the limitations of reading any 'everyday practices' as resistance. See my first article (A1Polyhedron) for a further analysis of the complex facets of polyhedron of power, unfolding both dispositifs of control and everyday practices of resistance in terms of autoconstruction, thereby challenging dispositifs of control. Thus, an awareness of the unforeseen, contradictions and changes as regards resistance and changing dynamics of power is crucial.

[103] Mbembe has written on 'borderising bodies' (2019); however, in his latest publication in French (2020a), the term is translated as 'corp-frontiere'. I am inspired by Mbembe's term borderising bodies, but I include possibilities of resistance from the concept of 'corpo-territorio' in Latin American geography and indigenous thoughts as well as the quilombo and cultural resistance, beyond the physical territory, in the conception of 'corpo-fronteira' discussed in this chapter.

and the conception of the quilombo as a corporeal and transatlantic site of cultural and political resistance. Chapter 2.1.3 discusses the experiences of and resistance to 'gendered anti-black violence' by drawing on Rocha (2014) and studies of black mothers' resistance to police violence, mothering as a form of resistance in nurturing black life (2014), and Smith's analysis of 'un/gendering anti-black police terror' (2021). In doing so, the discussion demonstrates how mothering and black women's experiences of police and state terror, both physically and emotionally, can expand our understanding of the dynamics of race, gender, and space in the re-production of the anti-black city, as well as the movements of resistance and political activism emerging from the favelas. In this study, the notion of bodies as borders is expanded through the concept 'corpo-fronteira' to include the gendered dimension of borderising bodies through both death and resistance. The expanded concept enhances our understanding of the racial violence and dehumanisation of black women, as well as of black women's resistance and struggle for rights. Governor Cabral's contention that legalising abortion in the favelas would ameliorate the problem of violence—the favelas designated a 'factory for producing marginals'—in the context of preparing for the 'pacification' of the favelas in 2007, illustrates how 'civilizing' and 'pacifying' the favelas and *faveladas* constituted a means of borderising bodies through death. Cabral's statement also reflects the gendered dimension of the socio-spatial and racial ordering of the anti-black city, where the role of black mothers and motherhood in re-producing the social body of the favela is considered a threat to the formal and 'civilized' city. Accordingly, black women and mothers are dehumanised and treated as a threat than must be eliminated or left to die, whereas white life is seen as necessary to protect. In this regard, it is worth noting that white life is also protected by black women, as empregadas in the present and by enslaved women as 'mucamas' or wet nurses in the past.[104] Faveladas' resistance to police violence and their fight for rights and political activism—such as that of Marielle Franco—demonstrates the importance of the intersection of gender, race, and urban space in

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[104] See section 2.1.3 and footnote 30.

understanding the re-production of urban coloniality and the shaping of the future city. Black motherhood and women's experiences of violence and resistance in the favelas in the context of 'pacification' of the UPP or the 'Cidade Integrada' need to be studied further, drawing on the work of Nascimento and Gonzales and the notions of 'corpo-fronteira' and an Amefrican Black Atlantic in doing so.

Thus, to borrow from bell hooks (1989), the notion of 'corpo-fronteira' encompasses the 'marginality which is imposed by oppressive structures and that marginality one chooses as site of resistance—as location of radical openness and possibility' (hooks, 1989, 23). Radical openness[105], the polyhedral, and the 'yet to come' also unfold the quilombo as a political practice and site of cultural resistance (Nascimento, 1979; Nascimento, 1980). The everyday resistance of favela residents (see my articles and chapter 4), resistance of women warriors (chapter 4) and black mothers to police terror (Alves, 2018; Rocha, 2014, 2012; Smith, 2016a) and violence under pacification (Veillette and Nunes, 2017), as well as the struggles for rights, land, and political activism emerging from the autoconstruction movements in the favelas (Caldwell, 2016) and the politics and contributions of Marielle Franco can be regarded as quilombo practices. They can be regarded as taking the form of an alternative decolonial praxis and struggle that genealogically unfolds as per the quilombo theorised by Beatriz Nascimento: 'the black body constitutes and redefines itself through the experiences of the diaspora and transmigration (e.g. from the slave quarters to the quilombo, from the countryside to the city, and from the Northeast to Southeast)' (Ratts, 2007, 65, my translation). She emphasised that the 'Quilombo came to be synonymous with Black people, their conduct,

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[105] The notion of a 'radical openness' is also used by Mbembe to reflect on how 'decolonisation is by definition a planetary enterprise, a radical openness of and to the world, a deep breathing for the world as opposed to insulation' (Mbembe, 2019c). In an interview with Goldberg (2018), Mbembe reflects on radical openness and the different ways of inhabiting the world: 'a full inhabitation of the world, an embrace of its contradictions' (226), thus emphasising that this approach differs from fugitivity and 'marronage', referring to the Caribbean context (226). Here, I would like to note that the quilombo as theorised by Beatriz Nascimento, as stated many times earlier, does not refer to the quilombo ('marronage') as a separate or isolated space defined by fugitivity and separation; it encompasses the contradictions, and the 'opening towards the world' aligns with the thoughts of Mbembe on 'radical openness to all kinds of knowledges and the disposition towards the encounter with the unknown' (Goldberg, 2018, 226).

and the hope for a better society. It became an internal and external crux for all forms of cultural resistance' (Nascimento, translated by Smith, Davies et al., 2021).

Beatriz Nascimento pointed out the diversity of practices, dynamics of power, and relations at play in the colony and the practice of slavery. She can thus be said to represent a Southern Atlantic scholar enunciating the viewpoint of a black Brazilian feminist, or 'thinking otherwise', as will be explored further in the next section. Nascimento narrates:

> The earth is circular
>
> the sun is a disk
>
> Where's the dialectic?
>
> In the sea. Mother-Atlantic!
>
> (my translation, Beatriz Nascimento's opening words in the documentary *Ôri*, 1989).

The documentary *Ôri*, filmed from 1979 to 1989, is part of a cartography of Beatriz Nascimento's thoughts from Brazil to Africa, as images of the Atlantic are unveiled. She narrates the transatlantic passage and the tensions inherent to living in the colonial past and future. Later in the documentary, she proclaims 'I am Atlantic!' In *Ôri*, she searches for a post-racialised world, an ecological conscience also reflected in the word 'ôri'. The word stems from the Afro-Brazilian religion Kandomblé and alludes to a connection between Africa, Brazil, and the world. This aligns with the theories of Lélia Gonzalez on Amefricanity (1988) and women's experiences of violence and resistance. It also corresponds to Mbembe's arguments regarding the brutalism of our contemporary worlds as conceived through 'becoming black of the world', and resistance through Afropolitanism (Mbembe, 2021b; 2020; 2017), and 'planetary humanism' (Mbembe, 2021). Although, the work of Gonzalez makes more specific reference the Afro-Brazilian and Afro-indigenous Latin American transatlantic diaspora, a dialogue between these Southern Atlantic scholars and their theories on the diaspora, a future beyond race, the

healing of the black body, planetary humanism, and an ascent into humanity (Mbembe, 2021) provides important insights into a transnational and planetary debate in the intersecting fields of culture studies, postcolonialism, and decolonial scholarship. Exploring the black Atlantic born out of the transatlantic slave trade, Nascimento captures both the experiences of violence of displacement and the zone of terror and forms of resistance in carrying and producing blackness (Smith, 2021, 33). This concept, which emphasises the 'the Middle Passage as a zone of terror and a generative birthplace of Blackness' (Smith, 2021, 33), can be expanded upon through the notion 'corpo-fronteira', thereby expanding beyond the borderising of bodies as a zone of terror and death to include women's experiences of violence, resistance, and healing. In other words, as Nascimento (2021) asserts, to 'put you once again in front of the world'. Finally, in the poem titled 'Dream', Beatriz Nascimento speaks 'to all the black women scattered across the world. And all the other women':

> There are cuts and deep cuts
>
> On your skin and in your hair
>
> And furrows on your face
>
> They are the ways of the world
>
> They are unreadable maps
>
> In ancient cartography
>
> You need a pirate
>
> Good at piracy
>
> Who'll bust you out of savagery
>
> And put you, once again,
>
> In front of the world
>
> Woman (Nascimento, translated by Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 316).

This conception of being in front of the world and healing the black body aligns with the 'planetary humanism', 'ascent into humanity' or 'will to community' beyond racialisation discussed by Mbembe (2021), as well as a world beyond 'race thinking' (see Gilroy, 2002; Mbembe, 2017, 177; and my second article A2Racism). However, Nascimento 'genders and ungenders' (Smith, 2021, 33) the black Atlantic by 'using the pronoun *she* for ''the ocean, the ship and the identity it produces''' (Smith, 2021, 33). She thus remind us of the crucial role of gender and women's experiences and resistance in expanding our understanding of the Black Atlantic experiences of violence and resistance, the 'corpo-fronteira', 'becoming black of the world', and the 'planetary humanism' challenging the brutalism of our contemporary world .

7.4 Thinking otherwise: Black Brazilian feminism and the quilombo as a site of cultural resistance

In addition to their academic relevance, I decided to give space to the theories of Lélia Gonzalez and Beatriz Nascimento in the final discussion, primarily because of their ethical and political importance, as elaborated in the following:

1) Black Brazilian feminists such as Gonzalez and Nascimento are crucial to the discussion on resistance and racialisation in Brazil and beyond; they challenge the dominant narratives of black people as disposable and 'no-bodies' (da Silva, 2009). Their role as activists and scholars is also important to put forward as an example of resisting both practically and theoretically. It is both an ethical and political act of positioning. Which narratives and theories I choose to engage with is of political and ethical 'concern'. To cite black women is a critical practice (Craven, 2021; Smith, Williams et al., 2021). A part of a 'situated ethics' (Perez, 2019), learning and un-learning (Brice, 2018) in the field, and 'making and unmaking the world' (Mbembe, 2021; Escobar, 2011) is to practise this in the writing process.

2) I never had the opportunity to read these scholars at the university in Brazil and only came to know their work later. It transpired that I did not have enough space in the

articles to engage with theories on resistance, and in the peer review process, only scholars that were relevant to the journal's scope were included, thereby contributing to the dominance of anglophone and 'bearded' literature (Ferretti, 2021b) and recognised black male Brazilian authors such as Milton Santos and Abdias Nascimento. The theories by black Brazilian feminists who are both activists and intellectuals are overlooked in Brazil, where feminism has been completely dominated by white middle-class women. Black women are thus at the bottom of a pigmentocracy in all aspects of biopolitics and are overlooked as intellectuals and seen as being incapable of developing knowledge. This phenomenon indicates the murder of black women's epistemes—what the black Brazilian feminist philosopher Carneiro (2005) refers to as an *epistemicide*. Leaving black women out of my articles and this extended abstract would thus align my work with such an act.

3) Female black scholars from Latin America and Brazil have been overlooked, not only in Brazil but also internationally, due to a dearth of translations, despite, for example, Angela Davies praising Gonzalez when she visited Brazil in 2019: 'Why do you need to look for a reference in the United States? I learn more from Lélia Gonzalez than you do from me' (Davies, 2019). Black female Latin American scholars have also been marginalised in the discipline of geography, for instance, even facing resistance from peer reviewers (Ferretti, 2021a, 2021b). Hence, the decolonial approach involves expanding and amplifying not only the voices and resistances of participants but also black female Latin American scholars who are not widely known in the English-speaking academic community. In her time, Beatriz Nascimento struggled with issues of language and access to journals; today, this is still an issue. Many Latin American scholars (particularly those from working class backgrounds) do not have access to English academic language and even less to paywalled journals.

In recent years, there has been increased interest in overlooked black Brazilian scholars who have been translated into English in journals such as *Antipode,* with translations by black Brazilian scholars such as Milton Santos in 2020. A publication of his major works

has been translated into English (2021) and those by Beatriz Nascimento, and of Lélia Gonzalez in 2021.

These translations are relatively recent yet are important to include in this discussion in order to recognise their work and struggles and make their theories known to the wider academic community. This is particularly important in the field of culture studies.

4) These scholars are highly relevant to culture studies, theories of resistance, and studies on racism and decoloniality. This is an opportunity to engage in a discussion of Brazilian scholars such as Gonzalez and Nascimento with more well-known writers on related theories such as Mbembe, Gilroy, and Mignolo.

Finally, all of the above aspects relate to questions of ethics, methodology, and decoloniality. These elements laid the foundations for the first steps of my research and the journey my project took over time, as I describe and repeat in different parts of this thesis. Despite the decolonial aim of this project, I cannot 'give' much back to the community where I did my research. Beyond the participation of some residents I was in dialogue with, engaged in participatory photography, and their reflections on everyday life and changes in the 'pacified' favela over time, there is little tangible effect that this research can hope for. Hence, my engagement with Brazilian scholars and particularly black feminists such as Nascimento and Gonzalez is crucial. In order to study social inequality, racism, and (de)coloniality in the context of Brazil—where black women and favela residents still live a context of internal colonialism and are treated as 'internal enemies' (Leite and Farias, 2018, 240)—it is paramount to engage with black Brazilian feminists.

In my fieldwork, one of the residents who participated in the photo walks and interpreted her photos seemed surprised that I had given her printed copies of the photos and had asked her reflections, and her thoughts on which ones to select (see section 3.1.). She said that I would know better which were important and what I wanted to include in the project. She also noted that she had wanted to become a researcher; she had been interviewed before but, in most cases, had not received the publication, the photos she

had taken, or any acknowledgement. Despite the decolonial aim of my research, this may, in actual fact, be no more than a metaphor. Except to give participants copies of the articles and their photos (with their names alongside), I did not provide any social change or 'give' something back.

Gonzalez criticised the absence of a focus on racism in most Latin American feminist research (Carneiro, 2005, 7) and coined the concept of 'amefricanas' (Amefricans), drawing on the experiences of 'heirs of another ancestral culture whose historical dynamics reveal differences from the vantage point of racial inequality' (CP Cardoso, 2016, 18; Gonzalez, 1988, 2). These reflections are still of relevance in contemporary Brazil, where Afro-Brazilians, indigenous, women, and all minorities are increasingly being targeted by the necropolitics of the Bolsonaro government and the ruling (mostly white) elites. Blacks and women are dying en masse in the COVID-19 disaster. Social isolation is a (white) privilege in Brazil. Even the few who have access to vaccination are mostly white, as they are a population that lives longer and the oldest population is prioritised (Dantas, 2021). In biopolitical and necropolitical terms, black people are 'let to die' (Foucault, 2004, 241) and borderised through death displaying a 'gendered genocide' and 'gendered anti-blackness'. Although not a primary perspective in the articles comprising the main part of this dissertation, I want to respond to the ethical and political call in my extended abstract. Accordingly, I wish to expand on Brazilian Black feminist authors such as Nascimento and Gonzalez that are relevant beyond the particular context of Brazil and the favelas but also in the fields of culture studies, postcolonialism, and decoloniality internationally.

I end this chapter with the words of Beatriz Nascimento

> Between light and sound I only find my old body...
>
> Old companion of illusions hunting the beast
>
> Body suddenly imprisoned by the destiny of people from outside.
>
> Body map of a country far away

That search for other borders which limit the conquest of myself

Mythic-Quilombo that make me the content of the shadows of the palms

Unrecoverable contours that my hands try to reach

(Transcript from the film *Orí*, narrated by B. Nascimento, my translation, 1989).

Nascimento seeks to liberate black people who have been robbed of visibility, self-image, identity, dignity, and humanity:

The earth is my Quilombo, my space is my Quilombo.

Where I am, I become!

Where I am, I am!

(Transcript from the film *Orí*, narrated by B. Nascimento, my translation, 1989).

These words and images express resistance towards coloniality, civilising pedagogies, and racism. Beatriz Nascimento, through the quilombo draws on expereinces of black women, and 'territorialises the black body as the site of home (rather than dislocation) in the African diaspora' (Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 287). Her thoughts emphasise the quilombo as a space of resistance and of black struggle and a re-humanisation of blacks and Afro-Brazilian cultures.

8 Conclusion

This research project was based on multi-phase ethnographic fieldwork in the favelas of PPG in Rio de Janeiro. This study aimed to explore favela residents' perceptions and everyday experiences of living in a 'pacified' favela across a decade amid increasing necropolitical violence and social and racial inequalities in Rio de Janeiro. This project was exploratory, and thus the research questions examined in the articles emerged from walks and participatory photography with residents, who also shared their reflections on daily life and the changes they had witnessed over time.

The results from the articles and the added discussion in Chapter 7 also emerged from participatory photography and photo walks with residents. They are presented in the ethnographic excursion and intermezzo in Chapter 4. They contributed to a better understanding of residents' everyday experiences of living alongside shifting insecurity interventions and pacification over time; moreover, the results allude to how new forms of control, power dynamics, and practices of resistance unfold in polyhedral and unforeseen ways through the borderising of bodies beyond the physical territory of PPG.

The social and cultural lynching of Afro-Brazilians and the criminalisation of blackness, and gendered anti-blackness persist as residents of Rio's favelas struggle against police violence and racism, and battle for the right to housing, citizenship and the practice of Afro-Brazilian cultures and religions, also illustrated through the life, political struggle, untimely death, and legacy of Marielle Franco (see section 2.2.). This project expands our understanding of residents' everyday experiences of living alongside a variety of changes in urban politics and insecurity over a decade with so-called 'pacification'. In this concluding chapter, I provide a brief overview of the main contributions of this study.

8.1 Contributions

8.1.1 Empirical contributions

This study of residents' experiences and everyday practices in a pacified favela over a fractured decade indicates how in both 'peacetime' and 'wartime', bodies are borderised through the work of death beyond the physical territory of the favela, thus revealing how militarisation and pacification operate as a 'changing same', drawing on racialisation and a 'civilising' approach that legitimates increased militarisation and the 'licence-to-kill' (see A3UPP). Although some residents emphasised positive changes in the community that arose as a result of the UPP's involvement during the first years of the pacification programme (when visible weapons were off the streets), this fractured longitudinal study indicates how residents' daily life during 'pacification' was characterised by multifaceted relations of power, socio-spatial negotiations, displacements, and everyday practices of resistance involving different actors in PPG and beyond. These elements emerged through polyhedral (see A1Polyhedron) or unpredictable facets during the different phases of the pacification programme from 2009 to 2018. This thesis reveals how socio-spatial negotiations of both resistance and control do not operate as isolated dynamics in PPG. Residents' everyday practices of resistance intersect with power dynamics and networks in and beyond the favela in ways that challenge dispositifs of control, such as the pacification programme (see A1Polyhedron). This fractured longitudinal approach (see A4Field) provides important knowledge of residents' experiences beyond the so-called 'rise and fall' of UPP (see A3UPP) and the polyhedral facets of living with changing urban politics in the context of increased militarization, police terror and racism (A2Racism). These insights from a fractured longitudinal study allow for expanded understandings of residents' everyday experiences alongside changing insecurity politics and militarization over time and are of particular relevance in debates on urbanisation, insecurity politics, citizenship, and racism.

8.1.2 Methodological contributions

Based on a genealogical and multi-phase or fractured longitudinal approach that followed residents' everyday experiences, practices, and reflections by drawing on multisensory and visual methods, the research provided a glimpse into the deviations, 'the unexpected', and situated ethics. It aimed for of a decolonial approach and including residents in the research process by photo walks and participatory photography. The numerous changes in the fields also affected the methods opted for and limited the use of participation and photography in the second phase of the fieldwork. It was thus a continuous process of learning and unlearning. This portion of the research also provided me with the opportunity to reflect on the failures and deviations of the project on different levels, with particular attention to the 'unfolding of the unforeseen' (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004), polyhedral facets (Håndlykken-Luz, 2019), and the im/possibilities of decolonising ethnography or culture studies. The process of conducting a multi-phase ethnographical fieldwork in combination with genealogy thus compelled me to reflect on deviations and the unforeseen in terms of methods, theory, ethics, and everyday practices. In developing an 'autoconstructing methodology' through a process of learning and unlearning, I drew on a situated approach while adapting the methodology to a changing context aiming for co-creation. This allowed me to give particular attention to the unforeseen, deviations, failures and changes in terms of methods, theories and practices and their intersections with urban politics and social and political changes in the field (see A4Field).

8.1.3 Theoretical contributions

In this project, I drew on fractured longitudinal ethnographical fieldwork in combination with genealogy. This allowed me to explore residents' everyday practices, the dynamics of resistance, and control and to display 'polyhedral facets of power' on different levels. This is the first theoretical contribution elaborated on in the article A1Polyhedron. Second, I coined the term 'everyday pigmentocratic practices' to unfold practices of racialisation articulated through both visible and more veiled forms of racism in Brazil (A2Racism) displaying practices of both hyperconsciousness and negation of race (Vargas,

2004). Lastly, the pacification and militarisation processes as a 'changing same'—mobilising new forms of borderising bodies and resistance beyond the physical territory of PPG—provided the third contribution (A3UPP). Beyond the theoretical contributions of articles 1–3, the theoretical aspects discussed in Chapter 7 provide important insights for thinking about the re-actualisation of racialisation and the socio-spatial control of a population treated as a 'surplus' and a threat. I suggest that thinking on the re-actualisations and tensions displayed through the '(de)colonial polyhedron of powers' allows for a discussion on new forms of control and resistance that challenge the dynamics of power and racialisation involved in the socio-spatial control of undesired populations, especially as they are involved in the re-production of the social and spatial order of Rio de Janeiro. The concept of 'corpo-fronteira' helps us understand the unfolding of new forms of power and resistance while bodies are increasingly borderised (Mbembe, 2019a) through the work of death, drawing on racialisation.

Finally, theorising with the so-called Global South and drawing on Southern Atlantic Black scholars and activists such as Beatriz Nascimento (2021), Lélia Gonzalez (1988) and Abdias Nascimento (1989) has allowed me to shift away from 'Euro-American theoretical and empirical centres'. This shift creates space for a scholarship that has been overlooked due to 'geo-cultural hierarchies' (Vegliò, 2021) and sheds light on the gendered dimension of anti-blackness and black women's experiences of violence and resistance as theorised through the notion of Amefricanity by Gonzales and the quilombo and the Atlantic by Nascimento. Establishing a dialogue between Southern Atlantic scholars in debates on urbanisation and cultural studies is thus an act of political positioning and de-Eurocentring, and allows for re-thinking the gendered dimension of the black Atlantic drawing on experiences of colonized black women, and their resistance theorised through the concept of Amefricanity and the Quilombo. Although limited to the context of a doctoral thesis, I hope that this project will contribute to the decolonising of cultural studies.

8.1.4 Political contributions

The extant literature and my study emphasise the emergency of responding to necropolitical practices and the deprivation of rights, citizenship, and dignity in the war on blacks in Brazil (Alves, 2018). These practices target the favelados and favelas as threats, thereby re-actualising a 'racial axis', manifested **through the physical, social, and cultural lynching of blacks in Brazil** (Nascimento, 1989). This research demonstrating the importance of examining racism and racialisation in the context of police violence and urban militarisation.

I have argued that what is at stake is a combination of different modalities of power such as biopolitics, disciplinary power, and necropolitics. While new forms of borderising bodies are displayed through pacification, and 'licence-to-kill', these processes draw on a 'racial axis' (Quijano, 2007, 181) and the fiction of race (Mbembe, 2017), which enable one to 'produce black enemies' (Alves, 2018, 8) as unfolded through the notion of 'racism as a perfect crime' (Munanga, 2012; Håndlykken-Luz, 2020) that was analysed in my second article (A2Racism). These strategies of urban security unfold pacification and militarisation as a 'changing same' (A3UPP). These insights are also of relevance for expanding our understanding of, and to challenge urban insecurity politics directed at marginalised and racialiced urban poor globally. This is not only true of the Global South; it is also the case in the so-called 'ghettos' of the Global North (Bendixen, 2018; see A2Racism).

8.2 Final reflections

This research journey went through numerous changes and deviations across a fractured decade. There was much material that was thus left out. At the same time, my reflections on the deviations, failures, and 'the left behind' guided the trajectory of wrapping up this multi-phase, fractured longitudinal study.

The favelas of PPG are peculiar, and they are not representative of the majority of favelas across the city of Rio de Janeiro. However, as a 'laboratory' of insecurity politics and pacification, they offered a unique opportunity to follow residents' everyday experiences

and reflections over time. PPG is unique in that because it is located near to the richest neighbourhoods in Rio, it is targeted by multiple urban upgrade initiatives over the past decades. Other favelas, some of which are pacified, may suffer from more police violence and conflicts; as such, the residents' narratives in this study differ from others on pacification and police violence in favelas. For instance, many feature interviews with activists or mothers who had lost their children at the hands of the police (see, for example, Alves, 2018 and Rocha, 2012) or women's experiences under 'pacification' (Veilette, and Nunes, 2017). However, I hope that with this research project I have shed light on how residents in a so-called 'pacified' favela experience, negotiate, and challenge new and overlapping modalities of power and dispositifs of control over time, how bodies are borderised through death, and how race and resistance are spatialised within and beyond the physical territory of the favela.

The attempt to engage with Amefrican Southern Atlantic scholars that align with decolonial thought has been an important aspect of this project and my trajectory as a researcher. In re-evaluating my work, and thinking backwards in this extended abstract, I have also illuminated the gendered dimension of anti-blackness and women's resistance in the favelas. The brutal death, political life, activism, and contributions of Marielle Franco remind us of the importance of black women's movements from the favelas, the gendered dimension of anti-black violence and genocide, and the potential for new forms of politics to emerge from the favelas and black Brazilian feminists. The scholarship of Nascimento and Gonzalez allowed me to reflect on the failures and im/possibilities of decolonising ethnography or cultural studies, as well as the limitations of my study in respect to engaging with black Brazilian feminist and perspectives on gender in my first articles. It was this limitation that prompted my writing of a much more extensive extended abstract than originally planned, aiming for 'thinking otherwise', and of re-evaluating my original approaches and interpretations. In doing so, I particularly focused on the deviations and 'failures' in the research process, both methodologically and theoretically, regardless of whether this might make the journey somewhat repetitive and less accessible. However, the limitations of this research also illuminate future

research avenues, particularly with respect to the gendered dimension and experiences of women and black women in the favelas, as well as those of children, who have received little attention in studies on police pacification in Brazil. As highlighted in the foregoing chapters, there is an extensive and important literature on the favelas and the UPP, as well as the gendered dimension of anti-blackness and motherhood in the favelas. Future research should be conducted on the experiences over time of both women and children in living in laboratories for urban security programs, such as in the so-called pacified favelas under the UPP initiatives and recent interventions in terms of police occupation and militarisation through the 'cidade integrada' programme launched in 2022.

In particular, I hope that the reflections on the deviations, ethics, failures, and (de)coloniality in this project will be of relevance to other scholars and students, specifically the trajectory of learning and unlearning of theory, methodology, and continuously redeveloping ethics from a situated approach: not standing in one place.

More research should be conducted across cities around the world and in the Global South. As Mbembe and Nuttall point out, the extant literature has failed to study the township in relation to urban ghettos and favelas or the relations and trafficking between these places (2004, 357). While this study adds to the global debate on studies on favelas, ghettos, and townships, similar neoliberal insecurity politics also target the urban poor and racialised populations in Europe. This is the case in the so-called ghetto politics in the social democracy of Denmark (Bendixen, 2018). This means that 'the becoming black of the world' and studies of politics directed towards 'surplus' populations globally are urgent. Ethnonationalism, racism, and the act of borderising bodies through the work of death is becoming an increasingly global matter, but further research is needed in respect to the experiences of women and children. We should engage with theories from and by the Global South and scholars excluded from Anglophone academia. In the field of culture studies, which largely focuses on differences, further dialogue with Southern Atlantic, postcolonial, and decolonial scholars would contribute to critical theory, methodology, epistemologies, ethics, and social justice. As Mbembe notes, 'in a world in which racism is more and more centred upon culture while biological justifications of racism are re-

emerging' and cultural difference is used to establish oppositions of whom are citizens and deserve citizenship and human rights, there is an urgent need for 'a set of new cultural practices' (2016b). Fighting for greater social and racial justice, a planetary humanism (Mbembe, 2021; Gilroy, 2002), and a world beyond race (Mbembe, 2017, 177), (see A2Racism) we have to invent new cultural practices 'to foster that kind of openness to the entirety of our world': 'something that has more to do with ethics of care, and ethics of openness towards the unknown' (Mbembe, 2016b). In the words of Nascimento, who emphasises the gendered dimension of the Black Atlantic and possibilities of healing as well as the quilombo, it is necessary; 'To put you once again in front of the world' (in Smith, Davies et al., 2021, 316).

Finally, residents and their everyday experiences of urban insecurity and interventions over longer periods of time should be built on in further research. Including residents' own practices and their reflections on the challenges, solutions, and resistances to 'ghetto-politics' is essential – even if doing so carries its own ethical challenges This needs to be done in order to challenge an increasing 'ghetto-politics' directed towards populations seen as surplus and a threat, whether they are residents in Rio's favelas targeted by pacification and the 'licence-to-kill', in Denmark's so-called ghettos, or refugees left to die at sea and borderised through the work of death.

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Articles

Article 1

Håndlykken-Luz, Å. (2019). Polyhedron of powers, displacements, socio-spatial negotiations and residents' everyday experiences in a 'pacified' favela. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 18(6): 1321–1346. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1800774.

Polyhedron of Powers, Displacements, Socio-Spatial Negotiations and Residents' Everyday Experiences in a "Pacified" Favela

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Abstract

This article discusses longitudinal ethnographic research conducted in Rio de Janeiro from 2011 to 2018. I draw on Foucault's concept of *dispositif* and employ his term *polyhedron* to analyze three different facets of the longitudinal data with the aim of contributing to the debate on everyday urban politics and peripheral urbanization: (1) genealogies of the so-called favela problem; (2) residents' everyday experiences and practices related to space and tactics; and (3) the socio-spatial aspects of citizenship. These sides are all highly relevant in understanding the everyday experiences of residents living in a "pacified" favela over time.

Although residents tended to emphasize the positive aspects of implementing UPPs (Police Pacification Units) and the "pacification-programme" during its first years, the analysis reveals that inhabitants were living through multi-faceted and changing relationships encompassing power, negotiation, displacement, everyday uncertainty, and resistance in the context of increased urban militarization. I argue that the analytic form of the polyhedron in combination with longitudinal ethnography allows for reflection on critical intersections and the constant changes of spatial strategies, everyday practices and tactics, and how actual people living in the city contribute to the shaping and re-shaping of new forms within the polyhedron of powers, interfacing with urban regeneration and (in)security politics.

Keywords

Favela, UPP (Police Pacification Unit), dispositif, polyhedron, everyday urban politics, urbanization in the Global South

Introduction

In preparation for both the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, 38 Police Pacifications Units (UPPs)[1] were installed in favelas around the city. Beginning in 2008, these units aimed to formally "integrate" these favelas into strategic areas of Rio de Janeiro, thus providing "full citizenship" to all residents. In this article, I present the findings of longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the favelas[2] Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo (PPG) where a UPP was installed in 2009. This research explores the everyday experiences of residents who had been treated as "sub-citizens" (Souza, 2007) and criminalized in the context of naturalization and the (re)production of extreme social inequality (Souza, 2017) for decades. Although residents tended to emphasize the positive aspects of the UPP program in its first years, this longitudinal study of the "pacification program" revealed that residents were forced to negotiate polyhedral or multifaceted and changing relationships involving power, displacement, everyday uncertainty, and resistance in the context of increased urban militarization. The urban renewal process was accelerated, and investments were initiated in Rio de Janeiro to prepare for the 2014 and 2016 mega-events.

UPPs draw on a "policing of proximity" model whereby specially trained police officers permanently remain in a given territory after the military has expelled armed gangs and regained state control. In addition to regaining territory from drug traffickers, UPPs return "peace and public tranquility to the local residents" so they may exercise "full citizenship that guarantees both social and economic development" (UPP, 2013).

The UPPs thus follow on approaches to community policing that were previously used in Bogota. They were also trained in both Haiti and Israel. Similar to Murakami Wood (2013), I argue that this militarization of urban marginalities (Wacquant, 2008; Graham, 2011) in dealing with the urban poor in slums or ghettos operates as part of a transnational urban (in)security network. This form of power-knowledge produces effects in a spatial or biopolitical dispositif (Foucault, 1980). That is, as facets of a polyhedron.

To develop this argument, I draw on Foucault's concept of dispositif and introduce the term polyhedron to analyze three different sides of the longitudinal data with the aim of contributing to the debate on everyday urban politics and peripheral urbanization. Here, the polyhedron displays three distinct facets: (1) genealogies of the so-called favela problem, (2) residents' everyday experiences and practices related to space and tactics, and (3) the socio-spatial aspects of citizenship. I argue that the analytic form of the polyhedron in combination with longitudinal ethnography allows researchers to reflect on intersections and constant changes in spatial strategies, everyday practices and tactics, and how actual people living in the city shape new forms within the polyhedron of powers for a certain period of time, as they exist through urban (in)security politics directed at regeneration or policing urban peripheries in cities of the global South and North.

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[1] For the official representation of the UPP see: http://www.upprj.com. For an overview of research on the UPP in different phases see the edited volume *Militarização no Rio de Janeiro: da pacificação à intervenção* (Rocha et al, 2018), Marielle Franco's masters thesis (Franco, 2014). For studies on the first phase of UPP see: Borges et al (2012) and a report by the World Bank including a survey of perceptions of UPP in PPG (Banco Mundial, 2012).

[2] The term *favela* is often translated as slum, shantytown, informal settlement, or informal city. This is in contrast to the *asfalto* (formal city). Favelas contain a heterogeneous collection of houses that are frequently constructed of brick, are several stories high, and not necessarily in the city's periphery. *Favela* or *favelado* (slum dweller) may be considered pejorative in many contexts. Therefore, community or *morro* (hill) is often used. For more information on favelas and urban peripheries in Brazil see: Perlman (2010: 29), Valladares (2006), the edited volumes by Zaluar and Alvito (2006), Machado da Silva et al (2012), and Carneiro and Sant'Anna (2009).

Fieldwork and Methodology

Fieldwork was conducted in the neighboring favelas Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo (PPG) over a 20-month period from 2011-2013 and over six weeks in 2018. Official data indicate that PPG is home to 10,338 residents (IBGE, 2010), although more than 30,000 may actually live in the area. It received Rio's fifth UPP, thus containing 176 police officers as of December 2009. Further, while the Federal Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (Growth Acceleration Programme, PAC) has invested R$35.2 million in area infrastructure since 2007 (Banco Mundial, 2012), hundreds of houses were marked for eviction over the same period. The favelas of PPG are located in the privileged South Zone of Rio. That is, in the Ipanema and Copacabana neighborhoods. PPG consists mainly of residents' self-built homes constructed over decades, from one-story wooden houses in the early 20th century in Cantagalo, to two- three- or four-story auto-constructed houses in bricks and cements expanding rapidly over the past decades throughout the whole area.

Fieldwork included participatory photomapping, photo walks, photo elicitations, interviews, and participant observation. The first interviews were conducted after 10 months of participant observation and learning the local language (Portuguese). In 2018, I spent another six weeks in PPG conducting interviews and taking photo walks with residents I met during the first fieldwork phase. For security reasons, many refrained from participating in interviews or having their photographs taken. However, those that did were asked to photograph "everyday life" and record recent changes in the favela. They then selected photographs and other information they wished to be included in this research project. Because this longitudinal study drew on both genealogy (Foucault, 1984:81) and ethnography, many deviations, unsaid information, changing facets, and elements that could not be photographed were essential as both fieldwork data and in analyzing everyday life in the "pacified" favela over time.

The article is structured as follows. First, I engage with the literature on everyday urban experiences, dispositif and polyhedron of powers. Second, I analyze the genealogies of the so-called favela problem. Third, I offer an analysis of the material derived from my ethnographic fieldwork. Finally, I discuss socio-spatial relations and citizenship.

Everyday Urban Experiences, Dispositif and the Polyhedron of Powers

Everyday urban politics and peripheral urbanization

Everyday life is reduced to a kind of permanent emergency for many residents living in contested spaces, marked by shifting and deviating urban politics (Simone, 2004; Mbembe, 2003). Research on urban change and urban renewal projects has often drawn on theories of the "state of exception" (Agamben, 2005) while focusing on emergencies experienced by residents. However, Richmond and Garmany (2016) argue that theoretical models based in European or North American contexts (e.g., the "city-of-exception thesis") may conceal more than they reveal in studies on rapidly changing cities such as Brazil. As such, experiences of what Vainer (2011) call a "permanent state of emergency" (Richmond and Garmany, 2015: 8) in addition to uncertainty experienced in everyday practices may be perceived very differently, change over time, and uniquely apply to different actors in different contexts. Scholars such as Caldeira (2017), Holston (2008), and Simone (2004; 2011; 2016) have investigated autoconstruction, homemaking, and the logic of interaction in everyday urban life in a variety of southern cities. Simone (2004: 5) explained that "self-responsibility for urban survival has opened up spaces for different ways of organizing activities. The critical geographer Milton Santos (2017) pointed out the importance of studies on place and everyday life and the role of the poor in the creation of the future, despite presently living as subalterns in an everyday marked by prejudice (2017: 327). However, as Caldeira (2017) emphasized, people do not necessarily act this way in secret. Rather, there are "transversal logics" that do not necessarily contest official logics (e.g., property, formal labor, or market

capitalism), but operate with them in transversal ways (2017: 7). The term "peripheral urbanization" does not necessary imply an absence of the state, illegality, or informality; it does not refer to a specific spatial location or margin but can be anywhere (2017: 4). This longitudinal study of urban space, powers, and everyday life in Rio de Janeiro, will add productive nuances to the investigation of changing power relations and provide further information about cultural and social changes in urban spaces at large.[3]

Recent studies on cities and urban life emphasize accounts of everyday urban politics (Beveridge and Koch, 2019), practices and materialities (McFarlane, 2018; Simone and Pieterse, 2017). There are numerous studies on favelas in Rio (Zaluar and Alvito, 2006; Machado da Silva, 2008; Carneiro and Sant'Anna, 2009; Machado da Silva et al., 2012), including analyses of UPP (Rocha et al, 2018; Franco, 2014: Leite, 2014; Borges et al., 2012). Though some researchers have studied favelas using a longitudinal approach (Perlman, 2010) and provided a genealogy of the favela discourses (Penglase, 2014), only a limited number of studies combine ethnographic fieldwork and genealogy as a method, particularly through longitudinal research on residents' experiences with urban security programs such as the UPP. The relationships between materiality, practice, and politics involve unexpected consequences, deviations, and interruptions which make it necessary to study urban politics, resistance (Frers and Meier, 2017), and interventions over time (Degen, 2017). Another aspect that needs further investigation is the relation between the everyday, materialities and dispositif that go beyond the micro, material and everyday habitat. Despite the existence of many studies on everyday materialities (McFarlane, 2016; Simone and Pieterse, 2017; Caldeira, 2017), few have examined the concept of dispositif and the city (Pløger, 2008). Leite (2014) studied the initial phase of the "pacification programme" as a dispositif, while Legg (2011) discusses the possibility of apparatus/dispositif and assemblages thought of dialectally and points to their relations as they originate in the work of Foucault and Deleuze. Simone emphasized the usefulness of assemblage thinking by drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's (1980) notion of assemblage in understanding city articulation (Simone, 2011: 357). There is also an established body of literature concerning cities as dynamic assemblages (Richmond, 2018; Simone and Pieterse, 2017; Simone, 2011; Brenner et al., 2011; McFarlane, 2011). Richmond (2018) has studied the favela as a socio-spatial assemblage with an emphasis on what has been holding it together for over a century. As opposed to focusing on "the holding together" of a socio-spatial heterogeneous object, I argue that the term polyhedron helps describe what is "slipping away from us" (Simone, 2011: 356), as well pointing to negotiations of power, and the unfolding of the unforeseen (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: 349), including possible resistance and insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2008). I suggest that thinking of the terms polyhedron and assemblage display the dialectical tension inherent in studying socio-spatial heterogeneous objects and negotiations of power over time.

Everyday urban experiences, polyhedron of powers and dispositif

In addressing urban peripheries and everyday urban experiences, I depart from Foucault's concept of dispositif to rather focus on developing my analysis through the form of a polyhedron, to thus shed light on three specific and different facets of my longitudinal data. This connects the everyday urban experiences of residents and materiality to the complex negotiations and processes of power-knowledge, socio-spatial relations; the visible or invisible, and deviations. Some studies have applied dispositif as a technical analytical tool, or one that is related to spatial control and urban planning (Pløger, 2008). However, I use the concept of dispositif as a point of departure, providing access to different facets of resistance, struggles, tactics, curves or the "lines of subjectivation" (Deleuze 2014: 130). I suggest that the analytic form of the polyhedron of powers sheds light on the complexity of urban processes and

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[3] Scholars have pointed out the need for a "southern theory" in the study of informality and marginalization involving cities in the so-called north (Devlin, 2018).

change, in addition to unfolding unknown facets, including possible resistance and insurgent citizenship investigated in a longitudinal ethnographic study.

This study utilizes a genealogical approach, following Michel Foucault's later conception of the relations between dispositif, powers, and spatial practices, including the said and the unsaid, deviations and the changing facets and relations of power not known in advance. To connect these concepts to the practices I encountered in my fieldwork, I also employ Michel de Certeau's notion of tactics, as opposed to strategies, in everyday life: "Pedestrian movements form one of these 'real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city.' They are not localized; it is rather they that spatialize" (De Certeau, 1988: 97). While Penglase (2014) draws on Certeaus's notion on tactics in studies on favelas, I attempt to go beyond the situational and investigate how tactics and uncertainty might unfold and be experienced differently for various actors living in a pacified favela over time.

As Foucault insists, the dispositif is both discursive and non-discursive. It contains the said as much as the unsaid, both words and materials. As such, the dispositif is a "heterogeneous ensemble" (i.e., of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, laws, and morals). Finally, it contains a "strategic function" at "a given historical moment corresponding to an urgent need" (Foucault, 1980: 194-195). In order to detect the invisible mechanisms, the mobile and contradictory discourses seeking to legitimate the exclusion (or partial "inclusion" and "pacification") of the favelas it is necessary analyzing "the field of multiple and mobile power relations" (…), meaning that "their existence depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance" (Foucault, 1998: 94-95). Drawing on the dispositif opens multiple lines in this analysis. As I will show, these extend beyond governing and biopolitics, power-knowledge, and discourses or studies on governmentality or institutions.

Departing from Foucault's notion of dispositif, I developed my analysis by arranging the different aspects that arise in my study as the not yet fully known and changing facets of a polyhedron. Foucault mentions the term polyhedron in a discussion of historians' methodology, as a critique of a structuralist approach to the unity of historical events. He uses the term in the following way:

> As a way of lightening the weight of causality, 'eventalization' thus works by constructing around the singular event analyzed as process a 'polygon' or, rather, a 'polyhedron' of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite (2002: 227).

Foucault describes how we do not know the facets of the polyhedron in advance. I suggest going beyond this understanding and analyzing the different facets of the polyhedron as growing, examining how they change over time, through a longitudinal approach. I also attempt to shed light on the power of the unforeseen, adding the notion of tactics and people's actions that might change spatial strategies, and an existing dispositif for a shorter or longer duration. In this way, I also use genealogical methods in my fieldwork and ethnographic analysis.

In the next section, I move from a genealogical approach to further interpret the individual actions and relations of power and discontinuities shaping the polyhedron of powers, itself in constant change. The facets are not known in advance. As Foucault wrote of genealogy, the issue is whether "to make visible all those discontinuities that cross us" (Foucault, 2007: 350). Thus, in the context of living in a changing "pacified" urban space, the micro powers, resistances, tactics, spatial practices, and knowledge of everyday life should be genealogically examined as they interplay with macro and spatial strategies.

Genealogies of the so-called Favela Problem

This section follows the descent of the favela from a genealogical perspective and is suggested as one of the facets of the polyhedron of powers in this analysis.

Favelas emerged during the late 19th century, with many in areas that, at the time, were established as *quilombos* (settlements established by fugitive slaves) (Campos, 2010). After the abolishment of slavery in 1888, urban politics have been directed at "civilizing" favelas and *favelado(s)*, residents of favelas. The first major urban renewal reform in Rio in the early 1900s aimed at upgrading and civilizing the city to become a modern capital, while the poor were evicted and favelas and *cortiços* (tenement buildings) destroyed (Maede, 1999; Abreu, 2006). The newspaper *Journal do Brasil* described the hill (or favela) in 1911: [it is] "infested with vagabonds and criminals and was therefore a shame for a civilized capital" (Valladares, citied in Novaes, 2014: 206). Further, the "politics of hygiene" meant that poor urban blacks were increasingly discriminated against and evicted from central urban areas (Andrews, 2004), while white European workers were imported during the early 20th century (Maede, 1999).

Numerous researchers have studied the criminalization of blackness (Andrews, 2004; Vargas, 2004; Alves, 2018; Mbembe, 2017), such as in the case of the discriminatory attitude of the police force toward the afro-Brazilian population during the 19th century displayed in attempts to criminalize capoeira and afro-Brazilian religions such as *kandomlé*, as well as in the pacification and the urban militarization of Rio de Janeiro which "enables black enemies" (Alves 2018: 8), "no-bodies" (Silva, 2014), and a "genocide" of black Brazilians (Vargas, 2008). It has also been described as an attempt to destroy local *quilombos* (settlements established by fugitive slaves), later resulting in the mass removal of favelas during the 1960s and 1970s. These strategies took new forms in the 1980s and 1990s, when warfare and military tactics were used in the fight against drug gangs that took control of many favelas in Rio. This discourse changed from one of "war" to "peace" in the beginning of 2008 and so-called inclusion into the formal city followed (Leite, 2014). More than 22,000 families (about 77,000 people) were evicted in Rio from 2009-2015 due to "risk," environmental protection, or infrastructural issues while preparing for the mega-events (Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas, 2015).

We may consider the "pacification programme" as a spatial and biopolitical dispositif. This does not necessary imply that it completely replaced the previous phase. Warfare and militarization continue in other forms, in this case through the military intervention in Rio in 2018 (Rocha et al, 2018). Another case is the initiative permitting snipers to execute potential criminals in the favelas, suggested by the Rio Governor Witzel in 2018 (Kaiser, 2019), and the possibility of police officers exempt from trial when shooting in service, as suggested in the new Self-Defense Bill of the Minister of Justice, Sergio Moro in 2019 (Mattoso and Della Coletta, 2019). The urban politics involved upgrading of the port area, displacement of the poor in central areas and developing infrastructure such as cable cars in some "pacified" favelas that became a tourist attraction, while residents asked for basic services. The UPP-programme then appeared as a "dominant strategic function" (Foucault, 1980: 195), made possible during lead up to the Olympics and World Cup, and was also crucial to convince the international community that a city such as Rio was secure and ready to host such events. The dispositif as a condition of possibility is also related to power-knowledge, taking the form of a transnational network of (in)security. This defines the ways of dealing with the "urban poor" and transforming perceived slums through new strategies of urban militarization.

Figure 1: Drawing by cartoonist and activist Latuff (2013)

Millions of Brazilians engaged in a mass protest in 2013. At this time, a cartoon vividly illustrated that, "in the favela the bullets are real" (Figure 1), showing armed police shooting rubber bullets at white *asfalto* (formal district) inhabitants, while real bullets are directed at favela inhabitants, most of whom are Afro-Brazilians and thus depicted with a different skin color.[4] As Degen argues, "the senses are as such an integral part of the social production of urban space" (2008: loc, 1582). Senses and how they relate to the urban space and its inhabitants (including skin color) are clearly significant in the representations of residents of favelas as criminals, as targets for police violence and racism (see also Figure 1). The meanings and powers embedded in the mapping (i.e., what is emphasized or made invisible) are crucial for the multifaceted social construction of an urban space.

As Andrews (2004) emphasizes, the state has legitimated a war on blackness or "institutional racism" in many ways, most of which are largely based on "civilizing" blacks, the "whitening" theory, the myth of a "racial democracy," (165) and the social creation of the favela as a criminalized space of "otherness."[5] This development is also evident in my longitudinal fieldwork. Ronaldo, a resident[6] of Cantagalo, commented that the presence of heavy weapons decreased in 2012. However, when I met Ronaldo again in 2018, he explained that the situation had changed since the first occupation in 2010, as follows:

> Now with the pacification project, the police pacification ended. It means they are in the space, but only in the block. So, the trafficking, it all came back to normal, right. So for the ones who are in the community [favela] will see armed actors again. And we live again in this insecurity in the territory. But I, as I was born and raised here, I am a bit used to this routine. So I will walk without being with fear, like that, knowing that at any time there

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[4] In 2017, more than 1,000 people (mostly black young men) were killed by police in Rio. See Leite (2012b), and Alves (2018) on police violence and racism.

[5] See also Telles (2004) and Munanga (2017).

[6] All interviews were conducted by the author in Portuguese and translated into English. Fictitious names are used in the text for residents who wished to remain anonymous, however, some residents wanted to use their real names. I spoke with residents over an extended period of time and was open to those who wished to change their voices. Rose (2006) discusses the use of a participant's name during visual research and participatory photomapping. She argues that non-anonymization can be an option when participants believe it is important to have recognition and ownership (e.g., when contributing visual material). This research was registered with the Norwegian Social Scientific Dataservice (NSD) and conducted according to National Research Ethics Committee guidelines.

can be a shootout, that there can be a conflict. But, it is a daily affair that I am already used to, unfortunately (2018).

Although there were some positive reports during the first years, the techniques and strategies appear to return to militarization. Here, the ambitious "pacification" project appears to have failed. In 2018, nearly half of all 38 UPPs were closing down and the federal army took control of Rio de Janeiro's security for the first time in democratic Brazil.

The discourse of "pacification," "peace," "inclusion," and "full citizenship" contains multiple elements and relations that are characteristic of the dispositif. It also changes and discontinues, as does the so-called "programme." Leite (2014) emphasized the numerous deviations in this project; there was no clear strategy from its 2008 beginning when the UPPs were formed. Some of these deviations and changes were evident during the first years of the UPP (including the UPP social), when police officers also functioned as social workers and even music teachers. However, the changing discourses, strategies, plans, and spatialization (including non-articulated intentions or prejudices) reveals processes aiming at "civilizing" or "normalizing" the favelas and favelados. Urban interventions, mapping, and silencing are all parts of the social, material and discursive dispositif that casts the favela and its residents in a specific way, displaying different facets of the polyhedron over time, while the residents are affected by and affect the shifting power relations. This longitudinal study of residents' experiences of living for almost a decade in a "pacified" favela revealed their displacements and negotiations. In the next section, I draw on the residents' own experiences and narratives of how everyday practices and tactics intersect with spatial strategies in urban everyday life.

Everyday Resident Experiences and Practices Related to Space and Tactics

This section discusses built forms, space-related experiences and practices through residents' narratives and photos. Here, I explore the polyhedral intersections of spatial strategies, everyday practices, and tactics drawing on ethnographic longitudinal data. How do we think of the surfaces or the unfolding power of the unforeseen (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: 349) as facets in everyday urban life?

Unfolding the power of the unforeseen, displacements and everyday socio-spatial negotiations

(…) a street was supposed to be built within the community for improving the access for cars, right. And a lot of houses were demolished, right. People received benefits, money, then, but this ... the state [of Rio] went bankrupt, right. And it all stopped, right. Here in the territory, the people who received the compensation, they even have constructed again in the same place. The houses, where they were demolished, the people built again in the same place, right. Because there are no forecasts to resume the works of PAC [planned public work] for improvement in the community, right (Ronaldo, interview, August 2, 2018).

Public infrastructural investment through the PAC program was abandoned in 2014. The map in Figure 2 shows the planned street in 2012 in addition to parts of the abandoned public works where the street was supposed to be constructed. Dona Vieira, a resident of PPG explained that

they did not make the street, not even half of it" (…) "It stopped there, as you might have seen, and not even half of it is there. That's because of our ex-governor, right. I trusted him a lot… and today… Cabral (Interview, August 1, 2018).

Figure 2: A 2018 photo of the planned street and a map distributed at a 2011 community PPG meeting. This shows the planned public work (PAC), which was abandoned in 2014 (Author, 2018).

Residents of PPG said that I should photograph the men working there because most people were workers. However, this was not how the media portrayed them; most residents were presented as criminals.

I asked residents of PPG about the distribution of "land titles"[7] and the newly planned building for the Residents' Association, which was supposed to be built on the street pictured in Figure 2. Except for the symbolic land titles distributed to some families in 2011, residents explained that nothing had happened. Paradoxically, the institute funding the project was not able to obtain the desired land title for the Residents' Association. Thus, the building featured in the book *Galo Cantou* in 2011 (Figure 3) could not obtain funding and so was not built. However, the project was presented at the Biennale of Architecture in São Paulo in 2011. Drawings of what the favela could (or should) have looked like (according to architects and planners) are part of the dispositif. The drawings are also part of the heterogeneous ensemble that consists of both material, plans, the said and the unsaid – all of these together making connections that become part of the network and create relations within the dispositif. In this case, obstacles stemming from legal issues intersected with the plans so that the land could not be legalized and the investors thus did not receive funding for building the project. This case reveals how unforeseen aspects of the polyhedron intersect with and fold into the planned project and the dispositif over time. Instead of obtaining the building that was supposed to be funded by Instituto Atlantico, the inhabitants had to find another solution by negotiating with their neighbors and integrating the association in an already existing building with fewer resources. As such the Residents' Association was transferred to an existing building on the same street; inhabitants were offered a new space on the second floor and built one floor themselves for the association, integrating local architecture and building

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[7] See Castro (2011). Ferreira Magalhães (2013) questions who benefits from the project and whether it is a means of eviction through regularization. See also Rolnik (2015) on access to housing in Brazil, the housing market, and global financial capitalism.

practice. I walked past the new Resident Association but was not able to take photographs for security reasons as armed traffickers were now standing as guards in the street.

Figure 3: The planned Residents' Association featured in the book *Galo Canto*, produced by Instituto Atlantico in 2011 (Castro, 2011). The project was presented at the Biennale of Architecture in São Paulo in 2011. It was never built.

These examples illustrate some of the spatial and strategic aspects of the dispositif in terms of infrastructure, architecture, and planned public and private investments. The polyhedral relation of powers, negotiations, and everyday practices and tactics appear as processes that intersect over time. They are not stable or finite, they are "slipping away from us" (Simone, 2011: 356). As such, the intersection of multiple facets, longer terms, spatial and strategical processes, and daily life practices in the form of everyday tactics and negotiations shows that the "power of the unforeseen [is] unfolding" (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: 349). These forces are crucial during urban change. The next section explores resident narratives through their own selection of photos unfolding everyday life.

Narratives of everyday practices and tactics

It is not that difficult, but it is complicated. We have to be very intelligent, know with whom you are talking, know where to go. We don't get help from the government. The battle is ours, really, because we live in a community (Fabio, PPG, photo walk, July 14, 2018).

As de Certeau (1988) noted, the tactics used to oppose or sidestep strategies are characterized by how individuals adapt to their daily environments. Their everyday actions depend on context. Residents explained that they were adapting to shifting power relations, feeling like hostages situated between the police and traffickers.

Machado da Silva has theorized living and adapting to everyday life in a context of urban violence characterized by forms of uncertainty, arbitrariness and brutal physical violence as in the favelas of Rio, coining the concept *sociabilidade violenta* (2004; 2008), or violent sociability. Residents living in favelas are thus dominated both by the prevailing social order and by violent sociability while they are

subjugated to the brutal force of the traffickers (2008, 22). Violent sociability coexists with other forms of sociability, but points to sociability in a context where people are subjugated to violence that impacts social relations and interactions and also creates distrust among residents. In the case of the favelas, this means that everyday practices, tactics or silences do not necessarily comply with the "law of traffickers," rather these signal an undesired complicity due to brutal force, the "law of traffickers" and the "law of silence" people are subjugated to, in living their "normal" everyday lives. (2004, 78-79). Although residents live in a place characterized by violent sociability, they claimed that the power of the traffickers was less present and brutal for some years, while the UPP permanently occupied PPG since 2009, which might indicate changing "violent sociability." However, residents were obliged to live a "normalized" everyday life with continuous violence and power relations changing from traffickers to police over time, thus displaying polyhedral facets relating to the unknown, with attempts to resist police violence and the returning power and violence of the traffickers.

Residents also had to negotiate with other powerful actors, while the "law of the traffickers" returned over the past two years. Further, "native" traffickers had recently been swopped with traffickers from *fora* (outside) as a strategy to gain more territorial control. Residents described how both they and the traffickers lived in different forms of uncertainty, not knowing "who is who." Although residents emphasized how traffickers from outside acted differently, Machado da Silva emphasizes that residents are still subjugated to the same kind of arbitrariness and brutality depending on the mood of the trafficker on a given day (2008, 22). However, though the uncertainty and insecurity experienced by some residents appeared to be life "back to normal," as it was before the UPP, some experienced the unforeseen differently. For instance, mothers with small children explained that those born a decade ago were not used to daily shootouts or seeing armed people (except the police). Traffickers had since become visible in the streets with machine guns. I was once mistaken for a journalist by the *dono de morro* (chief of the drug faction), who walked towards us with his armed guards while we were taking photographs from the elevator tower. While this created uncertainty for me during fieldwork, it was also risky for participants who walked with me and photographed as part of the project.

The development of solutions that in some way or other also affect construction, infrastructure, and spatial practice usually show the tactics of everyday life . However, residents' movements throughout the city also reveal the tactics of everyday life. Violent sociability and unforeseen facets challenge how bodies and footsteps actualize the city. The following example from my fieldwork is evidence of this: while walking through the favela with Fabio, a PPG native, we had to change course quickly. As he stated, this was *"(…) because it was a tense situation. (…) The caveirão (police tank) was coming and we had to walk back" (Fabio, photo walk and video 14, July 2018)*. This is a part of everyday life; residents do not know whether the police will arrive in the *caveirão* with the intention to shoot, or if they will stop and have a barbecue. Pengalese (2014) also emphasized how residents in Rio's favelas have to deal with unpredictable and urban violence in their daily lives, as one resident said "to live here you have to know how to live" (2014:3). This indicates polyhedral aspects to uncertainty (or the unfolding of the unforeseen) particularly evident in residents experiences of living in a context characterized by "violent sociability" (Machado da Silva, 2008), and with alternating UPP and trafficker control.

Many residents use recent apps and maps such as *Fogo Cruzado* that show shootouts in real time, as users can upload information. As such, maps or apps such as *Fogo Cruzado* are also one of multiple intersecting layers shaping the mental maps of the urban space guiding residents' movements through the city. However, residents reported that similar initiatives using social media groups to report shootouts were forced to shut down because of pressure from traffickers, which reveals how residents are subjugated to trafficker's power and "violent sociability." On the other hand, traffickers also used such apps that occasionally were blocked by the police or led to arrests. While the apps such as *Fogo Cruzado* might provide access to information in real time, additional measures including listening for, and to, the

sound of shootouts to identify what kind of firearm was used, or whether it was fireworks, indicate to residents if the police are coming. In addition, talking to people in the streets before walking through the favela is crucial.
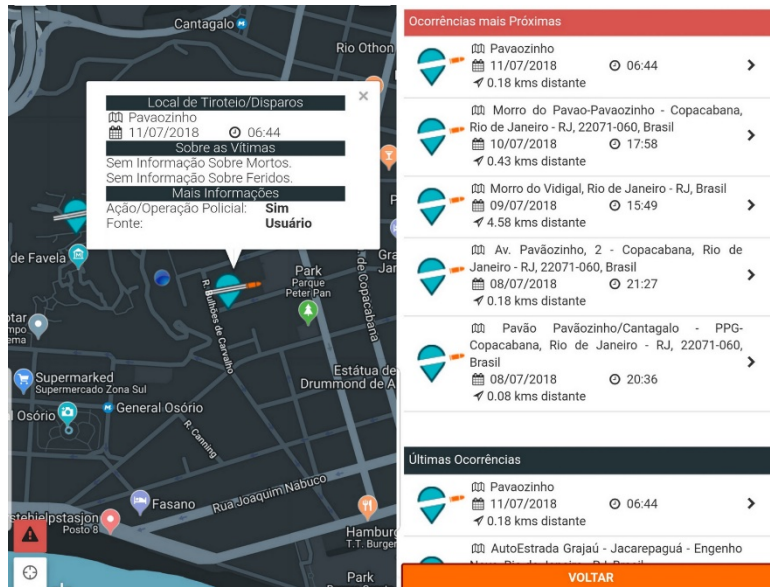
Figure 4: Screenshot from the *Fogo Cruzado* app on July 2018. This showed the latest registered shootouts in my neighborhood at the time. The blue point indicates my location; the shootout was registered at a street approximately 0.18 km from Pavão-Pavãozinho. The user registered that it was a police operation.

In the examples above the analysis of how the unforeseen unfolds reveals how tactics and spatial strategies play out in local contexts of a changing "violent sociability," thus displaying the polyhedral intersections of power that are in motion in PPG.

Figure 5: *Casa-tela* showing the history of Cantagalo emerging from a *quilombo* in 1907 (Marcia, 2018) (*Casa-tela–santa do casarão* by ACME) (Author, 2012).

Another example are the *casa-telas* (graffiti) as pictured in Figure 5. They depict community stories and some are painted on local houses. The traffickers recently increased in number, and they requested residents to remove one of the *casa-telas* that I photographed in 2012. The area is now painted with symbols of the local football team and murals of residents who died in confrontations. One resident pointed out that the young drug traffickers are now from *fora* (outside). That is, they are not native to the favela. This adds another aspect of uncertainty for residents because it is difficult to read and predict their behavior. Although research indicates that in both cases traffickers act with brutality and arbitrariness depending on their moods and internal fights (Machado da Silva, 2008: 22), many residents emphasized their status as outsiders due to recent changes in territory that had been dominated by native traffickers for a long time. The outside traffickers also acted arbitrarily when they were uncertain if people were residents, users, or informers. We witnessed traffickers threating a man with weapons when he came to buy drugs. The resident walking with me said that it was because they did not know who he was; he was dressed in a nice shirt and appeared to be a favela outsider. One resident said that these traffickers did not know the history of the favela. Thus, discussions involving history and the *casa-tela* were also used as tactics in situations that required the negotiation of socio-spatial meaning, or when attempting to destabilize power relations while, for instance, in a tense or critical situation. One could use these measures to develop a sense of trust or belonging to the favela.

Residents from PPG wanted to show the arbitrary public investments in the favela and the clever solutions of residents to infrastructural issues. I invited Marcia and Fabio to photograph everyday life and changes since the UPP were installed. They selected which of their photos would be included here. Marcia's photos in Figures 6 and 7 show how, outside of public infrastructural investment, residents develop their own solutions, architectural forms, and spatial practices. These collide and intersect with the spatialized strategies of various actors such as the local government thus also continually transforming the polyhedron of powers. Marcia wanted to show me second-hand government services implemented through PAC or services such as access to electricity and basic services alongside the solutions that residents had developed to deal with the numerous challenges that they face in an area. She explained that a lack of light caused by the increased density of built structures and the narrowed alleys influenced residents to respond by making improvised lamps from discarded materials, including plastic bottles.

Figure 6: Public investments and resident solutions. This is a power supply from old railway sleepers that is still used today (Marcia, 2018).

Figure 7: Everyday solutions. This shows a lamp made from a plastic bottle (Marcia, 2018).

These examples relate to Santos's (2017) emphasis on how the poor reevaluate the *tecnosfera* (technosphere) and the *psicosfera* (psychosphere) and find new uses for objects and techniques and "new practical articulations and new norms, in the social and emotional life" (Santos, 2017: 326). He points

out the strength of what he names "the slow people" who inhabit "opaque spaces" and do not take part in accelerated hegemonic spaces, their strength lays in their creative potential and reflection and making a future (2017, 325-326). "Opaque spaces" refers to the experience of living in Brazilian peripheries or favelas and here "slow people" is not seen as pejorative. The strength and creative potential can be found in house building and the DIY solutions of PPG residents. I have shown how everyday practices, such as autoconstruction, that can be understood as tactical interventions in space with different degrees of longevity, contribute to the re-shaping of new forms within the polyhedron of powers over certain periods of time.

Socio-Spatial Negotiations and Citizenship: "This is my castle…"?

Figure 8: Housing construction (Fabio, 2018). Using space (Marcia, 2018).

"This is my castle, I constructed the house with my own labor. I built the doors and the windows... I will never leave this place." Marcia related the story of her grandmother to me when discussing residents' resistance to eviction and how people relate to their homes. She referred to her grandmother as follows:

> (…) They never wanted to leave the favela. (…) I came to understand, a person who comes
> from a family of slaves, they did not have many things, right. Then when she came to Rio
> de Janeiro, she lived in the house of other people, and when she started to build her house
> in the favela, it became her castle. (…) She did not want to leave it, right, because it was
> her great conquest (Interview, Marcia, July 18, 2018).

It takes a whole life to build a house, which in a way is never finished. Rather, residents leave space on the roof for one more floor that may be used by future generations or as investments. Numerous residents talked about their homes, including the years they spent constructing them. Many houses were constructed as blocks containing three or four floors. Because the narrow streets and houses obstruct light and airflow, residents who could afford it constructed additional floors. Some would then rent out their ground floors. The house depicted in Figure 8 contains six rooftop water tanks, indicating the presence of six families, one resident explained that you could accurately count how many people lived in a building in this way.

As such, autoconstruction and its impact on built forms in the favela here is a tactic that affects the polyhedral qualities of urban space, thus also infringing on the sphere of strategies. Spatializing over time creates "alternative futures, produced in the experience of becoming propertied, organizing social movements, participating in consumer markets, and making aesthetic judgment about house transformations" (Holston, 2008: 8). Urban reforms and spatial strategies of control may challenge these tactics at any time. In this sense, I argue that such autoconstruction challenges de Certeau's (1988) notion of tactics to a certain degree, as it does not give much attention to the potential for tactics to become spatialized; both elements contain polyhedral qualities.

When conceptualizing an insurgent citizenship emerging from the urban peripheries, Holston (2008) points to the working classes and city builders in the urban peripheries, who construct their own houses. The photos above also show the importance of housing and autoconstruction, many of which were selected by residents for inclusion in this project. When discussing the construction of blocks, Marcia explained that the foundations were built to accommodate huge structures directly on the asphalt. Although some of the masons did not know how to formally calculate construction needs for small houses, they did have knowledge from practical experiences on other construction sites. Thus, they knew that this type of construction was intended for huge blocks of flats. Studies on autoconstruction in favelas and informal Brazilian neighborhoods by Lara (2012: loc 803) also emphasize this aspect. As such, there are multiple and intersecting contingent processes at play that alter the facets of the polyhedron. The residents of the favela are involved in the spatialization and reevaluation of the "technosphere" and "psychosphere" (Santos, 2017) of the city at different levels.

Figure 9: This block contains a home used by three generations, including multiple families with independent flats and numerous businesses that were opened over the years. This includes a bar and hostel in the building to the right (Author, 2018).

Autoconstruction in the heterogeneous space of the favela also reveals internal class differences and social hierarchies. These are visible in terms of housing, as pointed out to me by many residents while walking with them in the favela. Figure 9 depicts one of the many *batalhadores* (fighters) i.e., workers, who in this case constitute the middle classes living in the favela, which is a term used by sociologist Jessé Souza to describe the new "struggling" working class, who often live precariously (2010). Along with a critique of the so-called new middle classes and general debate on Brazilian social classes, Souza elucidated the complex, dynamic, and conflictual relationships among workers, middle classes, and the *ralé* (sub-citizens) (Souza, 2005) in poor communities. Many of these individuals have managed to save money or invest in property, business, or education. In the case above, the *batalhadores* constructed a hostel, which was accomplished by expanding from a single to a four-story house. The relationships and dynamics between the *ralé* can be closely connected and conflicting (2005). This challenges the idea of a unified community of poor or working-class citizens, although Souza's analysis is crucial for understanding social relations and class it does not take into account additional aspects of e.g., *ralé* and *batalhadores* living in contexts characterized by "violent sociability". These aspects are particularly important in the context of PPG, which is located one square (city block) from Ipanema and Copacabana. Many residents have highlighted the privilege of living in this area, which is often close to their places of employment and in many cases means both higher quality housing and better mobility when compared to the poor areas in the formal city, which is far from the center. Some of residents I interviewed had also lived in the *asfalto*. One moved back to the favela and started a hostel, while others moved to streets that provided access to the favela where prices are also lower due to its proximity to the favelas.

Figure 10: Photo from PPG showing two houses marked for eviction. The first photo was taken during a photo walk in 2012 (Jean Carlos, 2012), while the second was taken in 2018 (Marcia, 2018).

PPG resident Dona Vieira explained the changes in the favela over the past years, since the implementation of UPP, and what might be called gentrification, as follows:

The rent increased. (…) and people from the *rua* [street/formal city] then came to live in the *morro* [hill/favela]. The rent for a place like this would be like 800 reais, 600 reais. (…) It's crazy. Poor people from *rua* come to live here in the *morro*... and people could end up poorer than us here (Interview August 2, 2018).

However, the complex patterns of urban change and transformation are also evident here. This includes the intersection of spatial strategies and tactics, revealing the complexity of the socio-spatial relations and inequalities. Some have also pointed out the conflicting relationship between the favela and *asfalto* (e.g., the "other" is "pacified"), but not as formally segregated spaces. However, some explained that they were treated with prejudice as favela residents.

Figure 11: The main street in Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho. There are numerous shops, restaurants, businesses, a church, and a bank. The houses are of diverse makeup, some containing up to four floors that host numerous apartments (Author, 2018).

While in Ipanema, Fabio related how people tried to find out whether he was from a favela, as follows: "Uhh, you are from *Galo* (Cantagalo)? The community up there?" (July 2018). This is common in Rio, where most people immediately try to find out exactly where people live (i.e., their geographical proximity to the favelas and the rich neighborhoods, particularity those in the South Zone). The question "*Você mora onde?*" (i.e., Where do you live?) is thus an attempt to detect social class and status. Many favela inhabitants attempt to avoid answering this question, although the favelas in the South Zone were then undergoing gentrification, and middle and upper-class Brazilians and foreigners began to frequent the *baile funk* parties, thus moving into these areas, particularly from 2010-2014.

Nevertheless, the social imagery of favelas as criminal areas where "bandidos" persist is largely spread through national media sources, which continually report on violent activities. Circumstances in which favela residents are killed by the police are usually reported as involving drug-trafficking. In this way, the public security policy legitimates the promotion of a "war" against the favelas (Leite and Farias, 2007: 431).

Figure 12: Police operation in PPG/Ipanema on July 11, 2018. The *policia civil* took part at this time. Neighbors were filming the police while tourists on the other side of the street took photographs from a hotel. A boy and girl from the favela were stopped and searched by the police (Screenshot from a video taken by the author, 2018).

Differences in police attitudes toward residents of the favelas and *asfalto* reveal complex socio-spatial networks that include negations, inclusions, and exclusions. I experienced living in a street close to a favela where residents managed to resist police attempts to invade the housing block. Here, the police attempted to use the terrace as a platform for shooting toward the favela. Residents discussed their lack of citizenship at this time, in spite of paying taxes and owning homes (in contrast to the favela residents who lived on the other side of the street). The residents refused to let the police enter the block. This would not have been the case in favelas, where houses could be invaded by both traffickers and the police.

Neighboring *asfalto* residents readily film police operations close to the favela. However, in the favela on the other side of the street, where houses could easily be invaded, I was told to not photograph the police. As such, the different residents as well as myself as a researcher were entangled with the dispositifs at work in these areas. That is, there was the said and the unsaid, including relations and processes enacted through space in both moral and normalized forms of social life. Residents frequently interacted and shared leisure spaces, both in the favelas and *asfalto*. However, the polyhedral intersections of spatial strategies and everyday practices and tactics reveal inclusion, exclusion, and they dispose to specific prejudices, "violent sociability" and a differentiation of citizenship.

Figure 13: Military personnel photographing residents and their ID-cards with a private cell phone (Source: Wilton Junior, Newspaper Estadão, 23.02.2018).

The state offers an illusion of integration through public services. However, as Leite (2012a) states, these amenities hardly function. The aspects Leite mentions relate to the legitimation and naturalization of social inequality in Brazil. Souza (2007) also studied this issue , and indicated that the judicial system also worked with invisible and obscure mechanisms that treated "sub-citizens" in different ways than those from the white middle class. That is, whites were more likely to go free even when a trial had been scheduled.

Caldeira (2000) emphasized the flexible meaning given to law, democracy, and citizenship. She mentioned how extralegal police activity has been documented since Brazilian independence in 1822 (2000: 139). For instance, "what the elite once called the 'social question' has always been 'a matter of the police'" (2000: 139). Despite democracy having been implemented in 1985, it is still widely accepted that people seen (or presented) as *bandidos* can be executed without trial.

Souza explains that this is similar to an invisible network linking the different actors involved in the investigation and judgment processes (or those acting as witnesses or journalists). He mentioned an instance in which a driver from the elite sector killed a poor person on a bicycle. Despite a trial and investigation, the driver went free, an example of "an implicit and never verbalized argument," that is, the "reality of the nonhuman value of the victim" (Souza, 2007: 28). Here, the specific qualities of this polyhedron are reflected in the law, further relating it to values and morals. Caldeira (2000: 372) also emphasizes the effects of these mechanisms, stating that Brazilian democracy was marked by the "delegitimation of the civil component of citizenship" and that the "the justice system is exercised as a privilege of the elite." Souza (2007: 28) investigated the micro-powers that enable this system to reproduce: "What exists here are mute and subliminal social accords and consensus. But it is exactly for this reason that they are more effective. It is these accords that articulate – as if with invisible threads – solidarities and deep and invisible prejudices." This indicates intersections and tension between everyday tactics on one side and a larger dispositif continually transforming the polyhedron of powers in the urban space.

Conclusion

This article departed from the concept of dispositif to describe how the UPPs and "pacification programme" developed at a specific moment in time, to introduce the polyhedron as an approach that gives form to the analysis of my longitudinal data. In doing so, I go beyond Foucault's understanding by

analyzing different polyhedral facets as growing and unfolding in unknown ways that include potential resistance and insurgent citizenship.

Although residents experienced some positive aspects of the UPP programme during the first years, the analysis reveals that inhabitants lived through multi-faceted and changing relationships of power evident in the ability to affect and effect, negotiation, displacement, everyday uncertainty, and resistance in the context of increased urban militarization. My longitudinal study revealed that the initiative lost support and failed alongside the abandoned urban renewal projects before undergoing numerous adaptations and deviations (Leite, 2014).

I have argued that the analytical form of the polyhedron of powers, which is in constant change, in combination with longitudinal ethnography, allows for reflection on exactly these unforeseen facets of everyday urban practices and experiences of living in a changing militarized space characterized by "violent sociability" (Machado da Silva, 2008). Adaptations and deviations display themselves in terms of materiality, knowledge, infrastructure and socio-spatial negotiations. I introduced the analytical form of the polyhedron to shed light on these contingent and intersecting processes. I analyzed tactics employed by the inhabitants that are challenging spatial strategies through three main facets: the genealogies of the so-called favela problem; residents' everyday experiences and practices related to space and tactics; and the socio-spatial aspects of citizenship. In my genealogical analysis of the so-called favela problem I demonstrate how the changing strategies and tactics dealing with the *favelados* as "others" through urban reforms, evictions, war and "pacification," become possible and relevant. In this process, I discuss evidence of changing strategies and tactics dealing with favela residents as "others" in the judicial sphere, in military tactics, discourses, morals, as well as architecture. That is, both in the said and in the unsaid.

In the narratives of favela residents, including their experiences of living in "pacified" favelas that were militarized over time, they reveal a set everyday tactics and changing polyhedral facets. Everyday lives and tactics unfolded in built forms, through autoconstruction, and the experiences of residents living in changing heterogeneous spaces, where they were required to negotiate "alongside violence" (Lizarazo, 2018: 177) and "pacification," thus being subjugated to both the dominant order and the "law of traffickers" living in a space characterized by "violent sociability" (Machado da Silva, 2008: 22). Sociocultural processes (including laws, morals and norms) also revealed polyhedral qualities. The presence of autoconstruction and other building practices challenge de Certeau's (1988) notion of tactics. That is, they reveal a more extended and stable aspect of polyhedral facets than his mainly temporal understanding of the tactical, and its relation to long-term spatial strategies. As such, this longitudinal study provides an alternative to events such as forced evictions or mass protests often studied over a short period of time. I argue that the facets analyzed in this article are all relevant dimensions relating to "the limits of resistance" in the form of extension, duration and to some extent distinction (Frers and Meier, 2017) and thus should be explored further in longitudinal studies on resistance and the city.

The favelas are heterogenous. It is a myth that the state has been completely absent from these areas (Novaes, 2014). The PPG narratives presented are specific to Ipanema and Copacabana. Although most evicted residents received compensation, the dynamics and mechanisms of gentrification in these areas provide a glimpse into the complexity of socio-spatial negotiations conducted in urban militarized spaces. That is, they cross and undercut the dichotomy of the favela on one side and the *asfalto* on the other. Because of this, I approached the experiences of residents living in contested spaces over time through longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork, to show how real people living in the city are contributing to the shaping and re-shaping of new forms within the polyhedron of powers, interfacing with urban regeneration and (in)security politics. The longitudinal study included an analysis of the constantly changing facets of the polyhedron of powers, which I used as a conceptual tool to highlight the everyday

negotiations and spatial practices of residents. In this case, my findings reveal that resistance, solutions, and tactics are involved in negotiations over different and contradictory promises, displacements and in the unfolding of the unforeseen.

I argue that the analytic form of the polyhedron allows us to reflect on the different, changing and intersecting processes that each provide a surface for exploration and analysis. Finally, I show the process by which urban everyday politics become contested spaces, including the intersecting space-made strategies and everyday tactics of residents, who continually transform the polyhedron of powers in their urban context.

Acknowledgements

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Article 2

"Racism is a perfect crime": *favela* residents' everyday experiences of police pacification, urban militarization, and prejudice in Rio de Janeiro

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"Racism is a perfect crime": *favela* residents' everyday experiences of police pacification, urban militarization, and prejudice in Rio de Janeiro

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ABSTRACT

This article examines residents' everyday experiences and perceptions of changing urban politics and racism in a "pacified" *favela,* or poor informal neighbourhood, in Rio de Janeiro, drawing on longitudinal ethnographic data from 2011 to 2018. The findings suggest that despite a discourse on inclusion, human rights, and citizenship, the police pacification program and urban security interventions aimed at "civilizing" the *favela*'s residents as "undesirable others," drawing on racialization. The naturalization, legitimization, and reproduction of police violence promote the operation of racial and socio-spatial inequalities and privileges through what I describe as *pigmentocratic everyday practices*. These processes continually shape the condition of possibilities for the dehumanization of blackness, exclusion, inclusion, and resistance in a society influenced by the myth of racial democracy and that celebrates both diversity and ideologies of whitening.

Introduction

This article examines residents' experiences of everyday city life and perceptions of changing urban politics and racism in a "pacified" *favela,* or poor informal marginalized neighbourhood, in Rio de Janeiro drawing on longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork from 2011 to 2018. Since 2008, 38 Police Pacification Units (UPPs) were implemented in *favela*s in Rio de Janeiro. The UPPs were located in strategic areas during preparations for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. I argue that in order to understand how urban politics aiming at the inclusion of the *favela*s into the formal city through so-called "pacification" operating in combination with police violence,

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racialization and racism must be accounted for as they unfold in urban security politics aiming at inclusion and in *everyday pigmentocratic practices*.

Through analysing the ethnographic data, I coin the term *pigmentocratic everyday practices* to unfold the complexity of the reproduction, presence, and silencing of racism through inclusion and exclusion in a society marked by extreme social and racial inequalities (Telles 2006).

Pacification has been a dominant biopolitical dispositif of "race war" (Foucault 2004) in Brazil for exerting socio-spatial control of urban poor and black neighbourhoods, including both the *favela* (territory) and *favelados* (inhabitants) as unbounded bodies since the colonial period. During and since colonial times, whitening has been a tool for the massacre or "social lynching" of blacks both physically and spiritually (Nascimento 1989, 59). Pacification thus entails both physical and symbolic violence or social lynching through whitening and a war on blackness. Residents of *favelas* experience pacification daily in the most visible forms through militarization of everyday life and physical violence such as police violence, shooting, and the mass killing of blacks. Criminalization of blackness is entangled with pacification in more subtle forms including a moralizing and civilizing mission, which also legitimize the war on blackness through social lynching as whitening.

The article is structured as follows. First, I discuss "racism as a perfect crime" as revealed through police violence and strategies of security such as the police pacification program directed at the *favela*s. Second, I examine how residents of a "pacified" *favela* perceive prejudice and racism in more veiled forms in the everyday practices of *racismo à brasileira*. Third, I discuss the conditions of possibility of visible discriminatory practices and more subtle forms of pigmentocratic everyday practices, actualization of privileges, and resistance.

Police violence and racism as "a perfect crime"

Police violence in Brazil kills thousands of young black men each year in Rio's *favelas*. Some argue that it is difficult to distinguish racial violence in Brazil, which is a racially mixed country. Racism in Brazil is described by Munanga as "a perfect crime" (*Revistaforum*, February 9, 2012) that points to the "Brazilian way of racism" (*racismo à brasileira*), which is characterized by ambiguity and difficulty of being accepted, understood, and decodified (Munanga 2017, 37). However, research shows how racism is revealed as a "pigmentocracy" (Moraes Silva and Paixão 2014; Telles 2014, 2006) in which black and brown Afro-Brazilians are at the bottom of a pyramid statistically regarding health, education, work conditions, salary, political representation, incarceration,[1] and police killing.[2]

Regardless of the abolition of the racial democracy myth[3] that for decades silenced racism in Brazil, I argue that dynamics of resistance, discrimination, whitening,[4] racism, and criminalization of blackness[5] are actualized through *pigmentocratic everyday practices*.

Abdias do Nascimento criticized Gilberto Freyre and the ideology of racial democracy and "race mixing" (*miscigenação*), identifying forced *miscigenação*, colour prejudice, racial discrimination, and immigration policies designed for whitening the country (1989, 8). However, the lived reality of the myth plays out while articulations of the social lynching of blacks persist in the context of increasing necropolitical violence in Rio's *favela*s.

Reported killings by police officers in Rio de Janeiro rose from 236 in 2013 to 1,575 in 2018 and to 1,810 in 2019. Police killed more than 5,000 people throughout Brazil in 2018 and 5,804 people in 2019 (NACLA, April 10, 2019; Cerqueira 2019; ISP 2020; Monitor da Violência). When ambiguous racism and the colour of police violence victims are questioned, black activists have responded that "[i]f you want to know who is black or brown in Brazil, just ask the police" (Alves 2018, 20). According to Alves (2018), state sovereignty in Brazil relies on "race" as a construct and "political resource" to terrorize and produce black enemies as killable bodies (8). It is crucial, then, to also account for aspects of racialization in the context of police killings and changing urban politics by drawing on both so-called pacification and warfare. Researchers have pointed to the "unbounded body" (Caldeira 2000), marked by the "disjunctive democracy" and "disjunction of Brazilian citizenship [through] the association of violence, disrespect for civil rights and a conception of the body that is constantly subject to intervention" (339). The differential treatment by police of PPG *favela* residents and the *favela* territory as an "area of risk," in contrast to the *asfalto*, or white rich neighbourhoods of Ipanema and Copacabana, reveals complex socio-spatial relations (Håndlykken-Luz 2019, 19) and the treatment of *favela* residents as unbounded bodies. This includes negotiations, inclusion, and exclusion where white residents in the *asfalto* might claim citizenship and resist police invading houses (19). The *favela* residents, however, mainly black people, are treated not as *gente* (humans), as one resident said while witnessing a police operation in a street providing access to PPG from Ipanema, where only afro-Brazilian *favela* residents were stopped by the police (field notes, 2018). Another resident commented that "the police are always shooting from down here (from the above-mentioned street) and toward the *favela*" (Interview, 2018). *Favela* residents are thus treated as unbounded bodies and are constantly subject to intervention.

The war on blackness, in contrast to whiteness as the valued norm and an ideal of being "civilized," legitimates the treatment of *favela* residents as unbounded bodies. These pigmentocratic everyday practices are entangled in Brazil's social fabric and social relations, as well as within the military police force, which largely comprises black men (French 2013, 162) and in afro-Brazilian communities such as in the *favela*. French (2013) notes that black military police officers behaving in racist

and violent ways toward the black population are also treated with distrust and racially stigmatized, while government officials deny responsibility (French 2013, 162–163).

Rio Governor Wilson Witzel was confronted about 2019s alarmingly high numbers of police killings and sniper use. He responded that "snipers are used in absolute secrecy" and that "the principle is clear: if an individual carries an assault rifle, he must be neutralized immediately by lethal means" (*O Globo*, March 31, 2019). Witzel quipped about the increasing use of shooting from helicopters toward *favelas*, asking "has any resident been shot yet"? (2019).

In March 2019, the military fired 80 shots toward a car carrying a family, killing the father, Evaldo dos Santos Rosa, a black musician. Bolsonaro, newly inaugurated at the time, claimed that "the army didn't kill anyone" (*Global Voices* April 15, 2019). Right-wing president Jair Bolsonaro has expressed his support for militias and the killings of bandits without trial (*New York Times* December 21, 2017) while also denying that racism exists in Brazil (Alfonso 2019). Protesters responded that the military would not have shot 80 bullets toward a white family in the south zone of Rio.

Black residents are 2.7 times more likely to be homicide victims, and 75.5 per cent of victims of police violence are black (Cerqueira 2019). In 2015, an Amnesty report showed that 79 per cent of victims killed by police in Rio between 2010 and 2013 were black (Amnesty 2015, 35). It is thus problematic to discuss violence and police killings in Brazil without examining dynamics of racialization and of how racism unfolds and is experienced in everyday Brazilian life.

The reaction to police violence directed at whites or blacks differs, as Alves and Vargas note (2017); the first provokes complicity, the second disavowal (256). It is commonly said in Brazil that a "good bandit is a dead bandit" and that human rights constitute "privileges for bandits" (Caldeira 2000, 373.) Defenders of these expressions support denying life to criminals and other residents who are mostly young black men in forms of *necropolitics,* defined by Mbembe (2003) as "forms of subjugation of life to the power of death" (39). These cases reveal power mechanisms combining the right "to take [the] li[ves]" of Afro-Brazilians and to "let [them] die" (Foucault 2004, 241) in forms of biopolitics, necropolitics, disciplinary forms of power, and activation of racism through biopower (2004, 258), thus drawing on the fiction of "race" (Mbembe 2017, 89) to demarcate certain bodies as "killable." Such power mechanisms and strategies unfold through security interventions toward the *favela*s as "area[s] of risk" and the killing of Afro-Brazilian residents in terms of disciplinary power and biopower in addition to affirmative biopolitical strategies such as the pacification program. While Afro-Brazilians are at the bottom of the social pyramid, social and spatial population control is also

revealed in biopolitical strategies such as health or education policies and also "let to die" through poor services. In addition, the racialization dynamics unfold daily through inclusion and exclusion practices providing conditions that actualize racialization and racism despite the celebration of diversity and the influence of racial democracy.

Racial mixing (*miscigenção*) can be understood as a subjective massacre of blacks, a social lynching of Afro-Brazilian memory and social imaginary through whitening (Nascimento 1989), while the discursive formation of luso-tropicalism functions as a biopolitical dispositif of (cultural) war toward blackness and blacks. I argue that "pacification" can be seen as a biopolitical dispositif of socio-spatial control and social lynching through whitening. This war toward blacks is revealed in terms of necropolitical violence and structural racism and in more subtle forms of colour prejudice and "racismo à brasileira" actualized through pigmentocratic everyday practices.

How are pigmentocratic everyday practices lived, challenged, and negotiated within the context of necropolitical violence of Rio's *favela*s? What are the conditions of possibility that render certain bodies in Brazil more likely to be killable?

Everyday experiences of "racismo à brasileira"

Residents' reflections on prejudice, racism, and whitening

This section provides examples from discussions with *favela* residents about their perceptions of colour prejudice (Nascimento 1989). Residents in Rio's *favela*s live in increased necropolitical violence despite a decade of the so-called pacification program. The data come from ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in a *favela* in the South Zone of Rio from 2011 to 2013 and six weeks in 2018. The first semi-structured recorded interviews[6] were conducted after 10 months of participant observations, participation in community meetings, numerous walks, and informal conversations. Fieldwork in 2018 included daily walks in the *favela* and interviews with residents I first met during my earlier research and included six photo walks and two video walks with two residents. In 2018, I recorded five semi-structured interviews, three of which were follow-up interviews with residents from the first phase of fieldwork who were asked direct questions about racism in Brazil. Pedro, a 42-year-old man, commented:

> There is racism here in the community, there is racism in the rua (literally "street" but referring to the formal city), there is, yes. There is … a different treatment, because of the media, right … that many times … it is the government that allows this to happen … Everything is in reality, the white majority is admired. If you are white, you are treated well, if you are black then you are, there is distrust. (Interview, 2018)

Although few people spoke in our informal conversations about being discriminated against directly, differential treatment, distrust of being poor, from the *favela*s, and black or dark was described. For instance, *favela* residents with lighter skin (e.g. from Northeastern Brazil) were preferred for service sector work and as guards in condominiums in Ipanema and Copacabana. Racism in the *favela* and amongst Afro-Brazilians of different skin tones and appearance was also frequently emphasized. Mario, a 42-year-old man, stated:

> There are different forms of racism that [in] Brazil. Racism isn't only related to the color of the skin … I will tell you something that you will find absurd. In Brazil, we have black people who are prejudiced against black people [who have] a little bit lighter skin. (Interview, 2018)

This echoes studies of middle- and working-class blacks in Rio in 2007 and 2008 (Lamont et al. 2016), research on a Brazilian *favela* in the 1990s (Sheriff 2001), and studies of negotiations of racial hierarchies within Afro-Brazilian families (Hordge-Freeman 2013). Paula, a 52-year-old woman, was told by her mother to "marry a man with lighter skin [because it] would be better for the children" (Field notes, July 2018). Similar experiences are described in studies on working- and middle-class blacks in Rio (Lamont et al. 2016). Mario also stated that people from Brazil's interior, regardless of colour, do not want to adapt to Rio's culture:

> They bring with them this culture from the interior … to [Rio] … They don't want to absorb [Rio's] culture, that is, they can't discriminate against anyone because of class, color, [or] preferences.

There are numerous layers involved, as Mario emphasized:

> Racism … appears in various forms [and] appears at time embedded, within homophobia, sometimes within social class … And I will never tell you that there is less, because no, because I am nearly everything that they have prejudice against [laughs] … I am black, gay, *Candomblesista* [an adherent of the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomble], poor, and *favelado* … [Laughs] So I know … what prejudice is. (Interview, 2018)

Mario's experience of discrimination, prejudice, and racism reveals aspects of intersectionality and prejudice that relates to the social imagination of blackness and Afro-Brazilian cultural practices that have been popularly associated with criminality (Lamont et al. 2016, sec. 3.1). It is, however, interesting to note how Paula commented on changing perceptions and practices among youth in the *favela* since 2013, when I last spoke with her. When asked about everyday changes, she pointed at some young teenaged girls and said, "Look at them, they are now affirming a more *black* identity, not straightening their hair." This was not the case just five years prior.

Paula, who was born in the *favela*, managed to get a university education and had lived some years in the *asfalto* before moving back to the *favela* to be

closer to her grandparents. She described numerous accounts of racism and tensions and of affirming her black identity. She also described racist incidents in the *favela* and the *asfalto*. Certain jokes and insults might be evoked as racism.[7] However, Pedro said the following:

> Children do not know about racism—look at the kids [pointing at kids in the street], they don't know it, they learn it from society. It's different [in the *favela*] when they play, it's not like [outside the *favela*], but they're joking: "You are a monkey, you have hard [kinky] hair." (Fieldnotes, photowalk, 2018)

Pedro's remarks reflect the importance of context and space in practices emphasizing racialization. He also emphasized that children learn racism from society. Furthermore, he commented that he was often treated differently because he is black.

The Vice-Minister Hamilton Morão, posing in a photo with his grandson in 2018, commented while pointing to his grandson's light skin that; "my grandson has a nice face, have you seen? *Whitening* of the race" (*Folha de S. Paulo,* August 12, 2018). Morão later said in response to criticism that he had indigenous origins. His comments and the controversy around them indicate further that the ideology of "whitening" remains present today. On another occasion, he referred to the "bad" characters of indigenous people and people of African origin as indicating the "backwardness" of Brazil, justifying how part of the population was an undesirable workforce in the period of white immigration politics from the 1880s until 1930 (Andrews 1991, 235). Elsewhere, a judge stated that a certain criminal was not a "usual criminal" as he was blond and had blue eyes (*Folha de S. Paulo*, March 1, 2019). Thus, there is an association of whiteness with being "civilized". As these examples show, whitening and the myth of racial democracy operate at different levels that have real effects upon Brazilians' everyday lives in terms of cultural and moral prejudice and racism toward black people and "undesirable" blackness, contrasting with the ideal of whitening. *Racismo á brasileira* thus appears as more veiled and difficult to grasp and acknowledge,[8] even as it is brutal, increasingly visible, and contested as an organizing principle of social relations (Vargas and Alves 2010, 614), reproducing socio-racial hierarchies and privileges for the mostly white elite in visible or masked ways. Pedro emphasized the dissimulated aspect of prejudice and racism and about "looks": "it's racism, it is very dissimulated, but the society is very racist. There is a different treatment" (Fieldnotes, photo-walk, PPG, 2018).

Pedro experienced "looks" in the community from a *nordestino* (a person from the Northeast with lighter skin) because, he said, he is very dark. Such "looks" constitute a gaze and "racialization" that can thus be experienced beyond the dichotomy of white/black racism or the *asfalto/favela* distinction. Paula, in her fifties, explained that when she was younger, her siblings also commented that she had it easier because she was not as dark-skinned as

them and her hair was not that "hard and kinky". What can be seen as pigmentocratic everyday practices appearing in different forms can also be observed in informal talks in the neighbourhood, where a white middle-class resident from the *asfalto* stopped talking to me and a resident from the *favela*. The resident spoke to my neighbour of someone he knew who "is black like you, with light skin", only to be told, "I am not black with light skin, I am black!" This experience reveals both inclusion and exclusion features and how such intentional whitening, which could be seen as polite in some contexts, was responded to with an affirmation that "*I am black,*" revealing resistance to "whitening."

Pigmentocratic everyday practices

Despite living in a context of increasing police killings and necropolitical violence, few residents mentioned such killings, and no one mentioned this in the recorded interviews. Interviewed residents were not activists and were mostly occupied with daily life challenges in the *favela* as the pacification program had officially failed and shootouts were again taking place nearly daily since 2017. One reason that people would not mention residents' killings may be the possibility of being associated with criminality. Most victims of police killings were presented as drug traffickers and criminals during frequent confrontations and tensions between drug factions and the police in PPG. However, both black and white residents emphasized that black and darker-skinned people experienced more racism, often seen as potential bandits with less opportunities for work and social mobility, echoing Telles (2006) forms of pigmentocracy. The pigmentocracy thesis has been critiqued for relying mainly on census categories relating to skin colour in Brazil, not including phenotypes for measuring social and racial inequalities (Monk 2016; Hordge-Freeman 2013). Nevertheless, Telles (2017) emphasizes that the Brazilian census asks people to identify based on of skin colour often reported by others in the household. Telles' studies showed that in most cases in Brazil, self-identification corresponded with classification by interviewer-rated skin colour. Moreover, classification according to skin colour is packed with connotations of power (Telles 2012) and captures variation in meaning often depending on context and how questions were asked, as seen in the PERLA study (2017, 2341).

The racism accounts in the largely dominant Afro-Brazilian community in a so-called pacified *favela* also indicate how entangled racism is in Brazil's social fabric. "*Racismo á Brasileira*" is possible because of the impact of a pigmentocracy and because social interactions are still largely dominated by both a hyper consciousness and negation of race dialectics (Vargas 2008). A recent example of Brazil's complex reproduction and negation of racism was the appointment of Camargo, a far-right black man denying

the existence of racism in Brazil, as the new president of Palmares Foundations, an organization defending black rights in Brazil (*Huffpost Brasil*, December 04, 2019). Despite large protests and the court suspending his appointment, he continued as president of the association. Afro-Brazilians as social subjects are thus victims of structural racism and at the same time potential reproducers of the same discriminatory social structure. Internal battles and tensions thus create secondary levels of marginalization or reinforce the broader marginalization and hierarchies required by racial capitalism (Vargas 2008).

The above experiences of residents reveal themes related to the stigmatization of blackness, cultural prejudice, intersectionality, and whiteness or whitening. Miranda 2017 defines *whiteness* as a "racialized habitus, an expression of racism" (64). *Whitening*, according to Souza (2012a), is a symbolic process by which an individual is subordinated in order to be accepted by a group that would normally reject them for being black (184). Whitening can also be considered as an everyday strategy that non-whites might engage in to move up in status and racial hierarchy (Osuji 2013, 1492). However, studies from the past decade have shown that alongside a rising black consciousness movement in Brazil, whitening may have changed (2013, 1492), and whitening might be perceived differently by insiders and outsiders depending on context. These were revealed in conversations with residents; Paula, for example, referred to relatives suggesting she marry a lighter skin man, and today she rejected being "whitened" by one of the neighbours. She affirmed a rising valorization and affirmation of blackness. Some residents thought there was not much racism; however, they pointed out prejudice toward blacks, the poor, or homosexuals, and others emphasized racism in the *favela*. I suggest the term *pigmentocratic everyday practices* for these practices relating to both *whitening* and the myth of *racial democracy* in its various forms. Pigmentocratic practices unfold the struggles of everyday negotiations of racial hierarchies (Hordge-Freeman 2013) and resistance revealing "the hyperconsciousness/negation of race dialectic [which] is the mode through which the social construction of race in Brazil is manifested" (Vargas 2008, 107).

Although there are references to whiteness and racial democracy in diverse forms relating to inclusion and exclusion, there is also social classification where, despite diversity and conviviality beyond the limits of *asfalto/favela,* or black and white, blackness appears as less desirable and whiteness as ideal. Blacks also appear to be at the bottom of the social pyramid in a pigmentocracy within the *favela* with its mainly an Afro-Brazilian community. These dynamics can be revealed through pigmentocratic everyday practices in which the fiction of "race" has real effects on everyday lives. The forced *miscigenação* described by Nascimento can also be understood as a social and cultural massacre unfolding daily where blackness is criminalized and

whiteness is still an ideal, though present in more veiled forms or manifested as pigmentocratic everyday practices.

Resistance and actualization of privileges in a pigmentocracy

This section provides a glimpse into the increasing number of protests and growing resistance to social inequalities, racism, and police violence in Rio de Janeiro in the past decade, brought into dialogue with ethnographic material and residents' reflections from a longitudinal perspective. Numerous researchers attribute Brazil's social and racial inequalities to the legacy of slavery (Jodhka, Rehbein, and Souza 2017, Souza 2012b). However, historian Amilcar Araújo Pereira contests this interpretation, emphasizing:

> The racist strategies for perpetuating privileges for the white population in Brazil are not a permanent legacy of slavery. There are several ways of actualizing these discriminatory processes [which] will result in the racial inequalities with which we live today. (*Nexo Journal*, May 13, 2018)

Andrews (1991) also emphasizes the risk of focusing on slavery as the principal factor determining the present state of socio-racial relations, pointing to the work of Gilberto Freyre on racial democracy (6–7). The widely circulated photo of a white middle-class couple walking with their nanny at a protest in Ipanema in 2016 (Figure 1) illustrates the persistence and actualization of Brazil's racial and class disparity.

The Afro-Brazilian nanny *remains in her place*, dressed in white uniform, while the white middle-class couple participates in the protest. A common expression, *cada macaco no seu galho* ("each monkey on its branch"),
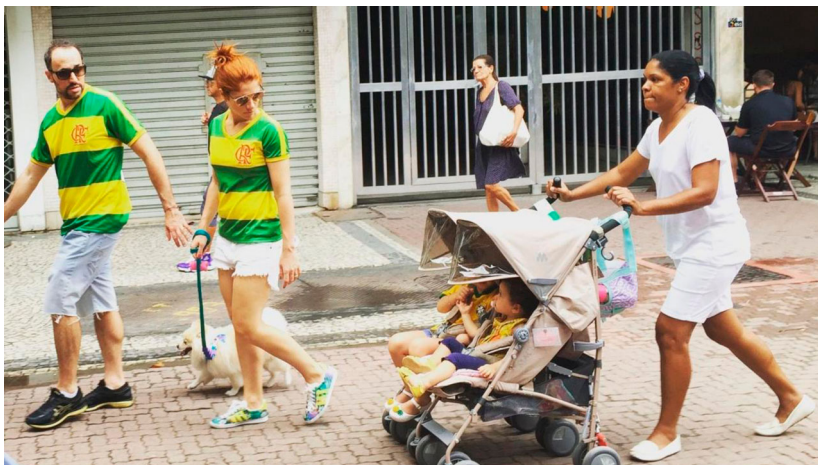
Figure 1. ©João Valadares 2016.

indicates that society tolerates multiculturalism as long as blacks remain in their *social* place, as in this case.

In June 2013, millions of Brazilian took to the streets, initially against the rising prices of bus tickets; however, the protests became one of the largest in Brazil's history. People with different agendas protested against corruption, increasing police violence, militarization, and the "genocide"[9] of black Brazilians (Nascimento 2016; Vargas 2008). Social media images showed people from different groups protesting together, and scholars such as Negri and Cocco pointed out that the "multitude" participated (*Global/Brasil* June 28, 2013). How, though, did people in the *favela*s who were not engaged in activism feel about the protests? I asked Pedro if he participated. He said,

> I did not protest, because it's not a part of my life here in the *favela*. The ones who protested … were not from the *morro* (*favela*; literally "hill"). They were not poor. (Interview, 2018)

As Pedro stated, mainly people middle-class Rio residents protested, not poorer *favela* residents like him. Most of the residents I talked to did not protest and also confirmed that protest was not a part of their daily struggle to work for survival. Although now working with an NGO, Pedro said that when he was selling cement and materials for construction in the main street of the *favela*, he had to frequently hide as there were shootouts in the street. His priority was everyday survival and working. Nevertheless, Pedro's reflections also suggest that he is very much concerned with social justice and access to education. When he did not protest, it was not because he did not care. He had reasons for choosing not to do so. In addition to being able to prioritize time to participate in protests, such participation would have been a risk of police harassment and even aggression for a black person from the *favela*. Members of the white middle class might be able to pay their own bail and are less likely to be accused of being criminals.

In 2018 there were numerous protests against police violence and after the murder of council member and human rights activist Marille Franco (see Figure 2). She was from a *favela* and fought for the rights of marginalized people and minorities, particularly the poor, *favelado*s, blacks, women, and LGBTQ people. She was a vocal critic of militarization and police violence, including the UPP[10] and the military intervention in 2018, leading a committee for human rights and monitoring the 2018 federal military intervention in Rio. Two days before her assassination, she tweeted: "how many others will have to die before this war will end?"

Numerous black women are fighting against discrimination, inequalities, and violence, and point out their experiences with racism. Council member Talíria Petrone from Niterói in Rio de Janeiro, in a 2018 interview, said: "I've been called a 'disgusting N——,' I've been told to "go back to the slave house." She emphasized the importance of confronting "those who want to

Figure 2. Protest in Rio against police violence. Mothers protesting the killing of their children and the assassination of Marielle Franco (Photo by the author, July 12, 2018).

remain with their privileges and keep black people marginalized." (*Nexo Journal*, May 13, 2018). This relates to Pedro's comments about social inequalities in Brazil and the lack of access to education and opportunities that could enable change:

> You see there is no sensibility towards us, the people in the *rua*, down there (in Ipanema), they do not care about … the enormous inequality. Brazil is a rich country – if people outside would change it, it could be done. But they don't want us to be educated. They want the situation to remain like this, like a mental slavery. (Field notes, July 21, 2018)

These accounts illustrate the numerous struggles in claiming rights, how privilege is maintained, the general lack of sensibility toward the poor, the disavowal of black suffering (Alves and Vargas 2017), and persistence and naturalization of extreme social and racial inequalities, while meritocracy is a way of maintaining privileges for a few. In this way, Pedro describes the control of the social and spatial mobility of Blacks in particular and the poor in general that are naturalized and reproduced. The social and spatial control of blacks are maintained and actualized as we have seen through dispositifs such as *whitening*, *racial democracy*, and racial mixing as massacre in terms of the social lynching of blacks alongside colour prejudice (Nascimento 1989), or *pacification* revealing *pigmentocratic everyday practices*. When Pedro pointed to the *rua*, he was pointing to Ipanema and Copacabana a hundred

meters down the road. Another resident also photographed the blocks in Ipanema laying side by side with the *favela*, and said, "you see the differences, it is so close." Although people in the South Zone *asfalto* and *favela* live close to each other and share the beaches and shops, many *favela* residents were outraged about the social inequalities. They pointed to differentiated treatment by the police, while *favela* residents are living in a context of increasing necropolitical violence, urban militarization, and lack of access to higher education, as well as the elites' and *asfalto* residents' lack of sensibility toward the poor, blacks, and the *favela*.

This illustrates how visible institutional racism and everyday more subtle forms of racism are negotiated, reproduced, and actualized through symbolic, social, and material forms as an organizing principle of social relations, even when denied (Vargas and Alves 2010, 614). These dynamics of "racism as a perfect crime" operate through pigmentocratic everyday practices actualizing and maintaining socio-racial hierarchies, socio-spatial control of blacks, and privileges for the mostly white elite despite increased protests against racism and racial inequalities and implementation of so-called pacification programs in Rio's *favela*s in the past decade.

Final remarks – beyond the 2013 protests: racism, resistance, and change?

Mbembe (2017) stated that although "race" is a fiction, it has real effects in everyday life, whereas black movements and discourses of rehabilitation in most cases embrace this fiction (89). This is the case of the Negritude movement and of versions of Pan-Africanism in general, and can also be seen in forms of emerging black movements in Brazil, revealing pigmentocratic everyday practices. Some scholars have been skeptical of Brazil's racial quotas and affirmative action policies, also criticized by Wacquant and Bourdieu, accused of bringing black race politics to Brazil (Moraes Silva and Paixão 2014, 182). However, research shows that the affirmative action policies have worked well since their first implementation in 2002, and a decree made racial quotas mandatory in all federal universities in 2012 (182). Research suggests that changes such as the success of the affirmative action policies show that the image of a racial democracy has been abandoned (183). However, racialization is at stake in the enactment of police violence on individual bodies and can be revealed in the control over the social and spatial mobility of certain individuals and groups. According to Leite, these aspects reveal veiled forms of institutional racism (*Le monde diplomatique Brasil*, July 3, 2012) and a pigmentocracy.

The first part of this article discussed police violence and *racism as a perfect crime*, and evidence of "pigmentocratic everyday practices" are revealed in forms of institutional racism, urban militarization, and police exerting socio-

spatial control of *favelados* and *favela*s through a war on blackness. The findings suggest that the criminalization of "undesirable bodies" (*favelados*) and "areas of risk" (*favelas*) are at stake through control of social and spatial mobility enacted through dispositifs such as the *pacification program*, *whitening,* and *racial democracy,* which have real effects on the present. This racialization of bodies and social lynching of black people legitimate killings of black and poor people, presented as criminals, drawing on racialization that renders certain bodies killable. Racialization is thus an organizing principle of social relations and "stigmatizing the stigmatizers": black military police officers also are stigmatized racially and reproduce socio-racial hierarchies terrorizing black communities while the government denies responsibility (French 2013, 167).

Second, I analysed residents' diverse everyday experiences and perceptions of prejudice and *racismo à brasileira* in different socio-spatial contexts relating to both inclusion and exclusion. In order to do so, I introduced the term *pigmentocratic everyday practices*. Although colour is popularly said not to matter, and the myth of racial democracy has officially been abandoned over the past decade, colour has real effects on everyday life. Criminalization or distrust of blackness in contrast to whiteness and *whitening* together indicate an ideal that unfolds in diverse forms, and the findings indicates that blacks are located at the bottom of a pigmentocracy also within Afro-Brazilian communities such as the *favelas*.

Third, I discussed the conditions of possibilities for the actualization of socio-racial inequalities and racism in Brazil that continue to persist despite the embracing of diversity and ideology of racial democracy. Privileges are maintained for a small elite, a fact borne out by statistics that reveal a pigmentocracy favouring whites and whiteness against darker or even black skin (Telles 2014; Moraes Silva and Paixão 2014). Owing to the naturalization, legitimization, and reproduction of police violence, racial and socio-spatial inequalities and privileges operate through what I described as the pigmentocratic everyday practices. These continually shape the condition of possibilities for the dehumanization of blackness, exclusion, inclusion, and resistance in a society influenced by the myth of racial democracy and claiming to celebrate *both* diversity *and* ideologies of whitening.

I have argued that pacification as social lynching through whitening can be seen as a dispositif that makes "genocide" possible both as a physical and cultural massacre of blacks (Nascimento 1989), visible through institutional racism and police killings, everyday racism in more subtle forms, or whitening as scientific racism and the whitening of Brazil's population (a public policy from the beginning of 1900s until 1930 and Vargas' promotion of racial democracy). Whitening was thus further masked as *miscigenção* (race mixture) with the aim of whitening the population. Pacification and whitening are actualized in new ways in everyday life as brutal visible

(necropolitics, war on blackness, physical violence, militarization, and institutional racism) and subtle forms of violence (symbolic and moral, social, and cultural war on blackness or everyday racism) and represents pigmentocratic everyday practices.

Finally, I believe that experiences from Brazil in particular and Latin America more broadly are relevant for the study of racism globally,[11] and particularly in areas implementing neoliberal urban security politics or "ghetto-politics."[12] It is also useful to research cultural racism, multiculturalism, the inclusion and exclusion of undesirable citizens and sub-citizens, and resistance. At present, there might be similar enactments revealing a pigmentocracy, pigmentocratic everyday practices and cultural racism beyond Latin America and Brazil. However, the Brazilian context, where racism never was formally institutionalized after the abolition of slavery (1888) and where cultural diversity and racial mixing have been embraced as part and parcel of national identity for over a century, whiteness is still an ideal and socio-racial inequalities persist. Blacks are killed en masse and continually constitute the "wretched of the earth" (Fanon 2001) or "sub-citizens" (Souza 2012b) at the bottom of the social pyramid in a pigmentocracy. While privileges, social justice, and access to education and resources are maintained for a small elite, new forms of resistance are emerging.

Although this study is limited to a *favela* in the privileged South Zone of Rio de Janeiro, it provides experiences from residents in a community that have been exposed to urban security interventions the past decade. *Favela* residents' changing, diverse perceptions are excluded from most quantitative studies, whereas qualitative studies covering a short period mostly ignore the presence of racialization and social classification related to the rationale or racial axis with a colonial origin and character that has proven durable (Quijano 2008, 181), and unfolding in the so-called pacification program and urban neoliberal politics. I have attempted to add to some of the "unexplored" field of urban studies as pointed out by Alves (2018): "the racialized" aspect of the politics of security. The gendered aspect also needs to be further studied (4), as do the cases of young black men being killed; increasing feminicides; murders of the LGBTQ population, activists, and minorities; and violence suffered by mothers, children and families.

More research should be done across *favela*s, or so-called "ghettos" globally and over longer periods of time. UPPs have been abandoned in some areas since 2018, and other *favela*s have police pacification units present while the current mechanisms of control are unfolding in a laboratory not of "peace" but of urban militarization and warfare with snipers, helicopters, and military drones. Movements of resistance and anti-racist struggles are currently rising in Brazil, and while politics of affirmative action might appear promising, socio-racial inequalities persist. To struggle for the abandonment of racial thinking, as black intellectuals aspired to do in early 1900s Brazil

(Alberto 2011), or a planetary humanism (Gilroy 2002), creating a shared world beyond race and racism (Mbembe 2017, 177) seems far-sighted while targeted urban militarization towards the poor, minorities, *favela* residents, and blacks intensify.

Notes

1. See Alves (2018, 117–166).
2. See statistics in *Nexo Journal* (May 13, 2018) and the Latin American PERLA project (Telles 2014) and Telles (2006).
3. Most scholars describe racial democracy referring to Gilberto Freyre (1987), and the nationalist politics of exceptional racial harmony since the 1930s. Freyre used the concept of luso-tropicalism to describe how Portuguese colonization was less brutal as they encouraged race mixing. Following Freyre's publication and 1930s Vargas nationalist politics, racial democracy and idea of "racial harmony" was used as an ideology and a dispositif to "pacify" the population, preventing social uprisings and social mobility for Afro-Brazilians and former slaves. In the 1950s, UNESCO sponsored a study lead by Bastide and Fernandes to analyse "racial harmony" in Brazil. The study concluded that racial discrimination was strongly present in Brazil (Bastide and Fernandes 2010). In 1974, Skidmore argued that the white elite used racial democracy to obscure racial oppression (1993). Abdias do Nascimento was one of the most important antiracists and activists to openly denounce racism in Brazil since the 1930s. Nascimento denounced a genocide on blacks in Brazil and criticized Freyre for presenting a sugar-coated vision of relations between black and white in Brazil, creating a false image of a mild or pleasant slavery in Brazil and Latin America (1989, 3). The ideology of racial democracy is also said to have prevented black Brazilians challenging and grasping the deep racial inequalities and racism until the black movements of the 1970s overtly labelled racial democracy as a myth (Alberto 2011, loc. 138). On the contrary, Alberto (2011) points out that "ideologies of Brazilian racial harmony were both constructed and contested from below" (loc. 161) and that black thinkers in the early 1900s saw racial democracy not as a reality but a hope of what Brazil could become (loc. 308) as black activist struggled for citizenship, rights and social inclusion. In modern Brazil, the myth and ideology of racial democracy is officially abandoned and racism is acknowledged to exist; however, the myth continues to exist and to effect everyday life while the tendency to negate the presence of racism and emphasize how Brazil's multicultural-ness remains.
4. In 1888, Brazil was one of the last countries to abolish slavery. The ideas of eugenics took a different form in Brazil, where the aim was to eliminate the black population through "whitening" and miscegenation. State-sponsored white European immigration was presented as a solution to "Brazilian racial inferiority" (Moraes Silva and Paixão 2014, 176), and a large number of the 3.5 million white Europeans who migrated to Brazil between 1880 and 1930 received subsidies (Andrews 2004, 136).
5. An 1891 federal decree prohibited immigration of "the black race" to Brazil, and the 1890 penal code defined cultural and religious practices such as Capoeira and Afro-Brazilian religions such as *candomle* as a serious crime (Lamont et al.

2016, sec. 3.1). Black immigration was banned by law until 1907 and continued to be banned in practice until 1930.
6. My translation. All interviews during fieldwork were conducted in Portuguese by the author and translated into English. All mistakes are the responsibility of the author. Participants are anonymized.
7. See example where inclusion combines with exclusion and a soccer player who was insulted by the word "ape" in public. This would have been more likely never to have consequences if it did not happen in public and in that context (Schwarcz 2018).
8. See numerous studies on the ambiguity of racism in Brazil (Telles 2006, 2014; Lamont et al. 2016; Munanga 2017; Schwarcz 1999, 2012).
9. See *O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro* by Nascimento (2016) and Vargas (2008).
10. See Franco's master's thesis on UPP (2014).
11. On what anti-racists and US racial discourses can learn from Latin America see Warren and Sue (2011) who discuss issues of race mixing, colour blindness, and multiculturalism.
12. In January 2019 Denmark implemented a "ghetto-package". Sentences for crimes are double those for residents living elsewhere, and if a resident of a ghetto-designated area commits a crime, their whole family could be thrown out of their home. These are referred to as "parallel societies" and "black spots on the map" (*The New York Times*, October 8, 2018; *The Guardian*, July 10, 2018). The rhetoric is similar to that of "areas of risk" or "parallel cities" in Brazil where *favela*s are targeted, although with extrajudicial killings and urban militarization there is no formalized double penalization as in the "ghetto-package". In this case, that refers to areas dominated by poor and largely a population with immigrant origins, criminalizing residents of these areas further.

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Article 3

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From 'pacification' to 'licence-to-kill':
Favela residents' experience with the UPP from 2011-2018

Åsne Håndlykken-Luz

Abstract

This article draws on longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork to explore residents' everyday experiences of living in the 'pacified' favela Cantagalo-Pavão-Pavãozinho in Rio de Janeiro. The findings indicate some residents' satisfaction with the police pacification unit (UPP) during its first years, when weapons were taken off the street. However, since 2017, shootouts have occurred daily, and favela residents now state that they feel like hostages between the police and traffickers and believe that the UPP never worked. I argue that the pacification programme operates drawing on 'coloniality of power', while unfolding new forms of militarisation/pacification as a changing-same, increasingly 'borderising bodies', as Mbembe writes. Simultaneously, as bodies are increasingly being borderised by the work of death, the struggles to decolonise territories also unfolds beyond the physical borders. The increased legitimisation of militarisation towards favela residents draws on a 'racial axis', wherein certain bodies are seen as threats becoming contested 'borders'.

Resumo

Este artigo baseia-se em uma pesquisa de campo etnográfica longitudinal para explorar as vivências cotidianas dos residentes da favela "pacificada" Cantagalo-Pavão-Pavãozinho, no Rio de Janeiro. Os depoimentos indicam a satisfação de alguns moradores com a unidade de polícia pacificadora (UPP), nos primeiros anos, quando as armas são retiradas das ruas. No entanto, desde 2017, os tiroteios acontecem diariamente, e os moradores da favela agora afirmam que se sentem reféns entre a polícia e os traficantes, e acreditam que a UPP nunca funcionou. Eu argumento que o programa de pacificação opera com base na 'colonialidade do poder' enquanto desdobramento de novas formas de militarização / pacificação na qualidade de um 'mesmo mutante', um outro do mesmo, (changing-same),isto é, cada vez mais os 'corpos se tornam fronteiras', como diz Mbembe. Simultaneamente, à medida que os corpos são cada vez mais fronteirizados pelo trabalho de morte, as lutas para descolonizar territórios também se desdobram para além das fronteiras físicas. A crescente legitimação da militarização em relação aos favelados baseia-se em um 'eixo racial', em que certos corpos são vistos como ameaças que se tornam 'fronteiras' contestadas.

From 2008 to 2018, the favelas (low-income marginalised neighbourhoods) located in strategic areas close to mega-event sites and rich neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro were 'pacified'.[1] Despite the government's investment in police officers trained in human rights, numerous cases of abuse have been reported since 2014, notwithstanding the decrease in visible weapons, homicides, and confrontations during the first years of the programme. In 2017 and 2018, there were daily shootouts and weapons were back on the streets in the pacified favelas of the privileged South Zone. Residents in Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo (PPG) remarked that 'it has changed a lot, hasn't it?' and expressed that the situation was back to 'normal', or even worse than before the installation of the police pacification unit (UPP). In 2018, numerous UPPs were dismantled and the killings of mostly young black men by the police reached a twenty-year high (from 236 in 2013 to 1,810 in 2019), despite federal military intervention in Rio (ISP, 2020). Using a longitudinal approach, I seek to understand residents' diverse experiences of living in a pacified favela, particularly their daily reflections in a changing militarised urban space over a decade.

In this article, I depart from the understanding of the pacification of Rio's favelas as a combination of necropolitics, disciplinary power, and biopolitics (Alves, 2018; Mbembe, 2001), re-actualising the 'fiction of race' (Mbembe, 2017, p. 89; author, 2020, p. 351). In the pacified favela, these dispositifs are combined, and favelados (favela residents) are treated as 'living dead' targeted by necropolitics, termed by Mbembe as the 'work of death' (2003, p. 16); meanwhile, despite pacification being considered an 'inclusive' approach 'granting' citizenship rights to residents, residents from the favelas are 'let [to] die' in terms of biopolitics (Foucault, 2004, p. 241), and furthermore, killed by police forces that exert disciplinary power with the sovereign 'right to take life' (Foucault, 2004, p. 241). I attempt to go beyond these dispositifs and understand the interrelated forms of power at stake in the pacification of the favelas, through 'coloniality of power' (Quijano, 2008) and 'borderising bodies' (Mbembe, 2019).

I argue that these dispositifs of power are entangled through 'coloniality of power', while re-actualising a 'racial axis' in the socio-spatial control of the undesired population (such as the favelados) and taking new forms unfolded through the 'borderising of bodies' through the work of death (Mbembe, 2019, p. 11), beyond physical borders.

In the context of the necropolitical violence in Rio's favelas, such low-income neighbourhoods have been racially codified as black (Alves, 2014, p. 328; Vargas, 2004, p.

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[1] The favelas are low-income marginalised or informal neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro, contrary to the formal city or the *asfalto*. See Perlman, 2010; Zaluar & Alvito, 2006.

455) and are considered criminally violent spaces with residents who need to be 'civilised' and 'pacified' through politics of death targeting blacks, who are increasingly being massacred by police snipers. Since 2018, the shoot-to-kill policy and extreme levels of police violence and war towards black Brazilians have been further encouraged by the governor Witzel and the extreme-right government of Bolsonaro.

Pacification and urban militarisation as coloniality of power

Militarised policing, socio-spatial control, and criminalisation of the urban poor have been the dominant approach in Brazil since the colonial period, entangled with 'pacifying' or 'civilising' the territories and bodies seen as threats (Valente, 2016, pp. 63–66). Such 'hygienisation' (Garmany & Richmond, 2020) and moral 'civilising' mixed with militarisation has a long history in Brazil. Pacification has been a fundamental colonial pedagogy that has existed for over five centuries, beginning during the 'civilising' and tutelage of indigenous populations by Portuguese and European missionaries (de Oliveira, 2014, p. 127). Pacification is entangled with militarisation and oppression of the 'other', taking the form of social and cultural lynching of blacks through whitening (Author, 2020, p. 349; Nascimento, 1989, p. 59). In the Brazilian context, 'pacification' has a cruel history of oppression (Batista, 2012; Valente 2016, pp. 63–66). During the dictatorship (1964 to 1985), the military also aimed at 'pacifying' civil society (Gonzalez & Hasenbalg, 1982, p. 11).

I argue that pacification implies both physical oppression through militarisation and a 'civilising' and moralising mission through 'social lynching' (Nascimento, 1989), entangled through the notion of 'coloniality of power' (Mignolo, 2008, p. 228; Quijano 2008, p. 185).[2] This matrix comprises both military power and a 'colonisation of the imaginary' as a 'civilising goal' made possible through the idea of 'race' as 'a mental category of modernity' (Quijano, 2008, p. 182).

The Royal Police guard in Brazil was established in 1809 and aimed at protecting the white elites and royal court, thus targeting black Brazilians. The Capitão do Mato (bush captain) were deployed to chase fugitive slaves during slavery preceding the police. In 1821, nearly half of Rio's population were slaves. After the abolition of slavery in 1888 and emergence of favelas in the late 19th century, the freed slaves and poor were evicted from the central areas, and the favelas and cortiços (tenement buildings) were demolished (Valente, 2016, pp. 49–50). The urban renewal reform of the early 1900s aimed to create a

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[2] The concept developed by Quijano refers to a 'new technology of domination/exploitation', in this case race/labour articulated as they appeared naturalised in the colonisation of the Americas (Quijano, 2008, p. 185).

modern 'civilised' capital (Abreu, 1988, p. 60; Meade, 1999, p. 43). There were mass removals of the favelas in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s, policing became increasingly militarised and violent, drawing on strategies from warfare and military tactics.

Pacification of the favelas

The so-called pacification of the favelas and implementation of the UPP in 2008 marked a shift from the discourse of 'war' to that of 'peace' and the inclusion of favelas into the 'formal city', with a guarantee of 'social inclusion', security, and citizenship for favela residents (Leite, 2012, pp. 384–385). It also included social programmes (UPP social) and treating the favelas as markets and the residents as consumers (de Queiroz Ribeiro & Olinger, 2017, p. 223).

The UPP programme, launched in 2008 by Rio Governor Sérgio Cabral and secretary of security José Mariono Beltrame,[3] was developed in preparation for upcoming mega-events (World Cup 2014 and Olympics 2016). It was inspired by the 'policing of proximity' model, in which specially trained police officers permanently enter a territory after expulsion of armed traffickers to 're-claim' it for the state. The UPP aimed to return 'peace and public tranquillity to the local residents' so they may exercise 'full citizenship that guarantees both social and economic development' (UPP, 2013) implying a moralising and differential approach to citizenship. However, the state had never been completely absent from the favelas (Novaes, 2014, p. 214).

Researchers have emphasised the increased legitimisation of the militarisation of everyday life for poor residents living in the favelas. Despite a decade of UPP,[4] residents are considered threats and enemies (Leite & Farias, 2018, p. 257). Scholars have stressed the need to study how residents experience living in urban militarised areas (Pasquetti, 2019, p. 848). Many studies on UPP have focused on its positive evaluation during the first years (Cano et al., 2012; Mundial, 2012), while others analysed the 'decline of UPP' after the World Cup (2014) and Olympics (2016). Many studies of pacification have emphasised the criminalisation and militarisation of the urban poor (Fahlberg, 2018; Franco, 2014; Leite, 2012; Valente, 2016), where residents are treated as internal enemies (Leite & Farias, 2018, p. 240), drawing on a 'civilising' approach (Valente, 2016, pp. 63–66), enabling the 'genocide'

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[3] The UPP programme was sponsored by private investors such as Eike Batista, once the richest man in Brazil (Werneck, 2010).

[4] For an overview of research on UPP in different phases see: Leite & Farias, 2018; Franco, 2014; Cano et al., 2012; Banco Mundial, 2012.

of black Brazilians (Vargas, 2008, p. 754), a 'double negation' of black enemies (Alves, 2018, p. 8) unfolding 'racism as a perfect crime' in the context of necropolitical violence in Rio's favelas (Håndlykken-Luz, 2020; Munanga, 2012).

Most research on the UPP and urban militarisation focuses on a specific period, ignores the longer-term effects of the intervention and urban regeneration (Degen, 2017, p. 142), or disregards the afterlife of resistance and protests (Frers & Meier, 2017, p. 128). I address this gap by drawing on longitudinal ethnographic research by analysing residents' everyday lived experiences in a pacified favela from 2011 to 2018.

Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo

The neighbouring favelas of Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo (PPG) are located on the hillsides of Copacabana and Ipanema, in the affluent majority white South Zone and consist mainly of residents' self-built homes that have been constructed over decades since the early 20th century.

Figure 1. The main street in PPG with numerous shops, restaurants, schools, banks, and churches. Photo walk with Pedro who suggested I photograph the youngsters playing with a kite on the roof, in order to capture the police officer further down the street. The police are not visible here, and could not be photographed in 2018, in contrast to 2011 where the police often posed for photos with visitors (photo by author, 2018).

Since 2009, numerous houses have been marked for eviction in the context of the federal public infrastructural investments provided through Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC, Growth Acceleration Programme).

Figure 2. Houses in PPG marked for eviction (Author, 2012).

The community has been gentrified, or rather 'hygienised' (Garmany & Richmond, 2020), while residents from the asfalto have moved in.

Figure 3. View towards Copacabana from PPG (Author, 2012).

- 131 -

RASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

When I returned to PPG in 2018, public works had been abandoned; houses were rebuilt by residents or traffickers who had occupied the evicted spaces (Håndlykken-Luz, 2019). The pacification police were rarely to be seen on the streets, and would not enter the top of the favela, where traffickers controlled the area.

Figure 4. View from PPG towards Ipanema and the elevator providing access from the Metro station in Ipanema with access to the favela Cantagalo. Constructed as part of the PAC. A soccer field in the favela can be seen on the right (Author, 2018).

According to official data, PPG is home to 10,338 residents (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE], 2010). Local residents have emphasised that the actual number might be over 30,000. In December 2009, Rio's fifth UPP comprising 176 police officers was installed permanently in PPG. Since 2007, the federal PAC programme has invested R$35.2 million in infrastructure (Mundial, 2012, pp. 58–59).

Methodology

The ethnographic fieldwork presented in this article was conducted in two phases: from 2011 to 2013 (20-month period) and in 2018 (six weeks). I also went back to the neighbourhood, living for six weeks in Rio in 2017, meeting informally with residents. In

2017, the situation was tense with daily shootouts in PPG. I mostly met with residents on the street where I was living, which provided access to the favela. During the first phase, I lived for three months in PPG. I spent the remaining time living on a street that provides access to PPG, which facilitated daily interactions, participant observations, and walks in the neighbourhood. I also participated in events and community meetings organised by resident associations, the family health clinic, and monthly UPP meetings held during the first years. In 2018, it was difficult to find residents who agreed to be interviewed again due to the tense situation. This was also probably due to the increase in shootouts, police operations, and presence of armed traffickers. The unexpected and unplanned (Frers, 2009, p. 155) were integral to the fieldwork; I had to adapt both methods and a situated ethics (Perez, 2017, p. 2) due to numerous changes in the field. In 2018, I conducted several photo walks, walking interviews, and follow-up interviews with residents I met during the first phase of the fieldwork.[5] Most of the interviews were conducted while walking (Evans & Jones, 2011; O'Neill & Roberts, 2019) and through informal conversations. Some days we had to cancel walks and interviews due to police operations and shootouts.

'It has changed a lot, hasn't it?': Perceptions of changing insecurity

When I went back to PPG in June 2018, many residents were afraid to speak due to the tense situation, feeling like hostages between the police and narco-traffickers. I talked with Ronaldo, whom I met regularly between 2011 and 2013. He told me now that the UPP ended, 'the trafficking is back to normal', while the UPP only come for a short time and stay inside the police unit.

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[5] All interviews were conducted by the author in Portuguese and translated into English. I am responsible for any mistakes.

Figure 5. Photo of public housing to the right, and the UPP block in PPG on the left (Author, 2018).

Between 2011 and 2013, the only people visibly carrying arms were the police. In 2018, we could now see traffickers carrying heavy weapons on the street, teenagers with machine guns at drug sale points, and children watching out for the police as they communicated through walkie-talkies. Paula, a 52-year-old woman whom I met frequently, commented, 'Have you seen that there are fewer street children down in Ipanema now? That's because they are now recruited by the drug traffickers'. Residents would remark that 'It has changed a lot, hasn't it?', followed by silence.

When asked about the arrival of UPP, Paula responded: 'The change was to not have so much violence, but the (drug) trafficking continues everywhere'. Children could grow up without witnessing shootouts every day or playing with weapons and bullets on the street. As Paula said,[6]

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[6] The names of the participants are changed to protect their anonymity.

- 134 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

> The first period many did not like it (UPP). After a while, they got used to it, with the silence, children running on the streets, (…) so children got a healthier life, a better life. And when it came to the end, during the Olympics in the beginning of 2016, people already started to perceive that change. (Interview, 2018)

The first years of the UPP were marked by a mainly positive presentation and reports promoting its results and success. Surveys from 2010 to 2013 showed that there was general support for the UPP (de Oliveira, 2014, p. 175). A study by Menezes and Corrêa (2017) lists some elements of the success of the UPP. However, residents pointed out numerous problems with the UPP, being aware that they were deprived of rights (de Oliveira, 2014, p. 108). From 2011 to 2013, the UPP received more criticism regarding failures of social investments, rising non-lethal crime, and property speculation.

Figure 6. Inauguration of the new UPP headquarter in PPG, September 2011 (Marina Azevedo/Governo do Rio,Globo, 2011).

Since 2014, the situation was marked by more violent conflicts between traffickers and the military police (Hilderbrand, 2014). In 2017 and 2019, the police killed two teenagers and hit a woman with stray bullets in PPG (Sansão, 2017). When I arrived in June 2017, a guard working in Copacabana who lived in PPG was killed by a grenade. The police reported that they were attacked by traffickers. The situation was tense, and the police came shooting towards the favela frequently; at several occasions we had to hide from bullets. Bullets also hit the façade of the block I was living in and a dead person was found on the street. There were no regular times for police operations; it often happened when children went to school. During 2011-2013, I rarely heard shootouts, and police operations would normally occur early in the morning. I spoke with Ronaldo in 2012, who said,

> You will see no one with arms anymore except for the police. So, it gives us the feeling of security. We don't have to worry about having to hear gunshots or encountering criminals while walking home at night. I think the situation has gotten better. (Interview, 2012, age 29)

Ronaldo's experiences of the changes in 2011 and 2012, and later in 2018 illustrate how residents would mention the 'feeling of security', although many would say that it continued as before. Despite a decrease in violent confronts, people would disappear and the 'war' would shift to other parts of the city. We also met at some community meetings, where plans for the PAC programme and legalisation of property rights for residents were presented. Ronaldo told me that these initiatives were presented simultaneously as residents were living in houses marked for eviction, and many did not even know. He found out that his house was marked for eviction, and later, the plans were changed. The locus for these projects as many residents said, was 'a make-up' before the Olympics, and resulted in rising property prices and a 'gentrification while residents from the asfalto (the so-called formal city) moved into the community', as Paula told me.

In 2017 and 2018, residents pointed to the return of traffickers who seized more power over the past two years (i.e., post-Olympics and economic crisis in Rio), and said that 'UPP never worked'; it was a façade and a 'make-up'. While some residents in 2018 expressed that the situation was back to 'normal', others contested this view. Paula said,

> With the return of the trafficking, I feel very shaken up (…) People who came here in the last 4 to 5 years think that shootouts are normal. Sometimes I say, 'how absurd', and then people say, 'it's normal, don't worry'. Guys, I don't find this normal. (…) I don't accept this situation as something normal! (Interview, 2018).

Paula questioned the opinion of many residents that the situation was now back to 'normal', and that 'it is like before UPP; we're used to living with this insecurity, the violence, and the shootouts in the territory'. She said, 'the UPP from the first years, I miss it very much'. Paula contested that living with violence and shootouts is not 'normal'.

I went for numerous walks in the community with Pedro. He commented that it is pleasant when it rains because 'there are no shootouts when it's raining'. I asked why, and he responded that this is because 'the police don't like the rain'. Pedro's comment then indicates a predictability of police behaviour. Another resident said, 'Today is the day off for the traffickers', 'so it is a nice day to go for a walk in the community'. I asked if this was regular. She said that it happened once in a while, but it was not clear how and why. Another resident pointed out that there is a pact of respect between the different police forces and traffickers:

> And as you see there, there is a, a pact of respect. Look, 'you come here, and I stay here'. And that's it, everyone does their job. The military police, the civil police do their job. And the bandits do their job. (Interview, 2018)

These examples indicate a certain collaboration between traffickers and police for maintaining some level of conviviality and predictability, or a 'co-production of local insecurity' (Richmond, 2019, p. 72). Although the state might have never 'pacified' the favela with the UPP, and the drug factions would have still been present (though less visible), I argue that one also has to consider those residents who had a positive experience of the UPP for a certain time (Fahlberg, 2018, p. 318). The children and many residents emphasised that, for a certain period, they experienced less violence and shootouts as the power of the 'law of traffickers' appeared to decrease. The violence shifted to other parts of the city or was manifested by bodies disappearing from the pacified favelas; increasingly 'borderising bodies' (Mbembe, 2019) beyond the physical territory.

Many residents explained the changes over the years and emphasised that it became worse than before. The 'pacifying' police were losing legitimacy as they were shown to be involved in massacres and necropolitical practises (Alves, 2013), contrary to their aims of 'pacification' and dialogue; residents said that they would arrive shooting towards the favela, from 'down there' (pointing to the street below in Ipanema and Copacabana). Dona Silva, who grew up in PPG, commented on the changes over the past years and the behaviour of the police:

> And now that they're leaving (UPP), it all started again like that. The exaggeration of the shootouts, lack of respect, right. (…) Now when the police arrive, they already arrive shooting. I thought this was not true, but because I live down here, I see the police when they arrive shooting. (Interview, 2018)

The police would not shoot in the other direction towards the rich white neighbourhood around the corner, and as Dona Vieira said, the UPP would fire shots for anything (in the favela), thus 'drawing racialised boundaries' (Alves, 2013, p. 328), and 'borderising bodies' (Mbembe, 2019).

At numerous occasions, I also witnessed police operations, tanks, and check points on the street providing access to PPG from Copacabana and Ipanema. The only residents who were searched on those occasions were people with an appearance of being from the favelas—young, poor, and Afro-Brazilians. White residents from the asfalto living in blocks on the other side of the street were not stopped. Residents from the asfalto living close to the favela complained about the police operations, said that they paid taxes, had the right to citizenship, owned houses, and should not be blocked due to police operations. Police were also shooting towards the favela from the street providing access to the community at numerous occasions without any visible tensions. Hence, bodies where borderised (Mbembe, 2019) drawing on a 'racial axis' (Quijano, 2008), beyond the favela's physical borders.

Thus, we can see how the pacification and militarisation represents a 'changing-same'[7], treating the favela residents both in 'wartime' and 'peacetime' as people who need to be 'civilised' by the UPP to 'return peace to them' (…) so residents can 'exercise full citizenship' (UPP, 2013). While the UPP had some 'inclusive' projects, it was drawing on a moralising and civilising approach; for instance, funk parties and loud music in the favelas were banned, while weekly parties in the asfalto at a boutique hotel around the corner were not banned. The 'civilising' and 'moralising' aspect of the UPP was integral to the approach from the beginning (Leite et al., 2018, p. 13), drawing on a changing-same of pacification and militarisation entangled with coloniality of power (Quijano, 2008, p. 185) and borderising bodies through new forms.

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[7] I draw on Gilroy (1991) and his notion of a 'changing' same which provides a useful concept for understanding the dynamics of militarisation/pacification transforming itself in unforeseen and polyhedral ways that have targeted blacks and marginalised populations in Brazil for centuries. See also Rahier (2020) for an analysis of the 'changing same' of anti-black racism revealed in lawsuits filed by afrodescendants in Ecuador.

My neighbour Ana, who owns a small restaurant in a favela on the street bordering Copacabana, said that she was afraid to leave her daughter at the front door of the restaurant because children are being kidnapped. 'We don't know by whom', she said. She added that 'A Gente não vive, mas sobrevivem' ('We don't live, but we're surviving'). Her statement indicates that beyond the supposed naturalisation of everyday violence, there are new dynamics of pacification/militarisation unfolding a condition of a 'changing-same'.

'We're living a war' – bodies borderised by the work of death

While the UPP dismantled nearly half of its units in 2018, it is still present in PPG. The residents said that they just stay there and never leave the block. The situation is back to 'normal', one resident said, while the police always come to 'change services' and get their part of the money from the traffickers. Now, the 'law of the traffickers' is back. Another resident explained that the situation was even worse than before UPP due to the change in the organisation of factions. Now, the traffickers controlling the favela were from 'the outside' (fora), which means that their reaction to and treatment of the residents was quite unpredictable, as Paula and I experienced one evening walking home, where we had to stop on the street when traffickers were pointing a gun towards a man who came to buy drugs. They suspected him of being an informant due to his appearance, said Paula, and they did not know people in the favela. Allocating traffickers from outside was a tactic of Comando Vermelho to strengthen control over the territory. Residents said they felt like they were hostages between the police and traffickers. Paula elaborated that 'because of the return of the weapons (traffickers now carrying visible weapons), we're all suspects now. (…) We're also afraid of the drug traffickers'. Furthermore, she explained that while talking with the police, one could be suspected of being an X-9 (an informant), and she said, 'then you risk losing your life, as has already happened sometimes' (Paula, 2018).

While residents expressed some satisfaction during the first years, Dona Vieira explained the changes that followed:

> Since the UPP … joined the community, it got worse than with the 'meninos' (the boys, referring to the drug traffickers). They (UPP) fired shots for anything… the past two years I can say … it became bad (porcaria). For me really, UPP is the same thing as nothing. At first I liked it, but now, if they leave they will not be missed. (Interview, 2018, age 54)

In the South Zone, many residents were satisfied with the first years of the UPP, where arms were taken off the streets and children could play safely. One mother told me

- 139 -

that 'now in 2018 the children celebrate when they hear shootouts'; the shootouts are again part of daily life. A woman I met in the favela said that her 11-year-old daughter had grown up with the presence of the UPP since 2009. Her daughter had never seen heavy arms in the favela, except those carried by the police; but this year, traffickers were visibly armed with machine guns. Furthermore, the army now regularly drove up the hill in military tanks, following the military intervention in February 2018. The army had not been present here before, as in other favelas such as Maré or Complexo do Alemão. The army is terrifying for the children. She said that seeing the Caveirão (tank) and trucks with soldiers is like a war scene. In Figure 7 below, the white 'pacification' Caveirão of the UPP can be seen from a child's eye level.

Figure 7. The white UPP Caveirão (Márcia Foletto, Globo, 2017).

I had seen the white 'pacification' tanks many times and in 2018, the military tanks were driving up the hill and the army walking into the community, pointing heavy arms at every corner.

Figure 8. Military occupation in PPG, 2018 (Antonio Lacerda. Source: EPA EFE)

- 140 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

The accounts of the children living in time of 'peace' and 'war' also unveil dynamics beyond the everyday naturalisation of violence, as bodies continue to disappear. During the time of 'peace,' the war was dislocated but still targeted blacks and favela residents— borderising bodies (Mbembe, 2019) beyond the visible physical territory of PPG.

In 2013, I interviewed Mario and we went for photo walks together. In 2018, he had moved out of the South Zone and said that, although he preferred to live in the favela, he would not return until the situation became quieter. Mario explained:

> What the population is living in Rio today, is a civil war ... it's a civil war. The great truth is that it's being hidden... you see every day that 20 to 30 people are dying, victims of stray bullets. My friend lives in the Gaza Strip, in Israel. She says, not even in the Gaza Strip are there as many people dying as in Rio de Janeiro'. (Interview, 2018)

This observation by Mario indicates how bodies are borderised by the work of death, while in addition to the numerous homicides by police and 'stray bullets', bodies are disappearing. In 2018, the first military intervention in democratic Brazil took over security in Rio de Janeiro for ten months, marked by a return to increased militarisation, rearmament, urban warfare, and necropolitics.

The assassination of Marielle Franco on 14 March 2018, a human rights and LGBTQ activist, critic of the militarisation and UPP, and the only female, black councilwoman in the city council of Rio de Janeiro has brought international attention to the police terror and urban violence in Rio. Marielle Franco was raised in the favela of Mare, and critiqued the military police, police violence, and military intervention.

- 141 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

Figure 9. Photos from protests against the killing of Marielle Franco and police violence in Rio de Janeiro in front of Rio's city council. A photo and a painting of Marielle can be seen in the images. A street in front of the City Council has been renamed after Marielle Franco (Author, July, 2018).

As a black woman and favela resident, her death illustrates the necropolitical violence, racism and police terror that she was fighting against. Marielle Franco also wrote her Master's thesis on UPP and was critical of the 'pacification' (Franco, 2014) and the 2018 federal military intervention in Rio de Janeiro. Worldwide protests and the resistance and struggles of Marielle paved a new way forward for black feminist politicians elected into office.

Despite military intervention, the numbers of deaths and clashes with police are increasing. The 'licence-to-kill' and impunity suggested by the justice minister, Sérgio Moro (Mattoso & Della Coletta, 2019), and Rio governor, Wilson Witzel (Kaiser, 2019), reveals that favela residents are targeted as criminals who are now being dealt with by snipers that shoot from helicopters. The numbers of homicides and police executions in 2019 are the highest since implementation of the pacification programme in 2008.

Pacification as 'borderising bodies'

Mbembe asks, 'what explains the migration from the border understood as a particular point in space to the border as the moving body of the undesired masses of populations? The answer is a new global partitioning between potentially risky bodies vs. bodies that are not' (2019, p. 9). Favelas as black(ened) spaces are seen as a threat to the white 'civilised' parts of Rio, and favela residents targeted as an undesired population— borderised by the work of death.

Beyond the apparent 'peace' and 'war' time in PPG, Afro-Brazilians were targeted, and race mobilised in the production of space and spatial governance of Rio's contested geographies. The increased legitimisation of militarisation towards the urban poor draws on a 'racial axis' (Quijano, 2008, p. 181), where certain bodies are considered threats, and thus become contested 'borders'. The killing of black persons by the police also unfolds the scattering of dead bodies across the favelas as a 'spatial practice', thus shaping the city drawing on racialisation (Alves, 2014, p. 329). The racial shaping of the city unfolding differential practises of law, socio-spatial negotiations of citizenship (Håndlykken-Luz, 2019) and a racialised regime of citizenship (Alves, 2014), is clearly visible in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro with the white rich South Zone and asfalto alongside the favelas as black spaces where the police can kill with impunity.

Beyond the supposed normalisation of violence, the processes of 'borderising bodies' (Mbembe, 2019) can be unveiled while numerous people disappeared, and 'war' and massacres were dislocated for a certain period of ('peace') time in PPG. The spatialised necropolitical strategies were directed towards favelas and favelados across Rio de Janeiro, revealing militarisation and pacification as a polyhedral (Håndlykken-Luz, 2019) and 'changing-same' targeting favelas, black(ened) spaces and favelados as disposable bodies.

'Schizophrenia of territory and place'

The dynamics involved in the pacification of PPG can also be understood through the notion of 'schizophrenia of territory and place' (Santos, 2017, p. 42), where external, global, and private actors operate and new forms of living, struggling, and insurgency occur, thus decolonising territory 'in tension with the (post)colonial state' (Halvorsen, 2019; Porto-Gonçalves, 2012).

Milton Santos pointed to the 'schizophrenia of territory and place' in the context of globalisation (Santos, 2017, p. 42). The territory, he explains, is not a neutral or passive actor,

- 143 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

while the role of finance is crucial in restructuring space. This leads to a 'true schizophrenia' because these places both 'welcome and benefit the dominant vectors of rationality, but at the same time witness the emergence of new forms of living' (Santos, 2017, pp. 41–42). The UPP was also financed by private investors and promoted internationally as a platform for testing weapons and technologies of war and surveillance. Smart police apps, drones, and a smart city control centre were showcased to an international market. Rio hosted events to reveal weapons and military technology for an international audience. In the case of PPG, such a 'schizophrenia of territory and place' appears to 'play an active role in the formation of consciousness' (Santos, 2017, p. 42), while different actors adapt in various ways to the daily changes and 'normality' of living with urban militarisation, insecurity, and shootouts. Residents had to adapt to changes, regarding both the UPP and the power of traffickers. Although residents were living in a favela characterised by 'violent sociability' (Machado da Silva, 2004, pp. 78–79) and 'the law of traffickers', the period of the UPP occupation indicated some changes and resistance both to the police, traffickers, and 'new forms of living' emerged (Santos, 2019).

Decolonising territory

Residents' in the favelas have organised numerous protests and used social media in the struggle against police killings and racism. On 2 July 2017, favela residents organised a protest in front of the iconic Copacabana palace, located in the elite white neighbourhood of Copacabana, following numerous killings by the police. Thus, protesters were blackening the white privileged square (Alves, 2014, p. 333). Residents from PPG participated in the protest and gained more visibility than a few days before when they had a small protest on the streets of PPG with no media coverage. Favela residents from across the city contesting numerous killings the same week, while also an unborn baby was killed by bullets when the mother was shot.

Figure 10. Favela residents protest in front of Copacabana palace on 2 July 2017 (Wilton Junior, Estadão).

Figure 11. Favela residents demand peace, citizenship, and respect. Protest in front of Copacabana beach 2017 (Wilton Junior, Estadão).

Residents in PPG demanded peace after violence intensified in June 2017, raising white flags in PPG during a shootout. The photo below was widely shared on social media with the hashtag #PPGpedePaz (PPG demand for peace).

Figure 12. Favela residents in PPG raising white flags and demanding peace after increasing police violence and killings in June 2017. (Photo PPG Informative. Source Globo, 28.06.2017).

As we have seen, residents are living with pacification/militarisation as a changing-same, and, resident resistance and struggles to decolonise territories (Halvorsen, 2019, p. 794) also unfold beyond the physical borders. Territory (territorio) in this context also encompasses colonial or physical borders and dispositifs of state control and can best be understood through the notion of 'decolonising territory', which entangles both domination and struggles for rights, insurgent citizenship, and resistance 'reinvented from below' (Porto-Gonçalves, 2012; Halvorsen, 2019, p. 795).

As new forms of living, insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2008, p. 313), autoconstruction and social media interventions (Prouse, 2017), and new forms of resistance emerge simultaneously, there are investments in security interventions (i.e., the UPP) and urban upgrades (i.e., the PAC), which emerge as a 'schizophrenia of territory and place' (Santos, 2019, p. 42). The first phase of the UPP indicated decreased brutal power exerted by the traffickers and a feeling of increased security by some residents; however, they were living in a context of increased necropolitical violence where militarisation/pacification unfolded as a 'changing-same', borderising bodies by the work of death.

Final remarks: 'The blood of children in Rio' - '#ACulpaÉDoWitzel'

On 20 September 2019, Ágatha Sales Felix became the fifth child killed by the military police in Rio that year (Fogo Cruzado, 2019). Protests erupted on the streets of Rio and #ACulpaÉDoWitzel ('It is Witzel's fault') was shared on social media, pointing to the politics

- 146 -

of massacring poor and black favela residents as promoted by Governor Wilson Witzel (Olliveira & Simas, 2019).

Figure 13. Drawing shared on social media in September 2019 depicting Ágatha who was killed by police saying, 'Witzel, it's your fault!' and figuring Witzel with blood on his hands (Latuff 2019).

Witzel responded that 'it is not because we have a terrible incident that we should stop the state', and emphasised that his security politics had been a success (Castro, 2019). As Mbembe states, we should speak not of borders but 'of 'borderisation', that is, the process by which certain spaces are transformed into uncrossable places for certain classes of populations, who thereby undergo a process of racialisation; places where speed must be disabled and the lives of a multitude of people judged to be undesirable are meant to be immobilised if not shattered' (2019, p. 9). Recent statistics also show that police in Brazil and Rio increasingly employ facial recognition technology which results in blacks en masse (90.5%) being incarcerated and charged with crimes (Nunes, 2019), despite the questionable reliability of such technologies.

In 2019, it was reported that 1,810 people (five persons per day) were killed by police in Rio de Janeiro (ISP, 2020). Politics that legitimise police officers' ability to operate with a 'licence-to-kill' in certain territories (favelas) and towards certain groups of people

(particularly favelados and Afro-Brazilians) have drawn upon a 'racial axis' and illustrate Mbembe's (2019) notion of bodies as borders and borderising bodies. As Mbembe states,

> Everything is put in place to transform the very nature of the border in the name of security. Borders are increasingly turned into mobile, portable, omnipresent and ubiquitous realities (…) with the goal of better selecting anew who is whom, who should be where and who shouldn't, in the name of security'. (Mbembe, 2019, p. 9)

Police officers operating with a 'licence-to-kill' and snipers shooting from war helicopters in 'pacified' favelas reveals the changing-same of militarisation and pacification through new forms where the body is increasingly becoming the border (Mbembe, 2019). New technologies are employed, such as drones, smart police apps, sensors, and cameras, to track movements and scan bodies. In a combination of both necropolitics, disciplinary power and biopolitics, these dispositifs are entangled and unfold through borderising of bodies being racialised, beyond physical borders.

In this article, I have examined residents' everyday experiences of urban militarisation living in a 'pacified' favela in Rio de Janeiro for nearly a decade. The narratives from the pacified favelas located in the privileged and majority white South Zone in Rio are particular also attributed to the huge investment in preparing for the mega-events through the deployment of the UPP and UPP social projects. Some researchers and residents described the pacification process as successful in the first years. However, while the number of police killings decreased during the first years of the UPP, the number of missing people increased, revealing how certain bodies were borderised by the work of death. In 2018 and 2019, the number of residents killed by police reached its highest reported figure of the past twenty years.

Despite the human rights training for police and the goal of incorporating the favelas into the formal city, I argue that the UPP programme, although initially considered successful, reveals a 'changing-same' of pacification/militarisation articulated through 'coloniality of power' (Quijano, 2008, p. 182). The changing-same of pacification/militarisation unfolds as a re-enactment of Rio's colonial order through coloniality of justice and space, drawing on racialisation, where increasingly 'the body is the border' (Mbembe, 2019). Territory (territorio) in this context includes both strategies of domination and resistance, and thus, the struggle for decolonising territory; beyond the colonial idea of territory (Halvorsen, 2019, p. 794).

- 148 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

Finally, I discussed the notion of a 'licence-to-kill', and recent changes in the security politics of Rio since 2019. Although these changes happened after the last phase of fieldwork conducted in 2018, they increasingly result in borderising bodies and affect children in the favelas. Further studies should be conducted on the implications for children and other groups living under everyday urban militarisation.

To conclude, pacification as borderising bodies mobilising race is central to understanding shifts in the dynamic of urban violence and pacification in Rio de Janeiro. These insights are also of relevance for understanding increased racialisation and borderising bodies in other cities, peripheries, and so-called ghettos both in the global south and global north where race is mobilised to enable socio-spatial control of certain residents.

Increased legitimisation of militarisation towards the urban poor, including snipers operating with 'licence-to-kill' in 'pacified' areas, draws upon a 'racial axis' (Quijano, 2008, p. 181) where certain bodies are seen as threats, hence bodies borderised by the work of death. The border is no longer merely a line, but the targeted masses of undesired, moving populations (Mbembe, 2019, p. 9). In the case of the UPP programme in Rio's favelas, both territories (favelas) and people (favelados) are thus targeted through the 'changing-same' of militarisation/pacification that draw on coloniality of power, increasingly mobilising race in the production of space and spatial governance through new forms of 'borderising bodies'.

- 149 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

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- 151 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

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Article 4

Håndlykken-Luz, Å. (2022). Field note – extracts: Visual field notes from a fractured longitudinal ethnographic research of Rio de Janeiro's favelas (in review *Cultural Geographies*).

This article is omitted from the online version due to embargo.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of participants

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Appendix 3: Example of analysis and mapping of data article 2

Appendix 4: Confirmation letter from NSD (the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research)

Appendix 5: Information letter and consent form

Appendix 1: List of participants

Fieldwork (2018) Rio de Janeiro – Interviews – photo walks July – August 2018

	Name	Gender /age	Date	Interview	Media	Place	Comment
1.			11.07.18	Walking in the street, informal talk with neighbours, and observing a police intervention	Video, photos, notes	Ipanema/Saint Roman	Police operation
2.	Ronaldo	M	12.07.2018	Informal talk	Notes	Cantagalo	
3.	Fabio	M	14.07.2018	Informal talk, photo walk, and walking with residents	Photos and videos	Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho	
4.	Marcia	F	18.07.2018	Semi-structured interview	Audio	Copacabana	
5.	Fabio	M	21.07.2018	Semi-structured interview, informal talk, and go-along	Photo and audio	Cantagalo	
6.	Pedro	M	22.07.2018	Informal talk	Notes	Ipanema	
7.	Marcia	F	24.07.2018	Photo walk, participatory photomapping, and informal talk	Photo and video	Cantagalo	
8.	Paula	F		Informal talk, walk, and dance lesson		Cantagalo	
9.	Paula	F		Informal talk, walk, and dance lesson		Cantagalo	
10.	Marcia	M	01.08.2018	Photo walk, informal talk, and go-along	Photo and video	Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho	
11.	Dona Vieira	F	01.08.2018	Informal interview	Audio	Cantagalo	
12.	Dona Souza	F	01.08.2018	Informal interview	Audio	Cantagalo	
13.	Ronaldo	M	02.08.2018	Semi-structured interview	Audio and notes	Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho	
14.	Marcia	F	07.08.2018	Participatory photo mapping and informal talk. M. photographed and later meeting	Photos and notes	Cantagalo and Ipanema	Met for informal talk about photos
15.	Fabio	M	07.08.2018	Sent photos (PPP) and message	Photos and notes		Sent by cell phone
16.	Marcia	F	12.08.2018	Photo walk, participatory photo mapping, informal talk, and photo interview	Photo and notes	Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho	Talk about printed photos
17.	Mario	M	22.08.18	Semi-structured interview	Audio/WhatsApp		Interview via WhatsApp audio

Fieldwork (2011-2013) – Interviews – photo walks January 2012 - February 2013

	Name	Gender/age	Date	Interview	Media	Place
1	Ronaldo	M	16.02.2012	Informal interview	Video/audio	Cantagalo
2	Patricia	F		Informal interview	video	Centro
3	Patricia	F	18.02.2013	Semi-structured interview	Audio	Grota/ Complexo A
4	Patricia	F	18.02.2013	Participatory photo walk	Informal photo walk, participatory photography	Complexo A walk
5	Adriano	M	23.02.2013	Semi-structured interview	Audio	Botafogo; resident Duque Caixias
6	Mario	M	21.02.2013	Semi-structured interview	Audio	Rocinha
7	Maria Teresa	F	19.02.2013	Semi-structured interview	Audio/video	Mare/resident Alemao
8		M	14.02.2013	Informal interview/talk video	Video	Aldeia Maracanã
9		M	14.02.2013	Informal interview/talk video	Video	Aldeia Maracanã
10		M	14.02.2013	Informal interview/talk video	Video	Aldeia Maracanã
11		M	14.02.2013	Informal talk		Aldeia Maracanã
11-20	Rosa, Maria, Dona Ione		15.01.2012	Informal talk with 10 residents along the way in the different sub-bairros of Pavão-Pavãozinho	Photo walk Photos/videos	Pavão-Pavãozinho

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Fieldwork and interview guide 2018 - ÅHL

    I.   Draft interview guide 2018 for semi structured and open interviews

Interview guide for interviews in Rio de Janeiro July-August 2018	
Form of interview/duration/location: *Informal talk, photo walk, participatory photo-mapping, audio or video recording (ca 20-60 min)*	Residents of favelas/communities in Rio de Janeiro
Interview themes	• Introduction and personal questions • 'Pacification' /UPPs • Everyday experiences and life in community/favela/city • Social mobilisation, social media, protests, rights

1. What is your name, age, occupation, place of living?
2. How do you consider life (everyday) here in the favela/community now?

3. How was the life here before the 'pacification' (UPPs)?
4. What do you perceive as the major changes (if any) after the UPPs were installed in the community/favela (what is the perceptions other residents)?
5. How do you experience the relation and treatment of residents by the UPP officers?
6. Now UPP has been here for several years, what has changed (if any changes) over the years as regards to treatment of residents and relation to UPP and the police (rights, violence, trust etc)? Why?
7. How do you experience life here in the city currently? Is the community/favela now (after the 'pacification') more 'included' in the so-called 'formal city' ('asfalto') (ex. basic services, rights, treatment of residents)?
8. What do you feel about the recent military intervention in Rio de Janeiro? How has this changed (if any) the everyday life for residents here in the community/favela?

9. How do you perceive the changes the past years (if any) as regards to housing and forced evictions in the community/favela (forced eviction, property rights, gentrification, or rent)?
10. How do you understand the term 'asfalto'?
11. For you what is the difference between the terms 'favela' and 'community'?
12. Do you feel that you are treated differently in the 'asfalto' because you are from the favela/community (ex. social relations, jobs, education, everyday)? Do you feel any changes after the 'pacification'?
13. How do you understand the terms 'discrimination' and 'racism' (what is 'racism' for you)?
14. What are the problems of racism in Brazil/Rio de Janeiro (if any)?
15. How do you feel about the social inequalities in Brazil/Rio de Janeiro?
16. What are the needs in the community/favela where you live as regards to public investment and providing better public services here (ex. Security, health, education, basic services, sanitation, mobility, transport, social services)? Are the residents' involved in the consultations and decisions about public investment here? Examples?

17. Have you participated in any social mobilisation or protests the past years? Why did you (or not) participate?
18. Did you or other residents here participated in the mass protests in June 2013? Why/for what purpose?
19. What kind of changes occurred (if any) after the mass protests in June 2013?
20. How is the community/favela and residents presented in the national media? What do you think of these representations?
21. What kind of social medias (if any) (ex. Twitter, Facebook, snap etc, WhatsApp groups) do you use? Why (for what purpose)?
22. How is the presentation of community/favela presented in different kind of social media, blogs or maps (by community blogs, googlemaps, wikimaps, projects of favela digital)? How do you feel about these representations/images/videos? (What do you think about how the favela is represented by researchers? Ex foreign researchers presenting certain aspects (or voices). How do residents feel about these representations as well as the interaction with researchers? What is missing?)
23. How do you feel about the everyday (and future?) as a citizen here in of Rio de Janeiro (the neighbourhood and the city as a whole)?

II.   Photo walks and participant photography

Participants will be invited for a photo walk together with the researcher, or to contribute with own photos (2-10) if they wish so. The photos will be discussed at a second meeting. The residents will receive copies of their photos. The participants can choose if they want the photos to be published and if they want to be anonymized or not. They can also choose what photos they want to share and discuss.

Everyday life in the community and changing landscapes will be the theme for the photo walk.

Residents in the relevant neighbourhood will be invited to discuss their photos and researcher's photos from 2011-2013 (if they wish so) related to evictions and public investment in communities.

Participants will receive copies of photos and final work and can decide what photos they want to share and eventually include in the publication (if they wish so). The residents who participated earlier can also decide if they want to be anonymized or not and if the material they shared earlier shall be included. It is open for their voice to change over time, and an ongoing dialog about voices, silencing, risks, ethics and anonymity will be integral to the project and the process of doing longitudinal research.

Trabalho de campo e guia de entrevista 2018 - ÅHL

I.   Guia de entrevista 2018 para entrevistas semiestruturadas e abertas

Interview guide for interviews in Rio de Janeiro July-August 2018	
Forma de entrevista / duração / localização: Conversa informal, caminhada fotográfica, foto-mapeamento participativo, gravação de áudio ou vídeo (ca 20-60 min)	Moradores do Cantagalo, Pavão-Pavãozinho Rio de Janeiro
Temas de entrevista	• Introdução e biografia • UPP • Experiências cotidianas e vida na cidade • Mobilização social, mídia social, protestos, direitos
1. Você pode falar um pouco sobre você? Qual e o seu nome e idade? 2. Qual é o seu local de moradia aqui? 3. Como é o local que você mora? 4. Há quantos anos mora aqui na communidade? 5. Você pode falar um pouco sobre a sua formação ou educação? 6. Qual e a sua ocupação ou trabalho hoje? 7. Você pode descrever a sua vida cotidiana?	
8. UPPs na communidade/favela mudou alguma coisa? O quê? 9. O que pensam os outros residentes sobre a UPP aqui? 10. Houve mudanças de relacionamento com a policia depois da UPP? 11. Como você experienca a nova intervenção militar no Rio de Janeiro?	
12. Tem ou tinha remoções nas favelas/communidades aqui? Pode explicar? 13. Como é a sua vida na cidade hoje? Quais lugares você frequenta? 14. A vida é diferente aqui e no "asfalto"? 15. Qual palavra prefire usar "favela" ou "comunidade"? Porque? 16. Tem racismo aqui na communidade/favela? Pode explicar? 17. Quais são as necessidades daqui da communidade/favela? 18. Os moradores são consultados? Pode explicar?	
19. Você participou de alguma mobilização social ou protestos nos últimos anos? Por que você (ou não) participou? 20. Você ou outros residentes daqui participaram dos protestos de junho de 2013? Pode explicar? 21. Como a comunidade / favela é apresentada na mídia (nacional ou mídias sociais)? O que você acha dessas representações? 22. Que tipo de mídias sociais (se houver) (ex. Twitter, Facebook, snap etc, grupos WhatsApp) você usa? Por quê (com que finalidade)? 23. Tem pesquisadores presente nas favelas/comunidades? Pode explicar? 24. Você está satisfeito com a vida que tem? O que pode ser melhor?	

II.   caminhada fotográfica, foto-mapeamento participativo

Os participantes serão convidados para uma caminhada fotográfica com o pesquisador, ou para contribuir com fotos próprias (2-10), se desejarem. As fotos serão discutidas em uma segunda reunião.

Os moradores receberão cópias de suas fotos. Os participantes podem escolher se querem que as fotos sejam publicadas ou se querem ser anonimizadas ou não. Eles também podem escolher quais fotos desejam compartilhar e discutir.

A vida cotidiana na comunidade e a mudança de paisagem urbana serão o tema para a caminhada fotográfica.

Os moradores do bairro serão convidados a discutir suas fotos e fotos do pesquisador de 2011 a 2013 (se assim desejarem) relacionadas a remoções e investimentos públicos em comunidades.

Os participantes receberão cópias de fotos e trabalhos finais e poderão decidir quais fotos desejam compartilhar e incluir na publicação. Os residentes que participaram anteriormente também podem decidir se querem ser anonimizados ou não, e se o material compartilhado anteriormente será incluído. Está aberto para que as vozes de moradores mude com o tempo, e um diálogo contínuo sobre vozes, silenciamento, riscos, ética e anonimato será parte integrante do projeto e do processo de fazer uma pesquisa longitudinal.

Appendix 3: Example of analysis data article 2

Ref "prejudice of prejudice" F. Fernandes & Shwartz

Perceptions architecture/space: favela /asfalto

"Prejudice of prejudice: they are ashamed of us, and the poverty up here" (Fieldnotes, photowalk PPG 2018)

"Brazil, o for a tem vergonha da probreza" (Fieldnotes, photowalk PPG 2018)

"The elevator from Ipanema is constructed for hiding us" (Fieldnotes, photowalk PPG 2018)

"ahh you are from Galo, the community up there...? "are you ashamed because you are from the morro?"

"you know outside Brazil or where you are from , I think it is different. You treat me well, there is no problem, you don't treat me like I am different. Here in Brazil it is not like that, it is very racist". They are achamed of the poor" (Fieldnotes, walk, PPG, 2018)

Naturalization inequalities, relation rua/fora

"You see there is no sensibility towards us, the people in the rua (asfalto), down there, they do not care about this, the enormous inequality. Brazil is a rich country, if people outside educated. They want the situation to remain like this, it's a kind of mental slavery" (field notes, walk, PPG, 2018)

" Brazil is ashamed of poverty. That's why they constructed the Rubem Braga Complex. To hide the morro" (Field notes, July 14, 2018).

Inclusion/exlusion

" that's how the police treat us from the favela, like we are all bandits. They do not treat us as gente, it should not be like this. They are like bandits or over the bandits. We should not be treated like this" (Field notes, walk & police operation, PPG, 2018).

coloniality of power as genealogy (or panodo fundo/assemblage?)

Pigmentocratic everyday practices?

myths working at present (genealogical appraoch)

(de)colonial polyhedron of powers?

Complexity: relation asfalto/favela - inclusion, exclusion, conviviality, context

Criminalisation & prejudice favela

Extracts fieldwork

Themes article B 2019

Analysis

Pigmentocracy

Racial democracy

immutable ontology

coloniality of power

Whitening

double negation

decolonial matrix of power

"you know your place"

Invisibilisation_appearance

F. told about preconseito (prejudice), such as not receiveing the same service as others, about looks, he said maybe because he is darker, and has cabello duro (often used as negative about curly afro hair. Cabelo ruin/bad hair) (...) "it is racism, it is very dissumilado", but the society is very racist. There is a different treatment. " (Fieldnotes photowalk, PPG, 2018)

Whitening - appearance -

"marry a man with lighter skin; that would be better for the children" (Field notes, walkP. PPG, July 2018).

Joking & appearance

Pigmentocratic everyday practises

"Children do not know about racism, look at the kids (pointing at kids in the street, they do now know it, they learn it from the society. E differente aqui (in the favela) eles brincam, não e iigual ali fora, mas eles brincam aqui de voce e um macaco, voce tem cabelo duro etc" (Fieldnotes, photowalk PPG 2018)

Gaze - appearance

"one of the women (relatives nordestino) looked at me like that , at my hair, my skin. It is dissimulated, but Brazil is very racist" (Fieldnotes, photowalk F. PPG 2018)

"The racism (in the favela) is more towards the homosexual. The traffickers do not accept gays" (Interview, R. PPG, 2018)

Intersectionality & perceptions different forms of racisms

"And I will, I will never tell you that there is less, because no, because I am nearly everything that they have prejudice against [laughs]... I am black, gay, candomblesista [afro-brazilian religion], poor and favelado... [Laughs] So I know, what it is, what is prejudice (...) fat, I also forgot that I am fat as well." (Interview, M, 2018)

"There exists also that inverse prejudice, right? So it's kind of madame, ehh there is that prejudice as well. Right, and this thing that you feel a certain ... how to say... it's a certain ehh ... [silence] It's a kind of more gross relationship but ehh... it's not really violent, but it's a kind of no no, yes yes, you know? It's not a friendly thing (relationship), not so friendly, right... and there are many things, the appearance is also ehh.... it bothers people from the asfalto. "So this thing of racism is very apparent on both sides" (Interview, P. PPG, 2018)

""There is prejudice, yes. But, it happened so much that I already learned to live with there prejudice, right. And I learned to live with their prejudice in a manner that... Interview, F. 2018)

"Look, and the nordestinos (a person from Northeast in Brazil), they have a tendency to not mix race, right. Even more so with black people, but it exists" P. (Interview, PPG, 2018)

"So there's, racism that manifests itself in three forms, there are blacks who have prejudice towards blacks, poor who have prejudice lwords poor. Because the level of cultural formation of people here is very low. The majority of people that... that, there are many people from outside, immigrants to Rio de Janeiro (...) but when they come here they don't want to absorb our culture. "They (do 'interior') don't want to absorb this culture, that is to say that they can't discriminate against anyone because of class, colour, preferences (...)" (Interview, M 2018).

Different forms of racism : in favela also, and prejudice , pigmentocratic practices

"Racism, there is, it appears in various forms, right. Asne. The racism appears at time embedded, within homophobia, sometimes within social class. There are different forms of racism that we have in Brazil. The racism isn't only shown related to the colour of the skin. So that you can have an idea, I will tell you something that you will find absurd. In Brazil we have black people who have prejudice against black people, just because he has little bit lighter." (Interview, M 2018).

Police, violence, terror & killing - biopolitics & double negation?

"What the population is living in Rio today, Åsne, is a civil war ... it's a civil war. The great truth is that it's being makeupped... you see everyday that 20 to 30 people are dying, victims of lost bullets. My friend lives in the Gaza Strip, in Israel. She says, not even here there are so many people dying as in Rio de Janeiro". (Interview, M 2018)

"We're hostages of the system, that the politicians created, you understand? We're victims of the system they created (...) and it ends up reaching us. And the very victims they created turn against their own population. The population against the population. This is their system "Interview, M 2018).

Media - whitening

"There is, there is racism here in the community, there is racism in the rua (street/formal city), there is yes. There is, there is a different treatment, because of the media, right... that many times... it is the government that allows this to happen (...) Everything is in reality, the white majority is admired. If you are white you are admired, if you are black then you are, there is distrust." (Interview, F, PPG 2018)

Perception of prejudice or Not

Intersectionality and Appearance

"But there exists a prejudice, yes. It is more in relation to homosexuals, homophobia. Also with blacks there will be a prejudice""The prejudice depends much on peoples clothing" (...) I asked if there were prejudice towards people living in the community. Ronaldo responded: "I think that no . But, it's because we've been here for a long time, right... [laughs]. (Ronaldo, Interview, 2 August, 2018).

Perceptions also in the favela/community & beyond

Racisms & prejudice

Appendix 4: Confirmation letter from NSD

(the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research)

NSD

Åsne Håndlykken-Luz
Postboks 235
3603 KONGSBERG

Vår dato: 20.06.2018   Vår ref: 59959 / 3 / EPA   Deres dato: Deres ref:

Tilrådning fra NSD Personvernombudet for forskning § 7-27

Personvernombudet for forskning viser til meldeskjema mottatt 20.03.2018 for prosjektet:

59959	Cartographies of (in)visible cities: exploring imaginary, biopolitics and resistance in Rio de Janeiro
Behandlingsansvarlig	Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Åsne Håndlykken-Luz

Vurdering

Etter gjennomgang av opplysningene i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon finner vi at prosjektet er unntatt konsesjonsplikt og at personopplysningene som blir samlet inn i dette prosjektet er regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. På den neste siden er vår vurdering av prosjektopplegget slik det er meldt til oss. Du kan nå gå i gang med å behandle personopplysninger.

Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:
• opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon
• vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2
• eventuell korrespondanse med oss

Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke endringer du må melde, samt endringsskjema.

Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i Meldingsarkivet.

Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Ved prosjektslutt 01.03.2020 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt dersom du har spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet!

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Vennlig hilsen

Dag Kiberg

Eva J. B. Payne

Kontaktperson: Eva J. B. Payne tlf: 55 58 27 97 / eva.payne@nsd.no
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar
_____

Prosjektnr: 59959

INTERNASJONAL SAMARBEIDSSTUDIE
Du har opplyst i meldeskjema at prosjektet er en internasjonal samarbeidsstudie, hvor Høgskolen i Sørøst-Norge er behandlingsansvarlig for den norske delen av prosjektet. Personvernombudet forutsetter at ansvaret for behandlingen er avklart mellom institusjonene, og anbefaler at dere inngår en avtale som omfatter ansvarsfordeling, hvem som initierer prosjektet, bruk av data, eventuelt eierskap.

FORMÅL
Formålet med prosjektet er å studere hvordan innbyggere i Rio de Janeiros favelaer erfarer byutviklingsprosessen og 'pasifiseringen' (eller militariseringen) av favelaene i perioden 2011-2018.

DATAMATERIALET OG METODE
Datamaterialet består av to deler:

Del 1: innsamlet datamateriale fra en forstudie i perioden 2011-2013 i Rio de Janeiro. Datamaterialet består av lyd-, bilde- og videoopptak som ble samlet inn i henhold til retningslinjer i Brasil og Italia der prosjektleder var ansatt på tidspunktet for datainnsamling.

Del 2: datamateriale som skal samles inn i perioden 2018-2020 i Rio de Janeiro. Metoder for innsamling av personopplysninger er personlig intervju, gruppeintervju, observasjon og deltakende observasjon. Det vil tas lyd-, bilde- og videoopptak.

INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE
Utvalget består av personer med tilknytting til favelaer i Rio de Janeiro, både informantene fra del 1 av datamaterialet og nye informanter. Prosjektlederen vil forsøke å spore opp informantene fra del 1 av datamaterialet for å innhente samtykke til gjenbruk av personopplysninger og eventuelt til videre deltakelse i prosjektet. De informantene som ikke kan spores opp vil bli anonymisert i datamaterialet.

Utvalget vil motta muntlig og skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet, og vil samtykke muntlig eller skriftlig til å delta. Vår vurdering er at informasjonsskrivet til utvalget mottatt 07.06.2018 er godt utformet, men følgende bør legges til:

- hvem som vil ha/har tilgang til personopplysningene som samles inn/er blitt samlet inn
- informasjon om alle metoder som kan være aktuelle: (deltakende) observasjon og gruppeintervju, hva disse metodene vil innebære for deltakeren, og hvilke opplysninger vil registreres og hvordan
- informasjon om bruk av videoopptak

Vi gjør oppmerksom på at det innføres ny lovgivning for behandling av personopplysninger i løpet av 2018.

Ettersom opplysningene i prosjektet skal lagres utover 2018 vil personvernombudet foreslå enkelte endringer og tilpasninger i informasjon og samtykke for å imøtekomme det nye regelverket. Følgende informasjon bør derfor legges til i skrivet:

- det lovlige grunnlaget (behandlingsgrunnlaget) for behandling av personopplysninger, eksempelvis samtykke
- kontaktopplysninger til institusjonens personvernombud
- deltakernes rettigheter, herunder rett til innsyn i hvilke opplysninger som er registrert om deltakeren, rett til å be om å få rettet eller slettet de opplysningene som er registrert, samt rett til å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene som er registrert (dataportabilitet)
- retten til å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet angående behandlingen av personopplysninger

Vi viser til vår oppdaterte veiledende mal for informasjonsskriv:
http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvernombud/hjelp/informasjon_samtykke/.

Vi gjør oppmerksom på at etter nytt lovverk vil informert samtykke måtte kunne dokumenteres. Vi anbefaler derfor at informanter mottar skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet og, i den grad det lar seg gjøre, gir skriftlig samtykke. Dersom det blir nødvendig å innhente muntlig samtykke kan dette registreres f.eks. på lydopptak, slik at samtykke kan dokumenteres.

SENSITIVE PERSONOPPLYSNINGER
Det fremgår av meldeskjema at du vil behandle sensitive opplysninger om etnisk bakgrunn eller politisk/filosofisk/religiøs oppfatning.

TREDJEPERSONSOPPLYSNINGER
Det fremgår av meldeskjema at det kan ha blitt registrert tredjepersonsopplysninger i del 1 av datamaterialet. Du har også opplyst om at det kan bli registrert enkelte opplysninger om tredjepersoner under ny datainnsamling. Dette inkluderer at opplysninger om tredjepersoner kommer frem og blir registrert under intervju, og at det blir registrert stemmer og/eller ansikter til tredjepersoner på lyd-/videoopptak.

Det skal kun registreres opplysninger som er nødvendig for formålet med prosjektet. Vi gjør oppmerksom på at du i utgangspunktet har informasjonsplikt ovenfor tredjeperson. Personvernombudet legger til grunn at tredjepersoner i del 1 og del 2 av datamaterialet, så langt det lar seg gjøre, får informasjon om prosjektet og muligheten til å reservere seg. Opplysningene som registreres skal være av mindre omfang og ikke sensitive, og skal anonymiseres under transkriberingen og i publikasjoner. Så fremt personvernulempen for tredjeperson reduseres på denne måten, og dersom det skulle vise seg uforholdsmessig vanskelig å informere tredjeperson, kan du unntas fra informasjonsplikten. Vi anbefaler likevel at du ber informanter som deltar på intervju om å omtale andre personer som ikke deltar i prosjektet i en så lite identifiserende grad som nødvendig/mulig.

INFORMASJONSSIKKERHET
Personvernombudet forutsetter at du behandler alle data i tråd med Høgskolen i Sørøst-Norge sine retningslinjer for datahåndtering og informasjonssikkerhet. Vi legger til grunn at bruk av privat pc/mobil lagringsenhet er i samsvar med institusjonens retningslinjer.

PUBLISERING
Du har opplyst i meldeskjema at personopplysninger publiseres. Personvernombudet har lagt til grunn at du innhenter samtykke fra den enkelte informanten til publiseringen. Vi anbefaler at hver enkelt informant får anledning til å lese og godkjenne sine opplysninger før publisering.

PROSJEKTSLUTT OG ANONYMISERING
Prosjektslutt er oppgitt til 01.03.2020. Det fremgår av meldeskjema og informasjonsskriv at du vil lagre datamaterialet med personopplysninger frem til 01.03.2035 (eller frem til en annen dato som informanten bestemmer) for oppfølgingsstudier/ny forskning og for undervisningsformål.

Vi gjør oppmerksom på at dersom datamaterialet med personopplysninger skal benyttes til oppfølgingsstudier/ny forskning, krever dette ny melding til personvernombudet. Bruk av dataene til andre formål enn forskning må avklares med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

Appendix 5: Information letter and consent form

Request for participation in research project

"Cartographies of (in)visible cities: Exploring imaginary, biopolitics and resistance in Rio de Janeiro"

Background and Purpose

This doctoral research project investigates residents' experiences of the urban politics and implementation of UPPs in communities/favelas in Rio de Janeiro in the period 2008-2018. This study draws on previous research in Rio de Janeiro (from fieldwork conducted in the period 2011-2013), in addition to a new fieldwork in July and August 2018. I am a PhD student in Culture studies at the University of South-Eastern Norway.

You are invited to participate in the project because you are a resident in the community I visited in 2011-2013 in Rio de Janeiro.

What does participation in the project imply?

You are invited to participate in an interview in July or August 2018 in Rio de Janeiro. I have prepared some questions related to the urban reforms and the state interventions in the communities. The time of the interview will be approximately 20 to 40 minutes. If you allow so, the interview will be audio recorded. In addition to the interview, you will also be invited to discuss photos from the community and participate with your own photos if you wish so. You will receive a digital and printed copy of the final work.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. If you allow, the data will be recorded. You can decide the level of anonymity. This means that you can decide if you wish to be cited by name or anonymized and if you want to be recognizable in recorded material. The data collection for this project will finish in 2020. The data can be stored until 2035 or an earlier date if you prefer. All data will be stored encrypted and password protected. Only myself as a researcher at the University of South-Eastern Norway will have access to the data.

The project is scheduled for completion by March 2020. However, if you allow so, the data can be stored until a later date. The purpose of keeping the data for later

research would be to follow the urban politics and state intervention in communities in Rio over a longer period of time.

You can choose what kind of data/information can be retained, and how this data/information can be used in research. You can, for example, decide on the level of anonymity that you require. All data will be stored encrypted and password protected.

Voluntary participation
It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous. If you would like to participate or have any other questions about this research project, take contact with Åsne Håndlykken-Luz mobile phone +47-46774560; or via email: asne.handlykken-luz@usn.no,

University of South-Eastern Norway. www.usn.no

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study

 You can give consent by writing or verbally. If consent is obtained in written form you may check the boxes below and sign the form.

(feel free to change or amend the following categories according to your needs)

I agree to:

☐ audio recording

☐ photo recording

☐ video recording

☐ re-use of data in future research on communities in Rio de Janeiro

☐ presentation of sound/photo/videodata (strike one out if only one of the two) in publications with *anonymized* voice/face

☐ presentation of sound/photo/videodata (strike one out if only one of the two) in publications with
   visible face

☐ storage and use of data until July 2035 or an earlier date:_____

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate (informed consent form can be signed, or discussed together and consent given orally.

(Signed by participant, date)

Você quer participar do projeto de pesquisa?

-Cartografias de cidades (in)visíveis: Explorando imaginários, biopolíticas e resistências no Rio de Janeiro-

Você está convidado(a) a participar do projeto por que é residente na comunidade que visitei em 2011-2013 no Rio de Janeiro: Cantagalo, Pavâo-Pavâozinho.

Sobre o projeto

Este projeto de pesquisa de doutorado investiga as experiências dos moradores sobre a política urbana e a implementação de UPPs em comunidades / favelas do Rio de Janeiro no período de 2008-2018. Este estudo baseia-se em pesquisas anteriores no Rio de Janeiro (do trabalho de campo realizado no período 2011-2013), além de um novo trabalho de campo em julho e agosto de 2018. Sou estudante de doutorado em estudos culturais na Universidade do Sudeste da Noruega (USN).

Responsável pelo projeto de pesquisa

Investigadora: Åsne Håndlykken-Luz

Universidade South-Eastern Norway, Noruega

No que implica a participação no projeto?

Você está convidado(a) a participar de uma entrevista entre os meses de julho ou agosto de 2018 no Rio de Janeiro.

Os métodos utilizados no projeto de pesquisa serão gravações em áudio ou vídeo, fotografia, anotações e observação participante.

Eu preparei algumas questões relacionadas às reformas urbanas e às intervenções do estado nas comunidades. O tempo da entrevista será de aproximadamente 20 a 40 minutos. Se você permitir, a entrevista será gravada em áudio ou video. Além da entrevista, você também será convidado para discutir fotos da comunidade e participar com suas próprias fotos, se desejar. Você receberá uma cópia digital e impressa do trabalho final.

O que acontecerá com as informações sobre você?

Todos os dados pessoais serão tratados *confidencialmente*. Você decide se permitir que os dados sejam gravados. Você pode decidir o nível de anonimato. Isso significa que você pode decidir se deseja ser citado por nome ou anônimo e se deseja ser reconhecido em material gravado. A coleta de dados para este *projeto terminará em 2020*. Os dados podem ser armazenados até 2035 ou uma data anterior, se você preferir. Todos os dados serão armazenados, criptografados e protegidos por senha. Só eu, como investigador na Universidade do Sudeste da Noruega, terei acesso aos dados pessoais.

O projeto está programado para ser concluído até março de 2020. No entanto, se você permitir, os dados poderão ser armazenados até uma data posterior. O objetivo de manter os dados para pesquisas posteriores seria seguir a política urbana e a intervenção do Estado nas comunidades do Rio durante um período de tempo mais longo.

Participação voluntária

É voluntário participar do projeto, e você pode a qualquer momento optar por retirar seu consentimento sem declarar qualquer motivo. Se você decidir se retirar, todos os seus dados pessoais serão anônimos. Se você gostaria de participar ou tiver outras dúvidas sobre este projeto de pesquisa, entre em contato com Åsne Håndlykken-Luz pelo telefone celular +47-46774560 ou via email: asne.handlykken-luz@usn.no,

Universidade do Sudeste da Noruega - www.usn.no

O estudo foi notificado ao Oficial de Proteção de Dados para Pesquisa, NSD - Centro Norueguês para Dados de Pesquisa.

Seus direitos

Contanto que você possa ser identificado no material de dados, você tem direito a:

- uma visão geral de quais dados pessoais estão registrados sobre você,

- para obter informações pessoais sobre você

- Obter informações pessoais deletadas sobre você,

- Obter uma cópia de suas informações pessoais (portabilidade de dados) e

- enviar uma reclamação ao seu representante de privacidade ou agência de proteção de dados em relação ao processamento de suas informações pessoais.

Onde posso encontrar mais informações?

Se você tiver dúvidas sobre o estudo ou desejar fazer valer seus direitos, entre em contato com:

- Universidade South-Eastern da Noruega (USN): Investigadora: Åsne Håndlykken-Luz (asne.handlykken-luz@usn.no e o orientador: Prof. Lars Frers (lars.frers@usn.no)
- Nosso representante de privacidade na USN: Mette Kammen (mette.kammen@usn.no)
- NSD - Centro Norueguês para Dados de Pesquisa AS, por email (personvernombudet@nsd.no) ou telefone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Melhores cumprimentos

Åsne Håndlykken-Luz

(Pesquisadora)

Consentimento para participação no estudo

Você pode dar consentimento por escrito ou verbalmente no momento de entrevista.

Se o consentimento for obtido por escrito, você pode marcar as caixas abaixo e assinar o formulário

(fique à vontade para alterar ou alterar as seguintes categorias de acordo com suas necessidades)

Eu concordo para:

☐ Gravação de áudio

☐ Gravação de fotos

☐ Gravação de vídeo

☐ Reutilização de dados em pesquisas futuras sobre comunidades no Rio de Janeiro

☐ Apresentação de audio /foto / ou video em publicações com voz /rosto anonimizado. Caso queira eliminar algum item risque-o da lista.

☐ Apresentação de audio/ foto / video em publicações com voz/ rosto visível. Caso queira eliminar algum item risque-o da lista.

☐ Armazenamento e uso de dados até julho de 2035 ou uma data anterio:_____

Recebi informações sobre o projeto e estou disposto a participar (o formulario de consentimento informado pode ser assinado ou discutido em conjunto e o consentimento dado oralmente).

(Assinado por participante, data)

Informação sobre participação em projeto de pesquisa

O projeto de pesquisa de doutorado *"Cartografias de cidades (in)visíveis: Explorando*

imaginários, biopolíticas e resistências no Rio de Janeiro" investiga as experiências dos moradores sobre política urbana e implementação de UPPs em comunidades / favelas do Rio de Janeiro no período de 2008-2018. Este estudo baseia-se em pesquisas anteriores no Rio de Janeiro (do trabalho de campo realizado no Cantagalo, Pavão-Pavãozinho no período 2011-2013), além de um novo trabalho de campo em julho e agosto de 2018. Sou estudante de doutorado em estudos culturais na Universidade do Sudeste da Noruega.

A participacao no projeto é voluntário, e você pode a qualquer momento optar por retirar seu consentimento sem declarar o motivo. Se você decidir se retirar, todos os seus dados pessoais serão anônimos.

Se tiver perguntas sobre este projeto de pesquisa, entre em contato com a investigadora Åsne Håndlykken-Luz via email: asne.handlykken-luz@usn.no,

Universidade do Sudeste da Noruega. www.usn.no

O estudo foi notificado ao Oficial de Proteção de Dados para Pesquisa, NSD - Centro Norueguês para Dados de Pesquisa, email personvernombudet@nsd.no.

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