

◆ Introduction

Contemporary Brazilian Cities, Culture, and Resistance

Sophia Beal and Gustavo Prieto

This volume analyzes how culture and socio-spatial resistance shape and are shaped by twenty-first-century Brazilian cities. As a way of structuring our introduction, we examine the three main words of the volume title—*cities*, *culture*, and *resistance*—to better understand their individual significance as well as the profound connections among them within the context of an interpretation of contemporary Brazil.¹

Cities

With more than four-fifths of its citizens residing in cities, Brazil is predominantly an urban nation. Home to five of the fifteen most populous cities in the Americas, it contains seventeen cities that have a population of one million or more. However, beyond these quantitative aspects of urbanization, we seek to emphasize how cities reveal the social production of Brazilian space.² The developmentalist process of urbanization that began in Brazil in the 1950s was fast paced and contradictory. It mobilized millions of rural laborers who primarily hailed from the Northeast and migrated to Central–South Brazil in search of work. During that industrialization, laborers with low salaries built not only houses but also cities’ infrastructure and services.³ Beginning in the 1990s, when the real estate and finance sectors came to dominate the production of urban space, socio-spatial segregation intensified. This production of urban space encompassed the renovation of downtown areas, especially ports, and large-scale public–private partnerships. In São Paulo, examples include the Operações Urbana Faria Lima (Carlos, “Espaço-tempo da vida cotidiana na metrópole”) and Água Espraiada (Fix 122–37; Miele 22–25); in Belém, the Estação das Docas (Trindade Júnior 502–503); and in Rio de Janeiro, the

Porto Maravilha (Pereira and Oliveira 120–25). These renovations led to the displacement of residents living in the urban periphery, the impossibility of workers remaining in their established commercial areas, and the “whitening of the territory” (Santos 16–19). Also, these renovations demonstrate that socio-spatial segregation is one of the chief characteristics of the production of urban space (Alvarez 111; Carlos, “A cidade contemporânea” 95). Air pollution, water crises, housing crises, landslides and floods, lack of basic infrastructure, unequal access to cultural and leisure sites, violence, urban immobility, inequality, and the private management of poverty are all connected to socio-spatial segregation.⁴ Urban residents have banded together in organized efforts to combat these problems and to assert their right to the city.

The right to the city is a concept developed by Henri Lefebvre in 1968 to articulate the right of the working class to a dignified living standard in cities. It has since expanded to encompass a more universal appeal for all marginalized groups to be able to live comfortably in cities (Lyytinen; Millington; Mitchell; Whitzman et al.). The idea of the right to the city puts local community interests ahead of consumer-capitalist planning strategies.⁹ In the twenty-first century, with the rise of virtual social networks, activists have organized their resistance across multiple cities, using virtual social networks and actual streets as sites to radically avow the right to the city. The process of demanding places for the production of culture in Brazilian cities involves the occupation of public spaces and buildings that are not serving their social function. Increasingly, artists, activists, and cultural producers (from now on referred to jointly as *cultural actors*) strive to combat injustices in multiple ways. Cultural actors decry the criminalization of low-income residents’ socio-spatial practices of resistance, such as funk music and graffiti.⁶ Cultural actors denounce the profoundly racist, misogynist, and classist content in the cultural discourses and practices of the Brazilian middle class and elite. The proposals of diverse, urban, peripheral cultural collectives often lead to new public policies.⁵ Cultural actors also criticize the police in relation to revindications of poor, Black, and peripheral youth. The aforementioned topics come to light in Geovani Martins’s short story collection *O sol na cabeça*; in the book series *Slam* (via its themes of anti-fascism and of feminist, Black, and LGBTQ+ empowerment), organized by Emerson Alcalde, a poet and the master of ceremonies of the Slam da Guilhermina in São Paulo; in Fellipe Barbosa’s film *Casa grande* and Anna Mulayert’s film *Que horas ela volta?* (*Second Mother*); in the aesthetic and political inventiveness of the protests of workers who deliver packages for a living (couriers, motoboys, app-based deliverers of food, and so forth), who face profound urban inequality and work insecurity; and in São Paulo’s and Brasília’s hip-hop scenes.⁷ Never before has Brazil been so defiantly urban, and never before have cultural actors been able to coordinate efforts across various cities so effectively.

Both the art and social activism studied in these pages constitute performances of every individual's right to the city. Drawing on Erving Goffman, we interpret *performance* broadly. Whenever people speak within a social setting, they are performing a version of themselves, whether they are a slam poet on stage or a protester on the street (Goffman 26). As these two examples demonstrate, individuals and groups perform an identity, and their performance is mediated by the fact that it is watched, filmed, and posted on social media. Moreover, individual and group performances of identity often respond to (mimic, satirize) well-known melodramatic and stereotypical types circulated via mass media (Baltar 224, 232).⁸ We are interested in both cultural actors' redress of socio-spatial injustices and how they leverage performance to claim their right to the city.

In Lefebvre's view, urban space is just as fundamental for the reproduction of life and society as it is for the reproduction of capital. He comprehends "the proclamation and the realization of urban life as a rule of use (of exchange and encounter disengaged from exchange value)" ("Theses on the City" 179). Lefebvre affirms the right of all citizens "to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of these moments and places, etc." ("Theses on the City" 179). Lefebvre urges for a socio-spatial practice that functions as an oeuvre (and an appropriation), an essentially human and creative act. The right to the city is not a parceled right (reduced to access to housing or to the urgency of redressing unequal services and infrastructure), nor is it a gift from the State or the market. The right to the city does not signify simply access to the city. Instead, the right to the city unfolds against the juridic institutionalization of public policy (Petrella and Prieto). The right to the city is the appropriation of time, space, body, and desire against the logic of capitalist private property and social means of production, reinstating the city as a human work and a means, condition, and product of the struggle over space.

When we think of cultural and social resistance in contemporary Brazilian cities, the word that best encapsulates it is the *ocupação* (occupation). The word straddles two quite different—though connected—concepts: the residential occupation of abandoned sites to redress socioeconomic marginalization and the temporary occupation of public space for political or ludic purposes.¹⁰ Despite their differences, both concepts comprise critical interventions within the city, and both insist on an individual's right to exist within it. They are akin to David Harvey's concept of the right to the city as "the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization" (23).

In contemporary urban Brazil, we hear the term "occupation" as a command: "Occupy the city!" We see it literally in the way the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto (Homeless Workers' Movement, or MTST) has, since 1997, occupied abandoned buildings encumbered by immense debt and unpaid

taxes. MTST has continued to expand its fight to address low-income housing shortages. It simultaneously occupied seven abandoned buildings in São Paulo in October 2004. The occupation by MTST in São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo—the largest encampment in Brazil at the time, with more than eight thousand families camped between 2017 and 2018—reified the political principles of an occupation: collective organization and mobilization; territorialization of the struggle; and formation of politically engaged subjects who serve as resources in the community for the mobilization of popular power.¹¹

Occupations also functioned as tactics of denunciation against the human rights violations that took place during the recent mega sporting events and large economic development projects in Brazil. These occupations include the Ocupação Copa do Povo in the Zona Leste (eastern periphery) of São Paulo, which protested the construction of stadiums that used major public investment and acutely excluded the poorest residents from the legacy of the World Cup in 2014. They include the Ocupe Estelita, in Recife, against the transformation of the city's wharf into twelve corporate towers up to forty stories high. They also include the Aldeia Maracanã, in Rio de Janeiro, the site of the former Museu do Índio, which was occupied by indigenous Brazilians of various ethnic groups who advocated that it should not be destroyed for the 2016 Olympic Games.¹² We hear *ocupação* in the names of activist groups, such as Brasília's MOB Movimento e Ocupe seu Bairro (MOB Move and Occupy Your Neighborhood), an initiative to encourage residents to enjoy local public space, as well as in book titles, such as Julián Fuks's 2019 novel *A ocupação*.

We also see the strategy in the 2015 and 2016 occupation of public schools against a decision by the São Paulo government to reallocate students and close schools and, directly afterward, around the denunciations of corruption regarding school lunch (Tavolari et al. 291). During what came to be known as the Primavera Secundarista (High School Student Spring), students occupied more than two hundred schools. Students' posters were emblematic of their defense of the right to education: "se fechar 'nóis' ocupa," "ocupar e resistir," and "tira minha escola que eu tiro seu sossego." These posters translate respectively as: "if you close the school, we kids will occupy it," "occupy and resist," and "take away my school and I'll take away your tranquility." In the song that became the movement's anthem, the refrain proclaims: "o Estado veio quente, *nóis* já tá fervendo / Quer desafiar, não tô entendendo / Mexeu com estudante você vai sair perdendo" (the State came in hot, we was already boiling / You want to challenge us, I don't get it / Mess with a student, you end up losing).¹³ Beyond its provocative geniality and use of popular musical rhythms as forms of cultural expression, the song also reiterates an affirmation of the student struggle (*luta estudantil*) that promised "not only to take away the tranquility of those responsible for closing the schools, but to emphasize the desire for 'another school'" (Cattini and Melo 1183). The school

occupation movement spread to states in various regions of Brazil, including Goiás, Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Ceará, and Rio Grande do Sul. Moreover, it inspired occupations of hundreds of universities, an unprecedented example of high school students catalyzing a movement among college students.

In Salvador, where the city center is gentrifying rapidly, one of the primary slogans of the resident associations, collectives, and social movements is “Cidade ocupada, cidade viva” (Occupied city, living city). It is reminiscent of another historic slogan voiced by the popular movements of Black-majority communities in Salvador, which were led by Black women: “daqui não saio, daqui ninguém me tira” (I won’t leave here, nobody will take me away) (Articulação do Centro Antigo de Salvador; Perry and Caminha). The Artífices do Centro Antigo de Salvador is among the threatened groups. A collective of blacksmiths, plasterers, and glaziers—heirs of the crafts and practices of Bahia’s workers of African ancestry—the group fights for the right to continue working in the locations in which they have traditionally worked (Oliveira and Pereira). A central concern is to occupy Salvador to protect against the emptiness of a city focused fundamentally on tourism and spectacle.

The notion of occupation occurs also in site-specific theater performances, such as Teatro da Vertigem’s *Bom Retiro 958* (2013), as well as in site-specific performative experiments, such as those that take place within the Tutóia street DOI-CODI building in São Paulo (a site where political police tortured people who resisted the military regime) in Rodrigo Siqueira’s documentary *Orestes* (2015). Miwon Kwon maintains that site-specific art affords “the chance to conceive the site as something more than a place—as repressed ethnic history, a political cause, a disenfranchised social group,” which “is an important conceptual leap in redefining the public role of art and artists” (30). Throughout Brazilian cities, the cultural actors responsible for rap battles, art fairs, street dance, and street theater also envision their projects as cultural occupations of public space that combat blight, enliven the city, and transform the symbolic meaning of certain places.

Author Julián Fuks has gone so far as to call his fiction “literatura ocupada” (occupied literature), evoking in an interview its political function as “a literature that does not want to dodge the present, does not want to dodge politics, and does not want to dodge everything that devastates us. A literature that becomes street, public square, building, school and that lets the many voices that cry out for the city reverberate in its pages” (qtd. in Carvalho). Inspired by Fuks—whose novel is analyzed in Leila Lehnen’s chapter of this volume—we can conceive of all the art studied in this volume as *occupied art* that does not merely represent the city, but also models utopian urban collaborations and makes room for the desires of groups who have been previously silenced.

We began envisioning this volume before the 2019 novel coronavirus had infected any humans, but we now find ourselves writing the introduction amid

the COVID-19 global pandemic. Brazil—with more than twenty-two million coronavirus cases and over 613,000 deaths from the virus—has been particularly hard hit, increasing instability and insecurity for millions of economically vulnerable citizens (“Brazil Coronavirus”; Favaro Verdi 48). At a time when having access to a respirator can mean the difference between life and death, COVID-19 has exposed glaring global, racial, and class inequities. Moreover, the Brazilian federal government has dismissed the recommendations of epidemiologists in an orchestrated attack on science, which has exacerbated the crisis (Carlos, “Introdução” 9; Prieto 62–64). The pandemic has and will continue to transform Brazilian cities, culture, and resistance, especially as it shifts our view, at least in the short term, of how to occupy the city.

The practice of occupying the city is closely tied to mobility. In the context of this volume, mobility connotes the literal ability to move freely throughout the city, as well as the ability to achieve upward social mobility. Despite the guise of being open to everyone, urban public spaces are less welcoming to certain subgroups—such as Black and transgender women—who are more likely than others to be the victims of harassment or violence within such spaces, a topic addressed in Fernanda Frazão and Amanda Kamancheck’s 2018 documentary *Chega de fiu fiu* (Valentine 145). Referring to urban public transit, Lubitow et al. uphold that “differential access to power and resources can generate different potentials for movement and mobility, wherein marginalized groups may experience forms of ‘immobility’” (1399). Barbosa da Silva names this diminishment of access “precarious mobility” to emphasize an urban-street model centered on individual transport, especially motorbikes and cars, which increases traffic congestion, travel time, traffic accidents, and urban pollution. In most Brazilian cities, low-income residents commute many miles to jobs in the center of the city on subpar public transit. The short documentary *Terminal Grajaú: Humilhação coletiva* follows passengers dependent upon public transport in a neighborhood in the extreme south of São Paulo. Because the bus lines that connected peripheral neighborhoods directly to the city center of São Paulo were discontinued by the city government, it is now necessary for these commuters to transfer via one of fourteen bus lines to arrive home. In an interview, a young Black mother affirms, “It takes three hours to get to work, three to get home. It’s the time that you could have spent at home with your child.”

Compounded housing and transportation shortcomings cause many low-income residents to spend hours of their day commuting, creating a two-tier system in which easy movement through the city is only available to the wealthy. In their writing, Black Brazilian female poets, such as Katiana Souto, Meimei Bastos, Nanda Fer Pimenta, and Tatiana Nascimento, aestheticize experiences of immobility and harassment on public transit.¹⁴ Although not unique to the twenty-first century, public transit hubs have recently served as the locales for performance art (Rosa Luz’s 2016 performance “Afrontando Ideias Parte I”)

and the setting for creative writing (Sacolinha's 2010 *Estação Terminal*) because they are fertile grounds for redefining mobility. Adirley Queirós's 2014 film *Branco sai, preto fica* uses a post-apocalyptic science fiction framework to decry the lack of mobility (in all senses of the term) for disabled Black peripheral residents in Ceilândia, the largest administrative region in Brasília.

People with more social mobility have traditionally enjoyed more freedom to move through the city; however, in the current pandemic, Brazilians with more economic resources have enjoyed the freedom to *not* move (to stay home). They can work from home, pay for food deliveries, and have their children attend school virtually via their own tablets or computers. In contrast, many low-income residents, due to the nature of their jobs and their financial needs, must run the risk of contagion while taking public transportation, working in someone else's home, walking in the street, and being present in other workspaces, while their children lack the necessary resources for virtual schooling (Barbosa and Teixeira 74).

Many of the terms for places where low-income residents live in Brazil—favelas, mocambos, quebradas, morros, becos, vilas, palafitas, alagados, resacas, and comunidades—convey specific local meanings that deserve attention. This list of terms is challenging to translate because the significance of each term can shift depending on who uses it (e.g., whether someone is from inside or outside the community) and in what context. Officially, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, or IBGE), which is the office that calculates data about the country, utilizes the term “aglomerados subnormais” (sub-normal agglomerations) to generalize favelas (and all other forms of low-income areas) and quantify census data about these fragments of space. However, the term conceals asymmetric processes regarding access to housing (and to private property) and has pejorative, racist, classist, and homogenizing connotations. As Motta remarks vis-à-vis the official term *sub-normal agglomeration*, “it is possible to recognize the centrality of the idea of the favela in the construction of Brazilian poverty” (79). Indeed, favela is the best-known term in Brazil for referring to the precarity of housing and urban life. Silva and Barbosa point out that the definition of low-income housing in Brazil is structured around three central problems: 1) a classification based on absence and/or deficiency, as in what those non-places (*não lugares*) are *not* or do *not* have; 2) a homogenization of low-income locations, using unequal processes for access to urban land; and 3) the stigmatization that directly associates those places with violence and the fear mediated by the process that reduces favelas to “enclaves” of poverty and loci of crime (drug trafficking and militias).

Loosely, favelas, mocambos, and quebradas are communities of modest homes, disconnected from (or precariously connected to) city infrastructure. Generally, these communities exist on hills (in which case they may be called

morros, especially in Rio de Janeiro) or on the outskirts of the city. Mocambos can also be communities originally formed by runaway and former slaves and now inhabited by the ancestors of slaves.

Favelas hold a singular place in the city. They are part and product of capitalist and peripheral urbanization, wholly entwined in an uneven urban fabric. Favelas are a form of occupation that exists outside of the norms of the State and market regarding the use and occupation of urban land. They are concrete expressions of the violence of urbanization and of socio-spatial segregation in Brazil. For more about life within favelas, one can find the following examples in contemporary Brazilian literature: Paulo Lins's *Cidade de Deus*, which is about the favela of the same name in Rio de Janeiro; Ferréz's *Capão Pecado* and Sacolinha's *Graduado em marginalidade*, which are about the favelas in the Zona Sul of São Paulo; and Joilson Pinheiro's *Amor e traição no Calabar*, which is about Calabar, a favela in Salvador.

The notion of a *quebrada* (literally meaning “broken”)—a term that Brazilian artists use expressively—alludes to the narrow and sinuous streets that do not follow elite neighborhoods' urban grid, which is constructed with extensive economic and political investment. On the one hand, *quebrada* designates the socio-spatial fragmentation produced by discontinuous, stigmatizing, and violent State actions directed at poor and peripheral populations and the places they live. On the other hand, *quebrada* accentuates the local affirmation of a micropolitics of relations, based on local modes of social regulation (the so-called laws of the street) and language use. Terms such as “*vida loka*” (krazy life) and “*crias*” (people who are from a given place) reflect specific spatial regimes (Malvasi; Feltran). The notion of the *quebrada* is configured via a process that mediates spatial and social relations of belonging and the valorization of peripheral culture in its creation of norms of conduct. These norms are mediated by violence, the State (and the way the State shapes the periphery, such as with police presence), urban planning, and organized crime that instates peripheral “conduct” (Biondi; Sampaio). The city of São Paulo's peripheries are the principal places for disseminating the notion of *quebradas*, and Racionais MC's album *Sobrevivendo no inferno* is considered a *quebrada* manifesto. Initiatives such as the Bienal do Livro da Quebrada, founded in 2019 in Ceilândia, a Brasília administrative region, and the Universidade das Quebradas, a popular education project in Rio de Janeiro that establishes connections with the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) and low-income communities, are two examples of the spread of the term in Brazil.

Beco and vila may refer to the homes along a narrow, dead-end street. Becos, which is also a term for alleys, form the narrow, tight, and tangled maze of small streets found in favelas and Brazilian peripheries. The vertiginous process of migration from the country to the city mobilized an enormous number of people who, in search of work in large Brazilian cities, occupied favelas and

peripheries, which were often the only places they could afford to live. The development of these areas was carried out in uneven ways throughout their geographic and demographic expansion, leaving little space for streets and avenues. Becos, despite being public spaces, also constitute extensions of houses that are generally small and contain many people. Descriptions of becos can be found in Misha Glenny's *O dono do morro* and Caco Barcellos's *Abusado*, which are about the Rio de Janeiro favelas Rocinha and Morro Dona Marta, respectively. They can also be found in Marcos Braz's short film *Beco dos Pancados* and in Conceição Evaristo's novel *Becos da memória*.

Vila may also describe an urban community smaller than a city or to a group of homes occupied by people with the same profession (such as workers' vilas from the end of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century). The term, which is employed primarily in the South region of Brazil (especially in Porto Alegre and Curitiba), is often a synonym for favela or for a grouping of residences and workplaces that is more precarious than the neighborhoods that were built with ample State and market support. Examples of vilas can be found in José Falero's book *Vila Sapo* and the Slam Contra-taque, which critique the myth of Porto Alegre being a white city and Curitiba being a model city populated only by people of European ancestry.

Palafitas, alagados, and ressacas are stilt homes constructed over bodies of water. Palafitas are actual stilt houses made of wood and, more generally, low-income areas or favelas. They are particularly prominent in the capital cities in Amazônia, primarily Belém (Vila da Barca, for example, which is one of the largest palafitas in the North region) and Manaus (Comunidade Igarapé). However, they are also numerous in large Southeastern cities, such as in Santos (Dique Vila Gilda) and Rio de Janeiro (Favela da Maré), as well as in the Northeast, in Recife (Comunidade do Bode) and São Luís (Vila Palmeira). For information about everyday life in palafitas, Gabriel Mascaro's documentary *Avenida Brasília Formosa* provides perspectives on twenty-first-century urban transformations in Brasília Teimosa, a former palafita on the shore of Praia da Boa Viagem in Recife. Also, Milton Hatoum's short story collection *A cidadeilhada* and his novel *Cinzas do Norte* capture the stories, pain, tragedies, love, and friendships in Manaus's palafitas.

Alagados are clusters of dwellings built over mud or tidal areas and are typically inhabited by poor, Black Brazilians, especially in Salvador. Alagados is also the name of a neighborhood in Salvador that fits that description where fishermen and marisqueiras (women who are shellfish collectors) once lived. The neighborhood Alagados grew rapidly with the urban expansion of the city of Salvador after the completion of the railroad and the construction of the city's avenues beginning in the 1960s. Part of the population of the neighborhood Alagados was relocated to low-income housing, which was precarious, small, far from their former homes, and socially unfamiliar. For a

description of these spaces in the capital of Bahia, see José Eduardo Ferreira Santos's *Novos Alagados: Histórias do povo e do lugar* and Annie Eastman's documentary *Bay of All Saints (Da Maré)*, which follows the everyday life of three single mothers from 2004 to 2012.

Ressaca is a regional expression that simultaneously designates an ecosystem—known as “ressaca areas,” which are typical of the coastal zone of the state of Amapá—and a precarious kind of habitation in humid areas, especially in the cities of Macapá and Santana in Amapá. Recessacs are environmentally characterized as lowlands that flood when the Amazon River and its tributaries flood. Due to extreme real estate speculation and the inability to access housing in more central, well-established, and elite areas of Amapá, low-income residents find rصاصas to be their only option for urban living. Rصاصas are generally wooden houses connected by wooden bridges. Peter Lucas and Bianca Moro's documentary *Housing Problems Macapá* presents a dialogue with residents about this style of housing.

The term *comunidade* (community) is amply used in diverse urban and rural contexts and recently has been the subject of debate within the humanities and social sciences. In Brazil, it generally is leveraged by residents of low-income areas in opposition to outsiders' classifications, especially since the 1990s (Birman 103). According to Birman, one of the most common uses of the term is to advocate for a “counter-discourse that argues in favor of favela inhabitants” (103). Such employments of the term emphasize good moral qualities revealed in everyday life (the contrast between the morals of “workers” and of “bandits”). When utilized in art, *comunidade* insists that art from low-income areas (Carnival, funk music, samba music, samba schools, and so forth) is legitimate and deeply Brazilian. The term *comunidade* avoids the profound stigma attached to favela and favelado (a favela resident), which are commonly associated with “thug factories,” “bandit lands,” and “non-cities.” That stigma often extends to residents who are seen as (or associated with) “bandits,” “thugs,” “delinquents,” “enemies,” “traffickers,” and, in the case of a terrible expression commonly used by the Rio de Janeiro police to describe favela children, “seeds of evil.”

The term *comunidade* opposes a language of war and violence (what Leite deems “war metaphors”) inherent in discourses that criminalize segregated areas where low-income people live. The media, the federal and local governments, low-income neighborhood associations, churches, and NGOs employ the term *comunidade* (Birman 104). In these contexts, the term, which is a euphemism, often makes explicit the difficulty outsiders face in grasping how the residents of favelas, periferias, palafitas, quebradas, becos, and vilas understand their own place and discursive strategies and how they perceive themselves when named in negative, pejorative, criminalizing, and punitive—in sum, violent—ways. *Comunidade* seems, then, to express an attempt to

resist stigmatization, while also valorizing community ties and feelings of belonging to a place. Still, Birman contends that the positive uses of *comunidade* that are meant to counter other terms, such as *favela*, end up—despite the good intentions of those who utilize them—repeating the idea that these areas are substantively (culturally and civically) different from the neighborhoods of the city (113). The notion of a *comunidade* repeats the dualism between “*favela*” / “*asphalt city*,” “*informal city*” / “*formal city*,” and “*illegal city*” / “*legal city*,” thereby reaffirming the discourse of the “*divided city*” (Ventura) and the “*city of walls*” (Caldeira) and concealing the process of socio-spatial segregation that establishes urban privation.

We recognize that each Brazilian city is unique and that the concerns laid out in this first section are relevant, in varying degrees of intensity, to all large Brazilian cities. These concerns involve the unequal processes within the production of capitalist urban space. While many of the contributions in this volume focus on São Paulo, the largest city in the Americas, the volume also includes cultural analyses connected to cities that span from the North to the South of Brazil.

Culture

Lefebvre presents the city as *oeuvre*, underscoring that cities should not only be defined in terms of finances and statistics but also in terms of human endeavors and creativity. He defines the *oeuvre* as people’s shared need for creative activity and human encounters (“*The Right*” 147). Much in this vein, we seek to investigate how cultural initiatives produce and are produced by contemporary urban Brazilians. Our definition of *culture* bridges a more restrictive understanding of culture as works of art/art appreciation with a more encompassing anthropological interpretation of culture as shared morals, customs, tastes, and beliefs. The former cannot be fully understood without engagement with the latter because aesthetic judgment derives from social structures (Bourdieu xxiv, 468–86). The type of culture relevant to this volume includes culture in the more restricted sense (creative writing, cultural centers, art museums, film, street dance, *saraus* [evening poetry events], and music) and in the sense of social customs (faith practices, protests, communication, work and housing traditions, and uses of public space). In both cases, culture is connected to affirming the struggle of marginalized groups and individuals for space and for the construction of utopias (more equitable cities). We conceive of culture as something everyone possesses and not something reserved for the elite, as implied by terms such as *cultured* or *high culture*.

Urban culture involves the ability of residents to move within the city, movements that can transform the city, be it ever so slightly (Certeau 98–100;

Lefebvre, *The Production* 39; Massey 118). Examples abound. One is the practice of holding birthday parties on public buses with friends one has made on the bus, which subverts the anonymity, social codes, and tedium generally associated with commuting. Another example is the *rolezinho*, in which marginalized youth who have been treated as socially invisible assert their presence en masse in hyper-visible, privileged areas of the city, such as shopping malls.¹⁵ A third example is the practice of Afro-Brazilian religions in urban *terreiros* (places of worship), which harbors a collective space for Black Brazilian spirituality and identity in defiance of the homogeneity of urbanization, centuries of erasure, and the policing of African culture in Brazil.¹⁶ These examples demonstrate that the line between cultural expression and social resistance is blurred.

One of the concepts that best captures the mood of twenty-first century Brazilian culture is *escrevivência*. Black Brazilian author Conceição Evaristo coined the term *escrevivência*—a neologism that mixes the Portuguese words for *to write* and *existence*. The term, which is often cited by authors and critics, recalls how Evaristo's existence (her memories and everyday life, as well as her intersectional identity as a Black woman) inspires her writing and how writing, for those who have been denied access to the literary sphere, is a fight for survival and recognition. One example is Evaristo's *Becos da memória* (published in 2006 but written in 1986), in which a girl collects the stories of her neighbors in a favela before it is razed by a construction company. The act of writing allows the memories of a poor Black neighborhood to survive after the place itself is destroyed in the name of capitalist development.

Often cultural actors challenge hegemonic processes by circumventing them. An example is the surge in small, alternative urban presses dedicated to publishing Black Brazilian authors. Examples include *Malê*, *Louva Deusas*, *Mjiba*, and *padê*, the last three of which are focused exclusively on female authors. The best-known publishing houses in Brazil (Companhia das Letras, Record, and Rocco) primarily publish white male authors, making it extremely difficult for Black, particularly Black female, authors to penetrate the market. Regina Dalcastagnè's book *Literatura brasileira contemporânea: Um território contestado* (2012) quantitatively demonstrated the homogeneity of Brazil's elite publishing industry. With a group of graduate students at the University of Brasília, Dalcastagnè researched the writers of and the characters in 165 novels published from 1990 to 2004 by Brazil's three main publishing houses. She discovered that 93.9 percent of the authors were white, and 70 percent of the authors and main characters were male (Dalcastagnè 158, 160, 165, 167). In an updated study, analyzing novels from 1965 to 2014, Dalcastagnè found that, in novels published between 2005 and 2014, the dominance of white authors increased to 97.5 percent, and men published 70.6 percent of the novels in that same period (Maciel). Alternative methods of publishing Black Brazilian literature are not unique to the twenty-first century

(the series *Cadernos Negros*, for instance, began in 1978), but new alternative presses leverage twenty-first-century technology that now makes it easier and less expensive to publish and publicize books. More generally, contemporary urban Brazilian art is characterized by its call for inclusivity. Black, indigenous, LGBTQ+, and low-income artists are making spaces for their art, producing the very sites (saraus, micro-presses, and YouTube channels) where they showcase their work.

Another example of the circumvention of hegemonic urban processes is the practice of the *mutirão*, a collective work aimed at the improvement of the quality of life of a group. In the case of twenty-first-century Brazil, such initiatives address an urban housing shortage. Groups of future residents work together to build their own apartment buildings. Paula Constante's medium-length documentary *Capacetes coloridos* (2007) follows the construction of the *Mutirão Paulo Freire*, a collective project to auto-construct an apartment building with one-hundred units in Cidade Tiradentes in the Zona Leste of São Paulo, which was completed in 2010 ("Inauguração"). The initiative was organized by the União dos Movimentos de Moradia (UMM) de São Paulo and the MTST Leste 1. Constante compares the collective construction to the conventional building of the University of São Paulo's School of Arts, Sciences, and Humanities in the Zona Leste, exposing the low wages, stark hierarchies, and worker exploitation characteristic of the latter. MTST Leste 1 and Constante's film successfully portray the possibilities of circumventing the entrenched models of urban construction.

Other cultural actors permeate hegemonic processes to transform them. For instance, in 2019, the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP)—a locale possessing enormous cultural capital—hired Sandra Benites as an adjunct curator of Brazilian art in preparation for its 2023 "Histórias Indígenas" (Indigenous Histories/Stories) exhibit. Benites is Guarani Nhandewa, and she is the first indigenous curator to be hired by a major Brazilian art museum. She will curate the Brazilian art section of the exhibit (Durón). Given the long history in Brazil, and beyond, of non-indigenous (primarily male) curators selecting indigenous art for shows, the fact that the curator is an indigenous female signifies a decolonial gaze.¹⁷ In addition, the São Paulo Pinacoteca acquired works by contemporary indigenous artists, such as Jaider Esbell and Denilson Baniwa, in November 2019, as part of a process of expanding representation and fostering dialogue about the indigenous struggle in Brazil and its presentation in museums. Naine Terena, of the Terena ethnic group, will be the curator of that museum's exhibition *Véxoa: Nós sabemos* of seventeen contemporary indigenous artists.

In the 2018 São Paulo Biennial, the indigenous artist Denilson Baniwa did a performance to protest how Brazil's Native people appeared in the works exhibited in the Biennial Pavilion in Ibirapuera Park. His shaman-jaguar (*pajé-onça*)

cape served as “an ancestral energy, which opens truths” (Balbi). The artist lay down in front of works exhibited at the Biennial and questioned the place of indigenous people, as “figures without a voice, confined to an immemorial past who have not been invited to represent themselves” (Balbi). Earlier, in October 2017, four thousand people—including indigenous people, quilombo residents, and non-indigenous supporters—occupied the Avenida Paulista before marching toward “the stone statue called the Monument to the Bandeiras [settling expeditions] that honors those who massacred us in the past” (Tupã). The protesters hoisted banners and flags seeking redress via demarcations of indigenous land, and they painted the monument red. In the words of Marcos Tupã: “despite the criticism of some, the images published in newspapers speak for themselves: with that gesture, they helped us transform the body of that work in less than a day. It ceased being stone, and it bled. It ceased being a monument in homage of those who committed genocide and decimated our people, and it transformed into a monument of our resistance.” Later, the statue was cleaned, but Tupã’s question remains: “How can that statue be considered everyone’s heritage if it commemorates the genocide of people who are part of Brazilian society and public life? What type of society creates tributes to those who commit genocide that will be on display for that genocide’s survivors?” (Tupã).

These examples unveil that, throughout history and still today, Brazilian society obstructs the institution of full citizenship. Still, cultural resistance is striking proof of 1) the fight against the experience of privation in cities; 2) the struggle for socio-spatial and cultural practices of resistance by the working class, laborers, and indigenous people; and 3) the longevity and topicality of an insurgent citizenship (Holston). “Insurgent citizenship” is Holston’s influential term for how residents of the urban periphery contest an entrenched regime of inequality through the auto-construction of homes, the attainment of the title to their land, and local activism to achieve the benefits of citizenship that have been denied to them (Holston 21).

The contributions included here look at a wide range of cultural practices and objects—religious rituals, catcalling, sarau, occupations, cultural centers, documentary films, short stories, novels, and protests—all of which disclose the experiences of twenty-first-century city dwellers in Brazil and their assertion of their right to the city.

Resistance

Since at least 2013, Brazilian protests organized via social networks have shown the power of contemporary social resistance to generate new aesthetic, cultural, and political forms. New people have entered the scene, bringing historical struggles with them and mobilizing new issues (Colosso). These

struggles emphasize the need and desire for the improvement of urban everyday life, challenging the status quo and avowing the right to the city as a right to urban life in its entirety. In a complementary way to their demand for social transformation, protesters also demand the restitution of festivity, irony, and the body as political manifestations. In Brazil, revindications for peripheral and intersectional inequity and anti-racist and feminist insurgences are underway. These movements involve culture as a form and a strategy of resistance that underscores the urgency for a true right to the city. Neither neoconservative nor neoliberal agendas have succeeded in quashing this resistance.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, one of the primary mobilizations in Brazil arose from fans of the soccer team Corinthians.¹⁸ In connection with global movements, residents of various cities protested racism and fascism with the slogan “Black Lives Matter” (Vidas Negras Importam). Corinthians fans denounced the recurring deaths of local Black youth at the hands of the police and the continuation of police operations in favelas and peripheries even during the pandemic. Moreover, as already discussed, the delivery people’s strike also took to the street, revealing the atrocities caused by labor reforms and work insecurity.

Acknowledging the crossover between culture and social resistance, we define social resistance as the ways in which non-hegemonic groups contest hegemonic forms of political power, consumerism, and cultural production. We highlight debates in diverse academic disciplines about the need to understand the political subjectivities of those who resist via their activism and subversive everyday practices. The word most suggestive of social resistance in twenty-first-century Brazil is “coletivo” (collective). It is often found within the names of social movements, signaling the need to work together to mobilize change. We see collectives advocating for a broad range of goals, from auto-constructed urban housing for low-income people (Mutirão Coletivo Popular) to filmmaking in the periphery (Ceicine Coletivo de Cinema de Ceilândia and Rede Coletiva de Cinema da Rocinha). Collectives of under-represented people are creating virtual communities via social media while also organizing in-person events, thus mobilizing a local community and a virtual (sometimes global) community around shared interests (Graham 167; Santiago 54).

Producing sites of cultural resistance within the city involves generating visibility for marginalized groups. Generating visibility refers to making marginalized groups publicly visible to the general population and to hegemonic groups, and it is often realized through occupations en masse on the street. In contemporary urban Brazil, protests, marches, and parades stand out as particularly suggestive of this desire for visibility. Especially since the 2008 recession, Brazilians on both sides of the political aisle have fervently exercised their right to protest on urban streets. The causes of these

protests have included demands for free public transportation, for the termination of police brutality and corruption, for and against the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, against the various labor and social security reforms in Michel Temer's and Jair Bolsonaro's governments, and for the improvement of public education. The rise in the number, popularity, and size of Pride parades throughout Brazilian cities in the twenty-first century have helped call attention to and normalize LGBTQ+ identities.¹⁹ The annual *Marcha das Mulheres Negras contra o Racismo, Violência e pelo Bem Viver* (Black Women's March against Racism, Violence, and for Well Being) began in 2015 in multiple Brazilian cities. It draws attention to both the high percentage of Black women in Brazil and their disproportionate lack of access to quality jobs and education.²⁰ Due to COVID-19, marches and parades in 2020 and 2021 have mainly moved to online formats. Although these virtual events cannot occupy the street, they make marginalized groups visible in the public sphere and foster a sense of community (Soares).

Social resistance often calls for accountability and holding individuals and public entities responsible for their actions. After the execution of Marielle Franco in 2018, the speed with which the hashtags “Quem matou Marielle?” (Who killed Marielle?) and “Quem mandou matar Marielle?” (Who ordered the killing of Marielle?) went viral internationally exemplifies the refusal to ignore state-sanctioned violence. In 2018, Marielle, a Rio de Janeiro city council member and a Black, gay woman who was vocal about progressive issues and police violence, was assassinated, alongside her driver, Anderson Gomes, by former military police connected to militias that dominate areas of and businesses in Rio de Janeiro (Manso 187–225; Prieto 57–58). Marielle was one of thirty-seven Brazilian city council members murdered in a period of two years (Louro). Her assassination—and the common belief that it was organized by higher ranking politicians—came to symbolize both the fragility of Brazilian democracy and the threat of violence that LGBTQ+, Black, and female Brazilians face. In 2019, the Rio de Janeiro police killed a record 1,814 people (“A Teen's Killing”). The Black Lives Matter movement in Brazil insists on an end to police violence and reparations for the systematic racism endured by Black Brazilians, especially in response to police killings of low-income Black boys, such as João Pedro Matos Pinto in May 2020. Cultural texts, such as Siqueira's *Orestes*, divulge continued state-sanctioned violence in Brazil by connecting the torture and murder of militants during the military dictatorship to present-day murders, which are carried out by the military police and consistently denied.

Gabriel Zacarias notes that the social isolation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic—in which the circulation of people is reduced as much as possible, while the circulation of products continues as normal (Netflix, Amazon, and so forth)—seems to have practically perfected a scenario that late capitalism has

been cultivating since the rise of mass TV viewership in the 1950s: the spectacle of the commodity triumphs over community, the street, social gathering, and spaces of dialogue. Amid the humanitarian crisis, Brazil's cultural actors continue to challenge this descent toward a consumption-oriented, isolated, and precarious life. The contributions in this volume shed light on how that work, which began before the pandemic, continues to be elaborated.

Essay 1, written by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, is titled "The Poiesis of the City and of Resistance." She engages theoretical concepts central to critical urban geography and to Lefebvrian Marxism, which permeate the subsequent chapters. These include the argument that social relations exist in a concrete spatial sense and that cities must be understood not merely in terms of their exchange value but also in terms of their use value, which is shaped in accordance with human needs and desires. Carlos indicates that, although cities are produced within a capitalist logic of homogenization—including commodification, commercialization, institutional oppression, and the private ownership of social wealth—insurgent social groups that reject that logic are also active within it. An example is how peripheral collectives reject portrayals of the urban periphery as a site of violence, poverty, and survival, opting instead to represent it as a site of human desire and cultural vibrancy. Poiesis, a word derived from the ancient Greek term for *to make*, describes the action of a person bringing something new into being. Using poetry within the periphery of São Paulo as an example, Carlos identifies how involvement in the arts—a kind of poiesis—is a way to appropriate urban places, resist the oppressive aspects of the city under capitalism, and connect knowledge and practice to generate consciousness.

Essay 2, "São Paulo: Recent Social Movements and Insurgent Urban Culture," by Paolo Colosso, provides an insightful analysis of the Jornadas de Junho, the massive urban protests that began in June 2013 throughout Brazil. Colosso shows that, for an array of activists, the transformation of the city is not only the goal but also the method of their political action, which takes the form of street protests and occupations of buildings, schools, and universities. He examines how activists create political actions and aesthetics that gain popular appeal and how *cursinhos populares* (college preparatory courses) have become sites for generating the political consciousness of Brazilian, peripheral youth. Parallel to how Carlos advocates for the importance of art, desire, and spontaneity in the production of the city, Colosso defends the festive aspects of contemporary activism that strengthen the ties between activists and their surroundings, especially for subaltern youth who demand their right to live fully in the city. Fun-filled activist gatherings are collective performances of a utopian city, free of oppression and authoritarianism.

Essay 3, "Occupied Spaces, Occupied Texts: Literary Heterotopias and the Right to the City," by Leila Lehnen, addresses many of the same themes

as Carlos and Colosso in the more specific context of urban occupations and their power to champion the utopian aspect of Lefebvre's right to the city. She focuses on the occupation of the Hotel Cambridge in the center of São Paulo in 2012 by the Movimento Sem-Teto do Centro (Homeless Movement of the City Center, or MSTC). Lehnert illustrates that the occupation of the Hotel Cambridge and the films and the novel that it has inspired utilize insurgent tactics to demand the rights of full citizenship. Moreover, she stresses that the cultural texts about the Hotel Cambridge occupation present its occupants not as victims but as resilient people who are seeking a home, which functions both as a physical site for their mundane necessities and a utopian site for their dreams and desires. She provides an extensive close reading of Julián Fuks's novel *A ocupação* (2019), which developed out of his time living in the occupation. His text is political "occupied literature" that seeks to further the mission of the actual occupation.

Essay 4, Marguerite Itamar Harrison's "Human-Centered Design, Culture within Everyone's Reach," underlines that São Paulo's plethora of cultural centers—with their wide diversity and inclusive agendas—actively redress geographical and socioeconomic inequities. Drawing on Doreen Massey's theory of space as the site of spontaneous encounters with the other and with multiplicity, Harrison considers the types of spatial praxes that São Paulo cultural centers mobilize to increase access, equity, and creative freedom. She examines the following cultural centers: the SESC Pompeia and the Centro Cultural São Paulo—which arose in the 1980s and were largely aimed at working class people—and the Aparelha Luzia and the Fábricas de Cultura, twenty-first-century initiatives dedicated respectively to Black and peripheral populations' access to culture. Harrison explores the work of Lina Bo Bardi, the famed architect of the SESC Pompeia, who sought to design human-centered architecture, a goal that continues to be relevant to the city and to inspire its cultural centers.

In Essay 5, "Making the Harms of Street Harassment Visible: Think Olga and Brazil's Feminist Spring," Rebecca J. Atencio maintains that both a non-government organization and a film have played a central role in shifting the status quo and the law regarding catcalling—by affirming its unacceptability, naming it as "assédio" (harassment), and transforming cities to make them more equitable. She observes how people's race, gender, and other intersectional identities influence their freedom of mobility in cities. Atencio conceives of Brazilian feminists' resistance against gender-based violence as involving "a complex web of feminist praxis," including a non-monolithic variety of initiatives and organizations, which are linked in a struggle against catcalling. Based on collected data, the NGO Think Olga estimates that, on average, Brazilian girls are first exposed to catcalling at the age of 9.7, which in many cases marks the start of their sense of vulnerability in urban space, an

anxiety that can be exacerbated if they take public transportation to school or, later, to college. Atencio registers the courage of girls and women who “resist in the face of a city that contributes to their oppression.”

In Essay 6, “Between the Poet and the Clown: The Poetic Persona of Daniel Minchoni,” Annie McNeill Gibson analyzes how saraus in peripheral urban areas activate social change, constituting a powerful collective voice and source of energy. Gibson examines Daniel Minchoni’s performance art project “Literatura ostentação” (Ostentation Literature), which was filmed in 2014 and performed live at many saraus. In his persona as a poeta-palhaço (poet-clown), he employs both words and body language to meld elements of the historically elite sarau, the music genre funk ostentação, and contemporary sarau. He thus elicits an egalitarian right to create and consume art in the city. Moreover, he repositions the periphery as the center of cultural capital through the unexpected pairing of sarau poetry and funk music. His performance constitutes a comedic attack on the normalized divisions between “high” and “low” culture, allowing the audience to revel in being both funkeiros and readers of *Os Lusíadas*.

Essay 7, “‘Hallucinated City’: The Ongoing Rejection of the Periphery and the Revenge Performed by São Paulo Cultural Groups,” by Sílvia Lopes Raimundo, argues that São Paulo’s peripheral cultural groups appropriate public spaces and organize cultural events to actualize their denied right to the city. This process involves collaborations among artists, cultural producers, and popular educators. They all generate knowledge, develop new pedagogical approaches, and invent strategies of resistance that are a political praxis for transforming their everyday lives. Through highly organized and collaborative tactics, peripheral cultural groups contest the dominant neoliberal, capitalist, and state-sponsored production of the city. Raimundo proposes that peripheral cultural groups, via collective organizational structures, are asserting “new political aesthetics for the city,” which form a Brazilian cultural vanguard.

Essay 8, “I Only Know the Mosquito Bites: Religious Occupations and Contingent Relationships in São Paulo, Brazil,” by Derek Pardue, brings together academic analysis and ethnographic fiction (a creative form or storytelling inspired by fieldwork). Pardue posits that faith possesses a concrete spatial presence that influences the city. He contextualizes the Haitian immigrant experience, noting how—due to institutional racism—immigrants are often denied the legal status of refugees, which makes their lives in Brazil more precarious. Pardue homes in on an evangelical church in Guaianases in the Zona Leste of São Paulo, which was built by and for Haitians. Much like the chapters written by Carlos, Colosso, Lehnen, Gibson, and Raimundo, Pardue highlights the need to understand the city not only in terms of residents’ material needs but also their immaterial desires—in this case the longing to be spiritually uplifted. His ethnographic fiction, which reads like a story within

the chapter, allows for deeper reflection on the emotions, relationships, and precarity experienced by Haitian immigrants in São Paulo.

In Essay 9, “The City and the Forest: Lessons on Consumption in Daniel Munduruku’s *Todas as coisas são pequenas*,” Ligia Bezerra draws on Zygmunt Bauman’s theorizations about contemporary society’s selfish obsession with its next monetary achievement (promotion, purchase). Bezerra describes an alternative world view mobilized by the Munduruku ethnic group in Daniel Munduruku’s novel *Todas as coisas são pequenas* (2008). According to Bezerra, the novel calls for the forest to influence the city, a radical reversal that involves rethinking what it means to be civilized and successful. The novelist denounces consumerism, proposing that components of Munduruku culture (sustainability and generosity) could be adapted to city life in São Paulo with utopian consequences. In addition, the novel depicts a materialistic and selfish white man’s personal transformation during his time among the Munduruku in the Amazon rainforest, a revelation that later influences how the man thinks and behaves in São Paulo. The novel models Munduruku pedagogical practices, such as the custom of educators avoiding saying everything they know, so that the student can have time to process what he or she has heard. The novel thus serves as a creative handbook for the transformation of self and society toward greater attentiveness to collective and environmental concerns.

Essay 10, “A Dance of Deaths: Gender Violence in *Mulheres empilhadas*,” by Ângela Maria Dias, also discusses a novel that pairs the Brazilian North region and the city of São Paulo. Dias examines how Patricia Melo’s *Mulheres empilhadas* (2019) denaturalizes the high rates of femicide in Brazil—which is highest in the state of Acre—with its unsettling and violent language and content. Melo’s tactics illuminate crimes that have received little national attention in part because they occurred in the city of Cruzeiro do Sul in Acre, one of the most resource-poor states in the country. The states of Amapá, Acre, and Roraima—all located in the North region—are the poorest in the country, and many of the opportunities and resources for actualizing one’s full citizenship that are discussed in the previous chapters are simply not available in these states’ cities. Dias underscores how the law, the Internet, and a woman’s own body can function both as sites of exploitation and resistance. As in Munduruku’s *Todas as coisas são pequenas*, Melo’s novel focuses on how a white character’s engagement with indigenous knowledge practices enables a personal awakening, which influences how the character lives within the city.

Essay 11, “The Resistance of a Transurban Sexuality in Amara Moira and Atena Beauvoir” by Ricardo Barberena and Ana Ferrão, continues with the theme of gender violence from the perspective of transgender women, one of the groups most vulnerable to violence and murder in Brazil. Centered

around Amara Moira's compiled blog posts *E se eu fosse puta* (2016) and Atena Beauvoir's short story collection *Contos transantropológicos* (2018), the chapter argues that these texts, which were written by transexual women, resist hegemonic conceptions of who has the right to exist and to speak in public space. One example can be found in a story by Beauvoir in which the ghosts of transgender people return to a public park to honor the lives of transgender people who have been killed in hate crimes. Barberena and Ferrão contend that transgender people often experience exile, starting with being shunned from their family's homes and subsequently experiencing no protection of their rights or their bodies in the cities that they inhabit. Both Moira and Beauvoir are writers and activists whose creative work continuously circles back to the utopian ideal of the city as a site of belonging and possibility.

In this volume, the topics of Brazilian contemporary cities, culture, and resistance are elaborated from various perspectives and geographic locales, always attentive to how people's needs and desires influence their demands for more equitable living conditions.

Notes

1. Throughout this introduction, the adjective "contemporary" is synonymous with "twenty-first century." Inquiries about the contradictions of urban inequality at the turn of the century in Brazil can be found in Eduardo Coutinho's documentary *Babilônia 2000*. It was filmed with residents of the favelas Babilônia and Chapéu Mangueira on Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro on New Year's Eve 1999. These residents reveal their expectations and uncertainties about the future millennium. The choice to analyze contemporary Brazil since the start of the twenty-first century is meaningful beyond a mere chronological marker. Beginning in 2003, Brazil underwent an intense process of economic growth, reduction of social inequality rates, implementation of cash transfer policies, real appreciation of the minimum wage, and access to consumer goods and credit for low-income people, as well as a violent process of urbanization that was carried out through massive economic and development projects, especially in the Amazon. These profound social, spatial, economic, political, and cultural transformations led to the arrival of the Workers' Party (PT) at the fore of the federal government and the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (known as Lula) as president in 2003. Lula is of Northeastern origin and a former metalworker, as well as one of the primary union leaders during the late-1970s workers' strikes and re-democratization process following twenty-one years of military rule. He was the first president in Brazil's history who came from a blue-collar family, and he belongs to a party anchored in the trajectory of the left. Accounts of the 2002 elections and of Lula's rise to power may be seen in Eduardo Coutinho's *Peões* and João Moreira Salles's *Entreatos*. In

2010, after two terms and with record approval ratings (over 80 percent of people considered the government good or great), PT elected Dilma Rousseff, Brazil's first woman president, an ex-militant against the military dictatorship who was imprisoned and brutally tortured by that regime. In 2016, Brazil experienced an institutional rupture following the controversial process of impeachment that ousted Rousseff and opened the path for the conservative rise in Brazil, represented first by Michel Temer and later by the election of Jair Bolsonaro, an ex-military officer and religious fundamentalist with various connections to militia groups. Some of the elements that triggered this rupture were the political and social tensions following the 2013 protests in Brazil, the economic crisis of 2015, and criticism of the pillars of lulismo (political scientist André Singer's term for PT's management from gradual reformism to conservative pact and class conciliation). Recent films—including Petra Costa's *Democracia em vertigem* (*The Edge of Democracy*), Douglas Duarte's *Excelentíssimos* (*Lower House*), Filipe Galvon's *Encantado, o Brasil em desencanto*, and Maria Ramos's *O processo* (*The Trial*)—register the illegitimacy and even illegality of the impeachment and the political foundations of the new forms of coups d'état in Latin America.

2. For more discussion of the formation of urban society in Brazil, see the analyses of Brazilian Lefebvre-inspired geographers, including Alvarez; Alves; Carlos, *The Urban Crisis*; Favaro Verdi; Ribeiro; Simoni-Santos; and Volochko.
3. There is extensive literature on the process of industrialization and urbanization with low salaries. See Damiani; Santos, *Movimentos sociais urbanos*; Kowarick; Maricato; Oliveira, *Crítica à razão dualista*; Perlman; Sader; Valladares.
4. On the latter point, see Prieto.
5. For more on the construction of the Lei de Fomento à Cultura da Periferia, the fruit of the struggles of the Movimento Cultural das Periferias in São Paulo, see Raimundo. For an analysis of the contradictions of the public policies for maracatu (a Northeastern performance genre with African origins) in Recife, see Santana. Santana observes that public policies establish processes of socio-spatial segregation, such as not including peripheral maracatu headquarters in Recife's guided walking and bus tours and transforming part of peripheral maracatu traditions into spectacles organized by the State.
6. There is a recurring process of criminalization of funk music, especially in Rio de Janeiro, on the part of the State, the police, the major media outlets, and the judiciary's recurring association of funk with drug trafficking, leading even to the imprisonment of DJs and MCs. However, some important victories, such as the creation in 2008 of the Association of Funk Professionals and Friends (APAFUNK), the 2009 approval of the Law in the State of Rio de Janeiro that recognized funk as culture (nicknamed at the time the "Funk Is Culture Law"), and, later, its national approval in 2019 (Facina; Facina and Passos).
7. Amid the new coronavirus pandemic, app-based product delivery people stopped their services twice (on July 1 and 25, 2020) in what was termed "braking the apps" (breques dos apps). The delivery people's demands involved labor and humanitarian claims, such as minimum wage, provision of safety and personal protective equipment, paid sick leave, and a formalized employment relationship. Motoboys' stickers and posters

display the precariousness of their lives and their perspective that a war is beginning: “nossas vidas valem mais que o lucro deles” (our lives are worth more than their profits) and “a guerra continua” (the war continues). During the June 1, 2020 interruption of services, the banner in Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, which was followed by hundreds of motorbikes and protestors, read: “Motoboy profissão perigo. Todo trabalhador tem seu valor” (Motoboy danger profession. Every worker has value).

8. For example, two of Brazil’s most critically acclaimed documentaries—João Moreira Salles and Kátia Lund’s *Notícias de uma guerra particular* (1999) and José Padilha’s *Ônibus 174* (2002)—in addition to decrying the violence faced by poor Black Brazilian boys and men, reveal how people perform versions of themselves that imitate the stereotypical and melodramatic types, such as the tough-skinned police officer or the heartless thug, which they learn about from mass media (Baltar 225–33; Navarro 83–84; Xavier 109).
9. For more on how the right to the city has been integrated into the City Statute, which was passed in 2001 and which requires that cities with more than 20,000 people write inclusive master plans within five years, see Caldeira and Holston; Fernandes; and Rolnik. For a critique of the limits of the City Statute and its legal reification, see Limonad and Barbosa. For a critique of the lack of discussion about private property, see Carlos, “A prática espacial urbana.”
10. In the United States, the term “occupy” is most closely associated with the 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement, but, in the case of Brazil, its usage is more common, having been employed by the Landless Workers’ Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, MST) since the 1980s.
11. For more on these occupations of buildings, see Venturi and Georgieff’s documentary *Dia de festa*. For more on MTST, see the analysis of Boulos, who is one of the primary leaders of the movement. For an analysis of cinema sem-teto, see Tedesco.
12. The struggles in the Aldeia Maracanã, which sought the construction of a center for indigenous culture, were one of the catalysts of the protests in Rio de Janeiro in 2013. In March of that year, the military police violently evicted indigenous people and supporters because the former Museu do Índio site was going to be transformed into shops and a parking lot. For more information and details on urban struggles and insurgencies in 2013, see Jourdan. For more on the Aldeia Maracanã, see Rebuzzi.
13. The short films, *Escola de luta* and *Ocupar e resistir*, created by activist high-school students, are examples of revindications. Moreover, Capai’s documentary *Espero tua (re)volta (Your Turn)* synthesizes many of the images of occupations to analyze the Brazilian conjuncture in the 2010s.
14. For more on poetry about the hostility experienced by underrepresented groups on public transportation, see Beal 169–85.
15. Near Christmas 2013 (between December 2013 and January 2014), hundreds of Black peripheral young people were scheduled to meet in malls, sites frequented mainly by the middle class but also one of the only leisure options in the periphery and a temple of brands idealized for youth consumption. The goal of the event was “to have fun beyond the limits of the ghetto and to desire products out of the reach of their class

and skin color” (Brum 30). This demand to access spaces was brutally repressed by the police with intense body searches of the youth, squad cars in front of the malls, and rough treatment of the youth involved. Although rolezinhos happen mainly in malls in the urban periphery, places such as the Shopping Leblon, in an elite area in Rio de Janeiro, literally closed its doors to the youth before a terrorized middle class (Pinheiro-Machado 44). According to Pinheiro-Machado, peripheral youth’s rolezinhos expose “the class segregation that yells and bleeds” in Brazil and the tensions of inequality within white, elite iconic spaces.

16. The Brazilian government has been officially secular since 1891. However, it has a Roman Catholic cathedral in its Esplanade of Ministries and crucifixes in its National Congress, and the current president, Bolsonaro, flaunts his allegiance to conservative Christian churches. In this context, in which Brazilian society is “still colonized by symbols of Christianity” (Inocência 61), the practice of a non-hegemonic religion creates space for a faith practice that avows Black Brazilian existence.
17. For more on the topic of white curators organizing museum exhibits about marginalized artists, particularly regarding how aesthetic and market value are entangled, see Appiah. MASP has been involved in the process of producing other narratives of Art History, with the exhibitions “Histórias afroatlânticas” in 2018 and “Histórias das mulheres, histórias feministas” in 2019.
18. The protests were reminiscent of Corinthians’s history of resistance against the military dictatorship through Democracia Corinthiana (1982–84), when players took control of the management of the club and raised awareness among fans about the importance of reinstating direct (democratic) elections in part by modeling that voting method in their own club decision-making.
19. For a detailed analysis of the São Paulo Pride parade, see Buttermann.
20. For more on the Marcha das Mulheres Negras, see Ferreira.

Works Cited

- Alcalde, Emerson, editor. *Slam: Empoderamento Feminino*. Autonomia Literária, 2019.
- _____. *Slam: LGBTQIA+*. Autonomia Literária, 2019.
- _____. *Slam: Negritude*. Autonomia Literária, 2019.
- _____. *Slam: Antifa*. Autonomia Literária, 2019.
- Alvarez, Isabel. “A segregação como conteúdo da produção do espaço urbano.” *A cidade contemporânea: Segregação espacial*, edited by Pedro Vasconcelos, Roberto Lobato Corrêa, and Silvana Pintaudi, Contexto, 2013, pp. 111–26.
- Alves, Glória. *O uso do centro da cidade de São Paulo e sua possibilidade de apropriação*. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony Appiah. “Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?” *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1991, pp. 336–57.

- Articulação do Centro Antigo de Salvador. “Ato-Cortejo Cidade ocupada, Cidade VIVA!” *Facebook*. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.
- Balbi, Clara. “Coronavírus atropela ano em que artistas indígenas tomariam os museus de SP.” *Folha de São Paulo*, 7 June 2020, www.folha.uol.com.br. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.
- Baltar, Mariana. “Cotidiano em performance: *Estamira* encontra as mulheres de *Jogo de cena*.” *Ensaio no real*, edited by Cezar Migliorin, Beco do Azogue, 2010, pp. 217–34.
- Barbosa, Fellipe. *Casa grande*. Imovision, 2014.
- Barbosa, Jorge Luiz, and Lino Teixeira. “Territórios populares: Entre as desigualdades profundas e o direito à vida.” *COVID-19 e a crise urbana*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2020, pp. 67–77.
- Barbosa da Silva, Ricardo. *Mobilidade precária na metrópole de São Paulo*. Annablume, 2017.
- Barcellos, Caco. *Abusado: O dono do Morro Dona Marta*. Record, 2003.
- Beal, Sophia. *The Art of Brasília: 2000–2019*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Biondi, Karina. *Proibido roubar na quebrada: Território, hierarquia e lei no PCC*. Terceiro Nome, 2018.
- Birman, Patrícia. “Favela é comunidade?” *Vida sob cerco: Violência e rotina nas favelas do Rio de Janeiro*, edited by Luiz Antonio Machado da Silva, Nova Fronteira, 2008, pp. 99–114.
- Boulos, Guilherme. *Por que ocupamos? Uma introdução à luta dos sem-teto*. Autonomia Literária, 2015.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice, Routledge, 2010.
- “Brazil Coronavirus Map and Case Count.” *New York Times*, 30 Oct. 2020, www.nytimes.com.
- Braz, Marcos, director. *Beco dos Pancados*. Rede Coletiva de Cinema da Rocinha, 2016.
- Brum, Eliane. *Brasil, construtor de ruínas: Um olhar sobre o país, de Lula a Bolsonaro*. Arquipélago Editorial, 2019.
- Butterman, Steven F. *Invisibilidade vigilante: Representações midiáticas da maior parada gay do planeta*. Nversos, 2012.
- Caldeira, Teresa. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. University of California Press, 2001.
- Caldeira, Teresa, and James Holston. “Participatory Urban Planning in Brazil.” *Urban Studies*, vol. 52, no. 11, 2015, pp. 2001–17. *Sage Journals*. Accessed 30 Oct. 2020.
- Capai, Eliza, director. *Espero tua (re)volta*. Taturana Mobi, 2019.
- Carlos, Ana Fani Alessandri. *Espaço-tempo da vida cotidiana na metrópole*. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2017.
- _____. “Introdução.” *COVID-19 e a crise urbana*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2020, pp. 8–9.

- ____. “A prática espacial urbana como segregação e o direito à cidade como horizonte utópico.” *A cidade contemporânea: Segregação espacial*, edited by Pedro Vasconcelos, Roberto Lobato Corrêa, and Silvana Pintaudi, Contexto, 2013, pp. 95–110.
- ____. “A privação do urbano e o direito à cidade em Henri Lefebvre.” *Justiça espacial e o direito à cidade*, edited by Ana Fani Carlos, Glória Alves, and Rafael Pádua, Contexto, 2017, pp. 33–62.
- ____, editor. *The Urban Crisis*. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas. 2016.
- Carvalho, Paula. “Fichamento: Julián Fuks.” *Quatro Cinco Um*, June 2019, www.quatro-cinco.um.br. Accessed 20 June 2019.
- Catini, Carolina, and Gustavo Melo. “Escolas de luta, educação política.” *Educação e Sociedade*, vol. 37, pp. 1177–202.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall, University of California Press, 1988.
- Colosso, Paolo. *Disputas pelo direito à cidade: Outros personagens em cena*, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2019.
- Constante, Paula, director. *Capacetes coloridos*. 2007.
- Costa, Petra, director. *Democracia em vertigem*. Netflix, 2019.
- Coutinho, Eduardo, director. *Babilônia 2000*. Riofilme, 2000.
- ____. *Peões*. VideoFilmes, 2004.
- Dalcastagnè, Regina. *Literatura brasileira contemporânea: Um território contestado*. Editora Horizonte / Editora da Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro, 2012.
- Damiani, Amélia. “A urbanização crítica na metrópole de São Paulo, a partir de fundamentos da Geografia Urbana.” *Revista ANPEGE*, vol. 5, 2009, pp. 51–70.
- D’Andrea, Tiaraju. *40 ideias de periferia*. Dandara, 2020.
- Duarte, Douglas, director. *Excelentíssimos*. Vitrine Filmes, 2018.
- Durón, Maximiliano. “Preeminent São Paulo Art Museum Hires First Indigenous Curator.” *ARTnews*, 17 Dec. 2019, www.artnews.com.
- Eastman, Annie, director. *Bay of All Saints*. Women Make Movies, 2012.
- Evaristo, Conceição. “Conceição Evaristo escrevivência.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Leituras Brasileiras, 5 Feb. 2020.
- Facina, Adriana. “Sobreviver e sonhar: Reflexões sobre cultura e ‘pacificação’ no Complexo do Alemão.” *Escritos transdisciplinares de criminologia, direito e processo penal*, edited by Márcia Adriana Fernandes and Roberta Duboc Pedrinha. Revan, vol. 1, 2014, pp. 39–47.
- Facina, Adriana, and Pâmella Passos. “Funk Pacificado? Reflexões sobre a implementação das Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora (UPPS) e seus impactos culturais.” *Direitos humanos e neoliberalismo: Ligações perigosas*, edited by Antonio Pele, et al, Lumem Juris, 2018, pp. 1–16.
- Falero, José. *Vila Sapo*. Vieras Abiertas, 2019.
- Favaro Verdi, Elisa. “Quem precisa de proteção social?” *COVID-19 e a crise urbana*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2020, pp. 42–48.
- Feltran, Gabriel. *Irmãos: Uma história do PCC*. Companhia das Letras, 2018.

- Fernandes, Edésio. “Constructing the ‘Right to the City’ in Brazil.” *Social and Legal Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2007, pp. 201–19. *Sage Journals*. Accessed 19 Oct. 2020.
- Ferreira, Cláudia, editor. *Marcha das mulheres negras*. Articulação de Mulheres Negras Brasileiras and Ford Foundation, 2016.
- Ferréz. *Capão Pecado*. Objetiva, 2005.
- Fix, Mariana. *São Paulo cidade global: Fundamentos financeiros de uma miragem*. Boitempo, 2007.
- Frazão, Fernanda, and Amanda Kamanchek, directors. *Chega de fu fu*. Brodagem Filmes, 2018.
- Fuks, Julián. *A ocupação*. Companhia das Letras, 2019.
- Galvon, Filipe, director. *Encantado, o Brasil em desencanto*. LaClairière Ouest, 2020.
- Glenny, Misha. *O dono do morro: Um homem e a batalha pelo Rio*. Companhia das Letras, 2016.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Doubleday, 1959. *HathiTrust Digital Library*. Accessed 19 Sept. 2020.
- Graham, Stephen. “The End of Geography or the Explosion of Place? Conceptualizing Space, Place and Information Technology.” *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1998, pp. 165–85.
- Harvey, David. “The Right to the City.” *New Left Review*, vol. 3, 2008, pp. 23–40, newleftreview.org.
- Hatoum, Milton. *Cinzas do Norte*. Companhia das Letras, 2005.
- _____. *A cidade ilhada*. Companhia das Letras, 2009.
- Holston, James. *Insurgent Citizenship. Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton University Press, 2008.
- “Inauguração do mutirão Paulo Freire.” *União dos Movimentos de Moradia—São Paulo*, 1 Nov. 2010, sp.unmp.org.br. Accessed 22 Sept. 2020.
- Inocêncio, Nelson Fernando. “Fé na educação laica.” *Traços*, no. 11, 2016, p. 61.
- Jourdan, Camila. *2013: Memórias e resistências*. Hedra, 2018.
- Koka, and Fabrícia Ramos. “Ocupar e resistir.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Ocupar e Resistir, 17 Dec. 2015. Accessed 31 Oct. 2020.
- Kowarick, Lúcio. *A espoliação urbana*. Paz e Terra, 1979.
- Kwon, Miwon. *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2004.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, 1991.
- _____. “The Right to the City.” *Writings on Cities*, edited and translated by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Blackwell, 2000, pp. 147–59.
- _____. “Theses on the City, the Urban and Planning.” *Writings on Cities*, edited and translated by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Blackwell, 2000, pp. 177–81.
- Leite, Márcia. “Da ‘metáfora da guerra’ ao projeto de ‘pacificação’: Favelas e políticas de segurança pública no Rio de Janeiro.” *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2012, pp. 374–389.

- Limonad, Ester, and Jorge Luiz Barbosa. “Entre o ideal e o real rumo a sociedade urbana algumas considerações sobre o Estatuto da Cidade.” *Geousp: Espaço e Tempo*, vol. 13, 2003, pp. 87–105.
- Lins, Paulo. *Cidade de Deus*. Companhia das Letras, 1997.
- Louro, Manuel. “Em dois anos, 37 vereadores assassinados—no Brasil, o político local é o alvo a abater.” *Público*, 21 Mar. 2018, www.publico.pt.
- Lubitow, Amy, et al. “Transmobilities: Mobility, Harassment, and Violence Experienced by Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Public Transit Riders in Portland, Oregon.” *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol. 24, no. 10, 2017, pp. 1398–418.
- Lucas, Peter, and Bianca Moro, directors. *Housing Problems Macapá*, 2017.
- Luz, Rosa. “Afrontando Ideias Parte 1.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Rosa Luz, 21 Apr. 2016. Accessed 22 Oct. 2020.
- Lyytinen, Evellina. “Congolese Refugees’ ‘Right to the City’ and Urban (In)security in Kampala, Uganda.” *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2015, pp. 593–611.
- Maciel, Camila. “Narrativas não expressam diversidade brasileira, dizem escritoras.” *Agência Brasil*, 23 Mar. 2019, agenciabrasil.etc.com.br. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.
- Malvasi, Paulo. *Interfaces da vida loka: Um estudo sobre jovens, tráfico de drogas e violência em São Paulo*. Faculdade de Saúde Pública, Universidade de São Paulo, 2012.
- Manso, Bruno Paes. *A República das milícias: Dos esquadrões da morte à era Bolsonaro*. Todavia, 2020.
- Maricato, Ermínia, editor. *A produção capitalista da casa (e da cidade) no Brasil industrial*. Alfa-Omega, 1982.
- Martins, Geovani. *O sol na cabeça*. Companhia das Letras, 2018.
- Mascaro, Gabriel, director. *Avenida Brasília Formosa*. Plano 9—ABEPEC/TVU—DOCTV, 2010.
- Massey, Doreen. *For Space*. Sage, 2005.
- MC Foice e Martelo. “Escola de Luta.” *YouTube*, uploaded by MC Foice e Martelo Z.S, 27 Oct. 2015. Accessed 30 Oct. 2020.
- Miele, Sávio. *O movimento da economia financeira na dinâmica imobiliária de São Paulo*. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências, Universidade de São Paulo, 2008.
- Millington, Gareth. *‘Race,’ Culture and the Right to the City: Centres, Peripheries and Margins*. Palgrave, 2011.
- Mitchell, Don. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. Guilford, 2003.
- Moreira Salles, João, and Kátia Lund, directors. *Notícias de uma guerra popular*. VideoFilmes, 1999.
- Moreira Salles, João, director. *Entreatos*. VideoFilmes, 2004.
- Motta, Eugenia. “Resistência aos números: a favela como realidade (in)quantificável.” *Mana*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2019, pp. 72–94.
- Muylaert, Anna, director. *Que horas ela volta?* África Filmes/Globo Filmes, 2015.
- Navarro, Vinicius. “Performances in Brazilian Documentaries.” *New Documentaries in Latin America*, edited by Vinicius Navarro and Juan Carlos Rodríguez, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 75–90.

- Oliveira, Francisco. *Crítica à razão dualista / O ornitorrinco*. Boitempo, 2003.
- Oliveira, André, and Gabriela Pereira. *Mestres Artífices da Ladeira da Conceição da Praia*. Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2017.
- Padilha, José, director. *Ônibus 174*. Zazen Produções, 2002.
- Pereira, Alvaro, and Paula de Oliveira. “Como as operações urbanas consorciadas resolvem a questão habitacional: Reflexões a partir dos casos Água Espraiada (SP) e Porto Maravilha (RJ).” *Direito da Cidade*, vol. 12, 2020, pp. 110–54.
- Perlman, Janice. *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Perry, Keisha-Khan Y., and Ana Cristina da Silva Caminha. “‘Daqui não saio, daqui ninguém me tira’: Poder e política das mulheres negras da Gamboa de Baixo, Salvador.” *Revista Gênero*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2008, pp. 127–53.
- Petrella, Guilherme, and Gustavo Prieto. “Os fantasmas se divertem: Propriedade privada, expropriação e interdição ao direito à cidade.” *Direito e Praxis*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2020, pp. 562–90.
- Pinheiro, Joilson. *Amor e traição no Calabar*. Azougue, 2012.
- Pinheiro-Machado, Rosana. *Amanhã vai ser maior: O que aconteceu com o Brasil e as possíveis rotas de fuga para a crise atual*. Planeta, 2019.
- Prieto, Gustavo. “Milicianos não usam máscara.” *COVID-19 e a crise urbana*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2020, pp. 57–66.
- Racionais MC’s. *Sobrevivendo no inferno*. Cosa Nostra, 1997.
- Raimundo, Silvia Lopes. *Território, cultura e política: Movimento cultural das periferias, resistência e cidade desejada*. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, 2016.
- Ramos, Maria, director. *O processo*. Vitrine Filmes, 2018.
- Rebuzzi, Daniele. “A aldeia Maracanã: Um movimento contra o índio arquivado.” *Revista de @ntropologia da UFSCar*, vol. 6, no. 2, July/Dec. 2014, pp. 71–86.
- Ribeiro, Fabiana Valdoski. *A luta pelo espaço: Da segurança da posse à política de regularização fundiária em São Paulo*. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo 2012.
- Richter, Angelica. “Sem poder trabalhar por conta da pandemia, artista de rua diz que um dia sem sorriso é um dia desperdiçado.” *Diário Regional*, 6 June 2020, diarioregional.com.br. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.
- Rocha, Victor, and Zezão Castro. “Em risco no Pelourinho. Adeus, artesãos. Olá, hotéis de luxo: O plano gourmet do prefeito de Salvador para o centro histórico.” *Intercept Brasil*, 22 Apr. 2019, www.theintercept.com. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.
- Rolnik, Raquel. “Ten Years of the City Statute in Brazil: From the Struggle for Urban Reform to the World Cup Cities.” *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2013, pp. 54–64. *Taylor e Francis*. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.
- Sacolinha. *Estação Terminal*. Nankin, 2010.
- _____. *Graduado em marginalidade*. Confraria dos Ventos, 2009.

- Sader, Eder. *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena: Experiências, falas e lutas dos trabalhadores da Grande São Paulo, 1970–80*. Paz e Terra, 1988.
- Sampaio, Renata. “A violência do processo de urbanização.” *Crise urbana*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Contexto, 2015, pp. 55–84.
- Santana, Paola. *Maracatu-nação: Festa na cidade*. Fundação de Cultura da Cidade do Recife and Companhia Editora de Pernambuco, 2012.
- Santiago, Silviano. “O cosmopolitismo do pobre.” *O cosmopolitismo do pobre: Crítica literária e crítica cultural*. Editora Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2004, pp. 45–63.
- Santos, Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos. *Movimentos sociais urbanos no Rio de Janeiro*. Zahar, 1981.
- Santos, José Eduardo Ferreira. *Novos Alagados: Histórias do povo e do lugar*. Edusc, 2005.
- Santos, Renato Emerson dos. “Repertórios espaciais de ação na luta anti-racismo: O caso da Pequena África no Rio de Janeiro.” *Cartografias do conflito no Rio de Janeiro*, edited by Fernanda Sánchez and Paula Moreira, Letra Capital, 2019, pp. 12–27.
- Silva, Jailson de Souza e, and Jorge Luiz Barbosa. *Favela: Alegria e dor na cidade*. SEN-AC, 2005.
- Simoni-Santos, César. *A fronteira urbana: Urbanização, industrialização e mercado imobiliário no Brasil*. Annablume, 2015.
- Singer, André. *Os sentidos do lulismo: Reforma gradual e pacto conservador*. Companhia das Letras, 2012.
- Siqueira, Rodrigo, director. *Orestes*. 7 Estrelo Filmes, 2015.
- Soares, Guilherme. “Marcha das mulheres negras de São Paulo será online com ações em diferentes territórios.” *Alma preta*, 6 July 2020, almapreta.com. Accessed 1 Sept. 2020.
- Tavolari, Bianca, et al. “As ocupações de escolas públicas em São Paulo (2015–2016): Entre a posse e o direito à manifestação.” *Novos Estudos. CEBRAP*, vol. 37, May/Aug. 2018, pp. 291–310.
- Tedesco, Marina. “Cinema (de) sem-teto: Apropriações e usos do audiovisual dentro de um movimento popular.” *Mediação*, vol. 9, no. 8, Jan./July 2009, pp. 87–99.
- “Teen’s Killing Stir Black Lives Matter Protests in Brazil.” *Los Angeles Times*, 18 June 2020, latimes.com. Accessed 21 Sept. 2020.
- Trindade Júnior, Saint-Clair. “Patrimônio, vivências e representações do espaço em políticas de requalificação urbana na Amazônia.” *Espaço e Geografia*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2013, pp. 483–513.
- Tupã, Marcos. “Monumento à resistência do povo guarani.” *EcoDebates*, 9 Oct. 2013, ecodebate.com.br. Accessed 31 Oct. 2020.
- Valentine, Gill. “(Re)negotiating the ‘Heterosexual Street’: Lesbian Production of Space.” *BodySpace: Destabilising Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, edited by Nancy Duncan, Routledge, 1996, pp. 145–54.
- Valladares, Licia. *Passa-se uma casa*. Zahar, 1978.
- Ventura, Zuenir. *Cidade partida*. Companhia das Letras, 1994.

- Venturi, Toni, and Pablo Georgieff, directors. *Dia de festa*. Olhar Imaginário, 2006.
- Volochko, Danilo. "Lutas urbanas na metrópole de Curitiba: moradia popular, ocupações de terra e resistências". *Geotextos*, vol. 12, 2016, pp. 37–50.
- Whitzman, Carolyn, et al., editors. *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City*. Routledge, 2013.
- Xavier, Ismail. "Ways of Listening in a Visual Medium." *New Left Review*, vol. 73, Jan/Feb. 2012, pp. 97–116.
- Zacarias, Gabriel. "No espelho escuro da pandemia." *Revista Cult*, 23 Mar. 2020, revista-cult.uol.com.br. Accessed 2 Nov. 2020.

Beal, Sophia and Gustavo Prieto. "Contemporary Brazilian Cities, Culture, and Resistance." *Contemporary Brazilian Cities, Culture, and Resistance*. Ed. Sophia Beal and Gustavo Prieto. *Hispanic Issues On Line* 28 (2022): 1–31.
