
Paul Amar, editor
Rio as Method
Collective Resistance for a New Generation

Rio as
Method

DISSIDENT ACTS
A series edited by Macarena Gómez-Barris and Diana Taylor

Duke University Press *Durham and London* 2024

PAUL AMAR,
EDITOR

Rio as Method

Collective Resistance for a New Generation

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Project Editor: Liz Smith
Designed by Courtney Leigh Richardson
Typeset in Portrait and Retail by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Amar, Paul (Paul Edouard), [date] editor.
Title: Rio as method : collective resistance for a new generation / Paul Amar, editor.
Other titles: Dissident acts.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2024. | Series: Dissident acts | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2024011039 (print)
LCCN 2024011040 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478031130 (paperback)
ISBN 9781478026891 (hardcover)
ISBN 9781478060123 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Politics, Practical—Brazil—Rio de Janeiro. | Politics and culture—Brazil—Rio de Janeiro. | Political participation—Brazil—Rio de Janeiro. | Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)—Ethnic relations—Political aspects. | Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)—Politics and government. | Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)—Civilization. | BISAC: SOCIAL SCIENCE / Ethnic Studies / Caribbean & Latin American Studies | POLITICAL SCIENCE / Globalization
Classification: LCC JL2481 .R57 2024 (print) | LCC JL2481 (ebook) | DDC 306.20981/53—dc23/eng/20240807
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024011039
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024011040

Cover art: Photo by Pedro Garcia, 2021.

Contents

Acknowledgments

With the collective creation of *Rio as Method*, we have incubated a process of reconceptualizing the global from a location in the Global South fraught with struggle, crisis, and creativity. We generated this collection and maintained these dynamic, difficult, and inspiring conversations during an arc of unbearable difficulties and occasional exhilarating triumphs. Much of this volume was completed during the darkest times of the COVID-19 pandemic, which struck Rio de Janeiro and Brazil with particularly grim ferocity. Our colleagues, authors, translators, and editors were forced to be isolated, distanced, and debilitated, with many of our contributors under relentless political attack, their jobs threatened, medical care denied by an inept government, and several losing family members during the seasons of tragedy. Yet there were also moments of hope and triumph as the author-activists gathered here also led the resistance and forged the future out of the ruins. Two of our authors ran for public office, one for federal congress, and another for Rio city council. Several assumed new prominence as leaders in universities and religious institutions even as they suffered withering attacks. Almost all our contributors participated in the massive national front in Brazil that emerged and worked tirelessly to ensure President Bolsonaro and his genocidal presidential administration did not win a second term. And this volume was completed after the inauguration of the new administration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in January 2023, which opened space for many of this volume's contributors to generate new policies, plans, and visions stemming from the methods and concepts we convey in these chapters.

This intensely moving and challenging set of moments and contexts resulted in a more beautiful, agonizing, and vividly inventive conversation than any of us could have imagined. *Rio as Method* is not just a collection of studies and think pieces. It is a manifesto and an archive of agony and of the future.

Although painstakingly and lovingly compiled in the virtual underground, it shines bright with the hopes, visions, and contributions by a group of scholar-activist-researchers who bonded and evolved during the process of generating ideas, models, methods, and texts. I am grateful to take the opportunity here to thank the many individuals who inspired, labored over, and shepherded this book from start to finish.

Rio as Method, as a book project, was born from a long-term working group formed in Rio to highlight the work of scholar-activists who have been striving to reconceptualize or rehistoricize the global twenty-first-century surge of authoritarian belief systems and governance regimes. We convened the meetings of those who came to constitute this set of contributors via working group while I (this volume's editor) was serving at regular intervals as visiting professor, center codirector, and grant principal investigator in Rio de Janeiro's federal university system since 2003, even as I established my academic base at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB). During the past twenty years, it has been my privilege to serve on committees with institutes of the Rio municipal and state governments, and also as an ally, rapporteur, and interlocutor with NGOs and social movements around racism, sexuality justice, and police violence. I was honored to have published in Portuguese with university presses in Rio and to have collaborated in the submission of successful Brazilian National Science Foundation (CNPq) grant applications. During my time there, I served on Brazilian MA and PhD committees, and recently secured funding to create a long-term research partnership hub in Rio that supports several professors' and students' research projects, including one Fulbright fellowship (2003–4) in which I cofounded with Prof. Paulo Pinto the Center for Middle East Studies. I was also among the launching team for a new, critical, and interdisciplinary international relations graduate program at the Fluminense Federal University and pursued a second Fulbright fellowship (2023) where I worked with the faculty and students at the State University of Rio de Janeiro to create a new kind of activist, social justice–modeled global studies program there.

This specific *Rio as Method* collaborative group, which was hosted at the Fluminense Federal University in Niterói in the state of Rio de Janeiro and at the Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, came together in a series of four workshops and conferences between 2016 and 2020. At these events, a group of about twenty-five academics, researchers, and graduate students united to formulate global strategies, committing themselves to reimagine the epochal moments that dismantled a fractured liberal-left consensus of the Lula-Dilma era. These moments of violent dismantlement included the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff;

the assassination of Black/queer/favela resident, scholar, and galvanizingly successful municipal political leader Marielle Franco; the catastrophic presidency of Jair Bolsonaro; and the horror of the 2020–22 COVID-19 pandemic. But we also experienced uplift and transformation through innovation at a global scale. Our contributors were particularly equipped to bring new tools and concepts to bear throughout the struggles to shape a new intersectional antiracist and antipatriarchal left, which culminated in a broad coalition that flowered after the inauguration of President Lula in January 2023.

I would like to first and foremost acknowledge the tremendous work, guidance, insights, and brilliance of Prof. Ana Paula Miranda, Department of Anthropology, Fluminense Federal University (UFF), and Prof. Fernando Brancoli, Department of International Security and Geopolitics at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Fernando and Ana Paula were my primary partners in managing this book. They are based in Rio de Janeiro and endured my daily WhatsApp messages and audios, and relentless Zoom meetings. These two are among my dearest of friends, brilliant intellectual guides, and research collaborators. They both worked tirelessly over a period of two years with me identifying participants and managing financial streams. And, most important, they worked to mediate and cultivate conversations about ideas, translations, reconceptualizations, publishing norms, and revision practices. I am more than grateful for their fellowship, solidarity, hard work, and brilliance. I would also like to thank Prof. Roberto Kant de Lima, coordinator of the Institute for Comparative Studies in Conflict Resolution (InEAC), who, alongside my dear colleagues on his team, hosted and guided research related to this project over the years. And I would like to convey my gratitude to Profs. Michel Misse, Beatriz Bissio, and Maria Celi Scalon, who hosted me for crucial research and writing trips at UFRJ's Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences during this period.

I am so happy to acknowledge the incredibly heroic efforts and genius of our other translators and editors who were central to this dialogue around reconceptualizing processes of reconceptualization for each chapter. And we thank Rodrigo Bezerra for his Portuguese-English translation work.

And I underline my profound recognition, acknowledgment, and thanks to my associate editor Dr. Hatem Hassan, my friend and comrade. Hatem drew upon his lifetime of experience as an antiracism, anticarceral, and police violence activist and researcher in several international contexts. This experience positioned him perfectly to mediate the editing and thorough revision, round after round, of each text. Hatem and I worked with each author to pinpoint the essence of their intervention, contextualize its significance within vernacular and activist publics, and enable each concept to jump scale in order to best

inform global public and transnational debates. For example, Hatem worked with loving care and surgical precision to edit and polish the translation of Marielle Franco's thesis.

Also, I feel such gratitude and limitless appreciation for the efforts of my associate editor Dr. Thaddeus Blanchette, who was once a student of mine when I taught ethnographic methods at the Afro-Brazilian Studies Center at Candido Mendes University in Rio de Janeiro during my postdoc stay in 2003. By the time this book project began, Thaddeus had become a leading anthropologist in both Brazil and the United States, living in Rio and professionally based at UFRJ-Macaé and at the prestigious Anthropology doctoral program of the National Museum of Brazil, the oldest scientific research institution in the country, located in Rio. He constitutes the heart of one of the bravest, boldest communities of social justice race/sexuality researcher anthropologists in the world. He provided crucial translations, polishing several chapters where the nuances of translation, revision, and debates—around how to scale up and scale out newly invented concepts from Rio—had become paralyzed by heated (always productive) debates.

I would also like to thank Profs. Laura Murray, Leonardo Vieira, and João Gabriel Rabello Sodré for serving as ambassadors to other contributors, helping to revise and serve as essential mediators and facilitators. And I am deeply grateful to Prof. Flávia Medeiros for giving me a master class, via Zoom conferences, to update me on the essential terminology and philosophy of police investigation practices as they intersect with inquisitorial juridical norms in Brazil. Understanding this cluster of epistemes and practices is so important since these formations manifest in so many chapters in this volume. These practices and notions are relevant to many global forms of criminalization, racialization, and punishment including those in the United States and Europe. This represents an entire regime of global coloniality and race/sex history that I believe only this book captures fully.

I would also like to thank the team at my home campus of the University of California, Santa Barbara. Global studies PhD student Vitória Moreira did a wonderful job as our research assistant, tracking contributions and organizing submissions during the first year of our project. I am deeply grateful to global studies PhD student Amanda Pinheiro for working so hard and so brilliantly to organize the international conference in 2016 at UFF titled "Transregional Summit: The Arab Spring Meets Black Lives Matter in Rio de Janeiro: Activism, Civic Spaces, Human Rights." That summit-conference was an unforgettable historical convergence and alerted us to the emergence in Rio de Janeiro of a revolutionary set of mobilizing concepts and activist social research methods that merited

global attention. At UCSB, I would like to thank the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies, which provided core funding for this book project, research travel, and publication support, through graduate fellowship employment and consultancies. And I'd like to thank Dean Charles Hale, Associate Dean Bishnupriya Ghosh, the Institute for Social, Behavioral and Economic Research (ISBER), and the Office of Research at UCSB. Dr. Melissa Bator, who served until 2022 as academic coordinator, has been a brilliant, friendly, efficient, and encouraging leader, guiding this research and publication process through every stage and ensuring participants are supported, recognized, and paid.

I would also like to express gratitude to the Carnegie Corporation for its generous grant support for parts of this collaboration in the frame of the Security in Context project, spearheaded by the always supportive and ingenious guidance of Prof. Omar Dahi at Hampshire College. And we cannot thank enough Hillary Wiesner, program director at Carnegie, and Nehal Amer, program analyst, for their leadership, guidance, and insights.

I would like to acknowledge the generosity, hard work, and intelligence of the team at Duke University Press and to highlight the positive influence, helpful guidance, acute insights, and visionary encouragement extended by editorial director Ken Wissoker. I am also profoundly grateful to my dear friend and model scholar Prof. Macarena Gómez-Barris and the esteemed Prof. Diana Taylor and their team in the Dissident Acts book series for welcoming this publication project. I'd like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their invaluable insights, which significantly improved this volume in so many ways. And I would like to thank Duke's editors, copyeditors, and design and marketing team, including Ryan Kendall, Liz Smith, and Chad Royal, for working so hard to transform this manuscript into a beautiful, accessible set of contributions.

Finally, I would like to recognize and thank the contributors for challenging one another and themselves as they crafted these landmark works, which will excite many readers. And I would like to thank the communities, schools, social movements, and brave political innovators in Rio de Janeiro themselves for bringing this laboratory of new ideas to life.

Introduction

Methods and Concepts for a New Generation

PAUL AMAR

On every continent, new formations of fascism and coloniality—articulated by financial, charismatic, military, and nationalist actors—are being transmitted and shared globally and are animating regimes of polarization and logics of violence. These forces of polarization are spreading virally through disinformation, dogma, (para)militarization, and intimidation. Yet this era also simultaneously features the emergence of fresh leadership, bold concepts, revived histories, and alternative embodiments of the social and of nature. Novel, progressive methods of engaging the political world and decolonizing structures of power are rising to challenge political establishments and forging new tools for dismantling endemic structural injustices. A revolution in the consciousness and strategy of progressives is occurring and mobilizing ideas, perspectives, and populations that have been long excluded, targeted, or rendered incomprehensible by those in power.

Rio as Method, in this context, provides a new set of lenses for apprehending and transforming this world at a critical moment. *Method* here refers less to techniques for gathering data and evidence, and instead represents a politics of knowledge production, articulated through new ways of being, and of being political. This knowledge-politics of this method hinges on linguistic inventiveness, sometimes refusing translation and always pursuing nonextractive relations. We work to generate modes of collaborative praxis that refuse disciplinary boundaries. Through these lenses, the city of Rio de Janeiro—a global megametropolis with a population of 14 million—becomes legible to the reader as a hub of experiences, learning, experimentation, and contestations among activists, scholars, and publicly minded voices. As such, Rio offers frameworks for progress and a set of new methods for identifying sociopolitical problems

and for solving them through action. Here, we (*we* refers to the editor, who is the convener of the volume and author of this introductory chapter, along with our thirty-two contributing and conversing authors) conceive of this volume as a manifesto—a toolbox for thinking, teaching, and acting in the world. This manifesto-volume operates as one kind of handbook for energizing public engagement, examining well-informed direct action, and providing resources for building "pedagogies of hope" (Freire 2021) in classrooms and communities. It might also serve as what Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges might call a "celestial emporium or encyclopedia" (Topinka 2010)—a heterotopia of creative, fanciful, sometimes almost surrealistically unconventional experiments. In this case, we offer a compendium of activist-scholar research and methodological innovations alongside and through no-less-important ethical-political reflections.

This toolbox brings together the creativity and inventiveness of Rio-based activists and scholars striving to escape the regionalizing confines of parochial area-studies frames imposed by the Global North, that would lock our contributors into the periphery as research objects for the field of Latin American studies, rather than at the center of world concern. In doing so, this collection recognizes activists and scholars as engineers of globally relevant and influential methods and models. For example, in the face of global anti-Blackness (Alves 2018), police and paramilitary brutality, displacement, and state violence, late city councilwoman and galvanizing leader Marielle Franco offers a contribution in this volume which provides a road map that moves us away from policing and militarization solutions—branded by government actors as a type of warfare, a pacification of residents. Instead, she moves us toward models of citizen empowerment and self-governance. Franco's participatory models offer Rio-based lessons from intersecting religious, feminist, queer, and Black movements and put forth a method that is globally applicable, for gradual abolition of or alternatives to governance monopolized by militarized policing.

Rio as Method reverses trends that position the Global South as a zone of local informants and footnotes by centering the region as a source of possibilities for new world-making practices. Among our thirty contributions here, for instance, young Rio-based Indigenous scholar-activists Cristiane Gomes Julião and Luiz Enrique Eloy Amado introduce Indigenous epistemologies in the face of environmental disaster. They map out a vision for inspiring a new generation of action—in the wake of a genocidal rollback of environmental policy and the tragic fire that consumed the historical memory of Indigenous Brazil in the National Museum in September 2018. Indianare Siqueira, another of our contributors,

spells out the utopian plan of action that their trans and travesti squatter movements and cultural-political mobilizations implement in real space and time across the urban landscape of Rio.[1] Their "travestirevolutionism" is a methodology for occupying and transforming real urban spaces and economies in order to explode the boxes of gender normativity as well as the relations of property ownership and houselessness. These are neither analogous nor residual developments of Global North movements for gender liberation and housing rights.

Our Rio-based network rearticulates global debates that may be familiar to some readers, but on our own terms, introduced schematically in the paragraphs that follow. This collaboration has generated a set of radical, transformative terminologies. For example, Ana Paula Miranda and Maria Pita offer a new approach to reading and responding to "stateness," one that penetrates the myths of state-generated statistics of violent death in Rio and teaches us to countermap the very specific race and class contours of bullets. Fernando Brancoli takes the reader to the "hybrid governance zones" of Rio where the binary of state versus nonstate forces of governance is blurred, revealing and confronting government complicity with narco-traffickers or paramilitary militias. And Roberto Kant de Lima illuminates the urgent contemporary, global relevance of very specific "inquisitorial" methods within Rio's justice system, whose aim is not so much to preserve the equality of each individual under the law but to morally and punitively fix each body in its proper place—mapped onto a carceral-colonial matrix of hierarchies of class, race, gender, and propriety. Kant shows us how this process is dictated by the still-hegemonic norms and judge cultures of Catholic canon law, the relevance of which extends, for example, to the regressive decisions about racial justice and reproductive rights of the 2021 US Supreme Court, whose deciding voices explicitly reference inquisitorial conservative Catholic jurisprudence in their decisions.

With this deparochializing aim in mind, we hope our voices—inscribed in this book—articulate useful insights and models for members of the global public, including activists, interdisciplinary scholars, and bold policymakers concerned with issues of ecological, social, racial, and gender justice, as well as those passionate about urban class inequities, geographies of violence, and grassroots democratization. We provide a united front for rethinking and remobilizing around these intersecting challenges. Our volume aims to generate non-Eurocentric concepts and traveling methodological models, not just to explain Brazil. We carefully translate these new concepts to make them useful for students, scholars, activists, and members of the public in other world contexts—for those who want to see their own worlds differently.

Questions of Cultural Appropriation and Academic Extractivism

Debates in Brazil and around the world have centered on how researchers draw knowledge from their human sources through systems informed by coloniality and inequality, thus building authority through the knowledge of others that is reductively cited or hardly referenced at all (Cruz and Luke 2020). *Rio as Method* rejects this academic extractivism and presents an alternative model.

Since the 2010s, scholar-activists, community organizers, and writers in Brazil—particularly authors and public figures identified with Black feminism—have initiated transformative conversations around appropriation, recognition, and citation. There has been an explicit attempt to criticize the lack of reflexive scholarship on the region by those in more powerful positions. São Paulo–based philosopher and political theorist Djamila Ribeiro (2017), for example, explores positionality in the now hugely influential *O que é lugar de fala?* (What is the place of speech?).[2] Ribeiro challenges us to rethink who can (or cannot) speak in the context of a patriarchal, colonial, racist, and classist ruling order. She insists that centering authoritative voices of racialized, gendered bodies would establish not an "identity politics" that splits or fragments but one that unites. She insists, "whoever had social privilege has epistemic privilege, since the valued and universal model of knowledge is white" (Ribeiro 2017, 16). In making the link between language, power, gender, race, and knowledge production, Ribeiro offered a generation a framework to practice reflexive scholarship and practice. According to Gilney Costa Santos (2019), Ribeiro's work "recognizes that 'place of speech' is the object of antagonistic disputes. There are those who consider 'place of speech' as the expression of individualized voices, without any reference to the collective experiences shared by groups." Speech has larger implications of erasure, cultural appropriation, and consumerism. In examining the "whitening" of Black Samba music, Ribeiro (2016) delineates between observing and consuming Black women's culture without questioning the position of the consumer relative to those who produced and continue to practice the musical tradition: "To make money, the capitalist [places] white[ness] as the new face of samba. . . . It empties a culture of meaning with the purpose of commodification at the same time that it excludes and makes invisible those who produce it. This cynical cultural appropriation does not translate into respect and rights in everyday practice. Black women were not treated with dignity, for example, because samba gained the status of a national symbol." For Ribeiro and Santos alike, there are structural economic and social implications to unreflexively consuming and producing a cultural practice divorced from those who originally practiced it. And if we look at our contributors in this volume,

we see, for example, that Denise da Silva (2017)—a Black philosopher from Rio de Janeiro—elevates the question of positionality and extraction to the global and juridical arena, introducing diasporic analysis of appropriation, the ethics of data gathering, and indebtedness.

In this book, we work to ensure that our concepts and methods remain visibly attached to and owned by their collective and individual originators, not detached or floating in ways that would make them easy to be seized and misused by dominant institutions, media, or universities. Resources from grants and fellowships that enabled the production of this collective dialogue and publication were directed outward toward contributors in Brazil and in many cases those funds were channeled, in turn, by contributors to support community collective action and mutual aid. Participants in this project were self-identified or brought into the conversation by Rio-based colleagues and community organizers. Intellectual production and ideas are presented in this book by their author-originators, many with work appearing for the first time in English (e.g., Marielle Franco's contribution), with the intention that their concepts travel outward under their name and bear their context and social origins.

Nevertheless, even as we have struggled to reverse structures of intellectual appropriation and extractivism, we acknowledge the relations of power and privilege that undergird the production of this work. Grant funding, project management, and book editing were coordinated from the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in the United States, administered by a Global North–based scholar who serves as this book's editor and this introduction's author, Paul Amar. I have spent twenty-five years shuttling back and forth to Rio, helping to build partnerships, programs, and research centers, as well as identifying and disseminating resources for activist scholarship. These collaborative efforts have unfolded as a continuous partnership with a gradually expanding set of scholar-activists at the Fluminense Federal University, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and the State University of Rio de Janeiro, and with progressive community organizers, political campaigns, and public media leaders in Greater Rio. The production of this set of texts unfolded as a creative, deliberative, and productively contentious process of writing, rewriting, debate, framing, reconceptualizing, translating, retranslating—or detranslating, in those cases where we decided to return and preserve the original Carioca term and import it into English without translation. We worked together to frame and pitch every concept, case study, and approach for our intended broad and engaged readership, working collaboratively and painstakingly through triangulation between authors, editor, coauthors, peer readers on-site, translators, editing assistants, peer reader-revisers, and undergraduate

student test readers. Although ultimate convening power did remain with the editor, this capacity was embedded and limited within a process of constant consultation through which contributors and collaborators retained veto power over editorial decisions. Any revenue earned by the editor of this collection will be distributed immediately to these contributors and partners to fund the writing and research of a new generation of thinkers.

Against Carioca Exceptionalism, against New Authoritarianism

This book's collective intervention emerged from Rio de Janeiro, but not because Rio is an exceptional hub of transformational thought or action. We do not see the city of Rio as an extraordinary space that is more progressive, generative, or idealistic than anywhere else. Rio is not an isolated space; its activists and researchers are interconnected with global struggles. As our contributors describe in these chapters, tools for organizing and concepts for alternative governance have been shaped by five centuries of transnational exchanges and comobilizations, not just with the North and across the Americas but with southern Africa, particularly the regions referred to now as Angola and Congo. Also, Rio has been a hub for populations, religious, and cultural articulations with the Arab Levant and Muslim West Africa for centuries (Amar 2014). In turn, today's uprisings and new generations of struggle in southwest Africa—around evangelical churches, paramilitarism, and gender/sexuality—draw upon and rewrite deep transcontinental histories; and they share resources and trade strategies with Rio and Brazil. And Brazil has long been a generative center for global conversations around public health justice and epidemic/pandemic response (whether around cholera, HIV/AIDS, Zika, or COVID-19). In this context, Rio has been a transfer hub for learning and swapping techniques with activist researchers, international organizations, and direct-action movements on all continents. Scholar-activists in Rio have learned much by tracing how new authoritarian trends and white supremacies have been checked and reversed in other contexts, how Indigenous struggles over land demarcation, sovereignty, and recognition have been articulated through transnational and epistemological resistance, and how Black and feminist mobilizations have redirected or taken over branches of the state. *Rio as Method* does not reveal exceptional origins of methods and concepts in one city but highlights reciprocal relationships and a set of relational solutions to emblematic challenges faced in other countries.

As we distance ourselves from exceptionalism or any notion of Rio as inherently more cutting-edge, productive, or progressive than other megacity contexts, it is also important to acknowledge the intensified right-wing profile

of the city. The political, social, and religious terrains of Rio de Janeiro in the twenty-first century have been fertile ground for the rise of far-right evangelical dogmatism that relentlessly targets the rights and bodies of cis and trans women, practitioners of religions of African origin, Indigenous people, LGBTQI+ individuals, human rights defenders, social justice advocates, and the Left in general. In Rio, paramilitary and militia governance squads rule a majority of the greater city's neighborhoods by force of arms as unaccountable racketeering and vigilante organizations. And Rio has served as a cradle for a new wave of hard-right "populism" that explicitly celebrates historical fascism, military dictatorship, and anti-Black, anti-Indigenous, anti-queer genocide (Toscano 2022; Melo 2020).[3] This new "authoritarian populism" has been embraced by majorities of the white middle and lower-middle classes of Rio and across the country (Pinho 2021), as well as a significant swath of nonwhite and nonelite populations in the greater urban conglomeration.

The most influential and wealthy televangelists and dogmatic right-wing pastors, not just of Brazil but, arguably, among the world's most powerful, launched their global missionary franchises in Rio de Janeiro. In the 1920s, the Brazilian branch of the neo-Pentecostal Assembly of God (Assembleia de Deus) was founded in Rio's working-class districts of Madureira and Bangu (Palma 2022). This began the pattern of Assembleia churches and evangelical missions planting themselves in neglected communities. There they explicitly provided an alternative to leftist-progressive Catholic liberation theology activism that offered more sympathetic, collective-minded, structurally grounded, and historically informed perspectives on injustice and poverty for residents in those peripheral areas (Cartledge 2021). From the periphery of urban Rio, Pastor Paulo Leivas Macalão launched the first evangelical radio and media networks and a publishing house in the 1940s and '50s. It is no coincidence that these evangelical churches grew quickly in the 1970s and '80s, during the era of military dictatorship in Brazil and the papacy of John Paul II in the Vatican. The junta and that pope together ruthlessly targeted—with arrest or excommunication—progressive and left-leaning Catholic clergy and community organizers (Peritore 1989) as well as Afro-Brazilian faith communities of Candomblé and Umbanda. Such Afro-religious communities had long served as safe and vibrant spaces for embodied spirituality, deep historical continuities, and transcontinental leadership for the African diaspora as well as adherents welcomed from all racial backgrounds, and for nonheteronormative forms of sociability and alternative family (Moutinho 2013). Paradoxically, right-leaning evangelicals restitched Rio's civil and religious fabric by disseminating radically individualist and procapitalist dogmas. They reintroduced collective worship and collective action

(dogmatically and patriarchally) to the spaces and intersections that their ideological forebears had purged when they targeted left-leaning liberation theology and Afro-Brazilian religious leaders a generation earlier.

One such case was the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG), or in Portuguese, the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (IURD), that pastor and billionaire media mogul Edir Macedo (Nascimento 2019) established in Rio in 1977. The Universal Church propagates the theology of prosperity, promoting a deeply capitalist worldview that ignores historical, structural patterns and constraints. It spotlights heroic entrepreneurship, shames the poor as responsible for their own misery, offers a theology of a mythically self-oriented entrepreneurialism and privatizing individualism, and nourishes the worship of the wealthy as God's chosen people (Garrard-Burnett 2013). This church now boasts upward of 12 million members across the Americas, Asia, and Africa (Jacob et al. 2003).

The Assembly of God now numbers 67 million believers worldwide (North Central University 2022), within which the Brazil-originating Assembleia denominations remain autonomous and are some of the most archconservative and politically active segments of the larger movement. A significant degree of doctrinal and social diversity does persist among Assembleia congregations and pastors. In fact, several prominent progressive, left-leaning Brazilian politicians and social leaders are Assembleia members, including Benedita da Silva (from Lula's Workers Party, PT), who served as Rio de Janeiro's first governor to identify as Black, a woman, and favela born (M. Santos and de Souza 2022). Another extraordinary progressive leader coming from the Assembleia evangelical fold is Black-Indigenous environmentalist, senator, labor leader alongside Chico Mendes, and former three-time presidential candidate Marina Silva. Marina was born on a rubber-tapping plantation in the Amazon region and rose to become a PT member serving in the presidential cabinet and as founder and spokesperson of the Sustainability Network Party, REDE (Telles and Mundim 2010). On the other end of the evangelical political spectrum is political leader Silas Malafaia, a Pentecostal televangelist, born in 1955 in Rio de Janeiro, who has made an estimated US$150 million as a pastor of the Assembleia de Deus Vitória em Cristo (Assembly of God Victory in Christ) branch. He became infamous for his viciously homophobic and misogynist attacks (Solano 2018), which earned him the moniker "the hate preacher" (Sponholz and Christofoletti 2019). Malafaia was a highly visible and effective vote mobilizer for Bolsonaro and his allies in the 2018–21 period (Fachin and Vitor Santos 2020).

Aside from far-right evangelical social and political formations, many of the country's most ominous paramilitary and death squad commanders hail from

the city and have been linked directly to elected municipal leaders (Zaluar and Conceição 2007; Lusquiños and de Rezende Francisco 2022; Arias 2009; Campbell and Brenner 2002). Jair Bolsonaro, president of Brazil from January 2019 through December 2022, is also a product of Rio. Although born in the state of São Paulo in 1955, he settled in Rio in the mid-1970s when he attended the military academy there. He was elected to the city council in 1988 and has based his movement in the state and city of Rio de Janeiro since then. He built his base of power among the military, religious, and real estate oligarchies, which represent very specific class, race, and gender hierarchies of the megacity. His model of rule and his reign of intimidation altered every neighborhood of the metropolis. It transformed Copacabana Beach, a zone in Rio de Janeiro that in the twentieth century was adored by LGBTQI+ communities, samba and bossa nova artists, and bohemians and tourists from around the world. It became instead the primary staging ground for Third Reich–style mass rallies during the Bolsonaro administration; and the neighborhood became a mecca for resentful white reactionaries. This reactionary trend among white middle-class groupings has been thoroughly researched and revealed in the accounts of Sean T. Junge, Alvaro Jarrín Mitchell, and Lucia Cantero (2021) mapping the rise of authoritarian populism in Rio and other Brazilian cities. During both the October 2018 presidential election, which Bolsonaro won handily, and in the October 2022 race, when he lost narrowly to former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Rio de Janeiro's evangelical church leaders, police and military elites, and voters heavily tilted toward the far-right candidate. But this reality—of Rio as an incubator for Bolsonarismo and other previous and subsequent far-right sociopolitical trends—has not severed it from the global imagination nor purged the city of its spaces and histories of progressive struggle.

In the same period that propelled the emergence of the hard-right political regime, an inspiring alternative progressive model fought its way onto the stage of history. Rio's social movements, media influencers, community organizers, cultural figures, student organizations, Afro-Brazilian religious groupings, and a broad front of new feminist, ecology, Black, queer, and labor mobilizations—with plenty of white allies among progressive student, community, social media, and church activists—did not just provide resistance. These forces engineered a series of triumphs and articulated new methods of being political. They launched a series of alternativas Cariocas that are shaping prospects for transformation. The word *Carioca* (which some have mistranslated as "home of the white men") is derived from the Tupi-Guarani Indigenous term *kariió oka*, meaning "house of the Carijó." The Carijó were the original inhabitants of what is now the urban center of Rio, perched on the shores of Guanabara Bay (de Almeida Navarro,

Trevisan, and da Silva Fonseca 2012, 367). *Carioca* now signifies the people, dialect, concepts, and cultures of Rio de Janeiro, regardless of race.

These alternatives have begun to generate success. Black, trans, feminist, Indigenous, and community-organizer candidates (several of whom are authors in this volume) ran for local and federal office, some winning. They recaptured reactionary church and religious spaces and generated new progressive spiritual communities. They fought back against disinformation and troll media, and exposed the brutality and corruption of militia, police, and military forces. They defended schools and universities as spaces of critical thought, upward mobility, and safety for those targeted racially, sexually, or by political purges. And, crucially, they pushed a new vision of government or logic of state beyond the obsession with policing, hyperincarceration, sexual demonization, culture wars, and military securitization.

Eras of Struggle and Inspiration

These emergent or alternative methods and models were born not just of the struggles against new fascism and authoritarian political culture in the Bolsonaro era of 2018–22. Our methods and conceptual innovations are equally shaped by struggles and strategies tested in the context of two previous periods and paradigms.

The first era of struggle that shaped us and our mentors was that against liberal and neoliberal hegemony in the 1980s and '90s under presidents José Sarney (1985–90), Fernando Collor de Mello (1990–92), Itamar Franco (1992–94), and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–2002) (Amann and Baer 2002). During this period, Brazil emerged from more than two decades of military dictatorship, inheriting a dramatically narrowed space of politics dominated by doctrines of so-called color-blind policies of "racial blindness" (Carrillo 2021) that had fostered an elitist educational system. This system fixated on US and French thinkers and academies, a policy environment defined by individualistic privatism (Moreira 2013) and a public sphere that had no place for collective and structuralist expressions or orientations. A second era of struggles played out during the center-left administrations of presidents Lula (2003–10) and Dilma Rousseff (2011–16), both from the PT. During this period, progressives, community organizers, and leaders concerned with reinvigorating public autonomies, participation, and mechanisms of redistribution clashed with the PT's proclivity for top-down statism, repressive securitization of public spaces, and lack of accountability, which was riddled with police and state violence, clientelistic NGO-dispensed paternalism, and sometimes superficial "photo opportunity multiculturalism" that defined many moments of the Lula and Dilma era (Amar 2013, 139–70). And only then

came the third era that shaped our authors' concepts and tactics of resistance: the period dominated by the hard–right wing and inquisitorial evangelical pastor and mayor of Rio, Marcelo Crivella (2017–20), and of former president Bolsonaro himself (2019–22).

In the wake of these three periods, our authors fashioned methods and concepts for understanding a new politics of knowledge production, reconceptualizing the meanings and means of political participation and cultural recognition. As a result, we offer an outward-looking, future-oriented program for world making during a globally challenging moment.

New, Strange, and Useful Concepts

We hope the readers will enjoy experimenting with the new terms and ideas we offer as we collectively attempt to refashion how we think, act, and interact. Our contributors are energized by the linguistic resources of Carioca vernacular, activist argots, and African and Indigenous lexicons. Certain authors embrace terminological hybridization in order to give names to previously inconceivable phenomena, and some contributors refuse translation in certain moments if that erases history or epistemological autonomy. In this book, we define new terms or neologisms—consistently in both English and Brazilian Portuguese—and offer them as techniques for challenging binaries or structures of meaning that we might take for granted but which obscure how power or resistance operates. We invite you to experiment with translating them into other languages that you use in your daily life.

For example, our new contributors' concepts of *militiarchy* and *parastatal sexarchy* challenge how the legitimate state or municipal government is conventionally seen as the opposite of nonstate militias or paramilitary groups, or as a civilizing institution that polices public sexuality and sexualized populations. Intentionally provocative—and maybe a bit awkward at first—these newly fashioned terms serve as tools or methods for identifying the operation of a kind of real-world governance that centers, privileges, and codepends on vigilante militias and sexual criminalization as the heart of its functional, economic, and social power. This kind of governance, of course, is not unique to Rio or Brazil. But these concepts and this boldness for conceptualizing this mode of patriarchal, militia-centric rule is a passion for Rio's activist scholars.

Other novel terms that our contributors introduce, such as *genderphobic binarism*, *puta politics*, and *travestirevolutionary occupy movements*, channel the vital energy in Rio de Janeiro of new feminist and queer movements that simultaneously challenge heteropatriarchal respectability politics, respectability-oriented

feminist frameworks, and mainstream liberal or normative gay rights agendas. In addition, our authors' ideas and strategies push back militantly against attempts to purge school curricula of feminist, Black diasporic, and LGBTQI+ ideas or to violently cleanse public spaces of sex workers, crush antihouseless movements, morally discipline popular religiosity, repress Black and Indigenous sovereignties and autonomies, or purge the cityscape of the vibrant trans anarchist leadership and squatter movements.

Methods of challenging the horrors of racialized state violence in Rio produced concepts that we transmit here, such as *de-killing*, the *social life of corpses*, and new *analytics of raciality*. These terms channel Black mobilizations and political methodologies in Rio de Janeiro that recognize and reverse, on the one hand, the necropolitical, genocidal logic of killings committed by police and militias across the city and, on the other, the spectacularization of this violence by media and political discourse.

Our activist authors also reimagine the spaces of the world city and the urbanisms or city logics of transformative resistance. Our term *quilombo portness* illustrates the long tradition of neighborhoods and urban and rural zones that were liberated and self-governed by former slaves and their descendants. These societies are called maroon communities in English, or quilombos in Brazilian Portuguese. The word *quilombo* comes from the African Kikongo and Kimbundu languages and originally meant "camp" but came to mean self-made refuge community for self-emancipated enslaved peoples. *Quilombos* can be a useful way to describe how contemporary downtown communities are reoccupying the ruins of the slave market wharves in the port of Rio de Janeiro. As this term *portness* indicates, these are not mere sites for historical heritage but autonomously occupied ports and portals to Africa and its diaspora, the past, and the future. *Fractalscopic quotidian*, *heartbreaking lyrical ontology*, and *de-hygienization clusivities* are other examples of fabulously Rio de Janeiro–style conceptualizations of how nonrationalized, nonmonolithic modes of living in the city generate alternative epistemologies. But as mentioned previously, our hope is that these epistemologies, concepts, and terms can be experimented with beyond Rio, in accordance with our method, our mode of knowledge production and idea transfer that aims to conjure new world-making practices.

Method Diversity and Epistemology Debates

The term *epistemology* signifies a way of knowing the world or a mode of experiencing and seeing the social, natural, and built spaces of the city—human and nonhuman. Conversations around epistemology are relevant to activists as well

as academics since they reflect shifts in generational languages and terminologies, recognize previously erased sources of knowledge, and open up new pathways for rethinking the possibilities of justice and action.

Scholars arguing for the decolonization of politics have claimed that we are currently experiencing an "epistemological turn" (Grosfoguel 2013). This means that Eurocentric and white privilege, not just in representation but in ways of seeing and knowing, are being challenged and replaced by the revitalization and recognition of deep histories of thinking differently. Those frameworks, for example, include Indigenous worldviews or the long inquisitorial legacies of Portuguese and Spanish empires and the counterpublics of race, religion, and sexuality that persisted within and around them. This epistemological turn also implies unleashing creativity in terms of the metaphors and signifiers of knowledge, as some of our contributors have done when they, for example, bring together biomedical and musical metaphors and concepts to describe modes of being and mobilizing in Rio. Mingling medical science and music history to generate new concepts reflects the city's history, marked by periods of plague and pandemic followed by epochs of renowned musical and popular-cultural innovation.

Our book contributes to a broader set of efforts to shape concepts and to reengineer methods. Through the contributions of this volume, methods refer to research methodologies but also to knowledge politics and political tactics. *Rio as Method*, thus, is in line with kindred movements that reimagine how we all come to understand ourselves, our histories, social and political worlds, pasts, and futures. Inspiring recent books have been crafting alternative models for the coproduction of global knowledges in light of the epistemological turn. These include, of course, a primary inspiration, the volume *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* by Kuan-Hsing Chen (2010), which launched a call to authors and researchers to refuse neocolonial concepts and imperialist imaginaries. *The Brazil Reader* (Green, Langland, and Schwarcz 2018) offered an unparalleled inclusive perspective on the country's history, diversity, and social stratifications. And we have been enriched by the models provided by the manifestos and future-forming works of *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Smith 2021), *The End of the Cognitive Empire* (B. Santos 2018), *Border as Method* (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013), *Beyond the Pink Tide* (Gómez-Barris 2018), and *¡Presente! The Politics of Presence* (Taylor 2020). These works have remapped the horizons of decolonial thinking and relearning. We have also been enriched by the spectacular "Method as Method" issue (Rojas 2019) of the journal *Prism* and its self-satirizing essays: "Translation as Method" (Rojas), "Hoax as Method" (Christopher Rea), "Cannibalism as Method" (Lorraine Wong), "Cold War as Method" (Petrus Liu), and so many others.

This collaborative effort also reflects the inspiration of a new generation of transnational Américas studies scholars, artists, media makers, and public intellectuals who have built upon the critical purchase of activist scholarship within the field of (previously US-centric) American studies and picked up on transglobal and decolonial trends in ethnic studies and Latin American studies fields. Often these Américas studies conversations were catalyzed by the performances and conversations that took place at the Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics during workshops in Chile, Brazil, Mexico, New York, and elsewhere, as well as at the dynamic congresses of the American Studies Association, Ethnic Studies Association, Brazilian Studies Association, Brazilian Anthropological Association, and Latin American Studies Association.

Américas studies has been articulated by scholars such as Ricardo Ortiz through work on migration, displacement, and sexuality, and by Macarena Gómez-Barris, who not just decenters the United States but also rejects state-centric politics and displaces Cold War–era area studies approaches (Gómez-Barris 2018, 104) to emphasize hemispheric and South-South solidarities and exchanges. Or the academic-community ethical framework model of critical, transformative, activist research partnerships developed between the Universidad de los Andes and the Asociación Ébano in Colombia (Bello-Urrego 2019). Américas studies advocate Raúl Coronado reflects upon the work of Susan Gillman and states, "It may be that we have a lot to learn from our fellow Americans, those inhabiting the rest of the hemisphere. The task at hand is much more radical than supplementing our reading with a handful of Latin American texts. As Gillman sums up, it 'means a decisive departure from the homogenizing of global English and toward the multicultural babel of the many languages of world literature'" (Coronado 2008, 214).

In dialogue with these brilliant interlocutors, *Rio as Method* elaborates these epistemological interventions and hones the methods captured by our new terms. We cluster these interventions into four thematic sections, which do not interrupt dialogue between all chapters across those sections. But these four sections do establish a particular rhythm and a more comprehensible map of actions and conceptions. Our four sections are designated (I) "State," where we offer new methods for seeing and testing the limits of governance and inserting new activist logics for remaking apparatuses of representation and control; (II) "Space," where we offer new methods for mapping the city, its racial, economic, criminalizing, and emancipatory dynamics and histories; (III) "Subject," where our author-activists identify and give visibility to the vast social locations, voices, identities, and group formations of newly mobilized subjects—ranging from narco-trafficking evangelicals to the city's increasingly conscious Arab

community, incarcerated populations that refuse to be silent, and even the haunting presence of unjustly killed Black youth. In the final section, (IV) "Futurity," our authors strive toward path making. Through their contributions, these final chapters have a particularly insistent claim on worlds yet to come, either to redeem catastrophic loss—a loss, say, at the scale of the fire that ravaged the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, which turned to ash the archives of the country's Indigenous population and halted the academic progress of many Indigenous students and scholars. And we highlight the Bandungian futurities that in times past and to come may define a new global solidarity among Global South peoples, with Rio being one site of possibility.

Engaging Global Debates

The author-activists gathered here engage global debates in public, political, cultural, and academic spheres, providing action models and concepts that illuminate emerging discussions. This book generates new frameworks for activism around specific forms of police and prison abolition including offering comparative insights on global police racism (Amar 2011). And the volume articulates modes of radical participation within and outside the bodies of governance of the state. It offers a lens on decriminalization of drugs, houselessness, sex work, justice, sovereignty, and reparations for Indigenous and historically targeted Black populations, and imagines, instead, convivial and ecologically sustainable urban spaces beyond the logics of hygiene campaigns, crime wars, and gentrification.

With these policy- and justice-based aims in mind, this book generates a set of tools that open new paths for nonbinary theories of the state and of justice. Our author-activists will teach readers the lessons of Rio's histories of "antiwhite-patriarchal" militancy against the gender binary and how this delivers a powerful agenda for reanimating abolitionist politics. This book's science of sovereignty goes beyond elaborating a decolonial critique of the binaries of civil versus criminal, state versus nonstate, or formal versus informal. Those binaries dominated the language of politics in the supposedly liberal era. But as our contributors point out, those liberal binaries were always haunted by the sexual, racial, and theological duos of pastor versus demon, punisher versus monster, crusader versus corrupted, propertied versus unhoused. Since Rio's militants have seen right through the violent binaries of liberal epistemology, they are well placed to articulate a postliberal model of justice scholarship. Here we replace binary models of the state with nonbinary analytics, collectively generated in modes of uniquely Carioca resistance. These include Black autonomist maroonage, sex

work labor struggles, popular Black and Indigenous religions' understandings of informal-criminal markets and capitalism, and community mobilization in the context of narco-cartel governance.

Engaged scholars and resistance actors worldwide are searching for ways to center Global South modes of action, postliberal approaches, and non-whitepatriarchal techniques in order to redesign ways of acting and being. Our writers convey salient lessons about emergent evangelical-Pentecostal regimes of socialization, as well as antiauthoritarian social histories of Afro-Brazilian terreiros (e.g., Candomblé and other Orixa and Nkisi resistance traditions), progressive-feminist evangelical movements, and Catholic Black Brotherhoods. Our writers convey the lessons of their own efforts to establish transanarchist economies of squatter occupation and to implement campaigns of moral dehygienization and subversive puta politics that does much more than refuse respectability politics and slut shaming. We engage with rebel port and dockworker histories in Rio that are in dialogue with other direct-action protests and movements to take over or reappropriate shopping malls, museums, social media platforms, and political parties themselves.

Ultimately, we ask: How can we deliver a wealth of voices and a promiscuity of archives in the wake of genocidal death and systematic erasure? One way this volume answers this question is to rhythmically and consistently summon the dead and honor them as speakers. It resuscitates and delivers archives that have been systematically burned, shredded, and degraded. We are conscious of the morbid profiteering that can happen around representations of Black suffering. In this context, our collective intervention offers an empowering and inspiring alternative approach that conveys presence, sociality, and futurity even as it theorizes the necropolitical. This book is a cathexis of approaches to scholarship that refuse the limits of positivist recognition and liberal subjectification because we have seen how those approaches intentionally or inadvertently re-kill and re-erase.

Our collection opens with the voice of Marielle Franco, the brave, captivating, and brilliant embodiment of Rio's revolutionary alternative who identified as queer, Black, socialist, liberation theologist, anthropologist, city council leader, and daughter of a favela (Swift 2018). Marielle Franco's assassination on March 14, 2018, was finally in March 2024 linked to politicians Chiquinho Brazão and Domingos Brazão and former Rio police chief Rivaldo Barbosa (*El Pais* 2024). The three were arrested as suspected masterminds of the crime and are being accused of being part of a paramilitary group. This assassination in 2018 marked an escalation of polarization in Rio and the world (Andrade 2019). And this event was followed soon after on September 2, 2018, by a horrifying fire

that raged through and incinerated much of the National Museum in Rio, whose archives included centuries of records of Indigenous sovereignty, language, and culture and Black historical memory, economies, and agencies (Angeleti 2022). The museum is also a university that hosted one of the most influential decolonial anthropology departments in the country. With Marielle's presence and voice—along with the articulation of radical postincendiary archives by young Indigenous activist-scholars still affiliated with Rio's torched museum—we offer *Rio as Method* as a new radical research modality that will start global conversations around the coproduction of knowledge and conceptualization of resistance.

Context and Conceptualization

The Rio collaborative group came together in a series of four workshops and conferences between 2016 and 2020, through endless virtual meetings during the lockdowns of 2020–21, and in a celebratory, forward-looking workshop in person in Rio de Janeiro in January 2023, just after the inauguration of President Lula. In these lively working meetings, we committed to identifying alternative ways to think through the epochal moments that dismantled the fractured liberal-left consensus of the Lula-Dilma era, and the social, political, religious, and paramilitarist trends and forces that propelled the rise of Bolsonarismo nationwide and the brutality of the mayorship of paramilitary puppeteer, gospel singer, and fundamentalist evangelical pastor Marcelo Crivella, who was mayor of Rio in 2017 through 2020. These moments of violent dismantlement included the impeachment of President Dilma Roussef, the assassination of political leader Marielle Franco, the presidency of Jair Bolsonaro, the catastrophe of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the recuperation and resurgence of progressive mobilization that swept Lula back into the presidency and secured the election of dozens of progressive Black, trans, women, and Indigenous leaders and organizers across the country in the elections of October 2022.

Throughout this turbulent process, meetings were hosted in person or virtually by the Fluminense Federal University in Niterói in the state of Rio de Janeiro and at the Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. At these events, a group of around thirty academics, researchers, and graduate students united to formulate strategies to drive, on a global scale, extraordinary conceptual and methodological research in Rio de Janeiro. This process was informed by strategic planning meetings of the Orfalea Advisory Council, at the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies, at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The heart of this process

was a sustained conversation on knowledge politics and research ethics, allowing us to reflect on challenging Eurocentrism, coloniality, racism, misogyny, and structural homophobia in the social sciences, including those research traditions that are considered progressive or liberal.

Road Map Ahead

The chapters that follow in this volume are gathered loosely into four thematic groups, although dialogue flows across the boundaries, creating multiple planes of resonance. Our first grouping is under the banner of "State," since each of these pieces provides tools for identifying practices of governance, logics of rule, and formations of authority that conventional concepts render invisible or unrecognizable. This is particularly relevant within the context of the racial state, paramilitarized or militia power, shifts in judicial and moral authority, changes in how forensics and policing target certain bodies and enact dominion, and radical autonomy of communities.

Our second grouping, "Space," provides exciting concepts and mappings of radical spaces of urbanism and emergent leadership, where activist city mobilizations take over municipal legislative spaces, where white supremacy and gentrification in the city are challenged by Black ultramodernity, where militarized police embed their cartographies of masculinism and mastery, and where maroon/quilombo communities reinscribed in the streets rebel histories of religious dissidence and slave port uprisings.

Our third grouping, "Subject," gathers analyses of subjectivities, cultural perspectives, personalities, and identities that Rio's activist scholars render visible and powerful as models for action and reinvention. These include examinations of evangelical religiosity and moral redemption cultivated, paradoxically, by narco-trafficking cartel regimes that rule much of the city or, on the other hand, the feminist subject mobilized in the struggle against attempts to erase discussions of gender, trans existence, or LGBTQI+ populations in school curricula and public policy. This section also includes the subjects and social lives of Black practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions (Candomblé, Umbanda, etc.) in Rio and their success in creating a new collective subject of rights, to counter the genocidal religious persecution by Pentecostal-identified militias and armed vigilante groups.

Finally, our fourth section, "Futurity," brings together bold programs for change, including the revolutionary agenda of the trans/travesti antigentrification movement, plans for restoring the public sexualities and collectives erased by social cleansing dynamics (more urgent than ever in the postpandemic con-

text), a reigniting of the global solidarities of the Bandung era of Global South solidarities with Rio as a hub, tactics for collectively refusing moral panic governance, and a call for redemption and dignity that "de-kills" Rio's victims and reanimates them as agents of justice to come.

NOTES

1 *Travesti* is a very specific term that is not the English equivalent of either the derogatory term *transvestite* nor the more contemporary and neutral term *trans*. A travesti is someone assigned a male gender at birth but who transitions in appearance (with or without surgery) to a female gender, with or without choosing to alter their pronouns or documented gender identity, although transition to female-identity document markers or nonbinary pronouns is more common in the twenty-first century. Travestis may also strongly identify as a set of lived urban communities that make claims on certain territories, streets, economies, and collectivized spaces.

2 A summary of Ribeiro can be found in G. Santos's (2019) work "Ribeiro D. O que é lugar de fala?," which states that "Djamila Taís Ribeiro dos Santos was born in Baixada Santista, São Paulo on August 1, 1980. She is today one of the main black and feminist intellectuals in Brazil. She earned a BA in philosophy in 2012 and a Masters in Political Philosophy, in 2015, both degrees from the Federal University of São Paulo. From an early age, Djamila Ribeiro reflected on the social issue of black bodies due to the influence of her father, a Black Movement activist and one of the founders of the Communist Party of the Port City of Santos. In 2015, she took over as deputy secretary for the department of Human Rights and Citizenship for the city of São Paulo, an experience that marked her trajectory as it made it possible to reflect on the constraints and loneliness that black women experience in spaces of power."

3 I put *populism* in quotes since across Latin America the term often refers to traditions of progressive, left-leaning politics, although in statist and rather clientelist forms. So to use the term as a synonym exclusively for right-wing authoritarian or neofascist politics can be confusing, given this historical context in Latin America.

REFERENCES

Alves, Jaime Amparo. 2018. *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Amann, Edmund, and Werner Baer. 2002. "Neoliberalism and Its Consequences in Brazil." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 4: 945–59.

Amar, Paul, ed. 2011. *New Racial Missions of Policing: International Perspectives on Evolving Law-Enforcement Politics*. London: Routledge.

Amar, Paul. 2013. *The Security Archipelago: Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Amar, Paul, ed. 2014. *The Middle East and Brazil: Perspectives on the New Global South*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Andrade, Miguel. 2019. "Largest Brazilian Media Group Implicates Bolsonaro in Death Squad Execution of Marielle Franco." *World Socialist Web Site*, November 7. https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/11/07/braz-n07.html.

Angeleti, Gabriella. 2022. "After a Devastating Fire in 2018, the National Museum of Brazil Unveils the First Stage of Its Restoration Project." *Art Newspaper*, September 2. https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/09/02/after-devastating-fire-in-2018-the-national-museum-of-brazil-unveils-the-first-stage-of-its-restoration-project.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2009. *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks, and Public Security*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Bello-Urrego, Alejandra. 2019. "Dialogues between the Academy and the Community: Establishing an Ethical Framework (Part 2)." December 10. Social Publishers Foundation: Practioner Research. https://www.socialpublishersfoundation.org/knowledge_base/dialogues-between-the-academy-and-the-community-establishing-an-ethical-framework-part-2/.

Campbell, Bruce, and Arthur Brenner. 2002. *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carrillo, Ian. 2021. "Racialized Organizations and Color-Blind Racial Ideology in Brazil." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 7, no. 1: 56–70.

Cartledge, Mark J. 2021. "Liberation Theology Opted for the Poor, and the Poor Opted for [Neo-]Pentecostalism." In *(De)Coloniality and Religious Practices: Liberating Hope*, edited by Valburga Schmiedt Streck, Júlio Cézar Adam, and Cláudio Carvalhaes, 82–89. International Academy of Practical Theology Conference Series 2. Tübingen: International Academy of Practical Theology.

Chen, Kuan-Hsing. 2010. *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Coronado, Raúl. 2008. "The Aesthetics of Our America: A Response to Susan Gillman." *American Literary History* 20, no. 1/2: 210–16.

Cruz, Melany, and Darcy Luke. 2020. "Methodology and Academic Extractivism: The Neo-colonialism of the British University." *Third World Thematics* 5, no. 1/2: 154–70.

da Silva, Denise Ferreira. 2017. "Unpayable Debt: Reading Scenes of Value against the Arrow of Time." *Documenta* 14: 3–28.

de Almeida Navarro, Eduardo, Rodrigo Godinho Trevisan, and Renato da Silva Fonseca. 2012. "Recensão crítica do livro 'O português e o tupi no Brasil.'" *Língua e literatura* 30: 359–77.

El Pais. 2024. "Brazilian Police Suspected Masterminds behind the Killing of Councilwoman Turned Icon." March 24. https://english.elpais.com/international/2024-03-24/brazilian-police-arrest-suspected-masterminds-behind-the-killing-of-councilwoman-turned-icon.html.

Fachin, Patricia, and João Vitor Santos. 2020. "Cristofascismo, uma teologia do poder autoritário: A união entre o bolsonarismo e o maquinário político sócio-religioso. Entrevista especial com Fábio Py." *Instituto Humanitas Unisinos*, July 1.

Freire, Paulo. 2021. *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: Bloomsbury.

Garrard-Burnett, Virginia. 2013. "Neopentecostalism and Prosperity Theology in Latin America: A Religion for Late Capitalist Society." *Iberoamericana: Nordic Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 42, no. 1/2: 21–34.

Gómez-Barris, Macarena. 2018. *Beyond the Pink Tide*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Green, James N., Victoria Langland, and Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, eds. 2018. *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Grosfoguel, Ramón. 2013. "The Epistemic Decolonial Turn: Beyond Political-Economy Paradigms." In *Globalization and the Decolonial Option*, edited by Walter D. Mignolo and Arturo Escobar, 65–77. New York: Routledge.

Jacob, Cesar Romero, Dora Rodrigues Hees, Philippe Waniez, and Violette Brustlein. 2003. *Atlas da filiação religiosa e indicadores sociais no Brasil*. Vol. 7. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.

Junge, Sean T., Alvaro Jarrín Mitchell, and Lucia Cantero. 2021. *Precarious Democracy: Ethnographies of Hope, Despair, and Resistance in Brazil*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lusquiños, Mathias, and Eduardo de Rezende Francisco. 2022. "A influência das milícias nas eleições municipais de 2020 no Rio de Janeiro: Uma análise empírica com base em um processo eleitoral local." *FGV Revista de iniciação científica* 3 (November 7).

Melo, Damien. 2020. "O bolsonarismo como fascismo do XXI." In *(Neo)fascismo e educação: Reflexões críticas sobre o avanço conservador no Brasil*, organized by Rebuá Chabalgoity, Eduardo Diego, Reginaldo Costa, and Rodrigo Lima Ribeiro Gomes, 12–46. Rio de Janeiro: Mórula.

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett Neilson. 2013. *Border as Method, or, The Multiplication of Labor*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Moreira, João Flávio de Castro. 2013. "As políticas de expansão e privatização do ensino superior no Brasil e na Argentina (1989–2009)." PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo.

Moutinho, Laura. 2013. "Homosexuality, Skin Color and Religiosity: Flirting among the 'Povo de Santo' in Rio de Janeiro." In *Sexuality, Culture and Politics: A South American Reader*, edited by Horacio Sívori et al., 573–92. Rio de Janeiro: CLAM, Latin American Center on Sexuality and Human Rights.

Nascimento, Gilberto. 2019. *O Reino: A história de Edir Macedo e uma radiografia da Igreja Universal*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

North Central University. n.d. "About Assemblies of God." Accessed April 1, 2024. https://www.northcentral.edu/student-life/spiritual-life-at-north-central-university/about-assemblies-of-god/#:~:text=Doctrine%20and%20mission&text=From%20the%20Assemblies%20of%20God,second%20coming%20of%20Jesus%20Christ.

Palma, Paul J. 2022. "Pentecostal Polity: Shifting Paradigms in Brazil and the United States." In *Grassroots Pentecostalism in Brazil and the United States*, 145–71. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peritore, N. Patrick. 1989. "Liberation Theology in the Brazilian Catholic Church: A Q-Methodology Study of the Diocese of Rio de Janeiro in 1985." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 26, no. 1: 59–92.

Pinho, Patrícia de Santana. 2021. "Whiteness Has Come Out of the Closet and Intensified Brazil's Reactionary Wave." In *Precarious Democracy*, edited by Benjamin Junge,

Sean T. Mitchell, Alvaro Jarrin, and Lucia Cantero, 62–76. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Ribeiro, Djamila. 2016. "Apropriação cultural é um problema do sistema, não de indivíduos." *Azimina*, April 5.
Ribeiro, Djamila. 2017. *O que é lugar de fala?* Bairro Caiçara: Pólen Produção Editora Letramento.
Rojas, Carlos, ed. 2019. "Method as Method." Special issue, *Prism* 16, no. 9.
Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 2018. *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Santos, Gilney Costa. 2019. "Ribeiro D. O que é lugar de fala?" *Saúde debate* 43, no. 8. https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-11042019S826.
Santos, Monalisa Pereira, and Lidyane Maria Ferreira de Souza. 2022. "Direitos e fé nas trajetórias de Benedita da Silva e Mônica Francisco: Mulheres negras faveladas evangélicas e ideologia (anti) gênero." *Revista NUPEM* 14, no. 33: 136–54.
Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2021. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Bloomsbury.
Solano, Esther, ed. 2018. *O ódio como política: A reinvenção das direitas no Brasil*. São Paulo: Boitempo.
Sponholz, Liriam, and Rogério Christofoletti. 2019. "From Preachers to Comedians: Ideal Types of Hate Speakers in Brazil." *Global Media and Communication* 15, no. 1: 67–84.
Swift, Jaimee. 2018. "Marielle Franco, Black Queer Women, and Police Violence in Brazil." *Black Perspectives*, March 19.
Taylor, Diana. 2020. *¡Presente! The Politics of Presence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Telles, Helcimara de Souza, and Pedro Santos Mundim. 2010. "Movilidad cognitiva y religión: Paradojas del voto a Marina Silva en las elecciones presidenciales brasileñas de 2010." *Revista de ciencia política* (Santiago) 35, no. 3: 509–36.
Topinka, Robert. 2010. "Foucault, Borges, Heterotopia: Producing Knowledge in Other Spaces." *Foucault Studies*, no. 9: 54–70.
Toscano, Gabriel Bayarri. 2022. "The Rhetoric of the Brazilian Far-Right, Built in the Streets: The Case of Rio de Janeiro." *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 33, no. 1: 18–33.
Zaluar, Alba, and Isabel Siqueira Conceição. 2007. "Favelas sob o controle das Milícias no Rio de Janeiro que paz?" *São Paulo em perspectiva* 21, no. 2: 89–101.