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June 2013 protests in Brazil:

A corpography of power and resistance

Tese de Doutorado

Thesis presented to the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Relações Internacionais of the Instituto de Relações Internacionais, PUC-Rio in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doutor em Relações Internacionais.

Advisor: Prof. James Casas Klausen

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to the life forces of struggle, resistance and affection of whom I am heir

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Abstract

Morgado, Tabatha Frony; Klausen, James Casas (Advisor). **June 2013 protests in Brazil: A corpography of power and resistance.** Rio de Janeiro, 2019. 231 p. Tese de Doutorado – Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

Broadly speaking, this thesis deals with different gazes, narratives and interpretations regarding bodies in protest in Brazil. The work is an effort to situate these "corpographies" through an analysis of the practices and discourses of resistance and power and their connection with the bodies circulating the June 2013 protests in Brazil. Moreover, the relations between power and resistance are informed by a Foucauldian theoretico-methodological framework and queer theory, in special the lines developed by Judith Butler. As such, this thesis has bodies (material and discursive), as the privileged analytical entry/departure point. In order to contextualize these onto-epistemological lines, racism is discussed as a historical-cultural trait that guides the interpretation of these "corpographies". Racism is therefore understood as a central factor in regulating the circulation of bodies in Brazilian time and space. Finally, this thesis seeks to observe how, in a more global context, bodies have been ambivalently invested with power and resistance. Such ambivalence is analyzed through the treatment of racialization and queering practices, specifically linked to the June 2013 context in Brazil.

Keywords

June 2013 protests; bodies; resistance; power.

Resumo

Morgado, Tabatha Frony; Klausen, James Casas. **Protestos de Junho de 2013 no Brasil: Uma corpografia de poder e resistência.** Rio de Janeiro, 2019. 231p. Tese de Doutorado – Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

Em linhas gerais, essa tese trata sobre distintos olhares, narrativas e interpretações sobre corpos em protesto. Busca-se situar essas "corpografias" por meio de uma análise das práticas e discursos de resistência e poder e sua ligação com os corpos circulando os protestos de junho de 2013 no Brasil. Além disso, as relações entre poder e resistência são informadas por um quadro teórico-metodológico Foucaultiano, e pela teoria queer, especialmente as linhas desenvolvidas por Judith Butler. Assim sendo, essa tese tem nos corpos (materiais e discursivos), seu ponto privilegiado de entrada/partida analítica. A fim de contextualizar essas linhas onto-epistemológicas, discute-se o racismo como traço histórico-cultural que orienta a interpretação dessas "corpografias". O racismo é, portanto, entendido como fator central na regulação da circulação dos corpos no tempo e espaço brasileiro. Finalmente, procura-se observar como, num contexto mais global, corpos tem sido investidos de poder e resistência de forma ambivalente. Tal ambivalência é analisada por meio do tratamento mais específico das práticas de racialização e queering, ligadas especificamente ao contexto de Junho de 2013 no Brasil.

Palavras-chave

Protestos Junho de 2013; corpos; resistência; poder.

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Introduction

This work was born out of the curiosity that initially made me think of the protests of June 2013 in Brazil as inserted in the contemporary global wave of contention. The decade of 2010 has been marked by a diversity of social protests across the world, many of them characterized as "spontaneous", forming what has been called a "global wave of protest" (Alonso and Mische 2015), a "new geopolitics of global outrage" (Bringel and Domingues 2015), or a "transnational wave of contention" (Della Porta e Mattoni 2014). These mass mobilizations caught attention not only due to their frequency, intensity and global recurrence, but also due to their intense anti-partisanship, criticism of the state and the plea for new and better ways of governing, along with greater participation of non-traditional political actors[1] emphasizing their precarity. In this sense, what stood out was a claim for horizontality, along with the negation of institutional political representation and formal leadership.

Coming right after the Taksim Square protests in Turkey, June 2013 marked Brazilian history with one of the biggest series of protest ever seen in the country. The streets ruptured the silence of two decades of apparent normality in Brazilian politics with dissonant claims and repertoires. Although the immediate trigger was the increase in public transportation fares with the autonomist movement MPL (Free Pass Movement) igniting the struggle, the list of grievances quickly expanded to include the inflated public spending on mega-events (including the World Cup and the Olympics), vis-à-vis the general precarity of life conditions, reflected in the lack of public infrastructure and services and its relation to corruption, urban violence and the violation of labor and human rights.[2] Thus, it can be said that protests in Brazil did not constitute a single social movement, but a "cycle of protest" (Tarrow 1995), consisting of many different actors, issues, processes and outcomes that changed quickly over time, unfolding in divergent

[1] Non-traditional in the sense of the massive participation of people who normally were not engaged in politics in a so-called "organized/institutionalized" fashion, i.e., through a party, a social movement or a non-governmental organization.

[2] As asserted in *Megaeventos e Violações dos Direitos Humanos no Rio de Janeiro*, by the Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro (2014).

ways. The interesting fact is that these patterns were not only present in Brazil, but in other protests around the globe.

Other interesting aspect of current protests is the ways in which different groups converged in a mass of assembled bodies occupying the public space. Differently from previous protest movements, the recent protests around the world were not hierarchically organized by labor unions, political parties from the opposition, nor by specific social movements or identity groups. The autonomous and horizontal way of organization signals a different pattern of political expression, one that has been called radical democratic politics (Hardt and Negri 2004, 2009) or subterranean politics (Kaldor et al. 2012, Martí 2015). As Judith Butler (2015) argues, what we have seen is a different and radically democratic kind of politics: a politics of the streets where bodies ally through their precarity; a politics of invisibility, claiming for visibility and better life conditions; and a politics of excess, since many of those protesting were considered irrelevant by the political establishment.

At first, the appearance of "multitude" led to a temptation of generalizing June's multiple repertoires of contention, their symbols and meanings, equating it to an international or "global indignation" (Bringel and Pleyers 2015). Together with this first curiosity, came the effort to better comprehend how those multitudinary events emerged, and thereof the necessity to think of resistance to biopolitics or biopower (as defined in Hardt and Negri, 2004).

This generalizing way of thinking Brazilian protest and the international or global can be productive, but also misleading. Productive in the sense that in "generalizing the international", as suggested by Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (2005), we can bring the contingency of politics and the disputes it entails in the search for justice back inside the sovereign state. Thinking Brazil in relation to an outside of global protests allows seeing how the national and the international are co-constituted and how this co-constitution is based on practices and discourses that make invisible the politics entailed in the dispute for achieving order and security at the cost of producing violence, exclusion and inequality.

Also, thinking of June 2013 in relation to a broader constellation of protests might show that some practices of the so-called "global-protests" contest the state and sovereign power in radically democratic ways. In doing so, these protests reveal how the sovereign practices of the state are in fact not concentrated in the state per se, but rather spread out in different institutional bodies, technologies and infrastructures that are not contained by the national borders, but linked and influenced by global economic, political, juridical, military and cultural interactions and interconnections. This is the case of the media and public opinion, private property and the capitalist division of labor, the judiciary and the financial market, for example. As posed by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2009:5):

> The primary form of power that really confronts us today, however, is not so dramatic or demonic but rather earthly and mundane. We need to stop confusing politics with theology. The predominant contemporary form of sovereignty—if we still want to call it that—is completely embedded within and supported by legal systems and institutions of governance, a republican form characterized not only by the rule of law but also equally by the rule of property. Said differently, the political is not an autonomous domain but one completely immersed in economic and legal structures.There is nothing extraordinary or exceptional about this form of power. Its claim to naturalness, in fact its silent and invisible daily functioning, makes it extremely difficult to recognize, analyze, and challenge. Our first task, then, will be to bring to light the intimate relations between sovereignty, law, and capital.

However, even though productive, focusing only in the "geopolitics of global indignation" might miss out how the ideas of global, state, law and capital are (re)produced by situated practices of power and also contested by practices of protest that occur in specific geopolitical locations across the globe. As such, it may lead to reproducing apolitical generalizations that miss out the specificities of locally embedded disputes that constitute political life itself. Furthermore, as not mentioned above by Hardt and Negri, these power/resistance practices are intrinsically linked to the (re)production of certain forms of bodily and subjective constitution, which are also enmeshed with other embodied identity markers such as race, gender, and sexuality, for example.

For these reasons, this thesis thinks protests through bodies of power and resistance in Brazil, as a way of situating the research in relation to that constellation of global protests. However, the aim is not to dismiss the global

wave of indignation, but to understand in more detail how some of those practices and discourses might contest or reproduce power relations, not only on a local level, but also on a global level, since those levels are not distinct, but co-constituted. To do so, bodies serve here as entry and departure point from which I try to tackle (but not directly answer) the research questions guiding this work: Up to what point and in what specific ways do practices of protest challenge modern conceptions of politics? Or, to become more specific: What bodies, out of the plurality of June 2013 protests in Brazil, disputed the practices of modern global governance/biopolitical regulation?[3]

Hence, this thesis is an effort to better comprehend some of the radical democratic political practices of protest by looking at the specificities of June 2013. And this is why I observe bodies and trace performances in relation to power and resistance. I question furthermore: Which bodies get to decide what, through what narratives and practices of power and resistance?

Justification

In thinking the relevance of researching protest as an international relations scholar, I realized that even with varied changes happening around the world, the state still figures as centric to much international political imagination. Protests and social movements are not the privileged object of study in international relations, being instead relegated to other fields of inquiry, like sociology and political science (Walker 1994). This might be linked to the fact the field of international relations continues to ignore (or maybe purposely efface), how lived and embodied experiences and practices of power and resistance are intrinsically

[3] An important issue here is to remember that I am not dismissing the "global" connections, by insisting on the necessity of situating my analysis of practices of protest in Brazil. Neither am I trying to re-instate a dichotomy of local and global or seeking to re-affirm the importance of levels of analysis. The fact that I opt to focus on Brazilian practices of protest is a way to offer a deeper analysis of those practices and how they are influenced by their relations with other practices located elsewhere, beyond municipal or national borders. The privileged focus on practices of protest in some specific places in Brazil has to do with the fact that embracing a multitude of situated practices of protest across different places would require more time and financing, unavailable for the present research. I acknowledge, nevertheless, the importance of reiterating that this research aims to break with dichotomies such as local/global, national/international, since I believe that these "sides" are not separated, but profoundly related, as the discussion here tries to highlight.

linked with the constitution of some of its main concepts, like sovereignty, order and security.

As Rob Walker (1993) argues, International Relations (IR) speaks of politics by means of tales of the sovereign state, by means of casting the political and its contingency outside, to the international realm of anarchy. IR is the field that enables this movement of marginalization of the political, the exclusion and effacement of everyday disputes that permeate and constitute any political community. Sovereignty is the concept that justifies that movement and allows for the use of violence in the decision upon what counts as necessary to legitimate order and security inside.

Having bodies as the entry point from which I look at June 2013 protests in Brazil opens ways for the critical task of thinking the limits of IR — as a discourse and practice centered on sovereignty — has set to thinking of politics as an everyday practice, based on situated and embodied disputes. In order to do that, the state is understood here to be constituted by discursive and material practices, largely based on the interplay of dominance and resistance. And this helps challenging the idea that the state is a taken for granted "unit" within a constant and absolute "structure"[4].

Furthermore, thinking protest through bodies highlights how the state is constituted by unmarked narratives, based on western, white, heteronormative and patriarchal views of the body. According to Stefanie Fishel, canonic texts in IR approach the body as a passive object of abstract moral reasoning that stems from a disembodied subject:

> Thomas Hobbes likens the commonwealth — the Leviathan — to an artificial man. Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed the lifeblood of the body politic was its sovereign authority. For John Locke, the creation of the body politic marks the passage from the state of nature consisting of many bodies with no common law or authority to one body — the body politic — as the very basis to a society. (Fishel, 2010:9)

This abstraction and disembodiment was possible due to the legacy of Cartesian dualism in the social sciences, where the body and mind are separated resulting in the absence of the body from the research agenda. This brings to light the tendency towards depoliticization characteristic of the modern liberal image:

[4] As described in Waltz (1979).

the construction or imposition of a universalized naturalness — an imposition that, although inevitably violent, operates to erect a surface of peace, order and harmony.

Also, thinking about the political role of bodies in protest challenges some of the ways in which the practices of sovereignty enacts borders, exclusions, and limits in both time and space. As such, this work tries to unveil some of the ways in which white, heteronormative and patriarchal bodies are privileged by practices that make them hegemonic and unmarked bodies, at the same time as they mark some bodies as raced and gendered, allowing for either acknowledging their abnormality or effacing their existence[5]. It is in this sense that this thesis tries to make its main contribution. By acknowledging the marginalization of black bodies in Brazil, I wish to underscore the ways in which such exclusions are constitutive of identity markers upon which violent practices are legitimized in the name of sovereign and global security.

By focusing on bodies, this thesis is an effort to question their invisibility in sovereign politics, so as to highlight what has been effaced: the co-constitution of materiality and discourse and its exclusionary effects in the production of modern politics. The focus on bodies helps dislocating the limits of modern politics, as bodies themselves condition the possibilities for a radically different and more plural politics. Also, it reveals how bodies are already intimately related to the constitution of IR discourses and practices and that their exclusion functions to stabilize the meanings attributed by IR to sovereignty, security, and order**.** This is so, because looking at bodies enables understanding the material basis necessary for the practices enabling the construction and reproduction of these categories and practices. Hence, the fictions of "state", "order", "security", and "global governance" can only function as "true" by means of bodily regulations, the control of embodied movements in time and space.

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[5] It is important to acknowledge right away that white bodies might also be racialized, marked by class, sex and gender and therefore may also suffer effects of marginalization, poverty and inequality, and be invested by power and subjectivation. On the other hand, bodies that are racialized as "black" or classified as" abnormal", like some LGBTQI people, may also be incorporated and reproduce the very heteronormative and patriarchal norms of exclusion and hierarchization that serve to include and normalize some of their practices, specially those that reproduce modern values of liberalism and nationalism that serve to perpetuate a globalized politico-economic framework of hierarchic and asymmetric power relations.

Method

The body as a vector of power and also as the site where the effects of power are more clearly traceable, will serve heuristically to look at power and resistance in relation to protests in Brazil. Looking at these protests through bodies is also understood as a means to show the ways in which the discourse of IR (regarding sovereignty, security, order and global governance) is indissociable from the material and bodily effects it enacts, which are per se locally situated.

An attentive look at embodiment shows the ways in which bodies are at the center of political disputes. From there, it might be possible to better understand the ways in which bodies are not only acted upon, but in their resistance to normative inscriptions of how they should be(have), they become political agents. And it is by looking at embodied practices of resistance, such as those promoted by autonomist movements in June 2013, that it is possible to understand the ways in which that agency is many times arbitrarily effaced, denied or criminalized.

Looking at bodies as effects of power and as a critical site of political dispute means to open up the body to political analysis in a way to critically interrogate it as something with a history that is contingent and open to change. Also, looking at the body enables seeing how its material conformation is contingent upon discourse (Butler 1990, 1993). As such, it is important to point out the ways bodies and their material conformation (i.e. their boundedness), are continually "written" through discourses and practices. Bodies are thus constantly reiterated and reproduced through daily practices of citation, representation and performance.

As Butler points out (2011:5, emphasis added):

> One can see the operation of a strong performative in Arendt's work – *in acting, we bring the space of politics into being*, understood as the space of appearance. It is a divine performative allocated to the human form. But as a result, *she cannot account for the ways in which the established architecture and topographies of power act upon us, and enter into our very action sometimes foreclosing our entry into the political sphere*, or making us differentially apparent within that sphere. And yet, to work within these two forms of power, we have to think about bodies in ways that Arendt does not do, and *we have to think about space as acting on us, even as we act within it*, or even when sometimes our actions, considered as plural or collective, bring it into being.

Butler's suggestion of thinking not only how bodies act in space, conforming a political space of appearance, but also how space and its material and technological infrastructures act upon bodies, can be linked to Massey's "hybrid geography". The latter recognizes agency as a "relational achievement, involving the creative presence of organic beings, technological devices, discursive codes, and people, in the fabrics of everyday living" (Massey et al., 1999: 26). This relational or hybrid point of view of embodiment is useful in thinking the ways in which local/global or national/international are not separated levels of analysis, but rather intertwined assemblies that are in constant and co-dependent interaction.

This said, I would like to propose that instead of doing a cartography or topography, I am doing a *corpography* of power and resistance, by looking at bodies circulating the protests of June 2013 in Brazil. This is so, because my understanding on bodies is not only material, but rather based on discourse and performativity, relational agency and hybrid geography. Following this, the discursive and visual materials analyzed in this thesis are understood to conform "bodies of knowledge". In so being, they are also technologies capable of (re)producing power, resistance and knowledge. In making sense of the material gathered here through a corpography, this thesis offers a way to think of and serve as channel for the performativity of texts, photos, and videos[6]. Also, interpreting the sources that constitute the thesis as "bodies of knowledge" enable seeing them as political performances, capable of constituting, regulating and transforming the space of appearance. A corpography is thus a way to open the material dealt with in this thesis to the vulnerability and precarity of any body's interpretation, since different bodies have different interpretations of what other bodies of knowledge

[6] The material used here is varied: secondary sources, like an ethnography of the Free Pass Movement (MPL) in Brasilia (Saraiva 2017), and multiple academic texts dealing with June 2013 in Brazil. The thesis also analyses footage of June 2013 protests that stretch from alternative or independent media, to corporate media oligopolies, footage and recordings of TV commentators dealing with protest events in Brazil and a large amplitude of material from alternative collectives located in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo peripheries. Moreover, varied reports dealing with the global, historical and statistical contexts linked to June 2013 in Brazil were also accessed in order to form the body of the present research. Finally, this work also brings an analysis of different press articles, present in different media (alternative and corporate), so as to offer a broad reading of the varied bodies of knowledge dealing with the protest events of Brazil. Some of this material deals specifically with Brazil, but many incorporate links with the global wave of outrage in the present decade of 2010.

do. A corpography allows for an openness in understanding bodies of knowledge have divergent effects on the regulation of the movements of bodies in space and time.

Moreover, there is an attempt to revisit the events linked to June 2013 through an archi-genealogy that exposes multiple discursive bodies without trying to confer them any perfect coherence, avoiding forming a totality or unity. As such, this corpography is also inspired in Foucault's genealogy — as an articulation of body and history:

> […]the body is the inscribed surface of events (traced by language and dissolved by ideas), the locus of a dissociated self (adopting the illusion of a substantial unity), and a volume of perpetual disintegration. Genealogy, as an analysis of descent is thus situated in the articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body. (Rabinow 1984: 83)

Following this, the aim here is to avoid a teleological reading of bodies in protest. Even though, in some moments, a certain chronology of events appears, the task here is rather to show how the subsumption of bodies in history contributes to efface the struggles and resistances posed to modern power, and modern politics.

The multiplication of narratives turned June into a multi-dimensional event, making it impossible to tame its bodies, voices and meanings or provide a definite account of what, why and how it happened. Thus, here I follow Foucault (1977) and Bhabha (1998), in the understanding that narratives are at the same time the object and the instrument through which the signification of reality is disputed, reflecting therefore asymmetric power relations. So, instead of offering an all-encompassing description of June 2013, what follows are some of the narrative disputes surrounding those events, specifically, but not exclusively, those located in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro[7].

Following Bhabha (1998) and his questioning of the idea of "nation as representation of a homogeneous unity", we could think of June as a "disjunctive

[7] The exclusion of protest narratives from other parts of Brazil and the world may be acknowledged as a sort of subsumption of history or a colonial movement. However, this was done due to the time constraints upon the making of this thesis and also due to the fact that the material encountered during the research limited the scope within these two cities, where the protests gathered the largest crowds. This might have resulted in a bias, including here, of studies, reports and news dealing with June 2013 in Brazil.

temporality". By doing so, the emphasis normally put into history is redirected to privilege instead the disruption of succession, progression and homogeneity, which serve as basis for sustaining the historicist view. Such a view is critical of history as a discourse that gives form to the identity of the modern subject (Nietzsche 1874[8], Foucault 1977[9]). It also casts light in the ways in which much of IR canon works to reify some concepts and practices. Also, following Nietzsche and afterwards Foucault, the aim is to look for narrative elements that contain retroactive or resistance forces that have been hidden away or forgotten by the dominance of modern historicism.

This, again, is the case of racism in Brazil, a technology of bodily regulation that goes largely unacknowledged in the sources dealing with the protests in Brazil. Beyond the fact that analyses of June ignore racism in their narratives of June 2013, another thing that caught my attention was that many of the narratives regarded June 2013 in binary terms, such as right versus left, reactionary versus autonomist movement, good versus bad demonstrator, and so on. Diametrically opposed sides were certainly present in June 2013, and analyzing them might conform important ways of accessing those events. However, the main contribution of those binary interpretations does not lie in the hermetic and closed version of June 2013 each one formulates, but rather in the ways in which they converge in multiple and unexpected points.

Moreover, depicting the plurality of those days in such a black-and-white manner misses some of June's most interesting political effects: the constitution of different political subjectivities that lie not only in the extremes of those binaries, but rather in between and beyond their respective narrative spaces. These radical political effects are to be felt possibly as long as the memory of those events is alive (or is accounted for). That is, such memorial time frames depend on affects, desires and, for sure, bodies and practices to carry them on. Such plural and

[8] According to Nietzsche (1980 [1874]), at the "end of history," one must rise above the roots of the identities of the 'West': one must slash the sword in the "body politic" of modernity. (p.14)

[9] Particularly for Foucault, the "English tendency" in history towards a "linear development" involves "reducing its entire history and genesis to the exclusive concern for utility" (Foucault, 1977: 139).

politically important memorial time frames are mainly effaced from those binary narratives by attempts to construct a clear-cut historical body.

As the "clear-cut" procedure points out, these narratives function by means of taking important parts away, since those parts might be too destabilizing to be accounted for as "proper" to form part of some narrative bodies. As De Certeau (1984) also reminds us, modern history depends itself on this practice of delimitation[10]: that in which the subjects of history are conformed into a subjective narrative body. So, narratives are here mobilized as a way to access ruptures, since it "derives its interventionary force from its very capacity to be altered —unmoored, mobile, lacking any fixed position" (Certeau 1984: 86).

Stuart Hall (1996) presents a similar argument, when talking about the importance of postcolonial critical thinking: frontier effects (that confer the appearance of unit) are not given but constructed. Consequently, political positions are not fixed and do not repeat themselves from one historical situation to the next or from one theatre of antagonism to another in an endless iteration. As posed by Hall, when talking about the subsumption of the colonized and subaltern histories of resistance under a "common" western history:

> Since the Sixteenth Century, these differential temporalities and histories have been irrevocably and violently yoked together. This certainly does not mean that they ever were or are the same. Their grossly unequal trajectories, which formed the very ground of political antagonism and cultural resistance, have nevertheless been impossible to disentangle, conceptualize or narrate as discrete entities: though that is precisely what the dominant western historiographical tradition has often tried to do. No site, either 'there' or 'here', in its fantasied autonomy and in-difference, could develop without taking into account its significant and/or abjected others.

So, this work is also informed by the above ways of thinking history and narrative. One of the efforts here is to uncover some of the moments of narrative disruption, the moments where the actions and practices of bodies in protest function as counter narratives within the narratives themselves. To stroll across different (counter)narratives enables not only pointing out to the different

[10] […] the gap scientific institutions have opened between the artificial languages of a regulated operativity and the modes of speech of social groups has always been the scene of battles and compromises. This line of demarcation, which is, moreover, unstable and changing, remains strategic in the struggles to increase or contest the influence of artificial techniques on social practices. It separates artificial languages, articulating the procedures of a specific kind of knowledge, from natural languages, organizing common signifying activity (Certeau 1984: 7).

subjectivities constituted by and against the protests of June 2013. It also makes it possible to further (dis)locate some myths: the unit of the nation and its legitimate sovereignty, representative politics, order and security, and so on. Importantly, (counter)narratives reveal how this (dis)location does not happen by means of an outside threat. The (dis)location comes rather from within the limits of these very categories, all of which have their own relation with rupture, through different normative and police practices. Moreover, thinking protests in terms of (counter)narratives help uncovering how processes and practices of continuous (dis)location are necessary to the stabilization of limits of the narratives that guarantee, on their turn, the prevalence of the status quo power structures.

Chapter overview

This said, this thesis develops in the following ways: Chapter one discusses how the body relates to power and resistance so as to trace the regulation of bodies in Brazil. This discussion is located within critical theory, specifically in the work of Michel Foucault. The body is centric to Foucault's understanding of power and resistance. The chapter brings a discussion on Foucault's genealogy of modern power in the conformation of the three modern power regimes: sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower, so as to highlight power and resistance in relation to bodies. In doing that, three main mechanisms of the bodily regulation appear to have special relevance to this thesis: security mechanisms, that serve to regulate the movement of bodies in time and space and their access to the city; sexuality, as a means that enables power's strategic reproduction from the individual body to the social body; and racism, a technology that legitimizes the war against those bodies that entail risk to the biopolitical order and security.

From this, I bring some contemporary critical theories of race using biopolitics as a framework, so as to propose some concepts that allow me looking at the specificities of bodily regulation in Brazil. This theoretical and conceptual framework is contextualized in the last section. The section suggests that racism functions as the underlying technology of power regulating bodies in Brazil. Also it proposes that what we have in the country is a *raced power assemblage* based

on *necro(bio)politics*. These claims are supported by literature dealing with Brazil's colonial past and statistical evidence.

Chapter two attempts to uncover some of the moments of narrative disruption that point to the disputes of power and resistance in what I take to be "narrative bodies" of June 2013 in Brazil. As such, here the attempt is do a *corpography* — tracing how bodies in protest are (re)presented and become (in)visible. This is done first in offering a literature review of the existent academic narrative body, then proceeding to point out the ambiguities in the narratives of the media and institutional politics, and finally by highlighting some counter-narratives, so as to illustrate the ways in which they provoke ruptures in any attempt to historicize or contain the meanings of June. The task is not to provide a final, totalizing narrative, but to organize some common frames of interpretation and bring to the fore some counter-narratives that are many times neglected, such as those of black bodies and autonomous collectives from the peripheries.

Chapter three discusses resistance from the point of view of autonomist Free Pass Movement (MPL), as a means to understand how, and up to what point, that movement challenged the notion of modern politics. This is done first by looking at the ways MPL challenged the *security mechanism of the tariff*, as a main factor hindering the free circulation of bodies in the Brazilian public space. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how the long-term demand for Free Fare and MPL autonomist practices based on direct action, horizontality and prefigurative politics contribute to novel ways of thinking political space, time and subjectivity.

Chapter four tries to trace some ways power responded to June 2013. This is done by looking at two cases of criminalization linked through the Black Bloc tactic: that of Rafael Braga and that of the 23 militants arrested under the charge of criminal association. The argument is that these two cases exemplify how power extended the use of race and sex as technologies to regulate and criminalize *other-than-black* bodies. To do that, I use Mbembe's notion of "becoming Black of the world" and Jasbir Puar's notion of "queerly racialized terrorist populations".

Chapter 1:
Power, resistance and the regulation of bodies in Brazil

This chapter deals with critical theory in order reveal how power and resistance are intertwined and how their effects are better traced through bodies. To that aim, a quickly contextualization of the discussion of bodies in feminist and queer studies is provided. After that, the chapter brings a discussion of bodies in relation to power and resistance in Foucault. That discussion is followed by a short overview on theories dealing with race and body, so as to unveil the ways in which race is a central mechanism for the regulation of bodies. Finally, the chapter ends with a diagnosis of the power regimes that, intertwined with racism, (re)produce bodies in Brazil, allowing or denying them freedom of circulation.

1.1 The body in feminist and queer literatures

Feminist and queer theorists[11] strongly contributed to put the body on the intellectual map. They led the way in showing how the restrictions, complicities, and privileges of the broader affiliations to which we belong are situated, embodied and also negotiated (Harding 1986, Lauretis 1986, Anzaldúa 1987, Haraway 1988). Moreover, gender studies showed that gender is not an individual question of "roles", but a collective strength that structure available positions and power relations that come with them.

Michel Foucault, one of the main references to critical gender studies that I mention here, points out the ways in which power structures (from patriarchy to sovereignty), acquire meaning and are (re)produced based on very specific and gendered and sexed practices and relations. Feminists and queers following Foucault argue that power effects are first and foremost located in non-masculine and non-heteronormative bodies. It is in great part due to these contributions, that

[11] It is important to recognize right away the (productive) limits of such approaches. Even so-called anti-essentialist feminists tend to examine the world from Western women's perspective and queer theorists tend to foreground their research in white-Western issues of sexuality and desire. I also acknowledge their multiple forms and many tensions (which are beyond the scope of the present work to discuss). In spite of these productive limitations, I find these approaches extremely important due to the fact that they share basic political commitments of questioning power structures that exclude bodies that do not conform to heteronormative, white and masculine hierarchies, producing injustice and inequity with basis on the arbitrary universalization of such positions.

I try to understand the centrality of the body and of bodily articulations in the study of politics in its different scales and relations.

In most of this work the authors are quick to point out that there is, of course, no one body, *the* body is a masculinist illusion. There are only bodies in the plural. Much discussion focuses on the complex processes through which female and male bodies are differentiated (Longhurst, 1995: 98). Feminist theorists of the body, working with the notion of the bodily imaginary (e.g. Irigaray 1985, Gatens 1995, Lennon 2004), see creative acts directed at alterations in our mode of perceiving bodies, as central to the process of political and social transformation. Hence, they argue the body cannot be taken for granted as stable or pre-political. This is due to the fact that embodiment shows agency as a decentered and precarious achievement. As such, it means that what is material and what is social about the body is dependent upon interaction, which is, per se, resultant of promiscuous combinations (Massey et al. 1999: 26). Thinking in these lines contributes, for example, to understand the effacement of bodies in (inter/ national) politics. This is so because sovereignty depends on centering power in a "stable" sovereign subject, securing it through law and reinforcing order by the concentration of violence in the hands of the state (e.g. police, military).

Judith Butler, on her turn, understands the body is socially constructed, as it embodies possibilities of acting that are both conditioned and circumscribed by historical convention. Following Foucault, in locating the effects of power and discourse on bodies, she proposes a theory of performativity, understood as "the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effect that it names" (1993: 2). Hence, Butler argues the apparent materiality of the body is related to "a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter" (Butler 1993: 9). So, in line with Butler's view of the body, we could expand the understanding of the state — not only as a political construction that is contingent — but also as multiple practices that are constantly performed, conferring the state the appearance of stability and continuity in space and time.

Hence, the areas of critical gender studies that focus on bodies, allow us to think politics, geography, territory and space as constituted by embodied practices and performances. It is thinking in line with these contributions that I use the notion of body as a means to expand and dislocate the ways mainstream IR looks at the political and establishes the limits of what politics is and where it should be. I will, hence, explore how the notion of body most often invoked by critical gender studies — that locate agency in the political and ethical autonomy of the subject — has been brought to bear upon the study of a multitude of people (not only women), circulating and taking part in protest. Based on that literature, I look for alternative ways of thinking about politics based on bodies and subjectivity, especially as it relates to embodied performances as means of political subjective formation.

1.2 Michel Foucault - A political anatomy of power and resistance

The body plays an important role in much of Michel Foucault's scholarship. This is due to the interest he had in looking for the ways in which power and knowledge worked in conforming the major lines structuring human behavior and social relations, through what he called regimes of truth, truth effects or systems of veridiction: historically specific mechanisms which produce discourses and realities that function as true in particular times and places. He explains, for example, that it is through the investigation of how power is invested in bodies through disciplinary and normalization techniques (in the psychiatric clinic and the prison), that he is able to trace the conditions of possibility for the emergence of the human sciences:

> The archaeology of the human sciences has to be established through studying the mechanisms of power which have invested human bodies, acts and forms of behaviour. And this investigation enables us to rediscover one of the conditions of the emergence of the human sciences: the great nineteenth-century effort in discipline and normalization. (Foucault 1980: 61)

In search to understand how some discourses and practices turn out to become major truths orienting human conduct in different times and societies, Foucault looks at the body as a means to orient his endeavors. He does so through what he calls a political anatomy. However, this anatomy is not merely the study

of the structure of politics and its parts. It is rather the observation of how bodies become objects of knowledge through power investments:

> [A political anatomy] would not be the study of a state in terms of a 'body' (with its elements, its resources and its forces), nor would it be the study of the body and its surroundings in terms of a small state. One would be concerned with the 'body politic', as a set of material elements and techniques that serve as weapons, relays, communication routes and supports for the power and knowledge relations that invest human bodies and subjugate them by turning them into objects of knowledge. (Foucault 1995: 53)

Based on the above, we can see that power and knowledge hold an important relation to bodies. This is so because bodies are the main sites where the effects of power and resistance can be observed. But before we look at the ways the body is intertwined with power and resistance, it is important to first acknowledge the relation of power and resistance in Foucault.

1.2.1 Power and resistance

In *History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault clearly defines his view of power. For him, power is a discursive relation rather than something a person or group wields or bears; power is everywhere: diffused and embodied in discourses and practices which are constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and regimes of truth. Yet, power does not exist by itself; the existence of power relations depends on "a multiplicity of points of resistance" which are "present everywhere in the power network" (Foucault 1978: 95). Resistance — as power — is plural and spread out in its different and multiple relations with power. As such, resistance, or counter-conducts, are intrinsic or immanent to power: "they are the odd term in relations of power, they are inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite" (Ibid. 96).

Also, Foucault gives a great contribution to overcome some of the deadlocks of structural scholarship[12], when he points out that power is not an object one owns, like a class privilege in marxist analyses, or like the power a state wields in (neo)realist analyses of IR. This is so because, for him, power is productive and dependent upon practices, rather than being the present in some

[12] An important contribution of Foucault in that aspect was showing, through his readings of power/knowledge, that there is no "unified" subject whose identity is "complete" or "unidimensional" or whose reason is "universal".

bodies and absent in others. Hence, in *Discipline and Punish* (1995), Foucault goes beyond the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy, typical of structural readings of power. In Foucault's view, power is rather an effect of multiple relations which are exercised by and through people and institutions and, as such, it generates effects of resistance as well:

> […] this power is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the 'privilege', acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions — an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated. Furthermore, this power is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who 'do not have it'; it invests them, is transmitted by them, and through them; it exerts pressure upon them, just as themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them. (Foucault 1995: 27)

So, after understanding that power and resistance are co-constitutive, the next section looks at the ways in which bodies are the privileged site where Foucault looks for the effects of such relations.

1.2.2 Tracing power-effects on bodies

Although power is diffuse, it cannot be contained in anyone nor anything, its effects can be traced by observing the ways in which bodies react or resist to power. Power does not exist per se, rather it needs both material and discursive forms to convey its effects into being. Power is not something either. It is spread out, non localizable in one thing as such, being rather perceived and observable only in its effects. Thus, power is better observable, according to Foucault, by looking at its historically and geographically specific and contingent effects. As such, bodies are the specifically historical and material means Foucault focuses at in order to observe power-effects. This is so because for Foucault it is in bodies that we can better trace those effects of power, since they bear the material and psychological marks of such effects and are therefore also the main reproducers of those power/resistance relations. Notwithstanding, we cannot say that bodies directly and consciously reproduce power/resistance relations, but we can say they carry along power/resistance mechanisms in their practices, existence and even their death, as we shall see in the upcoming discussion.

Hence, it is by observing the effects of power over bodies that Foucault is able to point out to the historical and local specificity of regimes of truth and,

from there, argue for the impossibility of the existence of a unique, universal and transcendental subjectivity or truth that would orient humanity and human history. Being so, bodies are not naturally given phenomena; their materiality come to be and appear as "natural" through processes of subjection that are per se products of social construction permeated by power/resistance relations. Gayle Salamon (2010), following Foucault, points out to the importance of bodies in tracing power effects. She also observes that the contrary is necessary: we must understand power to understand bodies, since they are invested in one another:

> Understanding bodies is necessary if we are to understand power because bodies are both produced by and bear the evidence of a power that is nonlocalized and dispersed; it is recognizable only through its effects, which are often bodily effects. If we must understand bodies to understand power, it is conversely true that we must understand power to understand bodies (Salamon 2010:79).

Following Salamon's observation, we can then trace some of the main ways body and power are intertwined in some of Foucault's works.

1.3 The body in Foucault's genealogy of power

By looking at the effects of power over bodies and the ways in which bodies responded and resisted to power in different occasions, Foucault delineated a genealogy of power, that he later called a genealogy of the arts of government — historically peculiar sets of knowledges and practices, rules and objectives aimed at the exercise of political sovereignty. According to Foucault, there were three main forms of governmental power that are part of the Western history of the present: sovereign power, disciplinary power, and biopower. This said, this section is a panorama that traces some of the ways in which body and power intertwine in this genealogy of power. From the king's body to the social body (or bio-political body), the body functions as a sort of a through line linking sovereign power to biopolitics. Despite the fact these lineages of power are here displayed in an "order", it is important to remind that, for Foucault, these power regimes could in fact, co-exist side by side, and combine differently, depending on the context. Also, as noticed by Rabinow and Rose (2006: 2014), "it would certainly be misleading simply to project Foucault's analysis forward as a guide to our present and its possibilities". So, the panorama traced here forms a conceptual framework

that will later on be situated in the Brazilian time and space of bodily regulation in the context of June 2013 protests.

To begin with, in *Discipline and Punish* (1995), Foucault notes the ways in which the body intertwines with power and the political field. Based on this work, we can see the ways in which the relations between body and power will be the basis upon which Foucault will analyze the above mentioned arts of government:

> […] the body is also involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. This political investment of the body is bound up, in accordance with complex reciprocal relations, with economic use; it is largely as a force of production that the body is invested with relations of power and domination; but, on the other hand, its constitution as labour power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection (in which need is also a political instrument meticulously prepared, calculated and used); the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body. (Foucault 1995: 25-26)

The body's entanglement in a political field happens through what Foucault calls the political technology of the body. This political technology can be understood as one of power's multiple facets. Starting with what can be seen as the basis for sovereign power, Foucault goes on to discuss the importance of the king's body in the functioning of the French monarchy. He observes, in *Power/ Knowledge* (1980), that "[i]n a society like that of the seventeenth century, the King's body wasn't a metaphor, but a political reality. Its physical presence was necessary for the functioning of the monarchy" (p. 55). The body of the king was thus both the material and metaphysical conveyor of sovereign power.

Also, in observing the practice of public execution, Foucault observes the relation of power in the bodies of the king and the condemned. In this respect, on the one hand, we can see how the political technology of the body works in what Foucault terms "the double body" of the king: there is one body that dies and another body that is maintained through time by means of the organization of "an iconography, a political theory of monarchy, legal mechanisms" (Foucault 1995: 28), all of which serve as mechanisms to link the king's body to the crown's need. On the other hand, we have the opposite pole in the body of the condemned for a crime against the sovereign: a body that "calls forth a whole theoretical discourse", not to ground the power of the sovereign, but to signify the lack of power with which it is marked. The duplication of the condemned body would,

thus, be the continuity of the effects of the punishment over that body. The continuity of the effects of this micro-physics of punitive power would give rise to a "non-corporal soul", allowing a certain type of knowledge that "extends and reinforces the effects of this power" (Foucault, 1995: 29). As such, it is possible to see that the non-corporal soul functioned as a form of symbolic power that reverberated the effects of the material embodied presence of the king, virtually actualizing it through time and memory of its rule and kinship. The king, at that time, was thus an equivalent of god on earth, and its "soul" could also carry some of that religious symbolic function as well.

However, in the midst of the eighteenth century, torture linked to sovereign power started to loose its effectivity, since it was no longer producing the desired effects of bodily regulation. It is in this context that Foucault sees the emergence of a parallel form of power in its disciplinary form. Power, running through disciplinary and normalizing techniques, makes individuals not only objects of knowledge — subjected bodies — but also subjects who reproduce power relations — productive bodies. By subject Foucault means two opposed things: to be subject to someone else by control and dependence; and to be tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Each meaning presupposes a different type of power: one that subjugates and another that makes subjects. Therefore, even when subjected to specific forms of power in institutions (e.g. prison, school, family), and in their relations with others, individuals become subjects or agents of subjection themselves, helping to perpetuate modern forms of power in their daily practices and social interaction.

Although disciplinary power is present and circulates institutions, it cannot be located or reduced to any particular institution or state apparatus through which it flows. Hence, even though institutions might have access to the body, the effects of power are more spread out and nonlinear, never being completely caught by any practice or discourse. This, again, is due to the way in which Foucault understand power and its apparatuses, which for him operates in a micro-physics of power:

> Now, the study of this micro-physics presupposes that the power exercised on the body is conceived not as property, but as a strategy, that its effects of

> domination are attributed not to 'appropriation', but to dispositions (…) tactics, techniques (…); that one should take as its model a perpetual battle rather than a contract regulating a transaction or the conquest of a territory. (Foucault 1995: 26)

Following the above, it is possible to say Foucault makes a constant effort to challenge modern political theory. In *Society Must Be Defended* (2003), he reinstates the above by saying that "rather than analysing [power] in terms of surrender, contract, and alienation", we would better analyze power "first and foremost in terms of conflict, confrontation, and war" (p.15). In contrast to the Hobbesian model of juridical sovereignty understood to overcome a pre-modern "war of all against all" through social contract, Foucault suggests politics is a silent war:

> […] political power is perpetually to use a sort of silent war to reinscribe that relationship of force, and to reinscribe it in institutions, economic inequalities, language, and even the bodies of individuals. This is the initial meaning of our inversion of Clausewitz's aphorism—politics is the continuation of war by other means. (Foucault 2003:16)

The implication of this assertion is that rather than accepting the primacy of liberal ideas such as the contract, or positive law as a rational progression from a premodern anarchy, they should instead be recognized as the residual and contingent outcome of violent conquest, and the victory of a particular history over a multiplicity of possible histories, a victory marked by killing, and disciplining bodies as a means to exercise power.

Moving further, to observe how the body relates to power in the third art of government — biopolitics — Foucault discusses the shifts on the nature of sovereignty once again focusing on changes on the body. He looks at how power is invested in the body not by individualizing disciplinary effects, but in its reconfiguration through its investment in the social body as a whole, in the form of population:

> So after a first seizure of power over the body in an individualizing mode, we have a second seizure of power that is not individualizing but, if you like, massifying, that is directed not at man-as-body but at man-as-species. After the anatomo-politics of the human body established in the course of the eighteenth century, we have, at the end of that century, the emergence of something that is no longer an anatomo-politics of the human body, but what I would call a "biopolitics" of the human race. (Foucault 2003: 243)

In order to govern life in its totality, biopower uses statistics, predictability calculations and surveillance of patterns within the social body in order to assess

how to act and manage the different changes in an optimal way. This biopolitical regulation occurs in a mode of politico-economic administration that Foucault calls "governmentality", or "the right disposition of things arranged so as to lead to a suitable end" (2007: 96). The population and the political economy that emerges with it become the intermediary through which life can be accessed and regulated:

> […] it's the body of society which becomes the new principle in the nineteenth century. It is this social body which needs to be protected, in a quasi-medical sense. In place of the rituals that served to restore the corporal integrity of the monarch, remedies and therapeutic devices are employed such as the segregation of the sick, the monitoring of contagions, the exclusion of delinquents. The elimination of hostile elements by the supplice (public torture and execution) is thus replaced by the method of asepsis-criminology, eugenics and the quarantining of 'degenerates'. (Foucault 1980: 55)

Following this, we can see that it is not an overall structure of consensus (i.e. a social contract), that makes the individual bodies emerge in biopolitics as population or coherent social body. It is rather the effects of power making itself present through the bodies it subjects that conform and reproduce such a structure of domination that seems stable. In this sense, the sovereign structure becomes invested in and intertwined with the bodies in a new assemblage: the population-sovereign one; or, to put it in Foucault's terms: the bio-politics. Finally, this power-investment in the social body as a whole is only possible by means of security mechanisms. The latter are devices used to prevent or eliminate risk and promote the effect of stability.

In the *Birth of Biopolitics* (2008), Foucault argues that the emergence of biopolitics is deeply related to liberalism, a way of governing that emerged in the eighteenth century, whose political economy rationality was divergent from raison d'État and its technical apparatus of mercantilism, police state and European balance. While raison d'État is characteristically repressive and has law as an external principle of regulation, liberalism is productive and has the market as an internal mechanism of limitation. Differently from the principle of raison d'État — whose principle and domain of application is the state — the principle of liberal governmental reason is political economy — a political rationality concerned with the protection of individuals' rights and freedoms. In this sense,

liberalism is a form of government whose technical apparatus is security — a political technology aimed at society in the form of population.

Hence, security mechanisms form an important basis of biopolitics. These mechanisms seek to regulate bodies without being repressive. Therefore, they produce power effects by regulating the circulation of what is good and useful for the flourishing of the city as an open hub of production, exchange and commerce through the establishment of norms. These mechanisms enable liberal governance: at the same time they seek to enable exchange and production, they prevent the circulation of bodies who potentially carry risk to that commercial production and exchange. As such, indisciplined bodies, those who do not want to be governed, those who do not contribute to producing those economic relations are regulated and eliminated. Security mechanisms, are thus linked to surveillance, as a means to guarantee the best possible circulation of capital (economic and human). As Foucault puts it, in *Security, Territory and Population* (2007:18):

> An important problem for towns in the eighteenth century was allowing for surveillance, since the suppression of city walls made necessary by economic development meant that one could no longer close towns in the evening or closely supervise daily comings and goings, so that the insecurity of the towns was increased by the influx of the floating population of beggars, vagrants, delinquents, criminals, thieves, murderers, and so on, who might come, as everyone knows, from the country […]. In other words, it was a matter of organizing circulation, eliminating its dangerous elements, making a division between good and bad circulation, and maximizing the good circulation by diminishing the bad. It was therefore also a matter of planning access to the outside, mainly for the town's consumption and for its trade with the outside.

The changes promoted by biopolitics in the totalizing level of the population included transformations not only in life, but in everything concerning life. This all-encompassing "architectural" transformation was paralleled by changes in law, medicine, commerce and other domains. As such, life in the form of the population, the life of the human species, was made the referent object of security, and circulation was the sphere of security operations. Regarding the contemporary importance of practices of securing through circulation, Aradau and Blanke (2010:1-2) argue that:

> The current concerns with infectious diseases, terrorism and migration appear nested in this modern imaginary of securing through circulation. What matters are 'unruly' movements that need to be prevented, contingencies that need to be preempted and good circulation that is to be fostered…. Risks, insecurities

> and vulnerabilities are increasingly governed by orienting circulatory processes.

The securitization of circulation is, in fact, one of the central questions related to June 2013 protests in Brazil, and it also lies centric to many other resistance claims regarding the regulation and governance of bodies in contemporaneity. Although this is going to be further discussed along this thesis, in special in chapter three, here it is valid to signal the importance of the issue of circulation for the functioning of biopolitics. This is so, because circulation links state, economy and life in ways that enable the best possible functioning of the liberal market through the political fostering of life in a multi-scalar sense, one that stretches from the microphysics of power to the macro structures enabling the circulation and surveillance of capital and people, which is getting increasingly more global. However, as said before, scales are just metaphors to understand that the micro situated practices may have effects constitutive of "larger" or "macro" scales or structuring practices, entailed in international politics and global capitalist relations. That said, the next section deals with how body and resistance are thought in relation to the three power regimes discussed so far: sovereign, disciplinary and biopolitical powers.

1.4 Body and resistance in Foucault

So long, we can apprehend that a key point in Foucault's approach is that power is an everyday practice. As such, it depends on social relations that are contingent: state authority is not a given, as in the tale of the Hobbesian social contract, but rather resultant of a perpetual battle. Power techniques are quite often, but not only, material, and the body is one of the preferential sites where Foucault looks for power effects. Based on that, if we want to understand the ways in which Foucault envisioned resistance to power, it is necessary to look at how bodies are conveyors not only of power, but of resistance as well. As Banu Bargu (2014) observes, following Foucault, "it is not possible to discuss the nature of power relations without reference to the multiple struggles and resistances that accompany, imply, shape, deflect, and respond to those power relations" (p. 55). Hence, for every form of power, there is also a form o

resistance. Here, I will briefly look into the ways bodies relate with power and resistance in the three different arts of government discussed above: sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower.

1.4.1 Resistance to the surface display of power

Sovereign power is what John Protevi (2011) calls a "surface display of power", in the sense the condemned body is seen as a surface upon which power takes hold and produces effects by means of torture. As such, it is on the surface of the body that torturers and executioners display the power of the sovereign in the "spectacle of the scaffold". Following this, I would argue with and against Foucault, when he reasons that a political anatomy is not to be seen as territory conquest. In this specific instance of public execution, where the body is handled as a surface that is tortured, seized and cut into pieces, the body is indeed equivalent to a territorial space that is divided and conquered through its physic partitioning. It is thus possible to trace a parallel here with the importance of holding a territory for the conformation of the classic modern sovereign state, for example.

Furthermore, the treatment of body as surface in sovereign power resonates with the fact that one of the main characteristics of classic sovereignty is the control of a territorial surface (Agnew 2005). Hence, by executing a body by means of public exhibition of death, the sovereign exerts a sort of violent symbolic exhibition of territorial power over the body of the condemned. It separates the body's physical surface, dividing and splitting its parts as in a territorial conquest. The fact is that, even though power is non localizable, in the moment of torture, the executed body is carrying the effects of power in a situated territorial sense, even if the power effects of such a power display spreads afterwards metaphysically, through the "soul" of the executed.

However, it is also important to remember that such power is not a property, but a strategy, whose effects are so spread out that such a public display of sovereign power cannot exert itself without facing resistance. As argued by Foucault, it is the body of the condemned, in its lack of power, that persists as

"soul" even after its physical death. The "soul" is symbolic: it carries with it both the power effects of sovereign power to take life, and the resistance that persists symbolically in the act of the condemned who keeps denying sovereignty. Also, as noticed by Foucault, even if the spectators themselves were essential to the functioning of sovereign power (that spread its effects through terror), their sympathy towards the condemned was the basis for possible revolt against the horror perpetuated by agents of the crown. It is indeed through this "perpetual battle" that such practice of public display of sovereign power gradually loses its place, opening the way to the emergence of disciplinary tactic, as a more subtle and yet productive form of power.

Regarding contemporary practices of embodied resistance to sovereign power, an interesting study of Banu Bargu (2014) points to the hunger strikes of inmates in Turkey as an example of necroresistance. By denying a life under the authority of sovereign power, prisoners commit a slow form of self-imposed death. In doing that, Bargu argues, death strikers are using a tactic she calls "weaponization of life", taking back from the [sovereign] apparatuses of the modern state the power over life and death. Death fasters use their body as "conduit of a political intervention", in which the body is only an intermediary and "its destruction defies the distinction between means and ends and obliterates instrumental rationality" (p. 16). This is so, because, when hunger strikers destroy their bodies they promote a similar effect of resistance as that of the non-corporal soul of the condemned, discussed above. The death of hunger strikers is linked to the metaphysical meaning of existence, which means that, by destroying their bodies, the hunger strikers are able to demonstrate that they prioritize the life of their political cause over their biological existence. Since they cannot live in accordance with their political convictions, they would rather die than living a life without the political meaning they want to invest their lives with.

Moreover, Lilja & Vinthagen (2014), argue as sovereign power demands absolute obedience, resistance would be practices that undermine these absolute values, its institutions and representatives. As such, these authors argue, "resistance is, in a corresponding way, typically openly defiant and challenges

through rebellions, strikes, boycotts, disobedience and political revolutions, by overthrowing kings, governments and regimes" (p.113). Lilja and Vinthagen give Tunisia and Syria revolutions, in 2011, as empirical examples where popular revolt led to the ousting of the sovereign.

Notwithstanding, despite the fact that many forms of resistance to sovereign power have been used along modern history, Foucault remarks that, "in political theory and analysis, we still have not cut the head off the king". This is Foucault's argument in the first volume *History of Sexuality* (1978: 88–89). The point he makes is that even when resistance tries to "cut the head off the king", no modern revolution was capable of overcoming the centrality of sovereign power in modern politics. This is so, according to Foucault, because modern knowledge and practice still understand power within a juridical monarchic framework, which has been gradually penetrated by new mechanisms and techniques of power "that are probably irreducible to the problem of law" (Ibid., p.89). And this is partially the case when power took hold of life of "men[sic] as living bodies". And this is why understanding power in its disciplinary and biopolitical aspects is so important in order to better account for more effective ways of resisting and constituting other-than-modern and other-than-sovereign political imaginaries.

1.4.2 Resistance as everyday dismissal of disciplinary routines

Differently from sovereign power, disciplinary power works in a more reserved or discreet fashion, if compared to the spectacle of public torture and executions, and focuses not on the body surface, but on its internal processes and forces. Protevi (op.cit.), notices that this can be seen as a shift from space — surface display of power — to time — internalizing power through disciplinary routines. In disciplinary power bodies are managed up to the point they become "docile bodies" through training in disciplinary institutions. Such disciplinary power could not be accomplished as an order decreed from above (as in sovereign power). Its productive effects could only be achieved with a more subtle power, avoiding direct resistance.

This happens through power techniques, such as the confessional in churches and Bentham's Panopticon prison design, each attempting to constitute a different power-knowledge relation over particular kinds of subjects (e.g. "sinners" and "criminals"). These techniques form thus both the internal and external aspects of individuals under surveillance, treating their bodies and minds as objects. In order to function as a modern subject, every individual becomes object of power, being disciplined and normalized through a series of productive techniques and norms.

Thus, we can see that disciplinary power is individualizing, hierarchic and has as goal the control of individuals, by means of their continuous supervision through time. This form of power functions by means of the control, subjection, classification and establishment of a sort o hierarchy of bodies. As such, discipline works at the intersection of individual and group, where the "individual body becomes an element that may be placed, moved, articulated with others". The individual body is thus "constituted as a part of a multi-segmentary machine" (Foucault 1995: 164). This is so in order to guarantee that the productivity of the individual is thoroughly linked to the productivity of the collective. This productive outcome was, as Foucault showed, the basis upon which capitalistic modes of production would be conformed. In that sense, disciplinary power was a means of getting around the straitjacket of explicit sovereign power.

This is so, because in disciplinary power, power is invested in the body not by torture and death, but by controlling its movements, training and containing its behaviour in a way that is productive: it conforms "docile bodies" by means of the internal control of bodies and their corporeal behavior in public institutions (e.g. the clinic, army, prison, school). Hence, disciplinary power is aimed at normalizing individuals, so that they become more productive within a governmental sphere organized in a capitalist economy, submitted to the control of the sovereign state. But how can resistance happen in such an individualized and enclosed sphere?

Resistance to disciplinary power is in fact more complicated exactly because this form of power atomizes and isolates the body, and thereof divides the collectivity and its capacity to resist openly and collectively. When bodies are confined within the enclosed sphere of institutions, their resistance is effaced from public view, making political articulation and collective public revolt much more difficult to achieve. The strength of disciplinary power lies exactly in its ability to isolate and confine bodies in order to invest them with normalcy through the application of multiple mechanisms of rule and control. However, Banu Bargu (2014) notices that it is this investment of power on the individual body that also makes it an independent force, capable of localized resistance. As posed by Lilja & Vinthagen (2014: 114):

> Resistance to discipline will be about either openly refusing to participate in the construction of new subjectivity/capacities/skills/organisations, or the de facto transformation of such social construction into something else — something not useful for power interests.

This transformation of discipline, or its subversion, might be linked to forms of "everyday resistance", such as those detailed by James Scott (1989). Scott says that "relatively powerless groups", usually make use of acts as foot-dragging, dissimulations, smuggling, anonymous threats, and so on. Another way of resisting discipline, would be sarcasm, misunderstandings or mimicry, as described in Homi Bhabha (1984). Mimicry is a form of resistance in which the colonized becomes like the colonizer, but not yet the same, challenging and dislocating the framework of colonial referentiality and knowledge through a subversion of the positions of the Other, who is the norm. This has close relation to what Foucault calls "reverse discourse", which opens space for the reiteration, re-articulation or repetition of the dominant discourse with a slightly different meaning. This also has to do with what Judith Butler calls "performance", pointing to the limits of the process of subjectivation entailed in disciplinary power. For Butler, performance opens the possibility of a repetition that repeats against its origin, against the unity of the subject. As she puts it: "[i]t is precisely the possibility of a repetition which does not consolidate that dissociated unity, the subject, but which proliferates effects which undermine the force of normalization" (Butler 1997: 93). As such, performance is a way to mimic the

norm coming from an authority, at the same time it points to the fact that the norm and the authority is nothing more than a performance itself, which became normalized and authorized through the very disciplinary techniques of constant repetition through time.

1.4.3 Resistance by performing collectively against the norm(al)

The biopolitical form of power, as we saw previously, arose through the intertwinement of sovereign politics with life not in the level of individual bodies as in disciplinary power, but in the level of the entire social body — the body politic — in the figure of the population. Hence, biopolitics, or biopower, is concerned with the regulation of social life. It is a form of social engineering, where power and knowledge are invested in the social body as whole. In biopolitics, as the name suggests, the focus is on managing bodies, or life *per se*: health, longevity, energy, vitality, stability and growth are in focus. This administration of bodies happens, as we have seen, through security mechanisms that have the population as target and circulation as means. However, beyond these security mechanisms, Foucault underscores other two central aspects of the bodily regulation within the biopolitical regime: sexuality and racism.

Sex works as one of the most productive effects of the atomization and investment in the internal functionings of the body, playing a fundamental role in the reproduction of power at the level of population. Sex, as pointed by Foucault in *History of Sexuality* (1978), can be seen as a tactics, a mechanism that functions in line with the bourgeoisie's project for society, guiding its potentiality towards capitalist production of individuals capable as workers. Following this, sex as a productive power strategy, conforms the already subjected and disciplined body into four main lines: by the regulation of reproduction through the conformation of the binary reproductive role of the Malthusian (heterosexual) couple as the norm, enabling the satisfactory reproduction of the population and the statistical control of its growth; by the human capital investment on masturbating child born in the nuclear heteronormative family; by containing the hysteric woman (who does not conform to her assigned role as mother/reproducer), both in the private

sphere of the home and the privacy of the shrink divan; and by locking the perverse/abnormal adult (and therefore not sexually nor professionally productive), in the confines of rehab clinics or prisons.

Racism, on its turn, is another central mechanism for the bodily regulation in the biopolitical power regime. Foucault, in *Society Must be Defended* (2003), sees the emergence of a new form of racism in the nineteenth century as a strategy of biopower. Foucault argues that racism functions as articulator in the juxtaposition of biopower and sovereign power, in which biopower functions through the "old sovereign power of life and death" (p. 258). This re-articulation of sovereign power through racism was "modeled on war", since biopower "had to articulate the will to destroy the adversary with the risk that it might kill those whose lives it had, by definition, to protect, manage, and multiply" (Idem). What is important, in this view, is that Foucault is thinking racism as a mechanism that actualizes sovereign power in a biopolitical fashion. Racism "allows biopower to work", since it functions as a mechanism to contain risk. Hence, racism justifies executions as a sort of "inoculation" of population against risk.

Foucault seems to point to racism as a link between sovereign power and biopower when he argues: "Once the mechanism of biocriminal was called upon to make it possible to execute or banish criminals, criminality was conceptualized in racist terms. The same applies to madness, and the same applies to various anomalies" (Idem). It seems, thus, that the emergence of racism in these new terms, associated to biopower, was a means to spread its use as a form of control, as a tool for political domination not only related to racism, but to anything considered as abnormal, deviant. Thus, anything that offered risk to the "unity" and cohesion of the social body as a population could be conferred the status of abnormal through the mechanism of racism. As Foucault puts it: "broadly speaking, racism justifies the death-function in the economy of biopower by appealing to the principle that the death of others makes one biologically stronger insofar as one is a member of a race or a population, insofar as one is an element in a unitary living plurality" (Idem). By creating an external enemy from which

society must be defended, the sovereign (i.e. the state, governance), is able to exercise the ultimate power to kill, in the name of protecting its citizens.

And how can we understand resistance to the biopolitical regime, based on security mechanisms, sexuality and racism? As biopolitics is linked to the fostering of life or making die in the level of the population, it can be affirmative or negative, as pointed by Banu Bargu (2014). Bargu argues that some forms of affirmative resistance are the demand for greater rights in terms of guaranteeing a better life. As such, struggles to extend the welfare system or to be included in the system of rights (the struggle for gay marriage and adoption rights would be an example, the struggle for civil rights would be another). Negative resistance, according to Bargu, would entail the transformation of the body from a site of subjection to a site of insurgency by means of self-destruction. As such, death would be the negative form of counter-conduct to the administration of life present in biopolitics. Examples would be the suicide-bomber, where "resistance and self-destruction are synonymous" (Mbembe 2003: 36). Or the prison hunger-striker, whose body is turned into a weapon of resistance, in a process of "weaponization of life" or "necroresistance" (Bargu 2014).

Also, as pointed by Lilja & Vinthagen (2014), resistance to biopower might be "all kinds of practices in which people question certain aspects of control over their lives and the conduct of their conduct" (p.120). As biopolitics concerns life in its totality, any form of everyday resistance, linked to constituting other relations with the self, not individually, but in a collective manner, might be counted as resistance. But, how do bodies resist, more specifically? Butler in *Notes toward a performative theory of assembly* (2015), uses as examples recent uprisings, such as Gezi Park, in Turkey, and Indignados, in Spain, to argue that bodies, in gathering together, are re-signifying the meaning of "public space" and bringing visibility to the increasing precaritization of life conditions across the world. Butler's theory of performative assembly is here considered to be of special relevance in thinking June 2013 protests in Brazil. However, it suffices to say that performative assembly is a form of embodied resistance to biopower. Butler's theory of performative assembly will be further discussed in the next

chapter. The following section is an attempt to provide a precarious suture to the theoretical framework presented so far, in order to be able to address the question: how bodies are regulated by power in Brazil? To do that, I bring some critical theories on race, departing from and expanding Foucault's notion of biopolitics.

1.5 Critical theories on race - expanding biopolitics

As seen in the previous discussion, racism and sexuality are central mechanisms for the bodily regulation in the biopolitical power regime. Although sexuality and sex are of high relevance for the study of power and resistance, in this thesis, the privileged focus will be understanding how the activation of racism in biopolitics acts to create caesuras within the social body, through which distinctions between the normal/abnormal are made. This is so, because, in Brazil, due to its colonial history where slavery played a fundamental role, it seems that race is the underlying factor allowing for a political economy of bodies. Thus, this section discusses some of the critical race theories might be of help for tracing a corpography of power and resistance in Brazil. In biopolitics, racism functions as a metric to determine who can live and who must die. The discourse on race and racism as a politics make it possible for the co-existence of sovereign power, as the right to kill, and biopolitics as the governmentality whose focus is to foster life.

In *Society Must be Defended* (2003), Foucault sets the ground upon which we can understand how racism enabled the actualization of sovereign power within biopolitics. Racism enables a biopolitics of security to function internally, not as a race war against external enemies, but as a technology of power to justify war within the State itself:

> The specificity of modern racism [is that it] *is not* bound up with mentalities, ideologies, or the lies of power. *It is bound up with the technology of power.* […] and that takes us as far away as possible from the race war and the intelligibility of history. We are dealing with *a mechanism that allows biopower to work*. So racism is bound up with the workings of *a State that is obliged to use race*, the elimination of races and the purification of the race, *to exercise its sovereign power* (p. 258, emphasis added).

As Foucault reveals above, the biopolitical use of race as a technology of elimination is based on the distancing of racism from ideologies, meaning racism

is used detached of political meaning, put away from the discourse of war, and thereof effacing social struggle and resistance. Before we proceed in the discussion on critical race theories dealing with racism as a biopolitical technology of regulation, it is worth to make a short detour. The aim is to understand how Foucault depicts "race" as an extremely malleable category enabling a large scope of possible applications.

Racism, as discussed by Foucault, has not always been based strictly on a biological discourse. But, importantly, the first articulation of race and biology, setting the grounds for the emergence of biopolitics, was in relation to the European relationship with its colonies, as a means to justify overseas domination. But race has also served revolutionary discourse and the activation of a counter-history of resistance. Therefore, Foucault also draws our attention to the mobility of "race as a war discourse". In tracing "the history of this theory of races", Foucault points out the following, which I quote at length:

> On the one hand, there was *an openly biological transcription*, which occurred long before Darwin and which borrowed its discourse, together with all its elements, concepts, and vocabulary, from a materialist anatomo-physiology. It also has the support of philology, and thus gives birth to the theory of races in the historico-biological sense of the term. Once again and almost as in the seventeenth century, *this is a very ambiguous theory, and it is articulated with, on the one hand, nationalist movements in Europe and with nationalities' struggles against the great State apparatuses* (essentially the Russian and the Austrian); you will then see it articulated with European policies of colonization. That is the first—biological—transcription of the theory of permanent struggle and race struggle. And then you find a *second transcription based upon the great theme and theory of social war*, which emerges in the very first years of the nineteenth century, *and which tends to erase every trace of racial conflict in order to define itself as class struggle* (Foucault 2003: 60, emphasis added).

Thus, it seems that, for Foucault, race operates as a discursive apparatus of stabilization and also rupture, since the discourse on race serves both power and resistance. This might be taken as a clear example of how Foucault understands the co-constitution of power and resistance, in which any of the terms can be fully understood without its counterpart.

So, in order to understand how racism is a malleable category, Foucault sought to unveil how the discourse on race functioned for those using it as an excuse to dominate other peoples and cultures, during the conquests and colonialism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as for those trying

to elaborate a counter-history of resistance and revolution later on. In respect to the latter, Foucault points out that revolutionary struggles from the nineteenth century Europe, based their discourse in the "great counter-history that began to speak of the race struggle at the end of the Middle Ages" (p.79). He reminds us that: "toward the end of his life, Marx told Engels in a letter written in 1882 that 'You know very well where we found our idea of class struggle; we found it in the work of the French historians who talked about the race struggle'" (Idem).

It is in light of this discussion that some critical race theorists, like Achille Mbembe, Jasbir Puar and Berenice Bento build their arguments. To which I now turn.

Achille Mbembe, in *Necropolitics* (2003), suggests the notion of biopower is "insufficient to account for contemporary forms of subjugation of life to the power of death" (pp.39-40). Mbembe does so, because he thinks it is necessary to focus on the ground upon which biopower emerged, which for him is the colonial experience. Therefore, he suggests another reading of politics, sovereignty and subjectivity, not based on reason, but on life and death, as more "tactile foundational categories", dealing with corporealities on how life, death and the human body are inscribed in the order of power. Based on this, Mbembe understands politics as the "work of death" and sovereignty as "the right to kill". As such, biopolitics is a power invested in life and its classification and hierarchization, in which racism plays a fundamental role in orienting the sovereign decision over those lives who must live and those who must die. Mbembe develops thereby the notion of necropolitics and necropower to account for the various ways in which, in our contemporary world, a constant war is waged against racialized Others, constituting "new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (p.40, his emphasis). This argument is expanded in Mbembe's book *Critique of Black Reason* (2017), in which he argues that "Blackness" and the constitution of the racial subject are linked to liberal ideology, that places capitalism at the center of economic and political interests and practice:

> The birth of the racial subject—and therefore of Blackness—is linked to the history of capitalism. Capitalism emerged as a double impulse toward, on the one hand, the unlimited violation of all forms of prohibition and, on the other, the abolition of any distinction between ends and means. The Black slave, in his dark splendor, was the first racial subject: the product of the two impulses, the most visible symbol of the possibility of violence without limits and of vulnerability without a safety net. (Mbembe 2017: 179)

Thereof, Mbembe notices that the contemporary expansion of capitalism across the globe is accompanied of the "Becoming Black of the world":

> Capitalism is the power of capture, influence, and polarization, and it has always depended on racial subsidies to exploit the planet's resources. Such was the case yesterday. It is the case today, even as capitalism sets about recolonizing its own center. Never has the perspective of a Becoming Black of the world loomed more clearly. (Ibidem)

From the above quotations it could be said that slavery and capitalism are closely related by colonial relations of exploitation (material and psychic) based on the constitution of the racial subject, which has racism as its foundation. In order to build this argument, Mbembe goes back to colonial times in order to argue that slavery "is one of the first instances of biopolitical experimentation" (2003:21). It is a condition resultant from a "triple loss": loss of a home; loss of rights over one's body; and loss of political status. As such, for Mbembe, "slave life is a form of death-in-life" (Idem). Biopower, in his reading of the term through colonialism and slavery, would be conformed by the state of exception on the one hand, and the state of siege on the other, conforming a "terror formation" whose basis would be a necropolitics, instead of a biopolitics. This is so, because this terror formation functions by dividing people, operating on the basis of a split between life and death. Race being the fundamental mechanism allowing the establishment of the necropolitical terror formation, first and foremost located in the colonial world, where we can see more clearly the its workings through "the selection of races, the prohibition of mixed marriages, forced sterilization, even the extermination of vanquished peoples" (2003: 21-22).

Mbembe extends this raced and colonial terror formation to other contemporary contexts, such as the South African apartheid regime, and the contemporary case of neocolonialism of Israel over the Palestinian territory and people. Thus, this framework seems sound to think the Brazilian bodily regulation, since still nowadays we have a sort of a "raced terror formation" at

work in the country, regulating black bodies on the basis of a necropolitics entangled with neoliberal capitalism, which is in fact global. Exemplary of the state of siege is the military occupation of poorer communities, like those in Rio de Janeiro, where daily life is permeated by a constant threat of the state of exception. More on this will be discussed further along this chapter and thesis.

It is actually in line with Mbembe and Foucault that Berenice Bento builds her argument in *Necrobiopoder: quem pode habitar o Estado-nação?*[13]. Bento suggests that, in Brazil, we have neither a biopolitics nor a necropolitics, but rather a necrobiopolitics. Bento departures from Foucault's reading of race, in S*ociety Must be Defended*, in which he affirms: "the most murderous States are also, of necessity, the most racist" (p.258). She thus argues that the rupture of the biologic continuum of what is called population has "concrete political effects that have contributed to the foundation of the Brazilian State since its inception" (p.6). For Bento, in Brazil, necropower comes before biopower. This is so, she argues, because the country was founded upon the elimination of the Other, through plunder and genocide. She argues there is a "desire for the systematic elimination of those bodies that pollute the purity of a nation imagined as white, heterosexual, rational, and Christian" (p.4).

Moreover, she argues that, in the Brazilian context, biopolitics and sovereign power are not distinct forms of power, they have a relation of continuous dependency. This is so, because in Brazil, instead of "making live and letting die" the state promotes a continuous politics of making die, by using "planned and systematic techniques". To sustain these arguments, Bento looks upon three different sites: the *Ventre Livre Law* (bill that proposed freeing the children of enslaved women in the 19th century); the current situation of prison population; and cases of "resistance followed by death". By investigating these techniques, Bento aims to understand the "abissal differences" in the action of the Brazilian State in relation to determined population groups and the differential distribution of the right to life.

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[13] "Necrobiopower: who can inhabit the nation-state?". All translations from Portuguese to English made in this thesis will be mine, except when otherwise specified.

Berenice's contribution is of special interest in the present thesis, since her conception of necrobiopolitics enables us to better understand the foundational co-existence or co-dependency of race and the conformation of an imaginary of a Brazilian nation. The biopolitical constitution of a unity between the terms "Brazilian" and "nation" necessarily passes through the necropolitical constitution of a certain "population". This is so, because in order to achieve and secure that imagined unity, a sovereignty power is put into action, enacting the exclusion, submission and killing of raced bodies. It is in this sense that Berenice works with and beyond Mbembe's view of necropolitics, since she notices that beyond the mere fact of excluding and killing, necropolitics also functions as reaffirming certain lives, being the other side of the biopolitical coin.

Building on Bento's notion of necrobiopolitics, I would like to propose just a small change of this term to necro(bio)politics, so as to remind us of what Bento herself has underscored: that necropolitics guarantees the securitization of a white, heterosexual, rational and Christian political body at the expense of racialized Others. By bracketing the "bio" in her terminology, I would like to call attention to the necessary link with sovereignty as the expelling of war, struggle, resistance, contingency and anarchy to an "abnormal" outside. Her altered terminology — necro(bio)politics — will be used heuristically along this thesis to highlight the practices of sovereignty, that serve exactly to separate, hierarchize and efface the exclusions to a symbolic and unconscious outside. By highlighting how the (bio) is in fact contained in the term, I wish to show how the unitary, non-marked whiteness and heteronormative sovereign inside needs to raise an imaginary yet real and violent boundary to keep it from seeing and dealing with its own precarity and vulnerability, locked within a "fantasy of security" (Edkins 2019).

Finally, Jasbir Puar's book *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (2007), addresses the need to articulate queer theories beyond their origins in literary studies, and their assumptions of whiteness and citizenship privilege. Puar makes use of queer theory to illuminate unaddressed issues in political theory, such as patriotism, war, torture, security, death, terror and terrorism. What this author does is to pay attention to what Foucault did, when

drawing our attention to the mobility of the “race war discourse”. She bases her work on the most recent reformulation of the race war discourse that came with the onset of the war on terror. Following the attacks on 9/11, in 2001, the Bush administration was quick to establish radical Islam as a threat, not only to American geopolitical concerns, but also to the values and freedoms of US citizens. It is within this framework that Puar understands the conformation of the “queerly racialized terrorist populations”, in which biopolitics delineates not only which queers live and which queers die, but also “how” queers live and die.

What she calls “terrorist assemblage” is the refusal to take into account feminist, queer, and transnational contributions to political conversations. As such, she argues the War on Terror is a “terrorist assemblage” of racism, nationalism, patriotism and terrorism, which is in itself “profoundly queer”. She focuses on “terrorist corporealities” in order to illuminate how “normative patriot bodies” and discourses of counter terrorism are intrinsically gendered, raced, sexualized and nationalized. In that sense, she promotes the queering of bodies, so as to dislocate both queer identity, associated to gender and sexuality, and normative patriot bodies, associated with the normal biopolitical standard. She does that, for instance, when looking at the body of the suicide bomber as "a queer assemblage that resists queerness-as-sexual-identity”. This is so, because the suicide bomber has the power to shift normal conventions of corporeality, by imploding, and rearranging time, space, and body. She also queers the normative patriot bodies, by showing how “homonationalism” is intrinsically linked with the politics of US exceptionalism.

Puar coined the term “homonationalism” to refer to the response of the biopolitics of the state, post 9/11, trying to normalize and incorporate the white gay community that identified with the rising nationalism, US exceptionalism, white supremacy and patriarchy. She points out that these homonationalist, normative patriot bodies are the other side of the coin of the queerly racialized terrorist populations. The incorporation of homosexuality into the state, trough, for example, gay and trans military inclusion, or the sanctioning of gay marriage, serves only to reproduce the power assemblage at the cost of excluding increasing

numbers of bodies not corresponding to those white, patriarchal and patriot patterns.

Based on this, Puar's work is helpful in understanding the ways in which the race war discourse is continually perpetuated, extrapolating the biological reading of bodies towards the cultural and symbolic realms. Furthermore, it points to the ways in which dissonant or counter-cultural practices and discourses are expelled from the liberal framework of global order, by means of an increasing war on terror, which is used to secure that order.

The examples she gives are those of bodies marked by an Otherness that goes beyond sexuality and race, but who still have their nationality and religion marked in queered and racialized terms. Those bodies are, according to the logic of a mobile race discourse, interpreted as terrorist insofar as they offer a risk to the biopolitics of liberal global governance. This is so, because other cultural and religious values entail other political practices that many times challenge modern liberal practices. As such, these populations are read as "queer" at the same time they are "racialized", dislocating the original framework of interpretation of queerness as a deviant sexuality, and expanding the biological sense in which race is applied to mark a deviant humanity.

In navigating the point raised by Foucault, that race is, in fact, a discourse and a technology used to wage war, Puar offers a rich theoretical and conceptual framework for thinking the ways in which power seeks to regulate resisting bodies. She highlights some of the ways in which the biopolitical techniques of control based on race or sexuality are in fact malleable.

As we have seen in the above discussion on critical theories of race is one of the main technologies regulating the movement of bodies in time and space. What can also be apprehended from this critical theories on race is that coloniality, whiteness, heteronormativity, patriarchy and patriotism are, many times, unacknowledged biopolitical poles of a murderous sovereign power. As such, race is the technology underlining and guiding norms, allowing for the continuity of sovereignty as the modern political tale, based on the fantasy of security. These authors contribute to the effort raised by Foucault in bringing the race discourse

on war to the fore, so as to highlight that politics is, in fact, a continuous deadly war in the name of a white, heteronormative and liberal sovereignty.

1.6 The Brazilian political economy of bodies

So far, I have spoken of the body in the light of critical theory, the ways in which bodies are regulated and normalized by means of knowledge and power relations, permeated and reassured by discourses on race and sexuality. Those relations happen through practices (discourses, techniques, strategies), that conform bodies to interests that congeal in structures (subjectivities, institutions), we tend to understand as natural or as given. Also, in the previous discussion, I tried to show how such naturalness is in fact produced by multiple relations of power and resistance that are always contextual. Hence, what appears to be natural is in fact a result of political disputes that have happened in a specific time (in history), and space (in geography).

That said, it is important to locate this critical discussion in relation to the object of this research, which is bodies in protest in Brazil. And the aim of understanding up to what point bodies assembling together to protest, in June 2013, were capable of challenging the constitutive practices of modern politics. But, before I dig into that discussion more in detail in the coming chapters, I will conclude the present chapter by briefly contextualizing bodies in contemporary Brazil. The aim here is not to present an exhaustive discussion on the genealogy of bodies, but to cast a historically informed look at the specificity of the contemporary forms of corporeal regulation in the country. This will be done as a way to present a background upon which I will further trace a corpography of power and resistance in practices of protest in the coming chapters.

This section is an effort to look at how Brazilian bodies are products of specific power regimes and, as such, effects of historically situated power and knowledge relations. To do so, I will discuss how the political economy of bodies works in Brazil, by looking at which discourses and practices organize and authorize the ways in which bodies might appear and circulate in the public

sphere. I look specifically at some mechanisms regulating the circulation of bodies, trying to unveil some of their political effects.

1.6.1 Power regimes as necro(bio)political raced assemblages

Banu Bargu (2014), offers an interesting reading of Foucault's perspectives on the transformations of power linked to sovereignty, by which she comes up with the concept of "biosovereign assemblage". This concept is not a transhistorical and teleological formation, but, rather, a power formation whose articulation dependents upon context and history. Hence, it answers to the specific combination of sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower in the Turkish context. As such, it entails a study of both the strategies and techniques of violence utilized to consolidate the biosovereign formation as well as those used to contest it, by attending to the actual agents producing and performing them. To do so, Bargu engages with the perspectives of those who are in positions of authority, with the official capacity to wield power, as well as the perspectives of those in resistance, in order to arrive at a holistic understanding of the power regime in which sovereignty, biopolitics, and resistance are constitutively and irreducibly entangled with one another.

It is thinking in similar ways as Bargu, that I would like to argue the Brazilian political economy of bodies happens by means of their regulation by a specific *raced* power assemblage. As discussed so long, race is an important stabilizer of the relation between sovereign power and biopower. It is thus important to acknowledge that, although gender and sexuality are, together with race, crucial factors articulating many, if not all, forms of bodily regulation in Brazil, this thesis is going to privilege race in understanding the bodily regulation in that country. And this section might provide some of the reasons why.

In order to see how the specific sovereign power assemblage works through racism in Brazil, I will briefly look at the ways race has functioned as the main regulatory mechanism in the country. As power, racism is spread out in such a manner so as to conform a normalizing discourse of "racial democracy" that effaces the multiple everyday violences impinged upon racialized bodies. This

discourse was necessary in order to stabilize certain disputes that involve not only race, but also class, gender and sexuality, as we may see. As reminded by Foucault (2003), once it appears on the scene, racism brings different forms of power together, binds them to each other, and activates their simultaneous functioning while it feeds on and lives off all forms of power.

Hence, the raced power assemblage at work in Brazil contains traces of disciplinary power and biopower in the sense that even though bodies tend to follow less apparently restrictive rules of circulation, black and gendered bodies keep their movement subtly restricted to certain areas in certain times, attending to the production of specific labor or leisure relations. At the same time, some black and gendered bodies are more directly and physically controlled by a necro(bio)politics aiming to secure the exercise of sovereign power. These bodies have their movement contained through police violence and other forms of everyday violence, related to the social relations that conditions the environment they circulate in.

Hence, we can start by briefly tracing the history of the present by means of looking at how raced bodies intertwine with the specificity of the slave trade and the slave body as a central figure articulating the contemporary regulation of bodies in Brazil. However, having in mind that describing the Brazilian colonial legacy in which slavery plays a fundamental role can be a thesis per se, my focus will be mainly to see how that legacies relates to the access bodies have to the public space. It is important to acknowledge the effects of the past history of slavery in Brazil[14], since it established a racist structure that permeates contemporary cultural, political and economic relations. As such, slavery

[14] The fact that slavery is constitutive of the initial relations of material and psychic exploitation in Brazil does not mean that slavery has been perpetuated without change across the centuries. In this sense, it is worth to notice that the continuity of traces of slavery has also been accompanied by aspects of change, be it Brazil or in other places across the world. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the fact that slavery still exists in different parts of the world (see, for instance, the Global Slavery Index 2018), and it continues to function with basis on race and sex as mechanisms of biopolitical bodily regulation. In this respect it is worth to think with Jasbir Puar (op. cit.), for whom "racialization has become a more diffuse process, not only informed by the biological body, what it looks like and what it can do, but also disassembled into subhuman and human-as-information" (p.161). Puar also argues "queerness, as a process intertwined with racialization, that calls into nominalization abject populations peripheral to the project of living, expendable as human waste and shunted to the spaces of deferred death" (p. xxvii).

functioned with basis on a racism that constituted Brazil and its social body, with its differential, unequal and hierarchical locations.

The concept of race was initially articulated in the country through a theological discourse permeating the colonial conquest and allowing for the domination of native peoples. This was done with basis on the fact that indigenous peoples were in need of spiritual Christian guidance. With the introduction of African people's slavery, this theological discourse was applied in order to justify their dehumanization with basis on the argument they did not have souls, making them objects for colonial exploitation. Later on, a biological discourse adapted from evolutionist scientific discussions coming from Europe was introduced by local elites in order to justify the differential treatment to those understood to be "inferior races". Such biological interpretation continued to serve political strategies of bodily regulation in Brazil long after the colonial period, serving as a normalizing mechanism that enabled the naturalization of the extreme inequalities that organize Brazilian society up to the present days. As discussed by Lilia Schwarcz (2010), Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery in the Americas[15]. To think of the slavery system is to take into consideration the violence implied in the ways enslaved bodies were dehumanized on the basis of their treatment as objects. Since slavery times, Schwarcz argues, the State created apparatuses of repression to the upheavals of the enslaved. This constituted a culture in which black people cannot circulate in those "white spaces of sociability". And the fact

[15] Again, in order to avoid a methodological nationalism of sorts, it is important to remember that slavery was *not only* a trace of Brazilian formation, but a trace constitutive of *different relations and connections* that enabled modernity to emerge as such in different parts of the world, be it in the Americas, in Europe or elsewhere. Mbembe's (2017) concept of the *becoming Black of the world* may help to think how race has been used and transformed as a way to allow for the de-humanization and exploitation of subjectivities both in the past and in today's globalized world. For Mbembe, the modern state emerges as an instrument of the market and product of mercantilist reason, from which not only a sharing of the world is established, but a sharing in which race occupies a central role. If the main purpose of law and bureaucracy is the coercion and control of bodies, and fear is the principal instrument of the state — as Foucault had already said — it is upon subjectivities constituted as "Black", through racism, that this fear will be projected, and therefore upon the raced body that state control will be preferentially exercised. Mbembe argues that "the processes of racialization aim to mark population groups, to fix as precisely as possible the limits within which they can circulate, and to determine as exactly as possible which sites they can occupy—in sum, to limit circulation in a way that diminishes threats and secures general safety to prevent the dangers inherent in their circulation and, if possible, to neutralize them in advance through immobilization, incarceration, or deportation. Race, from this perspective, functions as a security device based on what we can call the principle of the biological rootedness of the species. The latter is at once an ideology and a technology of governance" (p.35)

that we do not notice the distinct spaces of white and black sociability are telling of how structural racism passes unacknowledged in Brazil.

The regulation of Brazilian bodies in a racist, sexist and hierarchically organized society has thus its roots not only in slavery, but in the colonial experience that was per se constitutive of modernity, and global capitalism. As discussed by Aníbal Quijano (2000), race serves as "the fundamental axis of colonial power". Quijano also contributes to understanding how race functions as an axis constitutive of colonial power, key to laying the roots of contemporary global capitalism.

> What is termed globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power. One of the fundamental axes of this model of power is the social classification of the world's population around the idea of race […] (Quijano 2000: 533)

In Brazil we can see the ways in which a "coloniality of power" worked to invest race as an instrument of domination that was crucial in the processes of constitution of a Brazilian authoritarian project of nation, based on the Eurocentric model, and having an unmarked whiteness as its organizing principle. Besides the coloniality of power, there is also "coloniality of knowledge", as pointed by Boaventura Santos (2018): the epistemological privileging of European (white, heteronormative) rationality that led to the suppression of the multiple cosmologies, symbolic universes and genealogies present in the colonized societies, relegating those to a space of subalternity. Adding a queer perspective to these positions, Richard Miskolci (2012), points out that the nation's desire serves as a trope to delineate a political project that today can be characterized as reproductive authoritarian, white and heterosexual. A project led by elite men to create a future white population, "superior" to that of the colonial time.

As Brazil begun its path towards independence, in the nineteenth century, the mestizo upper classes ruling the country needed a means to separate themselves from the rest of the black population and one of their strategies was in fact the use of racist discourses and practices. Some of their strategies were adopting manners and habits that resembled that of Europeans in a way to internalize and reproduce western and white values. For instance, there was the

practice of marrying preferentially with white people with European roots (a bodily and social regulation specially strong over women). Whilst preferentially married with white women, white men many times maintained sexual (many times abusive) relations with black women and thereafter denied paternity of the offsprings of those relations. According to Miskolci (op.cit.), aspirations about the future and development of the nation were intrinsically dependent on the consolidation of a new morality based on the valorization of reproductive couples, having the white man as parameter. In these reproductive relations, the black figure appears as the instinctive spectrum, incapable of self-control. That figure, in the white elites' perspective, puts the project of the nation and its progress in risk. This might explain, in part, why so many Brazilians whose bodies are, in fact, mestizo in appearance, still deny the their roots of past racial mixing and self-declare themselves to be white. This might signal a cultural practice that effaces the profound roots of Brazilian racism[16].

Another strategy that lies at the heart of the myth of racial democracy in Brazil is the "whitening ideology" (or "ideologia do branqueamento": the assimilation of the Brazilian black population by means of whitening), proposed by Oliveira Vianna (1938), an anthropologist known for his eugenist arguments. By means of his privileged gender and racial, academic and political position[17], Vianna was one of the major articulators of the Brazilian whitening discourse. Denis de Oliveira (2000), explaining the role of the capitalist elite in republican society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, points out that the practice of "whitening" was articulated "not only with the importation of labor,

[16] Important to notice that being "white" in the Brazilian context is, in various ways, different from being white in the global North, since in Brazil the racial mix has resulted in the materialization of a mestizo "white" body in many cases. Hence, in Brazil, whiteness results more of a position of structural advantages sustained by racist discourses and practices that conform racial privileges than the material appearance of a body per se. As such, whiteness is a set of cultural practices that are neither marked nor named. It is a point of view from which white people look at themselves and others in the Brazilian society. Based on this, Laborne defines Brazilian whiteness as "a place of privilege that is at the same time racial, economic, and political, since race, not named as such, is loaded with values, experiences and affective identifications that end up by defining society" (Ibid.). She observes that whiteness is also a space of from which power articulates itself through institutions (universities, companies, governmental organisms). These institutions maintain racism by creating mechanisms of racial neutrality, behind which raced mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion remain unquestioned.

[17] Oliveira Vianna held several state and national public offices, becoming a minister during Getúlio Vargas dictatorship (1937-1945).

but also with the establishment of policies aimed at the extermination of the non-white population" (p.16). Thus, republican politics reinforced the domination schemes inherited from the colonial period. Racism, according to Oliveira, was the same that legitimated and socially justified slavery and served the authoritarianism of the Brazilian elites. Therefore, the body marked by race and blackness continues, despite subtle transformations, to be seen as the problem, as something negative.

This strategy of marking blackness as negative, is linked to the discussion Ana Amélia Laborne (2014) raises, regarding the interfaces between knowledge production and racial relations in Brazil, so as to problematize the reproduction of racial inequalities based on the construction of whiteness ("branquitude"). Laborne argues for the importance of problematizing the concept of whiteness as centric in the silent and unmarked organization and unequal distribution of privileges associated to the white identity. She questions the centrality of discussions of blackness as the "other" in detriment of a critical view of the role of the universal human, the subject in its "wholeness", who is white. The absence of a critical view on whiteness is in fact actively produced by an epistemology that not only organizes knowledge, but also organizes everyday racist practices. Alves argues that whiteness, "is a concept that embraces the corporeal, the discursive and the symbolic dimensions of the white subject" (quoted in Laborne, 2014: 150). As such, the Brazilian whiteness functions a space of status, occupied by white people as an effect of past social relations based on race.

Another issue contributing to the regulative isolation of black bodies was the fact that, once slavery was officially abolished in Brazil, in 1888, freed slaves were not provided any possibility (legal, material, infrastructural), for their inclusion in the white-mestizo society. One example of this impossibility of social inclusion is given by Berenice Bento (2018). By looking at the *Ventre Livre Law* (the bill that proposed freeing the children of enslaved women), Bento uncovers what she terms the roots of a "pre-biopolitical logic". For her, slave women were seen as having a fundamental "body-function" of serving this transition from slavery to a freed condition. The black woman's body was crossed by two distinct

forms of power: a necropower that treated her as a mere object, property of her owner, and a biopower, that would supposedly serve the biopolitical means of providing a "smooth transition" of enslaved population to the condition of freedom. The slaves' children were not, of course, "integrated" into the Brazilian population. Legislators, as Berenice unveils, were more worried with those lives as continuities of the right to property of slave owners, as attested by a passage where it is argued over the right to "property of the offspring, as an extension of the right to ownership of the slave" (Senate Visconde de Itaborahy, quoted in Berenice, p.9), since "both have the same nature", that is, the nature of objects, not of living human beings.

As discussed by Schwarcz (2010), the fact that Brazil lived for so many years with a slavery system, abolished with a short and conservative law that did not foresee the inclusion of freed blacks, contributed to the creation of a specific kind of racism. Brazilian racism is one that accommodates the idea of cultural inclusion with absolute social exclusion by means of the discourse of "racial democracy". The concept, whose roots were delineated by Gilberto Freyre in *Casa Grande & Senzala*[18], puts slavery in Brazil outside the optic of domination. According to his discourse, Brazilian slavery would have happened in a mild form. Proof of this would be the racial hybridism, resultant of sexual relations between the Portuguese colonizers and the black slaves from Africa, resulting in the large number of mestizos in Brazil. However, what this discourse effaces are the asymmetries of power in which these sexual enlaces occurred.

Abdias do Nascimento is one of the fiercest black voices raised against the myth of the "race democracy" discourse. His life as artist, intellectual and politician was dedicated to denounce the existence of racism as a fundamental structural element of Brazilian society. In his book, *O genocídio do negro brasileiro : processo de um racismo mascarado* (2016 [1978])[19], Nascimento deconstructs the racial democracy discourse by denouncing the myth of the

[18] Gilberto Freyre in "The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization" (1964) never used the term "racial democracy". However, he proposed that Portuguese colonialism had as one of its specificities, a greater openness and predisposition to "mix" or intermingle with other "races".

[19] In English: "The genocide of the Brazilian blacks: A process of a masked racism" (1989).

benevolent slave master and the sexual exploitation of African women. He also argues that the strategy of whitening is, in fact a strategy of genocide, hindering any political discussion regarding Brazilian racism and effacing the reality of everyday discrimination, in which Afro-Brazilian culture is diminished and disguised. Nascimento is, therefore, an important voice resisting the raced bodily regulation in Brazil.

Now, regarding the racialization of space, the way in which freed black people were relegated to the margins and peripheries, was proof of the myth of racial democracy in Brazil. It also denounced a persistent coloniality of knowledge and power, which promotes the marginalization of black bodies, whose lives are circumscribed to spaces of stigmatization and poverty. The persistency of racism in certain stigmatized spaces inhabited by black bodies in Brazil makes those spaces resonate with what Frantz Fanon (1991) describes as the spatialization of colonial occupation:

> The city of the colonized, the indigenous city, the black city, the Arab neighborhood is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees. (Fanon 1991:39)

This is still a vivid reality in the everyday of many black Brazilians[20]. Similarly to Fanon, Lélia Gonzales (1979), a leading black feminist and one of the first Brazilian race theorists, points out the effects of a "racial division of space", originated in the colonial times, in the present organization and regulation of bodies in Brazil. She does so by describing the stark differences in the organization of the spaces inhabited by white people and black people in Brazil. And she attributes these differences to practices of securitization through different policing strategies, combined with the white dominant elite discourses of order and security.

> The natural place of the dominant white group are healthy houses, situated in the most beautiful places of the city … and properly protected by different forms of policing that go from taskmasters, bush captains, henchmen, etc, to

[20] Of course there are other (LGBTQI, mestizo, white) bodies occupying those peripheries as well, but the statistic majority of bodies occupying those zones of death, militarization and abandonment is black.

> the formally constituted police. […] The natural place of the black is the opposite, evidently: from the slave quarters to the favelas, slums, invasions, floods and "housing" states the criterion has been the same: the racial division of space (…) In the case of the dominated group what is seen are whole families living on top of each other in cubicles where the hygiene and health conditions are the most precarious. Moreover, here there is also the police presence; but it is not to protect, but to repress, violate and scare. It is from there we can understand why the other natural place of the black are the prisons. The systematic police repression, given its racist character, has as goal the psychologic submission through fear. On the long run, what is aimed at is the hindering of any form of unity of the dominated group, through the use of all means that perpetuate its internal division. Meanwhile, the dominant discourse justifies this repressive apparatus talking about order and social security. (Gonzales 1984: 232)

Whilst, on the one hand, we can see a form of biopolitics applied to protect the life and enable the free circulation of white bodies, on the other hand we see a sort of necropolitics acting upon the violent oppression of black bodies. Black people living in the favelas are pushed to live a life of precarity and invisibility. As such, the validity of their culture, the richness of their practices and the importance of their contributions to the sustenance of Brazilian society are always denied by the necro(bio)political assemblage. This happens by means of an articulation of a punishing sovereign power that combines its necropolitical, war-like, strategies of military interventions and deadly targeting, with disciplinary techniques of mass incarceration and group division, and the biopolitical systematic abandonment of black bodies by means of their exclusion from citizenship.

The Pacifying Police Unit (UPP), a program implemented in favelas of Rio de Janeiro in the last decade (2008-2018), is a specific contemporary example of the Brazilian necro(bio)political regulation of bodies by the ultra-militarization of the peripheral territorial space. It also exemplifies how the raced power assemblage functions through the policing strategies that make use of both sovereign and disciplinary power. With the excuse of promoting a "war on drugs", the UPP was a public policy specifically designed to wage a constant war, one that regulates more than drug trafficking, it regulates bodies, circumscribing the ways they live and die.

According to the Department of Security of the state of Rio de Janeiro, the UPPs represented a new model of public policy in the field of security. Their

stated goal was “to regain territories previously dominated by criminal gangs and establish a democratic rule of law”(Dias and Zacchi 2012). Moreover, the UPPs aimed at promoting community law enforcement, in conjunction with social and urban projects. As such, the UPPs had the purpose of overcoming the “absence” of the state in these territories. With that aim in mind, police has been used intensively and extensively. Intensively in the necropolitical sense of occupation through the declaration of a state of exception. Extensively in the sense of acting beyond its designed scope, as a social agent of a raced biopolitics, as a manager of everyday risk. Hence, police became not only an agent of law enforcement, but rather the main “administrator” of all social functions within the favelas.

Eliana Silva, in *Testemunhos da Maré* (2012), comments, from a situated perspective of a woman who has grown in Complexo da Maré, that this led to the ultra-militarization of the everyday of all those bodies circulating the peripheries. For her, the “transformation of favelas in an arena of confrontation of armed groups has become the main factor of destabilization of the daily life of the residents (p. 110). Violence in combination with race are thus the main vectors of necro(bio)politics in Brazil. To make it even worse, in 2018, the UPPs started to be discontinued and the police effective started to be relocated. In its place, the military started to promote an intervention in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, authorized by a decree of former president Michel Temer (MDB). The intervention lasted ten months, deepening the state of exception even more.

A report from Observatório da Intervenção (2018), analyzed the military intervention pointing out it did not follow any specific security policy model. There were no targets to be met, and no spending transparency. The rates of violence raised as well as the shootings and executions, with the level of lethality reaching its highest level over the previous sixteen years. The opinion of Federação de Favelas do Rio de Janeiro (FAFERJ - Favelas’ Federation of Rio de Janeiro), is that these were the same interventionist forces have recently been on peace missions in Haiti and the Complexo da Maré favela, where “most of the actions were marked by human rights violations”. As such, they point to the fact that the necro(bio)political practices are no novelty in Brazil. FAFERJ makes

clear that the military intervention is treating the favelas as a war zone, in which the state of exception is constantly used to kill, to the detriment of a biopolitics of fostering life. Here, they explicit how contemporary regulation of favelas is a politics of war against raced and poor bodies:

> The army is a troop trained to kill and act in wartime. The slums never declared war on anyone. The slum has never been and never will be a hostile area. We are composed of working men and women who with great courage and dignity fight for the daily bread. We are the workforce that moves the city and the country. The occupation of a portion of the communities by marginals occurs precisely due to the absence of the state in public policies that can guarantee the development of our slums.

Although Gonzales was talking from an anterior moment of this war, she also points to the everyday effects of the raced regulation of bodies in Brazil lies in the intersection of racism and sexism, producing particularly violent effects for the black women. For Gonzales, the black women living in the peripheries is the one who suffers most what she calls the "effects of the terrible white culpability" (1984:231), since it is the black woman who survives in a double task — of reproducer and producer (that is again multiplied by two): she is producer and reproducer both as domestic worker/nanny for white families; and as wife, mother, sister, daughter who takes care (economically and reproductively) of her own family. She is also the one left to mourn for the men in her family, who are preferential targets of the bio-disciplinary sovereign strategies of imprisonment, persecution and death in Brazil.

Talking about statistics, the necro(bio)politics becomes clear: of the total population in Brazil, it is the already marginalized black population that dies more. As per data published by IPEA (2017)[21], more than 318.000 youngsters were murdered in Brazil between 2005 and 2015. For every 100 murders in Brazil, 71 are of black people. More than 92% of homicides occur amongst black men, between 15 and 29 years old. Also, Brazil has the third largest incarceration rate in the world, after the US and China. And it is again young black males who figure as the largest incarcerated population in Brazil: of more than 726.000 people in prisons in 2016, 64% were black males between 18 and 29 years old[22].

[21] IPEA stands for Institute of Applied Economic Research.

[22] Data provided by the National Penitentiary Department (Depen) of the Ministry of Justice. In the report "Presentation of the diagnosis of the Brazilian prison system."

Here again, Berenice Bento helps in tracing this raced and necro(bio)political corpography. But now, Bento observes the ways in which law is used as a biopolitical tactic, in order to allow for the declaration of the state of exception. Based on the current numbers of prison population above she argues that in Brazil, “exception is constitutive of the state”, since 40% (292.000) of the prison population (726.000) await trial. This points to the fact that almost half of the bodies sitting in prison are still “outside law”. This is a paradox, as Bento argues, since they are cast outside law, even when inside of the prison system. Moreover, this is a means of slow death, Bento argues, since there are “rational techniques” to bring about the deaths of those under the "care" of the state: “spoiled food, no medical attention, overcrowding of cells, people arrested without formal charge and without sentence” (p.10).

This slow death can also be linked to another technique to make die, that of summary executions by police authorized by the discourse of “resistance followed by death”. This technique is an instrument created during the Military Dictatorship, in 1969, to justify the killings of government opponents. It was used as a way to justify police execution by claiming that they had killed in a situation of armed resistance to arrest. Bento brings forth results from a report from Human Rights Watch, which analyzed data based on police reports of 11.000 cases of “resistance followed by death” in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo between years 2003 and 2009. According to the report, 80% of the police reports contained “strong evidence of police abuse”. Moreover, this police practice is legitimated by the judicial system, through the archiving of such cases, in a clear display of how Brazilian necro(bio)politics is spread throughout the apparatuses of bodily regulation. As Bento argues, this technique shows how the state promotes the “cleansing” of risk.

The resistance followed by death is, according to Bento, a “narrative about death” (p.11). I would add it is also has a very “performatic” character, if we may use performativity in this negative sense. This is so because it occurs in specific locations (for example, the peripheries and favelas), it is performed by specific characters (military police) and it is a plot with beginning, middle and end. Such a

death-procedure, (I would like to call it necro(bio)performance), is not only based on the common police narrative of "suspicious attitude". It is also specifically directed towards bodies with a certain appearance (black, male, young), located in a certain region (again, the favelas), or performing a certain act (that might be actually any act the police interpret as "suspicious", like carrying an umbrella)[23].

Based on such data, it is possible to see the racial effects of the bodily regulation in Brazil. Even though the above statistics could be complemented by a larger multiplicity data set in order to draw broader and more in depth conclusions, it is still clear that black bodies are those most pu(ni)shed and confined to the margins of Brazilian society. This marginalization occurs by means of the systematic denial of the problem of whiteness and racism in Brazil, which is based on the intersection of cultural, symbolic and political means, as discussed above. The historic exclusion of the black population has also occurred by the systematic persecution of black bodies by the police and their prosecution by justice systems. Based on that, we can also say that black bodies have their movement and circulation highly surveilled, controlled and contained.

Since black bodies constitute the majority of casualties and imprisonments in the country, we can say that Brazil has a specific raced terror formation, a power assemblage that can be understood to be mainly necropolitical in Mbembe's terms, where race (being black) is related to a biopolitics of death. That said, it is now possible to understand the roots from which I lay my argument that, in Brazil, after autonomist movements had challenged the power of bodily regulation, power answered in a necro(bio)political fashion to promote a queered

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[23] The quotidian act of carrying objects might be interpreted by police as "suspicious activity", justifying the act of killing. Reading objects (package, umbrella, drilling machine), as guns has been a common practice of police in Rio de Janeiro. Below are some examples of how this practice occurs in specific places (favelas or communities), targeting specific bodies (black, young, male):

In May 30, 2016, Jhonata Matos Alves, (16, black, student), was killed by police when carrying a package with popcorn bags. Location: Borel community, Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro. See Gayoso (Extra, June 30, 2016).

In September 19, 2018, Rodrigo Alexandre da Silva Serrano (26, black, waiter), was shot by police officers from the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). He was carrying an umbrella. Location: Chapéu Mangueira community, Leme - Rio de Janeiro. See (El País Brasil, September 19, 2019).

In April 2, 2019 João Victor Dias Braga, (22, black, DJ), was shot by police when he was carrying a drilling machine on the way to a friend's house. Location: Santa Maria community, Taquara - Rio de Janeiro. See Lemos (UOL Notícias, April 4, 2019).

racialization of bodies in protest. However, without first making a raced corpography of power, that argument would lack an embodied foundation.

These examples, from slavery in colonial times to racism in contemporary Brazil, serve thus as the contextual basis upon which I now turn to discuss the regulation of bodies in the protests of June 2013 in Brazil. Even though race and racism were not visible in the initial demands of the Movimento Passe Livre (Free Pass Movement), for the reduction of the fare in public transportation, this thesis is an effort to make the race struggle, implicit in that demand, more evident.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 illustrate the corpography of power, marked by a necro(bio)politics, and conforming a raced terror formation. The drawing in Figure 1 was part of more than 1,500 letters and drawings assembled by the NGO Redes da Maré and delivered to court in, August 2019, along with a petition to reinstate a Public Civil Action that regulates and restricts police operations in place. Complexo da Maré, described as a "low-income informal neighborhood", is one of the largest favela complexes in Rio de Janeiro. On March 30, 2014, ahead of the 2014 FIFA World Cup, Maré was occupied by various Brazilian security forces in an attempt to "pacify" the region. To have an idea of the dimension of the war: the operation, leading to the posterior occupation of Maré, involved over 1,000 police and other forces, including the Special Police Operations Battalion (BOPE), Shock Police Battalion, the Brazilian Marine Corps, and several local police units.[24]

[24] See (The Guardian, March 30, 2014), (BBC News, March 31, 2014).

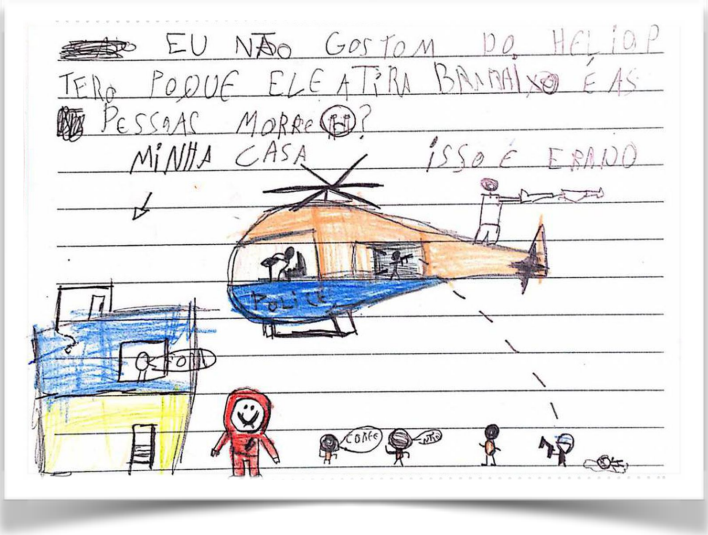

Figure 1. Drawing from child from Complexo da Maré. Betim

Figure 2. Military intervention is not the solution.

Figure 3. Ultra-militarization - federal military intervention in Rio de Janeiro, 2018. Credit: Bruno Itan/Observatório da Intervenção.

Chapter 2:
(Re)presentation of (in)visibility and resistance in narrative bodies of knowledge

June 2013 in Brazil was an ambiguous multiplicity of events, making any simplistic diagnosis of what it "was", in political terms, very difficult. A mass of varied bodies and their movements, voices, and repertoires of contentious performance increasingly took to the streets, conforming a "hybrid geography" (Massey et al. 1999), in which bodies and their technological devices were constituting different political spaces, rhythms, and, most important, subjectivities. This plurality of bodies occupying the public space provoked many ruptures: historical, political, economic, cultural and social. Each of them worth of a discussion of its own, but due to the limitations of this thesis the present chapter will focus specifically on contrasting narrative bodies of knowledge: those I understand to be reproducers of power and those posing resistance to that power.

In this sense, whereas some of June 2013 practices and discourses of protest struggled for the effective decolonization of the racist, authoritarian, nationalist, patriarchal and heteronormative structures of Brazilian society, as well as to those subjectivities that reproduce them, other practices and discourses contributed to reifying and deepening those very structures of domination. Based on this, this chapter is an attempt to situate and embody these narrative movements in search to reveal which bodies resist and challenge, and which bodies reify the political practices that reproduce and deepen hierarchies and inequalities in Brazil, reflecting and contributing to a broader framework of global inequalities. Therefore, the present chapter endeavors to make a textual and visual corpography of June 2013, by bringing to the fore different and contrasting narrative bodies circulating the protests.

To do so, I first bring some of the contrasting voices regarding June 2013 in the academic body. After that, the effort is to highlight some instances where we can observe the workings of power by discussing the political economy of representation in corporate media and institutional politics. Finally, the chapter highlights some counter-narratives performed by bodies resisting either their

(re)presentation, invisibilization or criminalization promoted by power embodied by corporate media and institutional politics[25]. This is done so as to reveal how narratives may have embodied political effects either by legitimating practices of necro(bio)political regulation or by contesting those practices. As such, there is an attempt to look for those moments where normative structures are suspended or interrupted. In doing so, I try to reveal how some resistance narratives question the necro(bio)political spacial bodily regulation, necessary for the stabilization of Brazilian sovereignty. Moreover, this movement unveils some of the ways in which counter narratives also promote a rupture in modern politics temporality, challenging the idea of political immutability. Following this, here I look at June 2013 as a series of events that reinvent and skew, in unsettling ways, the realm of the political.

2.1 Butler - on the politics of embodied performativity

To do this corpography, in which some topographies of power and resistance are revealed, Judith Butler's theory of performative assembly comes in handy. This is so, because it reveals how politics is about disputing the political space, and how this dispute also entails a rupture with (in)visibility. Whilst, for example, Arendt and Rancière argue that politics happens when those who are invisible make themselves visible, by explicitly raising their voices in the public space, Butler understands that, for politics to take place, "the body must appear". So, politics entails collective embodied appearance and the dispute of the very symbolic and material definition of that space of appearance, in which bodies can appear and exist.

In *Gender Trouble* (1990), Butler argues for the ever-present possibility of deviation, (re)signification, and creativity that links performativity to agency. Recognizing one's performativity presumes what Butler calls a "space of

[25] Important here is to acknowledge that understanding that power may be "embodied" by corporate media or institutional politics does not mean that I understand that power is "contained" by some bodies and lacking in others. The fact that corporate media in Brazil retain much power of (re)presentation is related to many aspects, including the legal and regulatory framework that enables mainstream media to effectively "hold" the material apparatuses of news' diffusion. Moreover, institutional politics, not only in Brazil, but in the global framework of democracy, as constituted by western political philosophy, was thought to "hold" the "legitimate" role of (re)presenting the social body.

appearance" in which one's visibility is regulated by norms of recognition that are themselves hierarchical, exclusionary, and repressive. So, visibility depends on a previous normative structure that conditions the appearance of bodies. However, norms can fail to regulate the sphere of appearance and thus bodies can appear in ways that challenge or even break with pre-established and regulated forms of appearance.

But this "space appearance" can only emerge through the concerted action of bodies, through an embodied and collective performativity. As Butler (2011:2-3) puts it:

> No one body establishes the space of appearance, but this action, this performative exercise happens only "between" bodies, in a space that constitutes the gap between my own body and another's. In this way, my body does not act alone, when it acts politically. Indeed, the action emerged from the "between".

In *Undoing Gender* (2004), Butler accounts for ways of acting in concert that enable the challenging of that space of appearance. When people act in concert and occupy the public space, as for example in the recent protests around the world, and in June 2013 in Brazil, they are breaking with the normative regulation that restricts their appearance. Once the regulation of that space of appearance is undone people have the possibility to (re)exist: to become otherwise, to *inaugurate a relatively newer* life, one that has *greater livability* as its aim (Butler 2004: 4, emphasis in the original).

Finally, in *Notes toward a performative theory of assembly* (2015), Butler departs from those previous works so as to understand how "illegible" bodies may form as a group, how they make themselves "legible" to one another and how their common exposure to different kinds of violence can become a common ground for acting in concert and resisting. She is concerned with how embodied assembly and speech reconfigure the materiality of public space and contest the private/public distinction.

In order to reveal the ways through which this interdependency of visible/ invisible acts through performativity and assembly, Butler draws on Hanna Arendt's theory of action, but rejects both her public/private binary and the purely metaphysical conception of what counts as political life. For Arendt, "Action, the

only activity that goes on directly *between men* [sic] *without the intermediary of* things or *matter* … this plurality is specifically *the* condition …of all political life" (Arendt 1998 [1958]: 7, emphasis added).

Butler expands this notion by including bodies and spaces as simultaneous conditions, demands, and effects of political action. She does so by valuing the corporeal, technological, and infrastructural dimensions of assembly. These enmeshed dimensions of assembly are not only the grouping together of discrete bodies on the public stage, but rather they encompass the dynamic co-constitution of bodies and the architectural infrastructures where they are located. By using as example recent uprisings, such as Gezi Park in Turkey and Indignados in Spain, she argues that it is the very public character of a given space of mobilization (be it square, building, or even prison or the internet) that is under dispute, whether due to neoliberal privatization, market rationalities, authoritarian repression, or the ever-present threat of incarceration.

These ideas are of relevance in this chapter, since the aim is to trace a corpography of narratives of power and resistance in different social bodies, so as to see how bodies in protest "appear", how they become visible to each other and to society at large. And in so doing, how they promote a rupture in the space of appearance regulated by power.

2.1.1 June 2013 contesting the control of the space of appearance

Even though the first protests of June 2013 happened in São Paulo and were organized by the autonomous Free Fare Movement of São Paulo (MPL-SP), the demonstrations became increasingly bigger, first due to the solidarity of other autonomist collectives and social movements from progressive sectors and later reaching out to the broader spectrum of different student and labor unions, political parties and individuals who started taking the streets across Brazil. This is largely associated to the spreading of counter-narratives, provided by alternative media, regarding arbitrary police violence against random protesters who, in their majority, were demonstrating pacifically. People filming police repression or even those journalists covering the events were attacked by the police, as many

independent reports, news and video broadcasts make clear[26]. This arbitrariness in the use of state security forces against its own population rather than ending protest, contributed to its increase. And here we see one of the most important ruptures promoted by June: the dislocation of police necro(bio)political violence from the peripheries to the center, from the everyday regulation of black bodies in the favelas to the regulation of white bodies in the asphalt[27].

This is highlighted in the voice of a white-middle class journalist from independent media, whose body experienced a violence that many black peripheral bodies suffer everyday. He was hit on the head by a rubber bullet shot by police when covering a manifestation in front of Palácio Guanabara, the executive seat of government of Rio de Janeiro. He spent five days in intensive care due to head trauma:

> I realized during these events that the Military Police are very well trained and organized, but not to preserve rights. This is not an exceptional behavior, but rather a recurring and violent mode of operation. The action of the Police does not take place in order to guarantee the dignity of the people and the integrity of the public and private patrimony; on the contrary, it instigates violence and conflict. What I witnessed in these events is that Police action instigates the generalization of violence and barbarism. The police discourse on order works in a binary way: it transforms every person in a protest in an enemy of the state. This happens sadistically, they laugh at civil vulnerability. The part of the city that is now sold as "The Wonderful City" experiences the traditional policy of repression historically reserved for the peripheries and favelas; what is not unprecedented is the cynical way with which both the media and the public power have been treating the State of Exception that was established in a generalized way from June 2013 on. It is a service of disinformation, or rather a public disservice. (Pedro Machado, quoted in Artigo 19, 2014: 8-9)

So, some important things are highlighted above: police violence was extended and with it the state of exception, normally reserved to the peripheries. The discourse on order makes anyone a target of this exceptional, sovereign and therefore necro(bio)political power. This discourse is not translated into a practice that secure the (bio), the dignity of people, but rather promotes more conflict as a response. Importantly, he mentions the issue of the preservation of rights, but it

[26] See Albuquerque (Youtube, June 13, 2013), Ferreira (Youtube, June 12, 2013), Redação Pragmatismo (June 14, 2013)

[27] Favela (periphery, slum), and asphalt (well-off area) are two opposed poles in the Brazilian imaginary. Whereas favelas are commonly perceived by the upper classes (constituted in its majority by white bodies) as a place of chaos, misery and criminality, an anarchic territory, the asphalt is understood to be the space of order, development and modernity. As such, the asphalt/ favela opposition might exemplify the dichotomy, present in IR, between the ordered inside and the anarchic outside.

seems he still take for granted the existence of rights, based on a pre-existent sphere of law and order. However, June was exactly pointing out that what white-middle class bodies take for granted as "security and order" is actually result of daily practices of violence against raced bodies who have their existence and voices effaced. So, in June, when white-middle-class bodies suffered the same violence experienced by black bodies in their everyday, the myth of the security of the (bio) started to fall apart. This is linked to the expansion of the regulation of the space of appearance. And although this points to the expansion of violence, this also entails one important opening in the conditions of possibility for a radical democratic politics that claims for the right to have rights, which is based on political dispute, rather than on a pre-existent and ever continuous order. This might be linked with Butler's reading of collective embodied appearance through Hanna Arendt's right to have rights:

> [T]he right to have rights predates and precedes any political institution that might codify or seek to guarantee that right; at the same time, it is derived from no natural set of laws. The right comes into being when it is exercised, and exercised by those who act in concert, in alliance. (Butler 2011: 4)

As such, the right to have rights is precisely what was exercised by those bodies on the streets on the first days of June 2013, specially those bodies fighting against the precaritization of life. The legitimacy of the state was brought into question precisely because police was contesting a right that many white bodies supposed should be given and reassured by the state itself. By appearing in public collectively and by demanding rights, normally "invisible" people were exercising the right to appear. As Butler poses, this right "promotes resistance to force, articulating the right of persisting in the public space or the space of appearance" (op. cit. p.2).

So, although contested and fought by the military police, bodies persisted on the streets so as to struggle for the right to appear, to be seen and heard. This mass of varied bodies and their movements, voices, and repertoires of performance continuously took the streets, traveling across spaces (both physical and virtual), at the same time they were constituting different political territories, rhythms and, most important, subjectivities.

2.2 Academia

2.2.1 Temporalities of June

Some academic narratives of June present it as a kind of rupture with progressive time. Alana Moraes (2014), for instance, argues “June is still being”. According to her view, the energy and *potencia* of those autonomist movements and collectives — who made June become one of the most important revolutionary moments in Brazilian history — are still present and active in alternative political and cultural arenas, even though their performances might have changed (many have returned to more subterranean politics due to increased repression). Some argue June was not “new” but a re-emergence of hidden transcripts[28]. This is the case of Breno Bringel (2013) and others (Cocco 2013, Moraes 2016), who remember us of June’s similarities (in terms of the use of direct action and horizontal organization in resistance to capitalism and against institutional power), to past protest movements, like May 68 in France, the ongoing Zapatista’s struggle started in 1994, the Peoples' Global Action, linked to the “Battle of Seattle” (1999-2001), the protests in Northern Africa (2011-2013), and the Occupy movements in the U.S. (2011).

Authors diverge when establishing a temporal frame for the multiple events unfolding in June 2013 in Brazil. André Singer (2013), for example, departs from a political ideological standpoint to argue the protests had two main moments: one organized by what he calls the “new-left” — represented by autonomist movement MPL and its struggle against the tariff’s increase; the other capitalized by a “post-materialist center” that resignified the struggle raised in the first moment by posing demands based on modern cultural values, such as “Fifa pattern hospitals” or “no more corruption”. For Singer (op.cit. p. 36), even though, in the second phase of the demonstrations, the right posed the problem of corruption and the left that of the iniquitous conditions of urban life, producing an ideological crossing (composed by the mixture of classes), what was really new was the center's performance. It had the advantage of being able to navigate

[28] In the sense provided in James Scott (1990), hidden transcripts are forms of resistance and dissent that are kept out of sight for those in power. Hidden transcripts come to view, however, during conflicts.

between the two poles, simultaneously shouting against public spending privatized by capital and against corruption, functioning as a sort of unexpected generalizer of the spontaneous street demands.

Andrey Ferreira (2018), referring mainly to the protests in Rio de Janeiro, divides the events in three "sub-cycles" of protest. The first (June 06-13), centered on the demand for fare reduction and based on pacific resistance; the second (June 13-20), marked by a combination of varied demands, specially those against public spending in mega-events (e.g. FIFA World Cup) and against police violence; the third (June 21-30, after the reduction of fares), directed against mega-events and against police violence, generalized in the words of order "it's not over, it has to stop with the end of military police"[29]. Even though Ferreira considers only the period of June, he links the last sub-cycle of protest with violence against peripheral bodies coming from favelas. The case of Amarildo[30] was emblematic in this phase, and makes clear how demands made in June transgress any temporal delimitation that tries to contain its meanings and struggles within those thirty days.

Even though June (and the events it resembles or continuously inspires) has its ambiguities, one undeniable fact is that the MPL, in São Paulo, — the movement initiating the cycle of protests — made visible the contradictions of institutional politics, promoting a crisis of representativity that proved to be present in other places and times. The MPL made visible the demands of those subjectivities the movement fights for (poor and peripheral workers)[31], generating space for a political imaginary that is open to solidarity and resonance with other resistance struggles that came before and after June 2013. Also, it promoted a rupture on the then closed channels of institutionalized social struggle and grassroots political action, triggering other demands and struggles that did not

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[29] "não acabou, tem que acabar, eu quero o fim da polícia militar"(Facebook, May 19, 2016).

[30] Amarildo de Souza, a bricklayer from Rocinha community, disappeared on July 14, 2013, after being called in for questioning by Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) officers when he was on his way home and never seen again. See (The Guardian, October 3, 2013).

[31] Important to notice that the MPL denies any sort of representation. The movement does not "speak for" those subjectivities, but serves as a channel to amplify the urgency of their demands.

start in 2013, and certainly continue to surpass it in unexpected ways. As MPL-SP (2013) puts it: “It has not started in Salvador, it is not going to end in São Paulo”.

Having a place in time is a political dispute, since it involves carving a space of visibility for those who do not count as visible. As posed by Rancière (2001, p.9): “Politics […] consists in transforming this space of 'moving-along' into a space for the appearance of a subject”. So, while Brazilian ruling practices have followed the move-along discourse of modernity, in order to ‘catch-up’ with its teleological rules, the MPL-SP ruptured and occupied this privileged space of representation and opened a space for popular appearance. By doing so, the movement has opened space for those invisible bodies to have a place in the time of existence, something that is constantly denied by in institutional spaces in Brazil — be it embodied by mass media oligopolies or partisan politics — for whom those bodies in fact sub-exist, since they do not count for those who rule. June, in the autonomous movement organized by the Free Fare Movement, in São Paulo, (MPL -SP), was thus capable of promoting a radical rupture in the events of June, bringing with it a counterculture that implies denunciation, radical critique, and thinking aloud alternative ideas.

2.2.2 Voices of June

June was at the same time mobilized through the multiple voices of those bodies occupying the streets, and in the voices of those trying to make sense of the meaning of the increasing number of people joining the protest events. What a reading of interpretations of June makes clear is the existence of narrative disputes trying, either to contain or delimit the meanings of the protest(ing).

Bringel and Pleyers (2015) argue that even though people used protest as a repertoire to express their varied demands it does not mean they all made part of the same movement. What they shared was a common “cultural and historical grammar”, which is open to interpretation by the different groups in a given society. The scholars argue that in June a “social overflow” where protests ignited by already mobilized social sectors spread out to other parts of society, going beyond the control of any specific social movement. This process led to the

mobilization of society in a "diffuse indignation", where different perspectives and claims coexist in the same space (physical and discursive — e.g. against the tariff and against corruption), although from distant and many times opposed ideological horizons. As such, June was marked by an ambiguous confluence of contradictory centripetal forces (with the externalization of indignations that simultaneously took the same symbolic and physical spaces), and centrifugal forces (that, despite that co-presence in space, indicated different motivations, ways of organization and horizons of expectation).

Angela Alonso and Ann Mische (2015) point out that in June there were at least three different repertoires: autonomist (critical to institutional powers of capitalism and the state), socialist (close to the leftist governmental discourse), and patriotic (a nationalist discourse that waves the national flag and wears yellow-and-green). Singer (2013), on his turn, observes the multiplicity of discourses made it clear June was formed by diverse individuals and social groups with "a broad ideologic spectrum". He also points out to the polarization of left-right discourses, but understands that the large majority of those in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte were part of a "post-materialist center".

Despite the multiple attempts of classification above, my aim here is not to define which of them is right and which is pointing to "the" historical subject of June 2013, since this would be a contribution to the formation of a myth. I am looking at June not only as a single event, but mainly as an event that is at the crossroads of various historical processes that are currently shifting the geography of sensing, knowing and believing. June, in its multiplicity, is here read as a landmark for upcoming possibilities that are under construction through the everyday disputes and resistances of marginal bodies.

What I do instead is to pass through distinct discursive bodies (narratives) in order to observe and highlight the ways bodies are articulated in relation to protest, with the aim of constituting subjectivities that serve political ends. In this sense, the main task is to bring forward the ways in which June promoted ruptures and destabilized attempts of controlling the multiple subjectivities being formed

through protest. Also, the goal is to explore the opening of conditions of possibility for the emergence of radical democratic forms of political subjectivity related to the protests. Some of the narratives here presented point to the ways in which autonomist practices of horizontal direct action promoted ruptures with modern subjectivity, whilst others are more ambiguous and still others point to the contrary, to a reification of subjectivities desiring modernity, security and order.

2.2.3 Political subjectivities and bodies of June

In relation to the subjectivities, Bringel (2013), Scherer-Warren (2014), Alonso and Mische (2015), for example, point to the emergence of subjects as citizens demanding social rights (free public transport, better public healthcare and education), or as contesters of the political order (demanding increased citizen participation, the end of corruption, more political transparency in the political system). Others (Vianna 2013, Singer 2013, Alves 2013) point out that it was a precarious youth, lacking labor opportunities, visibility and channels for the political participation, who formed the large masses in June. This “precariat” is, according to these authors, made up of young, educated adults, but with a precarious insertion in the relations of work and social life. As such, the precariat constitutes the "middle layer of the urban subproletariat" and is the "backbone of street protests” (Alves op.cit.p. 34).

The definition of which bodies made part of June 2013 is also object of disputes, specially in what concerns class. Three analyses, based on empirical data provided by polling institute DataFolha[32] argue June was mainly a middle class phenomenon. According to Pissardo (2013), it was the ‘old’ middle class, not the working class, which took the streets in June 2013. Gohn (2014:12), similarly, defines the June 2013 protests as “part of a new form of social movement composed predominately of educated young people, coming mainly from the middle classes, connected through digital networks, horizontally organizing to criticize the institutional political reforms”. However, this information is

[32] It is worth to note that all three analyses were based on empirical data provided by polling institute DataFolha, owned by one of the largest Brazilian media conglomerates. The conglomerate has newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* as its centerpiece, alongside *UOL* (Universo Online), the leading Internet portal in Brazil.

complemented by Singer (2013) who, based on empirical data, affirms that the new proletariat or 'precariat' — who emerged thanks to social welfare policies during the Workers Party's (PT) administration — also went to the streets.

On the other hand, there are scholars (Moraes 2014; Nobre 2013), highlighting the large number of protests organized mainly by autonomist movements and collectives that have arisen in the peripheries of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte. There are also those who point out the presence of poorer community residents in demonstrations of Rio de Janeiro. Mendonça and Daemon (2014), for example, describe the police repression in the favelas, so as to prevent peripheral bodies from participating in the protests occurring in the center of Rio de Janeiro. Guterres (2015), in narrating his experience in the protests in Rio de Janeiro, draws attention to the daily violence suffered by some groups, specially the racialized and criminalized people living in the city outskirts.

One position that, in my vies, captures well the multiplicity of bodies of June is that in Alonso and Mische (2015: 12-13):

> Demonstrators were also diverse among themselves. Broad, mass-based social mobilizations are usually cross-class. The broader the platform, the more varied its support. In São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the two largest cities in the country, a diversity of actors came to the streets: the professional middle class; the new and precarious working middle class; an expanded sector of higher education students; and even lower social strata from the marginalized urban peripheries. Hence, demonstrations were not class-based; rather they expressed older social strata as well as newer ones, produced by the demographics changes and social distribution of income policies. All this complexity appeared in the demonstrations.

This short description of the disputes of definition of which bodies were on the streets in June 2013 show us that the political options and alternatives present in the protests could not be simply captured in the question of new left versus old left, nor left versus right politics and their respective disputes for assuming state power. The manifestations revealed the tensions existent in Brazil's contemporary political configurations with its class, gender and racial divisions. Even though June did not resolve those tensions (many argue they were in fact exacerbated)[33], some of its expressions exemplified a different and radical way of politicizing the everyday through the plural and embodied right to appear.

[33] See for instance Santos (Carta Maior, February 13, 2014).

Multiple bodies were present on the streets, some of them occupying the space of politics for the first time, or at least in new ways, even if other bodies (organized in autonomous and horizontal ways) showed the way. However, not all of those bodies constituted new political subjectivities. The large mass making June resemble Hardt and Negri's "Multitude" (2004), never quite overcame the processes of neoliberal (biopolitical) subjectivation. This means that June 2013 in Brazil, rather than constituting the much-desired revolutionary and progressive multitude, was made of a plurality of ambiguous bodies, some striving for a radical and democratic social transformation, like the MPL-SP, others trying to moralize politics, in the case of Anonymous Brasil, something that might have led to the formation of ultra-liberal and conservative Movimento Brasil Livre (Free Brazil Movement), in 2013. So, in Brazil, the exercise of the "plural and embodied right to appear", as discussed by Butler (2015), was not necessarily based in a common and radically progressive revolutionary ethics, as discussed in "Multitude". As Bruno Rocha (2013) evaluates, demonstrations were divided between those not used to organize under a common purpose — who came to the streets bringing the national flag and singing the national anthem — and those organized through popular struggle, who had a clear idea of the class (and also race) divisions existent in society.

2.2.4 June: Back to the future of authority or revolution?

Some scholars, maybe foreseeing or even contributing to the future polarization of political positions in Brazil, made a clear binary division between those deemed good and bad demonstrators. Whilst the 'good' demonstrators exerted their citizenship in an orderly fashion, dressing in green-and-yellow and chanting the national anthem, the 'bad' ones were the outlaws, the anarchists and *Black blocs,* promoting chaos, violence and destruction, disrespecting the institutions in a merely "nihilistic manner" with "nazi-fascist traits" (Santos 2013).

Other narratives alleged June "was nothing special, maybe just a spasm diluted in the absence of clear demands" (Oliveira 2013). Some were clearer in

classifying the protests as having more of a fascist character (Santos 2014), or at least calling attention to the danger of ignoring the possibilities of its cooptation by the right and the media (Chauí 2013a, 2013b).

Leonardo Avritzer (2017) points to the ambiguities of June by looking at the ways in which the initial autonomist discourse was co-opted in the middle of the cycles of protest by discourses from conservative sectors. He argues that, in June 2013, autonomist MPL presented its demands without fully politicizing them, keeping itself as a single-issue movement. Moreover, he understands that ultra-liberal MBL (Free Brazil Movement) was capable of politicizing June 2013, transforming it into an anti-corruption movement positioned against president Dilma Rousseff. As such, he understands June resulted in a project from conservative sectors, that in the end follows a depoliticizing logic, since they deny the complexity and multiplicity of actors, causes and effects generated during June, whose effects are continuously altering the dynamics of the political scene.

Moreover, for Fabiano Santos and Marilena Chauí, June presented more of fascist tones, since protesters were mainly against the politico-institutional mediation, fact that demonstrates its proximity with historically antidemocratic ideas of authoritarianism, fascism and nazism. This position, identified by the latter scholars, is based on the words of order “My country is my party” (“Meu país é meu partido”) proclaimed by some of the protesters. This saying is something that repels the plurality of interests and political options present in June 2013 and it is antidemocratic per se, since it hinders the recognition of the Other, reinforcing the depoliticization of the progressive demonstrations.

At the same time, the critique towards the political parties and the political system operates according to a moralist key, which is incapable of recognizing the structural and historic causes of Brazilian corruption and its democratic deficits, centering instead on qualities proper to the private sphere, transposing them to the public space. Examples that legitimate these readings are sayings, like “You do not represent us” (“Não nos representam”), or “Dictatorship now” (“Ditadura Já”) . Also, the fact that, on June 20, militants of leftist political parties and labor

unions were attacked by demonstrators carrying Brazilian flags illustrate the embodiment of this polarization.

Figure 4. Fight between leftists and nationalists.

Also, a position pro-dictatorship was expressed by the Integralist movement. One of its leaders, wrote about the participation of that movement in June 2013:

> […] those (in our protests) who demanded military intervention did not want the establishment of a dictatorship, but that the Armed Forces, aiming at preserving the law, order and institutions, would bring down one (dis)government that violates the law and is unable to secure order and defend institutions, giving power back to civilians as soon as possible. (Barbuy quoted in Moraes 2016:372)

On the opposite side of these readings privileging a fascist key in the reading of June, would be Marcos Nobre (2013), who sees in June an anarchic movement, who not only refused the old political status quo, but also re-instituted the political polarization of society by means of activating depoliticized or co-opted sectors both in the right and the left. He understands June 2013 as a movement that is present not only in Brazil, but also in the world, where societies desire more political participation.

This movement, according to this author, institutionalizes new spaces for participation and deliberation that go beyond the state-society vertical relation.

However, he argues, to become politically effective, the effects of June need channels of institutionalization, since the political system was incapable of understanding the demands present on the streets. Events like the pro impeachment movement, in 2015, and the strengthening of the far right were, for him, symptoms of the growing distancing between the basis of society and the political system, whose conservative tendencies persist in restoring themselves.

Nobre is right about the need of overcoming the hierarchical state-society relation, but it is important to remember that the autonomist key directs its critique towards the limits of modern political institutions and their inability to allow for radical democracy. According to the autonomist logic, the political parties and the existent mechanisms of social participation in the political system are insufficient, since they do not connect society and its individuals to political participation and decision making. So, searching for channels of institutionalization might be a complicated path to take, since it incurs the risk of reifying those power structures autonomist movements are keen to demobilize. Also, more important than bridging this gap it to look at how the basis of society and the political system are co-constituted. More relevant than classifying bodies is to understand how the performances of protest are themselves symptoms of unfulfilled political desires. In that sense, some longings are typical of a desire for modernity, entailing the reification of "nation", in the search for "order and progress". Others are in fact desires to escape that system of necro(bio)political volition, expressed in narratives and performances that point to the need to be governed otherwise or to break with modern governance, to govern themselves and the collective means of existence.

It is in this sense that Giuseppe Cocco (2013) looks at June 2013. He argues that the protests derived momentum from the MPL (Free Fare Movement), in that the issue of public transport has a direct bearing on services, the quality of life of ordinary people and metropolitan working conditions. For him, MPL's struggle became so potent because it was capable of communicating with the desires of the precarious "immaterial" workers, by touching upon the crucial question of circulation. For him, whereas workers from before fought *against* work, the

"immaterial workers" of today struggle to *produce* subjectivity. And it is "circulation that produces subjectivity and income value" (p.126). He adds: "the issue of urban mobility has the same dimension that wages had for the industrial worker" (p.130), since it is the services sector and not the industrial sector which is strategic for contemporary capitalist and subjective production. This resonates with the point made by Hardt & Negri (2009:x):

> The ultimate core of biopolitical production, we can see stepping back to a higher level of abstraction, is not the production of objects for subjects, as commodity production is often understood, but the production of subjectivity itself […] A key scene of political action today, seen from this vantage point, involves the struggle over the control or autonomy of the production of subjectivity.

Following this line of thinking, Cocco criticizes the sociological reading of protesters as "new middle class". For him, class does not account for the "new social composition whose technical characteristics are to work directly in the circulation networks and services of the metropolis" (p.130). It is this "new composition of the immaterial and metropolitan work" that is producing new forms of life, of subjectivity. Cocco argues this new subjectivity was produced during the Workers Party (PT) government and functioned as the electoral basis of the successive defeats of neoliberalism.

However, in June, this new subjectivity came out to protest the shifts in governance, based on the effects of the politics of the coalition, PT was making with right-wing sectors, in order to promote the re-industrialization of the country. In this context of "neo-developmentalism", Brazil was also trying to impose itself as a global-south potency, and part of the strategy was to host three international mega-events. In this sense, the issue of access to the city became even more visible, and a window of political opportunity for protest was also open:

> What June shows it that the legacy of the ten years of the Lula government is in dispute and the most interesting thing is to be inside these disputes, instead of wanting to bring one or another flag. Politics and social movements are in and against the system. Let us think, for example, about the issue of mega-events, the Confederations Cup, the World Cup and the Olympics. Many of the foci of resistance in the metropolis are movements that criticize the spending on the building of stadiums, slums that resist displacement, etc. At the same time, the possibility to demonstrate without even more repression was also given by the Confederations Cup. Once more, the conflict is within this context and against it. (p.131)

Cocco privileges ambiguities and shows what the previous authors took for granted. It is his focus on this "new subjectivity" that interests me here, since it seems that in June we saw an emergence of new political subjects. They were not outside the political system, as Cocco points out, but rather were constituted by the momentary expansion of the space of the (bio) of Brazilian necro(bio)politics. Once this expansion reached other-than-white bodies, who had a family background and also an everyday permeated by necropolitics, they were conformed differently, never equally, to the middle-class. And, as this expansion was never complete, these new political subjects started to feel the pressures of a necropolitics creeping back into the small (bio)political space they had previously been launched into. But, as power always comes with resistance, exactly because it conforms objects and subjects, these new subjects were not only electoral mass, but also political mass, critical of the shifts of lulismo[34] towards a politics of consensus that started to withdraw the small access to citizenship given to them before.

So, in this sense, we can return to Cocco, when he points that general support of the youth to the words of order "no parties!" ("sem partidos!") does not have a "unilinear meaning", and much less a "fascist" meaning. For Cocco, the paradox of the denial of political representation, including "radical" parties and their flags, even though confuse and contradictory, is the denial of the "homologation between right and left and a claim for a 'real left'" (p.128). The search for this "real left", for him, is not idealist, but rather demands a new language to be expressed and understood.

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[34] In 2013, Brazil had already gone through different market reforms and enjoyed a period of relative economic stability. The leftist party in government, the PT (Workers Party), was sitting for its third mandate in power at the time. PT is internationally known for having extended and implemented public policies increasing the formalization of labor relations alongside policies of income redistribution and social credit with the aim of eradicating extreme hunger and poverty in Brazil. Nonetheless, the party could only afford its continuity in power through its association with both old and new elites, such as the conservative rural agribusiness class and the corrupt right wing PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party), and neoliberal elites linked to expanding global financial conglomerates. This specific political combination was called 'lulismo': 'a new ideological configuration, that mixes left-wing and right-wing elements. The rhetoric and the praxis, that are able to unite the maintenance of stability and the distributive action of the state' (Singer 2009:83). Hence, PT's policies privileged two extremes: on the one hand, social policies for the poorest and emerging; on the other, support for questionable big businesses. This politics of alliance allowed PT to retain its governmental influence for more than a decade.

The symbolism of red flags, for example, is something this author thinks is in need of reassessment before being used politically. The red flags and the left/ right dichotomy represent old forms of enacting politics. Cocco understands that it is in the terrain of popular democratic struggle that it is possible and necessary to build other forms of representation that reinforce democracy.

To achieve that goal, it is thus necessary to understand the voices and performances of protest, since it is there we may find some answers as to where to start thinking and practicing a radical democratic politics, one based on everyday disputes and works with and not against contingency and difference. As Cocco reasons: "The red flag needs to abandon its ideal and transcendent (empty) dimension and become once again intern (immanent) to the languages of struggle, as the latter in fact are" (p.128).

Paulo Arantes (2014) follows a similar line of thought that rejects the readings that try to establish a teleology of protest, with the search for a revolutionary subject of history that would become the new sovereign. Focusing on the concrete example of the actions of Free Pass Movement (MPL), he argues that the movement "thanks to its strategic and tactic clarity was capable, in a couple of weeks, of challenging and deconstructing the politics of consensus" (p. 52), and the "official left, inebriated by realpolitik" that we normally think as constituting a separate power sphere (state, institutions, elections). The MPL, by focusing on the singular "reformist" demand of the tariff reduction of R$0,20, was capable to diffuse its long term and radically democratic demand for the "de-merchandising of life": The zero tariff.

However, even though MPL presented social struggles in Brazil with a new model of politics, this is seen by Arantes as an "inheritance with no prescription", in the sense the MPL "put[s] into circulation a power not yet identified", one that points to the impossibility of "optimism with the progress of progressivism". This can be illustrated by one militant narrative:

> I believed, as I now believe, that the vitality of the movement lay in an extremely broad agenda, even though it might have also been its weakness. June was only June because it was a space of ambiguity. One must learn to work politically with it. (Neto: 84)

June 2013, for Arantes, was the performance of a “left politics without a future”. As such, MPL’s victory only happened in that moment, where the movement was capable of detaching itself from the framework in which police and politics mix to make "a permanent war”, against poor, black and resisting subjectivities, bodies assembling together for the right to appear and exist as human. The MPL challenged, thus, the notion of the “subject of history”, that which is going to fulfill the desire from old-school progressives, who are always waiting for the moment in which history will be carried out under the command of a “boat with red sails”.

For Arantes, there is no future to be longed for. It is this impossibility of conclusion, what he calls “the new time of the world”, a time in which it is impossible to expect for a future revolution, since the future reserved for June was that of an “upgrading of the coercive apparatuses”. Hence, there is nothing left for the state to offer to its citizens but more “protection”: “from Peace keeping operations to the imposition of Law” all citizens are incorporated in multiple levels of protection. So, there is no possibility of thinking revolution in the old way. The task of the new generation Arantes argues is now another: “to get rid of this system of norms, practices, devices, all this ceremonial accumulation, suffering fed by their own worshipers”(p.31). So it seems that the only choice left is exactly that of finding tools to fight the system from within. And the constitution of other political subjectivities is, maybe, the only way to combat *power over*, or total governance, with *power to* (or *potencia*) to become otherwise, to perform other ways of living and being with and against this normalized “total peace” promoted by a “race war”.

2.3 Mainstream media

2.3.1 Media - symbolic power as continuation of war by other means

A quantitative study from Coletivo Intervozes (2014) followed the mass media coverage of the demonstrations in the first 19 days of June 2013. It investigated 964 articles from online versions of newspapers O Estado de S. Paulo, Folha de S. Paulo and O Globo (Hereafter Estadão, Folha and Globo). The

study concludes that half of those articles cite violence, although it is not clear who caused it. Of the remaining half, protesters are twice as accused of being the trigger of violence as compared to police authorities.

On the other hand, in at least half of the texts analyzed, there is no unique source of information on the events. This one sided perspective, according to the study, "compromises the impartiality of the texts from a journalistic point of view and also indicates a superficial treatment of the facts" (p.74). This fact is worsened when 45% of single source stories quote public authorities/police while protesters count as single sources of information in only 11% of stories, "a clear connotation of the institutionalist emphasis of communication vehicles to the detriment of protesters"(p.74-75).

This conclusion is also confirmed by counting all sources cited in all the articles, which showed that 47% of all sources are public/political authorities, while protesters, social movements, labor unions and civil society organizations, make, together, only 18% of the speeches. A fairly low number considering that these are the main actors of the narrated events. Protesters are the most accused actors, although they are those whose voice is less heard, making it difficult to provide them with any speech position of defence. As the study points out "48% of all stories that bring accusations refer to accusations only against the protesters, without putting them in a speech situation" (p.70).

Mainstream media in Brazil, both in the form of TV broadcasting and print media, are extremely concentrated in the hands of a few bodies with strong family ties[35]. Newspapers such as Globo[36], Folha and Estadão, and TV broadcasters such as TV Globo, Bandeirantes, Record, and SBT, are part of large oligopolies of mass

[35] According to Reporters without Borders (2013), "ten leading business groups owned by as many families still control the mass media market. Broadcasting is dominated by the Rio-based Globo group, owned by the Marinho family, followed by the Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão (SBT), owned by the Silvio Santos group, Rede Bandeirantes owned by the Saad group, and Record (owned by the evangelical protestant bishop Edir Macedo). In the print media, the pack is again led by the Globo group, with the Globo daily, which is rivalled at the national level by the Folha de São Paulo group, owned by the Frias Filho family, the O Estado de São Paulo group, owned by the Mesquita family, and by Editora Abril, which publishes the weekly Veja and other magazines" (p. 6).

[36] Globo Network is the largest media conglomerate in Latin America. Its empire was built during the military dictatorship, with broad reciprocal support. It has always been against popular demonstrations in the country, and in 2013 it followed this pattern (Moraes 2016).

communication in Brazil. In a report from Reporters Without Borders (henceforward RWB), Brazilian media is linked to the "colonel" political culture:

> The shape of media ownership in Brazil directly affects the free flow of news and information and obstructs pluralism. […] Brazilian media reflect their almost incestuous relationship with the political and economic power centres. Concentration of ownership at the national and regional level and harassment and censorship at the more local level are the distinguishing features of a system that has never really been questioned since the end of the 1964 - 85 military dictatorship, with community media often the main victims […] The generals have gone but the "colonels" remain (RWB 2013: 3).

Even though not all politicians "own" news media, it is still possible to say media control is extremely concentrated in the hands of a few holders, which are on their turn dependent on state income through advertising. Therefore, the bodies linked to those oligopolies have quite a lot of *power over* the means to spread their point of view to the vast Brazilian population. Media conglomerates in Brazil can be said to "hold", thus, a considerate amount of symbolic power. This may be read as an underlying factor allowing for the persistence of colonial and authoritarian traces permeating the regulation of bodies in the country. Moreover, the concentration of power to communicate what a few well-off (mainly male and white) bodies think, leads to a very partial coverage of everyday events due to the control over the means of news diffusion and little variation in editorial agenda (Cabral 2015; Adolfo and Pires 2017).

This control, of what becomes visible and what is invisibilized, may also reflect a lack of pluralism in the ways bodies are (re)presented. The concentration of power might lead to a lack of points of view, since they conform to the ways of thinking and interests of those who stand behind the production and transmission costs (i.e. other big public and private capitalist corporations). In fact, according to Eugênio Bucci, journalist and professor of University of São Paulo (USP), "[s]ince the end of the dictatorship in 1985, governments have increased the volume of state advertising, reinforcing the financial servitude that prevents us from talking about a free and pluralist press" (quoted in RWB 2013: 6). By following these threads, it is possible to understand that state advertising is a major source of income for the media. Finally, it may also be said that media and politics, in Brazil, might have more commonalities than we may think at first sight.

As one of the aims in this chapter is to trace narratives that point to the regulation of bodies in protests, it seems therefore important to look at the mass media narratives regarding June 2013, how it depicts resistance (in the bodies of demonstrators), and power (in the bodies of politicians). What exactly is that media make visible and what becomes invisible in media narratives?

It is possible to say that mainstream media has presented a very partial narrative regarding protests. This is no novelty, since the oligopolies of mass communication in Brazil have historically taken a reactionary stance, criticizing and criminalizing progressive movements, their demands and forms of action (strikes, marches, etc). And this is partly due to the lack of governmental regulation of the media oligopoly formation, crucial to open space for pluralism in communication. As Arthur William, coordinator of AMARC-Brazil (Network of Community Radio Broadcasters), poses:

> Lula and Dilma administrations were the first to recognize the social role of the communities but they never dared to change the regulatory framework, which is imperative for the mainstream media and the telecom companies. (quoted in RWB 2013: 20).

One of the ways in which politics and media connect is thus through the legal framework that gives exclusive access to a handful of powerful embodied voices at the same time it excludes a multitude of plural communitarian and independent embodied narratives. Who, in fact, can speak in Brazil? And how did they communicate June 2013?

2.3.2 Media coverage - (re)presenting protests

By taking a look at mass media press coverage of the first demonstrations, it is thus clear that it was mainly negative, as reported by Coletivo Intervozes. Corporate media in Brazil is formed, as seen, by family oligopolies. As such, they hold hegemonic power of representation, being thus capable of invisibilizing the plural embodied right to appear, legitimizing all the sovereign and necro(bio)political violence used to control demonstrations. Even though independent media has played a fundamental role of communicating resistance, it is still difficult to fight the legal framework enabling the hegemony of corporate media. But, as the aim here is also to focus on the moments of power suspension,

I would like instead to point to some moments of rupture in the negative coverage of the protests by mainstream media and quickly contextualize this shift. On June 12, Folha has as headline: “Against the tariff, demonstrators vandalize the center and Paulista Ave”:


FOLHA DE S.PAULO

Contra tarifa, manifestantes vandalizam centro e Paulista

Figure 5. Visible crime, invisible popular politics: Folha, headline June 12, 2013.

The following day, June 13, Folha has the headline: “Government of São Paulo says it will be tougher against vandalism”:


FOLHA DE S.PAULO

GUIA DA COPA DAS CONFEDERAÇÕES

Governo de SP diz que será mais duro contra vandalismo

Figure 6. Legitimating the monopoly of violence: Folha, headline June 13, 2013.

However, in the same night of June 13, a journalist from Folha de S.Paulo, Giuliana Valone, got shot in the eye when covering the protests. She releases a statement on her Facebook page, where she depicts herself as an individual who was covering the protests as an identified reporter, in which she says:

> I didn't see any violent demonstrations around me, I didn't speak in any way against the police, I was using Folha's [the newspaper] ID and I wasn't even recording the scene. I saw the policeman aim at me … and shoot.[37]

What is interesting is not only that she got shot while working, but rather what she also stated, beyond the revolt with the violence she suffered:

> I don't regret participating in this coverage at all […] I think what happened to me, other journalists and protesters, shows that there is, yes, a right side and a wrong side to this story. What side are you on? (Ibidem.)

So, it seems that this simple and embodied statement from a young, white, middle class woman, working as a journalist to one of the media oligopolies in Brazil became a symbol of sorts. Her image and statement were rapidly circulated throughout all types of media (not only stamping the first page of Folha, but also Facebook pages). Even more interesting is to think of the next day headline of Folha from a race and gender perspective.

After that night, when the reporter was shot and many other peaceful demonstrators suffered arbitrary cases of police repression, Folha brings police violence to the fore in the headline: "Police acts violently in protest and São Paulo lives night of chaos". And in the cover are the picture of police beating a young woman and the picture of Giuliana, the reporter of Folha, with her face covered in blood.

[37] Valone as cited in (G1 São Paulo, June 14, 2013).


FOLHA DE S.PAULO

Polícia reage com violência a protesto e SP vive noite de caos

Petrobras está impedida de fazer comércio internacional

EUA afirmam que Síria usou armas químicas contra rebeldes

Distúrbios começaram com ação da Tropa de Choque

Figure 7. Covered in violence and blood, Folha, 14 June, 2013.

So, it seems that only when a "fragile", white and feminine body, functioning as an extension of the interests of a powerful family[38] is attacked that the narrative starts to shift towards a more negative tone against the excessive use of police force. Behind that headline, and those images of two women linked to violence, is a sort of patriarchy, one that tries to protect the women of the clan, but not to mess with business as usual. So, at the same time there was police violence, São Paulo — the city of business — is taken to be a body in trouble, living a night of chaos. The question remaining is: chaos for whom?

Beyond that, there is also another issue: Folha is here functioning as a sovereign as well, one that decides upon what is visible and in manipulating that through the use of symbolic power, it is acting as an extension of sovereign power. It could be argued that media functions more like a biopolitical security mechanism as well, since it serves the state when it legitimizes its actions, effaces its violence. But in this case, it seems more that Folha, in shifting the focus of the

[38] Folha de São Paulo is owned by the Frias de Oliveira Filho family. The Oliveiras were a traditional family in Rio; Frias' great-grandfather was the Baron of Itambi, an influential political figure in the Late Imperial period.

space of visibility is disputing the power of the state to decide over the application of the monopoly of violence.

This is a shift that some say was linked to a broader and strategic reading of the Brazilian inter/national context of economic, political and social crisis. Eugenio Bucci (2016) argues that the over-exposition of images of violence and the aesthetic demonization of protests served the disputable power interests of a Brazilian elite who wanted the end of a leftist government in power. However, the development of these arguments of "coup" is not the focus here. The aim is instead pointing to the disputes between narratives, and the ambiguities within narratives themselves.

According to Pedro Ekman, from Coletivo Intervozes, the violent incidents against journalists from mainstream media, on June 13, marked a shift in the focus of the coverage of protests: from demonstrators vandalism to the exceptionalism of police violence. Also, Luciano Costa (2013), from Observatório da Imprensa notices "a shift in coverage" after June 13, where "the press begins to see the police excesses and show that among the police troops there are provocative agents and groups predisposed to violence"[39]. Columnist Elio Gaspari[40] describes how a riot squad team positioned itself and acted deliberately to provoke demonstrators in São Paulo that day.

The media coverage shift is visually embodied in the speech of white-upper-class-male. Arnaldo Jabor, commentator of TV Globo and radio CBN[41], who first, on June 12, demonizes protesters and calls them "ignorant and apolitical". A few days later, on June 17, he admits he "was wrong", arguing he had "misunderstood" demonstrations. In the first narrative, performed on the 12 June 2013, Arnaldo Jabor argued that the movement had no legitimate reasons to take to the streets, that R$0,20 was "a very little amount" to be a reason for so much vandalism. For Jabor, the protesters were "middle class boys", not poor people who needed the R$0,20. He classified the actions of breaking windows of bus

[39] Costa (June 14, 2013).

[40] Gaspari, Folha de S. Paulo and O Globo, (Journal O Globo, June 13, 2013).

[41] (Globoplay, June 13, 2013).

stops and banks as “criminal organization attacks”. He continued in the defense of order, arguing police officers “earn very low salaries” to be on the streets facing the violence promoted by those “rebels without a cause”. He continued, saying demonstrators had “an immense political ignorance”, since they had no cause or agenda. He suggested that protesters should instead have a cause: “why don't they fight against the proposal of constitutional amendment, PEC 37?”[42]. And to finish he shouted “these middle class rebels are not even worth R$0,20”.

On June 17, 2013, Arnaldo Jabor returns to the topic, with a completely different perspective, He begins his performance by saying: “Friends, I was wrong […] *It's much more than 20 cents*”[43] (emphasis added). He continues saying his first impression was that the Free Pass Movement was “a useless anarchy”, however, he argues, after June 13, with “more violence from police”, it became clear that MPL was presenting a valid struggle, which Jabor compares to the movement of impeachment of president Fernando Collor de Mello, in 1992. Alerting against the danger of abstract demands, Arnaldo Jabor claims for “a new politics”, capable of presenting “concrete goals”, like the fight against the PEC-37.

This is soon perceived, by militants of MPL and other autonomist militants, as an opportunist attempt of those holding power to use the popular struggle to “instrumentalize the people”. This is so, they argue, because the MPL captured a broader social dissatisfaction with its repertoire for bus fare reduction. Reporting about the convocation of protests by Frente de Luta Pelo Transporte (Front of Struggle for Transport), in Florianópolis, militant Fernando Neto notices that:

> What was until then a manifestation for better conditions of Public Transport, for Free Pass, or Zero Tariff, for the revoking of the increase in public transport in Sao Paulo, took other directions. *The discourse of “It is not only for the 20 cents” came up*… Until the 17th, the character of the demonstrations was notably democratic and against police violence… It was a movement, until then, notably of criticism to the institutional left not only to the government, but to the authoritarian structures of the Brazilian State. (Neto: 82-83, emphasis added)

[42] PEC 37 - was a proposal of constitutional amendment, mainly linked to corruption. It was seen as a cover-up for corrupt politicians and an attempt to reduce the power of the judiciary in pursuing cases.

[43] BatMan (Youtube, June 17, 2013).

As the days passed, the spectrum of manifestations became much wider. The street demands proliferated, deviating from the initial demand: the reduction of the fare in R$0,20 cents.

Figure 8. Multiplication of demands. Credit: Internet

Although it may be have been a legitimate and democratic activation of Brazilian population, this was perceived by some to have had a high political cost, since many of those taking to the streets did not necessarily bring up claims leading to a radical social transformation. As posed by Paulo Motoryn, independent journalist independent, and close observer of demonstrations organized by MPL in São Paulo:

> It is a fact, the readjustment of the transportation tariff only provoked the necessary revolt for the paulistano [a person from São Paulo] to realize the obvious: politics is done in the streets. However, the refusal of the current model of society has to be made clear. This is because the dangers of movement appropriation are real. (Motoryn, 2013).

Following the above observations from the militant and the independent journalist, we have the following events: until June 13, the Free Pass Movement, in São Paulo (MPL-SP), was the movement organizing demonstrations and it had a clear demand: tariff reduction. After that day, mass media starts to make police

violence more visible[44], at the same time it gives more visibility to the contrast between the "pacific" demonstrations and the "violent" performances. Whereas in Folha demonstrators are called "vandals", in Globo they are called "radicals", in opposition to "pacifists"[45]. And, contributing to all that we have a TV commentator saying: "It's much more than 20 cents".[46]

It seems that, from the moment mainstream media started to shift the angles from which it (re)presented protests, the repertoires, aesthetics and performances of protest started to multiply. People, dressed in different colors (from black, to red, to yellow-and-green), started to shout slogans that also varied in terms of ideological and political spectrum, from autonomist claims for fare reduction, public education and health, to nearly fascist demands: against corruption, against PEC-37, against the law of criminal majority, against mayors, against governors, "Against all of this"[47], and much more.

As Motoryn argues, from the moment mainstream media looses the control of (re)presenting protests through their partial view, they "try instead to manipulate" the goals of popular and progressive movements, like MPL. In that sense, he argues against attempts of the media to manipulate the goals of the autonomist youth as being to "fight against corruption and criminality". For him,

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44 See, for example, newspaper headlines on June 14, 2013. O Globo,: "*Confrontation worsens in SP, with more arrests and injuries. In Rio de Janeiro, protest began peaceful, but ended with violence; students threw stones at historic buildings, set fire on garbage cans, and smashed bank windows*". And Folha de São Paulo "*Police reacts violently to protest and Sao Paulo lives night of chaos*". See appendix for captions.

45 Newspaper headlines on June 19, 2013. O Globo: "*Bus Fares are reduced in capitals; protests continue*". Under headline: "*In São Paulo, radicals and pacifists measure forces in an attempt to invade the city hall*". Folha de SP: "*Act in Sao Paulo has attack on City Hall, looting and vandalism. Military Police are slow to act*". Under headline: "*Demonstration begins peaceful but groups lead chaos to central region*".

46 Jabor, see (Youtube, June 17, 2013).

47 This jargon has been constantly used by Jair Bolsonaro, when running for Brazilian presidency in 2018. However, the depolitization it entails had already emerged through the beginning of political polarizations incited by some bodies in June 2013. This was well perceived by Emir Sader, when he poses, in an article published in June 2013: "Drawing on the mobilizations of recent weeks, the right is trying to impose another, even more radical, view: that nothing important has happened in Brazil, that only now the population is "awakening" and it is necessary to oppose "everything that is there" ["against all of this"]" (Carta Maior, June 23, 2013).
Sader was already in 2013 pointing to the risk of incorporating the mainstream media discourse that claimed to those "citizens of right" to take the streets and "fight corruption". Such conservative and moralist discourse effaces all the advances in the fight against inequality, misery and poverty achieved in the 2000s.

"the youth is showing that they do not want to share the individualistic, consumerist, and utilitarian values of their parents' generation". He adds that, far from shouting against inflation, against social policies of income transfer, progressive and autonomist movements want "to break down the barriers between rich and poor, center and periphery" and "consolidate the people as a political actor" and "fight for a Brazil with social justice, without inequality and with equal opportunities for all". So, he is stressing instead the proposals of autonomist movements, like MPL, in order to make visible an example of the need to think of new political subjectives, capable of performing other political roles, different from those of their parents. In this sense, he is pointing to what Cocco and Arantes discussed above, that June conformed a struggle for enacting a different future in the present, without mediation, through direct action focused in issues that contribute for a radical and popular transformation of society.

Moreover, in Motoryn's opinion, media serves conservative interests, for it is aligned politico-ideologically with the "reactionary right". Also, in line with these views, Pedro Ekman, from Coletivo Intervozes, points that violence against journalists "was not the only reason behind that radical change of perspective from mass media". He argues the shift has happened after "a macropolitical analysis", where corporate media understood that the "nationalization" of demonstrations would "generate stress for the government". (Ekman, quoted in Fraga 2013). This also made those speaking against demonstrators, celebrate (some of) them instead.

One of the effects of this change in the media agenda-setting regarding the (re)presentation and visibilization of protests, is also linked to the emergence of "Anonymous" in Brazil. According to Motoryn, Anonymous Brazil "symbolizes the conservative shift" occurred in the demonstrations organized by MPL[48]. Anonymous Brazil is, in his view, a reactionary movement that emerged taking advantage of the democratic space opened by MPL.

[48] Motoryn (Vaidapé, June 20, 2013), see also Motoryn (Vaidapé, June 24, 2013), where the same author recognizes mistakes in his own argument. (Perhaps it was not Anonymous Brazil after all, since anyone could wear a mask and pronounce that discourse and perhaps fighting corruption is not only a concern of the right-wing.)

On June 18, 2013, people supposedly speaking for Anonymous Brazil released a video[49] called "The 5 causes!", in which they state:

> […] only the reduction of the public transport fares does not satisfy us, but we really need to know from where to begin with a new Brazil! Therefore we will raise non-polemic and direct causes with no ideological or religious imprint, *without partisan flags or subjectivities*. Let's all *raise moral causes* that are unanimously accepted (emphasis added).

The "moral causes" raised by Anonymous Brazil were: fighting PEC 37; the ousting of Renan Calheiros (head of Congress at the time); investigation and punishment of corruption linked to the World Cup constructions; creation of a law dealing with corruption as a heinous crime; and the end of the privileged forum. Motoryn argues that, although the fight against corruption is a valid argument, posing these demands would not contribute to promote "a structural change in Brazilian society". For him, only a "progressive and non-moralistic flag", like that of MPL, which targets universal access to public transportation, are in fact promoters of social transformation.

Finally, Avritzer (2017), analyzing social networks's narrative in June 2013, points to how a movement that started by MPL (Free Pass Movement), with its radical leftist agenda, was coopted and "politicized" by MBL (Free Brazil Movement):

> If we look closer into the influence of MPL in the agenda of the demonstrations, we start to see already in June 2013 a split in the organization of public opinion. This split took place among right and left themes and […] marks the beginning of a new organization of conservative public opinion and social networks in Brazil after 2013. Still during the month of June, conservative profiles acquire a new strength on social networks [with] the creation of new profiles, such as the MBL's (Movimento Brasil Livre) in June. The MBL network would become one of the strongest elements of the new conservative movement in Brazil during 2014 and 2015. Immediately, it started a process of differentiation within the demonstrators' field. This process expanded the concerns of demonstrators from the political system to the issue of corruption and started to single out the PT and the government as a source of corruption. (Avritzer 2017: 50)

Based on these contrasts, it could be said that mainstream media, specially in the cases performed by male, white and upper-class bodies of commentators

[49] Video supposedly produced by Anonymous Brazil (Youtube, June 18, 2013).

like Arnaldo Jabor and José Luiz Datena[50], two white and male bodies, tended to patronize protests as "criminal" or "irrational" acts. The general press, on its turn, (re)presented protests through a simplistic frame, based on dichotomies of pacific versus vandals. When promoting a shift of (re)presentation, corporate media also contributed to change and depoliticize the radically popular demand of MPL for fare reduction, tying it to moral claims emptied of politico-ideological foundations.

This shift proved dangerous, when groups such as Anonymous Brazil and Movimento Brasil Livre (Free Brazil Movement) started to take to the streets and encourage a movement critical of politics in general, showing that media has in fact the power to wage war by other means. In the case of Brazil, there is no possibility of disentangling corporate media from authoritarian power, since they hold hegemonic power over what becomes (in)visible in the (re)presentation of protest events. As such, media and reality are co-constitutive realms. As Butler argued (Butler 2015: 43) "the corporeal, the technological, and the infrastructural dimensions of assembly" are enmeshed dimensions that encompass "the dynamic co-constitution of bodies and the architectural infrastructures where they are located". Mainstream media in Brazil hold hegemonic power over the infrastructural dimensions that enables and regulates a space of appearance. Thus, as long as it understood that the radically democratic rupture promoted by MPL, it mobilized another visibilization of demonstrations, so as to co-opt the means by which that rupture had occurred.

It is not by mistake many say in Brazil we have a fourth power, beyond executive, legislative and judiciary. All of them contribute, in specific ways, to maintaining the necro(bio)political assemblage in Brazil, each of them legitimizing a certain (in)visibility, according to the context that better attends their interests. To show yet another perspective on the regulation of the space of appearance, and the regulation of bodies in protest, the next section is going to focus on narratives incorporated by institutional politics.

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[50] José Luiz Datena is the white body who is host of news program "Brasil Urgente" (Urgent Brazil) at Rede Bandeirantes. On June 13, 2013, Datena conducts a public opinion poll about the demonstrations, but it seems he does not accept the result (the population supporting the protests), and says: "the people did not understand the question well". Hemeg (Youtube, June 16, 2013).

2.4 Institutional politics

Regarding the narratives of politicians, according to Wallace Moraes (2016), it is possible to find traces of a "theory of minimum democracy" in the institutional narratives. This is so, because media and politicians alike departed from a liberal perspective where the only possibility to exert political choice occurs during one day in every two of four years, when citizens are allowed to choose their representatives.

As such, the conducting thread of institutional interpretations of June depicts protest as a disturbance of the order of governmentality, where demands for free fare, for example, goes against the rules of good management. This was one of the main arguments from those sitting in power: the demands (specially the reduction of transport fares and its gradual extinction) were utopian, since it would never be possible for governments to stop paying their debts to the private companies providing the public with transportation means. Implicit in that discourse is the fact that the interests of the market and capital are — in the eyes of the representatives — always above the claims of the population.

2.4.1 June in the voices of the institutional left

June 2013 was a reaction to institutional politics and its representative system. Scholars (Cocco 2013, Ricci 2013, Arantes 2014), point out that the voices of the streets made two main critiques against PT. The first was that PT had co-opted social movements, NGOs, labor unions and other social mobilization and representation channels, closing the paths where demands from the streets were organized and transformed in concrete political agendas. So, the channels capable of canalizing popular dissatisfaction were closed. The second critique is that PT abdicated of the historical role of leftist governments, that of pedagogical action and confrontation of conservative values. It favored instead a politics of coalition with those retrograde sectors it used to criticize before ascending to power, in the conciliation of interests known as lulismo. The streets demanded the re-opening of these democratic channels for the expression of the social in the political. As

autonomist movements specifically showed, there is the need of reconsidering the everydayness and its disputes as a crucial element of political life.

Addressing protests on the national level, Dilma Rousseff (PT), president of Brazil in 2013, makes a speech addressing the demonstrations. She says a political reform is necessary, making institutional politics more open to society's influence. What she does not seem to address are the demands for direct politics, made by MPL and other autonomous movements that took the streets in June. Dilma reinforces instead the importance of strengthening institutional-representative politics:

> […] Brazilians, we need to oxygenate our old political system. Finding mechanisms that make our institutions more transparent, more resistant to bad habits and, above all, more permeable to the influence of society. It is citizenship, not economic power, who should be heard first. I want to contribute to the construction of a broad and profound political reform that will increase popular participation. It is a misconception that any country can dispense with parties and, above all, the popular vote, the basis of any democratic process. We must make an effort so that the citizen has more extensive mechanisms of control over his representatives.[51]

President Dilma Rousseff affirms citizenship is more important than economic power. However, she does not acknowledge the fact that citizenship, in Brazil, is only achieved through the access to economic power, something social programs were in fact providing to the poorest. This is the case of Bolsa Família[52], and other social welfare implemented by her own party (Workers Party). Afterwards, she admits that part of the popular strength of the streets was in fact a result of the governmental policies promoting the expansion of welfare.

Event though the president mentions the need for new channels from where citizens can access their representatives, her speech does not open much space for a politics based on quotidian needs of the people. It seems there is no possibility for the existence of direct politics, made by and for those who want to engage in politics not as profession — as the majority of Brazilian politicians do — but to

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[51] Speech delivered by the President of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff, about protests in Brazil. Brasília. BBC News (June 21, 2013), Furuie (June 21, 2013).

[52] Bolsa Família (Family Allowance), is a social welfare program established under Lula's government. It is part of the Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) network of federal assistance programs. Bolsa Família provides financial aid to poor Brazilian families; It has as conditionality that, if they have children, families must ensure that the children attend school and are vaccinated.

be political in their everyday, as a way to promote effective change in those things that directly affect their lives.

Figure 9. If change does not happen in the ballots, it happens on the street. #ComeToTheStreet. Credit: Internet.

President Dilma's reading or hearing of the streets is, in fact, institutionalist, and returns the power of decision (to conduct a political reform), to the National Congress, which, in general, abominates the streets. And it is this Congress and its refusal to hear the streets that has been questioned by the streets. In her narrative, it is thus possible to see that the Brazilian state has continually captured and reproduced a particularistic account of political possibility, meaning that politics is to take preferential place within the institutional framework of the state and it is a practice exclusive to political representatives.

Also, there is a clear reinforcement of sovereign power, when she — as the head of the state — clearly says violence from the part of those protesting will not be tolerated. She delimits once more the monopoly of violence in the hands of the state and its security apparatuses. There is no excuse or mention to the arbitrary violence committed by police against random demonstrators. The authoritarian defense of the state institutions, as if they were the only possible alternative to

achieve democracy reminds us of theories of the state — from Machiavelli to Hobbes, and also Hegel, in the sense the state is seen as the ultimate possibility — the end of history — the end point of human evolution. The governmental position is clear: self-institution and direct politics are not going to be tolerated. Any kind of radical critique against the constituted power and order is going to be severely and violently denied[53].

> I want to tell those of you who have been peacefully on the streets: I am listening to you! And I will not compromise with violence and turmoil. It will always be in peace, with freedom and democracy that we will continue to build together our great country. (Rousseff 2013)

Present in the speech is also the binary separation between the good and the bad demonstrator. Those supposedly acting within the norms of freedom of expression are "heard", whilst those who have no other means but violence to express themselves are condemned. Moreover, it is possible to identify traces of a Kantian liberal discourse in her words, when she highlights that peace, freedom and democracy are the only rightful ways to build the idea of a Brazilian country. Those who think and act otherwise will be punished, since they threaten the project of a modern Brazil, even though what their revolt might be speaking without being heard is that such a project is not as democratic as the government seems to think it is.

On the local municipal level, Fernando Haddad, mayor of the city of São Paulo at the time, initially positions himself against the manifestations, using society and freedom as a tokens to signify his discontent, when he argues "the methods [of demonstrators] are not approved by society. This freedom is being used to society's detriment"[54].

The use he makes of the term "society" seems to be a way to at the same time be present as its representative and its defender, as the mayor of the city of São Paulo, where the most massive demonstrations took place, alongside Rio de Janeiro. He seems to agree that people on the streets are doing so because they are

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[53] This might be linked to the discussion raised by Debrix (2015), on the obsession of security with the survival of the sovereign order: "the politics of security is dependent upon a fundamentally violent, uncompromising, and often terrorizing objective: to keep at bay forces of temporal finitude seen as disorder or chaos". In this sense, June was positing the fact that politics is about the definition of lines of continuity and finitude, and not the imposing of a continuity ad infinitum.

[54] Editorial (O Estado de S.Paulo, June 13, 2013).

not heard by their political representatives. So, interestingly, he as representative is acknowledging that representative politics is in fact not working:

> […] there are some people there [in the protests] that may not be able to make their voice reach these institutional channels. There are non-partisan people on the streets who, curiously, are from both left and right.[55]

When asked about his opinion on the profile of those who took the streets in June 2013, Haddad reasons around the possible effects of the protests in a binary way: either the effects will be progressive, leading to the opening of Brazil or they will be conservative, leading to the country's shutting.

> Will Brazil be a more provincial, more backward, more conservative, closed country? Or is it an energy that will help you open up more? Society opened up the discussion. And when that happens, you do not know the end of the story. You have no security about the end of the process.[56]

Another aspect interesting to highlight in this narrative is that it shows the level of compromise the Workers Party (PT) had at that time to please neoliberalism. The "opening" of Brazil was in fact running in many fronts at that time: from the FIFA World Cup in the cultural side, to the international positioning of Brazil as a global South potency at BRICS in the international political arena, and the strong support to national and multinational agribusiness and energetic conglomerates in the economic front[57].

As an academic himself, Haddad delegates the task of deciphering June to thinkers — who apparently have the right position from which to decide on its meanings:

> […] in relation to the street agenda today [it is not certain] if it is progressive. Or will it reveal contradictions and tensions that can flow into setbacks. It is a reasonable concern of thinkers who have distance to analyze.

Even though such discourse has its validity, it misses out many other possibilities that lie in between the ultra-liberal progressive side and the ultra-conservative far-right. And it contributes — even if unintentionally — to the constitution of a conservative institutional political scenario that we see emerging today in Brazil.

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[55] Bergamo (Folha de S.Paulo, June 30, 2013).

[56] Bergamo (Folha de S.Paulo, June 30, 2013).

[57] The ways in which the world economy was an influential factor putting pressure in the PT governance and also leading to social dissatisfaction (from the elites to the poorest Brazilians), is discussed in depth elsewhere. See, for example,

In that respect, one important point raised by some authors (Cocco 2013; Moraes 2016; Ferreira 2018) in relation to the Worker's Party administration is that it was unable to see that the core of its neo-developmentalist politics based on the coalition of interests with the right and with global capitalism should not be re-industrialization, but rather the resolution of the deep social, economic and political inequalities of the cities. For Cocco, as discussed before, it is in the "global urban environment" that a new composition of "immaterial workers" is produced and produces, on its turn, new ways of life — or subjectivities. As the urban question remained unresolved with its continuous necro(bio)political problems, this led these new subjectivities to the streets. He thinks this might be one of the reasons the initial demand of MPL for the reduction of tariffs had so much reverberation with multiple other movements of resistance in the global peripheries, since they are the ones who have their circulation most impaired due to political, economical and cultural reasons, all of them deeply enmeshed with the question of race, as discussed in chapter one.

Moreover, that people in 2013 were in better conditions to act politically, since they had their basic needs attended, was not an expectation of institutional politics, since the policies promoted by lulismo — the combination of poverty reduction and social and economic inclusion in a politics of coalition with the elites.

Although lulismo was recognized to take millions out of poverty, the relation between state and population was getting increasingly individualized and depoliticized, demanding less effort in the construction of the collective. This could be analyzed through the lenses of Foucault's power regimes, specially in this case the biopolitical form of governmentality, in which power at the same time individualizes and generalizes by compartmentalizing the population statistically. In the Brazilian case under lulismo, this happened by means of a series of political economic technologies, such as filling out individuated check-lists in order to receive money from Bolsa Família at the same time this procedure generalized that individual by her incorporation within the logic of the market.

Through this double-movement — individuate the access to welfare and generalize the access to the market — lulismo could be said to be a specific Brazilian biopolitical tool for the depoliticization of the masses through their global inclusion in the capitalist logic of consumption. Hence, as observed by Rosana Pinheiro-Machado (2019), consumption had become a fundamental means of recognition, visibility and citizenship among the popular strata with consequences for Brazilian democracy. One of the consequences was the demobilization of traditional political forces of the left (e.g. social movements, labor unions), who mainly worked by politically mobilizing the poor, *without* at the same time providing strong conditions for their political autonomy in combination with the construction of democratic collective alternatives.

So, in terms of socio-political constitution, lulismo was acting by coopting those very political bases from the left it helped to construct in the years the Workers Party was a force of opposition mainly working outside the status quo (see Ricci 2013: 28). However, in order to "get inside", the leftist party had to compromise with the ruling elites in order to accomplish what some call "the left hegemonic project" (Cocco 2013, Cava 2014, Arantes 2014). This was mainly done by focusing on granting access to a consumer citizenship — before only granted to middle classes and upward — based on rights to higher education, to credit and to material goods. As such, it is possible to say that lulismo has incorporated the bourgeoisie values of its allies and "made dignity a simple exchange value"/ "has resolved personal worth into exchange value", as pointed by Marx and Engels in their critique against the bourgeoisie in the Communist Manifesto (1998 [1848]:34).

As stated at Passa Palavra (2018)[58]:

> Instead of empowering themselves as historical subjects, they received a credit card from the PT governments. When jobs ended or became worse, precarious, underpaid, and uncertain, the debts were priceless, and those who organized this population were the neopentecostal churches. Spontaneous solidarity and collective ties were captured by the church's meritocratic and entrepreneurial discourse to become its opposite: competitiveness and indifference.

Hence, in terms of subject constitution, it could be said that lulismo was focusing on the integration of the poor in a precarious intersection between the

[58] See (Passa Palavra, 06 Dec, 2018).

logics of the subject of rights — by means of granting precarious access to citizenship — and of the subject of interest — by means of the inclusion through consumption.

The paradoxes of such precarious inclusion of the excluded was in fact revealed as a surprise to the institutional left when those precariously included bodies took the streets in June 2013. That surprise-effect might be linked to the idea that the precarious would be contempt — and therefore unmobilized — by fulfilling the desire to be seen and recognized through consumption — something that many point out to contribute to their depoliticization.

However, on the other side (and this was the unexpected factor in June) these subjects were also (re)politicized by this very process of precarious integration, by means of the constitution of self-worth. In this sense, Pinheiro-Machado (op.cit.), stresses the fact that lulismo enabled the poor to acquire a different class status through consumption, something that promoted a rupture in the monopoly of elite prestige symbols. This autonomy through consumption was a threat to upper classes, since it promoted a break with the servile relations that had been perpetuated (and also transformed) since slavery. However, such a break was never complete, much less radical, since it depended heavily on the well functioning of the global capitalist economy to fuel the ongoing injection of money in social programes of economic inclusion.

On the economic side, there was no profound transformation — structures continued to be heavily dependent on the international market through the exploitation and exportation of natural resources — lulismo reached a dead-end with the slowing down of the Chinese economy (the main consumer of Brazilian commodities), and the fall in commodity prices upon which the economy heavily depended[59].

Another factor contributing to the precariousness of the subjective constitution promoted by lulismo was that the necropolitical regime was always transversally present along with the biopolitical regime, with its racist, classist,

[59] As the focus here is not to do an extensive political economic analysis, please refer to the following link with different narratives regarding the Brazilian economic crisis, ranging from the International Labour Organization to DIEESE (Intersindical Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies).

and sexist violence continuously activated in the multiple violations that occurred in the everyday. This, for sure, continued to be the case for those precariously included, since the conditions for their inclusion were attached to those very structures that could at any moment — as they did — turn against them.

Also, with the economic crisis that, in 2013, started to reach Brazil, these precarious and individuated subjectivities started to feel the contradictions of a system that promised, in its discourse, a material comfort that, in practice, was no longer provided. Moreover, many of the most common arenas of social mobilization had been emptied through their cooptation by the government, they did not encounter communitarian channels through which they could express their grievances and transform their everyday politically.

As pointed out by Pinheiro-Machado (op. cit.) the anguish, violence and daily discouragement were experienced individually and displaced from the collective, as the community forums were emptied. There was no left-wing policy anymore in the everyday of the periphery. This was clearly expressed by Mano Brown during the electoral disputes of 2018, when he says communication between the left and the communities was not working anymore. He is critical to the Workers Party, which is only communicating with its own elite: “The Workers Party [PT] needs to speak and do what the population wants, if it has lost this ability it needs to return to the grassroots”.[60]

2.4.2 June in the voices of the institutional right

Differently from the more moderate tone than the leftists, the right-wing Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB - Brazilian Social Democracy Party), governor of the state of São Paulo at the time, regarded the demonstrations as unacceptable acts of vandalism and violence: "the action of outlaws and vandals is intolerable. This goes beyond the freedom of expression. It is absolute violence, unacceptable”[61]. Here the bodily regulation happens through the use of criminalization as a means to make demonstrators visible in a negative way.

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[60] Diário do Nordeste (Youtube, 24 Oct 2018).

[61] Editorial (O Estado de S.Paulo, June 13, 2013).

Alckmin positions himself more clearly at the side of the bus companies and the police, but also brings the population as an important signifier for his reasoning: “The action of vandals destroying the public patrimony is intolerable. They must pay for it. Destroying buses, which are exactly to serve the population, is unacceptable”[62].

Vice-President Michel Temer (PMDB) also commented on protests in São Paulo, mainly seeing them as scenes of violence: "The freedom that the Constitution guarantees is freedom of expression, not aggression.”[63] He seems to be navigating here in a tactical use of the Law to limit the right to have rights, and to re-establish the use of force as a monopoly of the state.

In Rio de Janeiro, coinciding with the events of June, a group of demonstrators occupied the streets in front of the residency of the governor, in a protest called “Ocupa Cabral”. The governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, Sérgio Cabral (PMDB - Brazilian Democratic Movement)[64], was a key ally to the PT government and its coalition with the right. He apparently tried to follow the democracy-line-discourse to re-affirm the sovereign/disciplinary discourse posed by other PT politicians:

> Thank God we live in a free country, we are completing 25 years of democracy. Democracy is still very young and recent. All the demonstrations are a moment of reflection on democracy, always looking forward. Most people went to the streets to demand improvements in public services and fight impunity. We do not tolerate any kind of abuse. Any abuse will be investigated.[65]

Also, at the same time he said he respected demonstrators he affirmed police would prevent any vandalism against public patrimony. The fact demonstrators occupied the street in front of his private residency made him argue for demonstrators to go instead to the seat of government, the public building of Palacio da Guanabara:

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[62] Rocha (Folha de S.Paulo, June 12, 2013).

[63] Rocha (Folha de S.Paulo, June 12, 2013).

[64] Governor Cabral, from right-wing PMDB, was later arrested in 2016 on charges of corruption. He was convicted of organizing a cartel scheme, bid rigging and misappropriation of federal funds used to build and reform infrastructure for the 2014 World Cup.

[65] Torres and Bulcão (G1 Rio, July 4, 2013).

> Manifestations must always be respected. But camping on any street cannot be tolerated […] any manifestation against the governor should be made at the door of the seat of government. But it is not for me to judge where the protesters should manifest.[66]

The governor presents a very ambiguous discourse, since at the same time he affirms the right of expression he denies this very right depending on the location of its expression. His speech is loaded with a dichotomy that tries to contain politics within the public sphere, once he sees that the "right" place to pose political demands is not in front his "private" residency, but rather in front of the public building where he exerts the "public" function of Rio de Janeiro's governance.

So, dichotomies of public/private are associated to the right/wrong place and way of protesting. Also, he presents an ambiguous speech positioning of his own authority. As the governor of the second most populated city of Brazil (i.e Rio de Janeiro), Cabral affirms manifestations should be respected. However, due to the protest tactics of occupation of the street where his home was located, he was put in the situation where he was forced to defend his private life and his private property. He, as a body in a position of power was put in the dominated position of the people. At the same time, he was also forced to admit that, as a private person, following the liberal precept, he could judge where people manifest their freedom. This sort of ambiguity provoked by the occupation tactics of protest was something new to politicians and protesters alike[67]. As such, Ocupa Cabral proved to be an effective tactic of resistance to biopolitics, since it promoted a dislocation of the limits between the public space of politics and the apolitical private space. In so doing, the occupation also challenged the temporal-spacial relation between modern politics and everyday politics, showing that politics and political pressure is an everyday subject.

2.5 Counter-narratives of June - emergent subjectivities resisting

This final section brings some counter-narratives, in which militants and peripheral collectives themselves speak of protest. Here, the aim is to reveal how

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[66] Torres and Bulcão (G1 Rio, July 4, 2013).

[67] Borges (The Intercept Brasil, September 22, 2017).

some protest practices might be seen as a potential site of social transformation. Also by making these counter-narratives visible, it may be argued that they are capable of rupturing the conflation of politics with the state and (re)presentation, and with any attempt to provide a "clear cut" reading of history, or a mythical search for a revolutionary subject of history.

As seen, the Free Pass Movement (MPL-SP) is considered the organizer of the first uprisings that led to massive and generalized protest movements later on. The MPL, instead of claiming that what it was doing was unique, understands that the intensity and size of June is related to a larger context of political discontent, one that has historical roots reaching far away from June 2013. According to the movement militants "people are tired of being governed". They do not want to be the object of governance, but want rather to be political subjects capable of governing themselves and their everyday lives:

> Like a ghost that surrounds cities leaving vivid marks in space and memory, popular revolts around public transportation have assaulted the history of Brazilian metropolises since its inception … [The revolts] are expressions of justifiable rage against a system completely surrendered to the logic of the commodity. In a process where the population is always object rather than subject, transport is ordered from above, according to the imperatives of the circulation of value. In this way, the population is excluded from the organization of their own everyday experiences of the metropolis (MPL 2013: 22).

The right of circulation and movement across the space of the city was at the core of MPL's grievances. As the MPL exposes, the logic of the market prevails over the logic of everyday life. It can be said that the MPL organized protests to show resistance against the circumscribing of the public and common spaces and the resulting urban exclusion. Based on MPL's actions, it might be said, as Ortellado (2013) does, that June 2013 did not start completely spontaneously, since the MPL had been organizing since 2003. MPL's continually growing experience of engaging the population through direct action and horizontal assemblies, the strengthening of the revolt by the student organizations, and the explosiveness of its contentious and transgressive action for free public transportation gained a certain national projection. This projection can be further linked to other factors, such as the engagement of a considerable part of a precarious mass of workers from the peripheries and from those completely

marginalized by the system, as a growing mass of unemployed people (many of them students).

As posed by a militant, engaged with the struggle for free fare in Florianópolis:

> What mattered at that moment was calling the bodies to the streets. Stop the country's clock. Of all words of order it is the gesture that will remain. Our bodies obstructing the fast pace of cars. The turnstiles on fire. We are no longer the same. We are not afraid anymore. We want Zero Tariff, housing, land, work, bread, health, independence, democracy and freedom. We want a life without turnstiles. We don't want everything, we want the scream — and something else. Only when men [sic] gather in the public square, when they occupy the street, there is politics, which is an event. All politics is occupation. Occupation that does not lead to stability. Occupation against property. No one has the right to obey. (Neto 2014: 84)

So, here we see how autonomous subjectivities are formed by public assembly of bodies, as noted by Butler (2011, 2015), in which the embodied occupation of the public space is the political gesture par excellence. Politics is about gathering together in the streets. It is about taking back power to re-build the public in common, in a radical democratic way. It is the popular democratic logic against the privatization of the materiality necessary to support life. As such, MPL proposes a radically democratic way to fight against Brazilian necro(bio)politics, in which all conditions (material, institutional, virtual, physical) supporting life are increasingly and arbitrarily secured and privatized in the name of a (bio). It is in this sense that MPL defends the common and does not criminalize the destruction of property, but rather couples it with the violence of the tariff.

2.5.1 Destruction of property - visibilizing the violence of privatization

Regarding the destruction of private and public property, made visible by the media and institutional politics as “unacceptable acts of vandalism”, Mariana (MPL-SP), argues “it is not a question of condemning or supporting [violence], finding it legitimate or not. What we realize when seeing this type of action is that the population is unhappy with police violence, and the tariff violence”[68].

[68] (Folha de S.Paulo, June 28, 2013).

When asked, in an interview, wether they were protesting "too much" in June 2013, another militant from MPL answers by associating the "violence of the tariff" with the fact that the fare creates real barriers to the movement of people and their access to the city:

> What is actually too much is the price of the tariff, which is very high. We've been in the streets for three weeks. There are more than 100,000 people out there now. People are there because they are very dissatisfied. The message the population is sending to the rulers is clear: this is not the transport people want. The way transport functions restricts the right of people to move around the city. (Lucas MPL-SP)[69].

Even though the MPL positions itself as contrary to the destruction of property, the movement affirms it will never help police to identify who is promoting such destruction. As one activist affirms: "it is one thing to try, in a self-organized way, to restrain violence. Helping the police criminalize whoever is breaking property is something else". Also, Mariana reaffirms the desires of autonomy and self-responsibility carried out through the practices of MPL. She also highlights the movement goes beyond any binary (good/bad) interpretation of the actions of protests during a demonstration, since the course of one's action is up to one's own freedom of judgment and choice:

> No social movement should be considered responsible, nor should it desire to be responsible for all things that happen in a protest. We have always strived not to be a hierarchical movement, which commands how people move and behave in a protest. Even in June, we have always claimed that the MPL was only one of the forces that composed a much larger struggle that took the streets. We will not feel responsible for what happens in the post-June demonstrations, not even in our own demonstrations. People are free to make their decisions. We repudiate the separation between the good and bad protesters, made by both the press and the police. (Mariana MPL-SP)[70].

For Mariana, criminalization is the first technique of social control used by power to regulate bodies in protest: "the standard procedure of the Brazilian press is to classify any movement as criminal, in an attempt to disqualify it" (Mariana MPL-SP). Beyond that she mentions other security mechanisms of regulation:

> There was also a very large effort to reduce adherence to the cause of the post-June 2013 protests. We began to see a series of attempts: the judicial prosecution of activists is one of them, the public appearances of key figures — not only of the governor of the State of São Paulo, but of the federal governor and also of the minister of justice who came to the public to

[69] MPL interviewed in Roda Viva (a Brazilian talk show produced and broadcast by TV Cultura). The interview occurred June 17, 2013. (Youtube, Mar 19, 2015).

[70] C.O.P.A. 412 (Youtube, Jul 14, 2014).

> criminalize the black blocs […] These were a series of actions aimed at isolating sectors of the left that were able to establish a broader dialogue with the population. The very attempt to distinguish what is a good manifestation from what is a bad manifestation is one of these techniques. (Mariana MPL-SP, op. cit.)

In this sense, in June, white middle class bodies felt, maybe for the first time, the effects of a necro(bio)politics in their own skins. The technologies of social control are certainly not a novelty for peripheral bodies. And, racism is actually the fundamental tool legitimating their criminalization. As seen in the first chapter, with the excuse of the "war on drugs", the state has promoted the ultra-militarization of favelas. Exemplary of this necro(bio)political strategy is the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP), a public policy specifically designed to that end. Since 2008, with the purpose of overcoming the "absence" of the state in these "zones of late liberal exposure and abandonment" (Povinelli 2011: 44), police has been used intensively and extensively.

As argued by journalist Eliane Brum[71], Brazil will not change while middle class grieves more those hurt in Paulista Avenue than those killed in the slums (Complexo da Maré in Rio de Janeiro). While police might badly hurt people protesting in well-off areas, they kill people living in the peripheries. Solidarity proves unfortunately to be very low to those marginal black bodies. Regarding this incident in Complexo da Maré, Giuseppe Cocco, argues "the more than ten deaths in Maré [in June 25, 2013, during protests in Bonsucesso, periphery of Rio] were a clear message to the poor not to gather together with the demonstrations [in the center of Rio de Janeiro]. After all, despite the violent repression on those protests, there were no deaths on Rio de Janeiro's [centric] avenues" (quoted in Souza and Sá, 2014).

This is, in fact, a crucial difference that tells much on Brazilian necro(bio)politics, and its specific raced terror formation. This power assemblage establishes a line of cut, that although challenged in June seems to still function between the biopolitical regulation and disciplinarization of white-middle class bodies and the necropolitical practices making it possible to kill those poor and black.

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[71] Brum (Época, July 3, 2013).

The necropolitics behind state practices of killing may be linked with what Eliana Silva, in "Testemunhos da Maré" (2012), points to be "the level of intolerance of the residents of the rich and middle class neighborhoods with these territories [favelas]". She also mentions the establishment, since 1993, by the government of Rio de Janeiro, of "a style of management dominated by an authoritarian logic of ordering the public space [of the favelas]" (p.75).

Also, as reported by Das Lutas[72], a collective from Rio de Janeiro, sharing news and thoughts on peripheral resistances, the executions in Maré, mentioned above by Brum and Cocco, were part of a "media and military attack" on protests coming from the favelas:

> Only in a city like Rio de Janeiro, with a *media-military (and slavery) power structure* like the one we have here, can we think of events like yesterday in the Complexo da Maré. A worker gets four headshots — not one, not two — and they talk about "stray bullets"(?!); several people die with signs of execution (including stab wounds, according to residents' testimonies) and the press, or at least part of it, speaks of "drug dealers and police" confrontation. (Das Lutas, June 26, 2013, emphasis added)

So, what Das Lutas collective tries to reveal is exactly the ways in which necropolitics in Brazil is carried out through a military-media racist assemblage. While police acts in an over-militarized way, executing favela residents, media is the main legitimizer of these practices of killing, by (re)presenting it as a "justifiable" strike against drug trafficking. By (re)presenting the act of killing under the frame of "drug dealers", media not only covers the extreme violence of police, but also invisibilizes who exactly is being killed, how and why. Moreover, as Das Lutas points out, these power apparatuses also derive their legitimacy from a slavery-like structure, inherited from a past which is never quite left behind, since its (re)emergence is continually actualized in the ultra-militarized everyday of the favelas. This military-media racist assemblage is linked, furthermore, to the state as the main authorizer of the practices of police execution of peripheral bodies:

> It must be said that what happened yesterday [June 25, 2013] was anticipated (and even announced) by the Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Mr.

[72] In their webpage, the collective describes its positions as: "open for struggles and tools of resistance and self-determination: we are for anti-racist struggles and affirmative action, LGBTQI struggles, for feminist and anti-patriarchy struggles, for slum dwellers' struggles, for the broad right to the city, for projects and experiences of self-management, anti-authoritarian organization and administration".

> Sérgio Cabral, a week ago, and the meaning of the message was clear: demonstrations in favelas (or involving favela residents) will not be tolerated at all costs.(Das Lutas, June 26, 2013)

The fact that Sérgio Cabral, governor of Rio de Janeiro by right-wing PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement), in fact publicly expressed[73] his preoccupation with the "drug traffickers infiltration" in demonstrations, being alerted by the Minister of Justice José Eduardo Cardozo (affiliated to the Workers Party), may give us a hint of the relations of power permeating the media-military assemblage in June 2013.

So, it might be possible to say that the bodies coming out from the peripheries, in an attempt to be heard, are made invisible, distorted as potential "drug traffickers" that may "commit attacks", or killed. To be sure, the association of periphery with crime, and the stigmatization of poverty and blackness are nothing new in Brazil. However, in June 2013, it seems that the potentiality of approximation of center and periphery made power tremble even more. And the practices of invisibilization promoted by the military-media raced assemblage, might be seen as a way power regulated the plural and embodied right to appear in June.

Moreover, as argued by Vinícius Souza and Maria Sá (2014), the encounter between traditional activists, (as labor unions), autonomist movements and the peripheral population is what causes even more preoccupation amongst those holding power. This is exemplified, according to Souza and Sá, by the formation of the "Black Prof".

The formation of the BlackProf as a resistance coalition happened when practitioners of the black bloc tactic gave support and protection to teachers and professors, during the strike of public education professionals of Rio de Janeiro, in October 2013. This mutual support is announced to the press by the general coordinator of the State Union of Education Professionals (Sepe), in Rio de Janeiro, Alex Trentino:

> Demonstrations from education professionals will continue to be organized by Sepe, but Black Blocs will always be welcome. Sepe cannot be held responsible for previous acts [where the black bloc tactic was used], but in the

[73] O Dia (June 20, 2013).

> teachers' protests those provoking conflict were not the Black Blocs but the police. (Alex Trentino)[74]

So, this alliance is one of the many potential possibilities of forming resistance coalitions amongst the most varied social bodies as a means to perform an embodied right to appear and claim for the right to have rights. This exemplifies how a politics of bodies in alliance occupying the public space can be effective in finding new forms of political resistance and expression. The BlackProf contributed to make two forces coming from very different embodied perspectives join each other and contest power (re)presentations.

Figure 10. Eduardo Paes: You are the vandal!!!

2.5.2 June in the voices and bodies of the periphery

The bodies and voices from the periphery, as noted, are rarely seen or heard. Their bodies are constantly invisibilized, not only in mass media, but also in academia. Even though many of those peripheral bodies were in fact "making" June, there are few accounts of June 2013 by themselves. One of the few exceptions in the academic literature is the text of Thamyres Thâmara (2014). Thâmara is a young black activist whose text speaks the voices of Complexo do Alemão, another enormous zone of abandonment in Rio de Janeiro. The area has been "pacified" through military occupation, in 2010, and the implementation of

[74] Quoted in O Dia (October 9, 2013).

UPPs, in 2012. One of the voices in dialogue with Thâmara is that of Raull Santiago, a young black militant[75], who calls the attention of his community to the importance of thinking and deciding themselves who is the vandal in June 2013:

> The issue of protest masks goes far beyond the fake news broadcast on hegemonic media. In the current "Democraship ["Democradura"], dictatorship disguised as democracy, masks emerge as a form of protection so that we don't become the new persecuted and political prisoners. Do not rely on any discourse, not even mine […] look at the life you are leading, look also around you, compare the marketing behind the news and the political campaigns. Then form your own opinion about all this madness behind the dispute for the imaginary of what is right and wrong. Dressing in black, putting on masks and taking to the streets to defy the hallucinating speech that life is good. And there is more, while some only rely on that imaginary dispute, there are teachers, college students, doctors, workers, good people, dressing in black, wearing masks and taking to the streets to challenge the hallucinating discourse that life is good. They have only pieces of wood and stones to defend themselves from the state that shoots them with rubber bullets, tear gas and rifle bullets, because they take the streets, refusing to be enslaved [...] the state disguises its vandalism by negatively focusing on conscious acts of oligopoly depredation, selling along with mainstream media the idea that the vandal is the people. Fuck the banks, where are the many AMARILDOS? (Raull Santiago, quoted in Thâmara 2014: 173).

This testimony highlights the political meaning of the struggles and the way in which demonstrations are made visible via mass media, to those who are not taking part of the collective and performative struggle to change the structures of precarity and violence promoted by the state. Raull Santiago is claiming for people to be more critical of the manipulations happening in the real of (re)presentation, and also showing how media and state conform a power assemblage that regulates the space of appearance and the space of politics.

The meaning of his position was therefore inscribed in the struggle for the right not to be governed, revealing the potentiality of the margins for thinking a different politics, one that is not centered on the figure of the state, neither administered by market logics of administration. Also, it points out to the political potentiality of these marginalized subjects, who due to their close relationship with the everyday necro(bio)politics of the state have much more to contribute in

[75] Speaking at the 2019 International Harm Reduction Conference this year of 2019 in Porto, Portugal, Raull Santiago comments on the ultra-militarization of the peripheries, based on the "war on drugs", which serves as excuse for the state to practice the genocide of black and poor populations disguised as "public policy". He says: "the war on drugs is the main public policy that reached this place, where I live. It is a politics of violence: to use drugs as a tool to control our bodies, to militarize poverty, to maintain inequality, and to maintain a racist structure in Brazil". Drugreporter (Youtube, May 8, 2019).

thinking a different political framework centered in dialogue, and radically situated political dispute.

When, in the continuation of June through occupations (with different occupations, like "Ocupa Cabral" and "Ocupa Câmara"[76]), people voiced the question: Where is Amarildo? People already new the answer. However, both question and answer confirm and make visible the inscription of Brazilian necro(bio)politics and racism in poor-favelado subjectivities. And it also makes more visible the fact that Amarildo had been killed by the same police, arbitrarily beating militants in June. As such, the question promotes a shift in the relation of visibility/invisibility, which determines the border between asphalt and favela in Rio de Janeiro. To ask about Amarildo is to resist the invisibilization and silencing of political subjectivities by Brazilian necro(bio)politics. It is this raced terror formation that continuously hinders the democratic process that insists in resisting, emerging at times like June, and breaking with that order that imposes a quotidian war against black, poor and queer bodies.

As Berenice Bento (2018) points out, in Brazil, necropolitics came first: in the initial massacre of the indigenous peoples and enslaved peoples coming from Africa. In Brazil, we have no "racial democracy", as Abdias do Nascimento (1989) argues, we have a genocidal project. The aim, it seems, is to exterminate those political subjectivities who carry a potential popular democratic force. This force (or "potencia", power-to), challenges the unmarked white-and-racist population that do not want to accept losing their privileges based on death and exploitation. So, our "Democraship (or "Democradura"), as coined by Raull Santiago above, can be seen as a continuation of colonialism by other means. This if we may say that the colonial project of yesterday has been extended through the

[76] Ocupa Câmara was a movement of occupation of Rio de Janeiro's City Hall. It lasted from August 9, 2013 to October 15, 2013, when police violently took away the tents and arrested militants under Law 12.850 of Criminal Organization, issued by the Federal government in August 2013.

ultra-militarization of today, even worse now, under the triad president Bolsonaro, Rio de Janeiro's governor Witzel and Minister of Justice Moro.[77]

Against this continuous genocidal project, these popular democratic voices, incorporated in so many bodies (autonomous collectives, organizations social movements) throughout Brazil, are demanding more political participation. And this is a movement that may not be easily stopped.

Figure 11. "Popular power". Manifestation in São Paulo's periphery during June 2013. Credit: Danilo Verpa/Folhapress.

Going against and resisting this necro(bio)political project, new political subjectivities demand more political participation. Above is a picture of a march, organized by a coalition of popular movements: Homeless Workers Movement (MTST), Free Pass Movement (MPL), the Committee Against the Genocide of the Young and Black Population, and other housing movements. These and many more performances of contention happened before, during, and after June 2013. Caio Martins, militant of MPL in São Paulo, when questioned about the meaning of MPL's support to other social movements, affirmed that:

[77] Before being a politician, Wilson Witzel was a federal judge. He decided to run for governor of Rio de Janeiro encouraged by Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro. Together, governor Witzel, president Bolsonaro and Sergio Moro, Minister of Justice, appointed by Bolsonaro, are applying a strict necropolicy, in which measures such as the Anti-Crime package, give even more space for impunity of police violence. See Betim (El País, 2018).

> We have been partners with MTST for years. If the people have just woken up there in the center, here, in the periphery, they have never slept. We believe in the same path of social mobilization and we have similar demands, which aim to change people's living conditions through social transformations. (Caio Martins, MPL-SP)[78]

Figure 12. “You woke up now. The periphery never slept”. Credit: Internet.

These popular forces not only deny representation, but also interfere in it, claiming those small breaches of access to decision-making upon their lives. Marielle Franco is an example of this generation of new political subjectivities who, despite coming from the spaces of death (she was born in Complexo da Maré), resisted and accessed those (bio)political spaces of investment and control of human capital in order to challenge them from within.

Elected with huge vote to a seat on the Rio de Janeiro’s city council, in 2016, Marielle Franco was one of the bodies and voices part of this peripheral popular democratic force. Her unresolved murder[79] is linked to that of Amarildo, even though time might seem to separate them. Amarildo marks a shift in the perception of part of the white-(bio)political population, who in June understood, saw, and felt in their own skin, the everyday violence of the periphery. And Marielle emerges in conjunction with and symbolizing the desires of June for a

[78] In Gomes (Rede Brasil Atual, June 25, 2013).

[79] Brazil: 18 months on, authorities must not let Marielle Franco killing remain unsolved (Amnesty International, September 12, 2019).

political renovation and (re)existence. Her election and her history are the affirmation of the desire to find other ways to make politics and to be political. Her assassination, in 2018, points to the powerful barriers against the realization of that desire.

Figure 13. Demonstration “Marielle present”. Favela da Maré.

Other ways to govern are necessary. And June, in many different ways, through many different bodies and practices of self-governance, showed how *not* to be governed, how to be *self-governed* and how to claim *other forms* of governance an (re)existence. June in its ambiguous, autonomous, contingent, plural, contentious political relations pointed to ways of self-organizing, affectively sharing, creatively building the common, resisting in (re)existing. That radically democratic, self-organized and multi-colored June, is not over. Raced bodies, have a long history of resistance in the country. For those indigenous, black, feminist, queer autonomous bodies inhabiting the margins[80], June *has always* been. For the *potencia* of the streets to occupy and transform politics, it is

[80] It is, nevertheless, important to acknowledge that not all marginal bodies constitute subjectivities that practice alternative forms of politics and resistance. Many indigenous black, feminist, queer people desire the norm, desire to be included and recognized by modern and nationalist politics, as Jasbir Puar (op.cit.) rightly points out in her work. The ways these desires for the norm are constituted are not, however, the aim of the present work, despite being an important path of research.

necessary to insist on the potential of that kind of everyday and autonomous peripheral resistance, since they are the ones who have long carried on practices of becoming anew, of performing differently in order to resist the Brazilian necro(bio)political assemblage. Without working in coalition with these democratic popular forces of the margins, politics will continue to be what it is. The point is to learn from those bodies who bring different and popular perspectives allowing to the deepening and broadening democracy, to make these experiences travel and resonate, producing new destinies and subjectivities, new ways of (re)existing without being governed.

Chapter 3:
MPL - Questioning the political economy of circulation

As seen in the previous chapter, in June 2013, the MPL had a very clear political agenda: the revocation of the tariff increase by R$0.20. Many of the bodies in protest during June joined the struggle in solidarity with the initial demand for tariff reduction, and linked, above all, to the central question raised by MPL: the right to the city implied in the demand for the free circulation of bodies in the city. Such issues are substantially linked to the question of circulation. This, on its turn, brings out questions regarding the political relation of bodies with space, time and subjective constitution, crucial to understanding the rupture effects of some narratives and practices of June 2013 beyond the protest events themselves. In the present chapter I explore MPL actions and demands to understand how they articulate different imaginative geographies, other time-space configurations and alternative political subjectivities, beyond and against modern authoritarian politics. Simply put, the goal is to understand to what extent the MPL struggle for the free circulation of bodies promotes changes in modern ways of enacting space, time and subjectivity.

Moreover, in a link with the discussions on bodily regulation in the first chapter, the tariff is understood as a necro(bio)political security mechanism for keeping undesirable bodies at a safe distance from public visibility. Once bodies are invisible, so is the violence to keep them at the social margins and peripheries, as specially is the case of raced bodies in Brazil. Thus, this chapter is also a way to locate, in the MPL struggle, a form of resistance against the regulation of bodies by a raced terror formation.

In this sense, the centrality of the question of circulation in MPL's actions and demands (against capital and for people) is observed in relation to other three elements: (i) that of space, in which the differential and embodied occupation of public space and the blocking of capital circulation offer a different geographic imaginary; (ii) that of time, linked to the temporary shift of everyday relations of circulation in the city, where history is made by marginal bodies, who figure as the protagonists of social change; (iii) that of subjectivity, where the politicization

of the issue of transport through the demand for free circulation is explored in relation to the focus MPL puts in the everyday as political practice and as the locus of collective transformation. Finally, the limits of MPL's tactics in effectively promoting the collective transformation of society through its proposal for the free circulation of bodies are discussed.

3.1 MPL - contesting the control of the circulation of bodies

"the city only exists for those who can move through it" (MPL)[81]

Figure 14. "Jump the turnstile." "Free Pass now!!" "A city only exists to those who can move in it." São Paulo, Minhocão. Credit: Rodrigo Paiva/ Folhapress

In June 2013 MPL occupied the main avenues of São Paulo, the place from where Brazilian capitalism (in its financial, industrial and rural branches) operates. When, using direct action tactics, bodies took to the streets they were not only occupying that space: they were promoting a form of resistance based on the temporal blockage of capitalist circulation. By stopping "normal" circulation of people, goods, private and public vehicles, the MPL was questioning the political

[81] Passe Livre São Paulo (Twitter, July 17, 2018).

economy of circulation of the city at the same time it was proposing its (re)politicization. In doing so, the movement brought important political questions to the fore: who has the right to the city? By whom and for whom is the city made? When (at what times, and under what circumstances), can marginal people access the city? Who can make the city space into a place? Who can break with the normalcy of the city's pace?

As discussed in chapter one, Foucault argues that in order to function, the biopolitical regime depends on securing the right circulation of things in a productive, rather than repressive manner. The securitization of circulation in biopolitics is called by Foucault biopower, and is intrinsically tied to disciplinary power as a mode of subjection. This means that security mechanisms establish *norms of circulation*, which with time, and the use of disciplinary power, become subtle patterns of *normalized incorporated behaviour* that people themselves reproduce. As also discussed in that chapter, disciplinary power produces docile bodies as one of its effects. This happens in institutions, like the clinic, the prisons, the military, the school and so on.

Moreover, the emergence of biopolitics is closely related to the rise of liberalism and capitalism in the eighteenth century, and biopolitics is based on a new political rationality: political economy. Circulation is a crucial aspect of capitalism: it means the movement of production, producers and profit (i.e., commodities, people, and money). It also constitutes an important aspect of the Foucauldian analysis of biopolitics, the governmental reason of liberalism in which circulation is closely linked to the governance of security. The governance of security consists of biopolitical practices of "organizing circulation, eliminating its dangers, making a division between good and bad circulation, and maximizing the good circulation by eliminating the bad" (Foucault 2007: 18). This is so, because circulation links state, economy and life in ways that enable the best possible functioning of the liberal market through the political fostering of life in a multi-scalar sense, one that stretches from the microphysics of bodily regulation, to the macro structures enabling the circulation and surveillance of capital and people.

However, as discussed in the first chapter, different power regimes and governmental reasons can coexist in time and space. Therefore, liberalism is only *one* of the functions of state sovereignty. It is thus important to acknowledge that the securitization of circulation and the correspondent effects of security mechanisms were differently shaped in Brazil, through colonial practices of territory exploitation, body submission, and population management in which racism and slavery played a fundamental role, as also discussed before. Hence, in using Banu Bargu's "biosovereign assemblage" and Berenice Bento's "necrobiopolitics", I suggested that, in Brazil, we have a power regime that should be called a necro(bio)political assemblage.

Thus, when in June, bodies took to the main avenues of Brazilian cities, they were, in fact breaking with the necro(bio)political norms of circulation in the city, since they subverted the rules of who can appear and circulate in the public space and which bodies can access the city. Precarious workers, and marginalized bodies, including the unemployed, the vagrant, the homeless — who are not seen as productive by the Brazilian power regime — took to the streets, jumped turnstiles, burnt buses, and promoted the symbolic destruction of the facade of normalcy of the city, breaking with the necro(bio)political rhythm of the city.

The present chapter argues that the MPL, in June 2013, challenged one of these security mechanisms: the tariff. And, in so doing, the movement pointed to some specific forms of resisting necro(bio)political norms of circulation, we will discuss here. It also looks at how (and up to what point) the MPL contributed to changing the modern imaginary of space, time and subjectivity. So, we can begin by looking at how MPL articulated a rights rhetoric as a way to question, in practice, the securitization of bodies circulation in the public space.

Based on the brief discussion above, it can be argued that the MPL presents a form of resistance using the rhetoric of the right to the city in order to subvert the logics of liberalism. This is so because the movement articulates a discourse of public transport as a "right" at the same time it (re)politicizes the issue of circulation. Leila Saraiva, militant of MPL-DF[82] and anthropologist, asserts that

[82] Free Pass Movement, collective located in Brasilia.

one of the greatest struggles of MPL is substituting the "technical" by the "political" in the government's discourse. For her, the government tends to act as if politics were technicalities, inevitably derived from a system. "As if they were not about choices, but the only ways out" (Saraiva 2017:124). This is also pointed out by another militant, when asked if the issue of public transport was not a financial decision, that goes beyond politics:

> It is not the task of any social movement to point out exactly where all the costs come from, how to organize the city budget. What we are proposing is a reversal of priorities in the budget: to prioritize investment in public transport and not in private transport as it is nowadays. We have a survey of the IPEA, for example, which points out that in Brazil we invest 12 times more in private transport than in collective transport. So we have to ask the question: isn't there any possibility of funding? Isn't there any resource? Or what we have is a politics that does not prioritize investment in public transport? Public expenses also grow in health and public education, and in spite of this the government does not stop financing these services. (Nina, MPL-SP, RV, 2013)[83]

To that end, it could be argued that the MPL mobilizes a resistance based on a rights rhetoric, so as to access the sovereign sphere of political decision making, which is currently armored by a discourse of technical (im)possibilities. Once inside this logic, the movement acquires attention from the state and is able to temporarily subvert the biopolitical logic of circulation, based on the securitization of the access of peripheral bodies to the space of visibility and citizenship, through the implementation of a tariff. As seen in the previous chapters, the space of citizenship in Brazil is normally reserved to those white-heteronormative bodies who may circulate in it because they have been invested with the "right" human capital. So, the space of citizenship has been continuously denied specifically and more generally to black bodies, but also bodies marked as unproductive, vagrant, or sexually deviant, for example. These bodies imply a risk to the "proper" flow (unmarkedly liberal and white), and functioning of capitalist transactions and reproduction.

[83] Interview June 17, 2013, on Roda Viva (Youtube, March 19, 2015). Roda Viva is a talk show, produced and broadcast by TV Cultura which here brings two militants of the Free Pass Movement: law student Nina Cappello and history professor Lucas Monteiro de Oliveira. The interview focuses mainly in the wave of protests in São Paulo and in the practices of mobilization of MPL against the increase of the bus fare and the situation of public transportation in Brazil. All quotations from this interview will hereafter be indicated as "RV, 2013".

As stated on the MPL chart of principles, the fare signifies an impediment to the access and exercise of rights:

> Zero Fair is the most practical and effective way of ensuring the entire population has *the right to come and go in the cities*. This idea is based on the understanding that transport is an essential public service, a fundamental right that ensures *people's access to other rights*, such as health and education […] In places farther from major centers, access to fundamental rights can only be achieved through public transport. And to ensure that the entire population can enjoy these rights, transport needs to be public and free. Otherwise, people who do not have the money to pay the fare will not be able to reach their destinations and exercise their rights. (MPL's website)[84]

Instead of a mere technicality, the tariff is in fact a political issue: it is one of the liberal mechanisms of security, an instrument for impairing circulation. As posed by Foucault, mechanisms and technologies of security as race and sexuality, function as a means to reduce risk for the unity of a certain kind of population. That unit, within a liberal framework in Brazil, is assured by the securitization of spaces like the city, by means of racism. For sure, racism is linked with classism and sexism. Those bodies not born in privileged positions of power and visibility (i.e. born white in the middle or upper class) will have their access to rights denied, since they will be given minimum access to the spaces where those rights are reproduced, like the space of the city. The tariff, in the Brazilian case, functions in this sense, as a security mechanism that is intrinsically political.

It is, as the MPL unveils, part of politics insofar it is a choice of the state to invest in public health and education and relegate the "technical" management of transport to the private sector. This, as the MPL highlights, hinders the freedom of circulation and limits access to rights for those not capable of paying. Thus the MPL is, in fact, claiming for the expansion of rights, as one militant asserts:

> I think not only the students, but the entire population of the city deserve to have their right to transportation effectuated. By effecting the right to transport you give the right to the city, the right to health, the right to education. How can you say that health is public if you have to pay R$3.20 to get to the hospital, to return from the hospital, to take your child to school? We know that many people stop going to the doctor when the tariff increases — even if only by R$0.20 cents — so *we are effectively talking about an expansion of rights*. (Nina, RV 2013, emphasis added)

Moreover, the claim for tariff reduction implies another way to access the right to freely circulate. For this reason, the demand of MPL is directly linked to

[84] MPL (https://www.mpl.org.br/).

the right to the city. Access to the city, a supposedly public space, should be an undisputed right. It is directly attached to the freedom of movement, from which other rights can be accessed, such as health and education. The struggle for the right to freely circulate is thus linked with a broadening of rights. Consequently, both are directly linked with the main goal of MPL: a free public transport, controlled by the population.

The MPL underscores the fact that freedom of movement is not a universal right in Brazil, since great part of the population has the right to circulate impaired by the continuously rising cost of public transport. A militant emphasizes the violence implicit on every tariff increase to those whose already precarious socio-economic condition get even worse when having to opt between eating or taking a bus, for example:

> We are against the increase of people's daily efforts to pay an absurd rate to go back and forth from work. This money is taken from food, rent, leisure, health, etc. For the poor and peripheral working class families R$0.20 is a significant amount that many people lack in order to use public transportation. They cannot afford it. In 2010 those who could not afford public transport were already about 37 million Brazilians. In June, the same question was posed: what should prevail, the interest of companies in profiting from the precarious labor and living conditions of workers, or the real and necessary demands of the latter? (Francisco, MPL-SP)[85]

Here, the movement points to the biopolitics of transport, where the tariff functions as a security mechanism in the regulation of bodies. The tariff is one more biopolitical tool for regulating the poor and raced population. It works by keeping those bodies at a safe and administrable distance.

The discourse of rights is also (re)politicized by MPL, when it argues that the issue of public transport should be discussed and governed outside the private sphere. As put by a militant: “the population has to participate in the decisions and management of the public transport. Public transport does not necessarily need to be state-owned, but its control must be collective, it must be controlled collectively ”(Lucas, RV, 2013)[86].

Hence, the movement struggles for free and affordable transport for all sections of the population, especially the poorest and marginalized, who have no

[85] In Charleaux (Nexo, June 18, 2017).

[86] Interview June 17, 2013, Roda Viva (Youtube, March 19, 2015).

other means of getting around but by public transport. Its activities include talks at schools located in the peripheries, and the dissemination of studies and analysis of transport systems in the main cities of Brazil. As stated on the website of MPL-São Paulo: "The MPL is a group of ordinary people who come together to discuss and fight for another transport project to the city".[87] In providing another imaginary from which the city can be thought and made, the movement (re)politicizes and also (re)democratizes the issue of circulation. In this sense, "ordinary people" could function as a way to make the movement accessible to anyone who wants to contribute to making the city different. Also, this points to the fact that politics can be done in the temporality of the everyday.

In line with that, the MPL proposes different ways of thinking and acting politically. It does so by suggesting other ways of thinking about the management of the possibilities of conduct and circulation of bodies in the public environment. In June 2013, the MPL questioned the way public transport systems are managed, pointing out, for example, the diversion of public resources towards the private sphere. By doing this, it shows how the state favors the interests of an economic elite, to the detriment of society as a whole. In this sense, one militant points to the influence of the private sector on local elections in São Paulo:

> Undoubtedly [mafia] influences the election of councilors, governors and mayors. For example, José Dias Vaz, owner of Gato Preto [bus company that operates in the southwest of São Paulo], donated R$ 125,000 [approximately USD 32.000] to Geraldo Alckmin's [then governor of Sao Paulo] campaign in 2010. In fact, the owners of bus companies influence transport policies. Therefore it is necessary that control of the transport system is not in the hands of these companies, because they do not think transport in light of the right to mobility. (Lucas, RV, 2013)

Therefore, by questioning the private management of the public transport network, MPL challenges liberal governmentality and contributes to change the city's imaginary of circulation, making the everyday the preferential site of political practice. As a result, it lays the foundations for thinking about other forms of collective life:

> The MPL has no end in itself; it must be a means for the construction of another society. Likewise, the struggle for Zero Tariff has no end in itself. It is the initial instrument of debate on the transformation of the current conception of urban public transport, which rejects the marketing conception of transport

[87] MPL-SP (https://saopaulo.mpl.org.br/apresentacao/).

> and opens up the fight for quality public transport free of charge as a right for society as a whole; for the public control (workers and users) of collective transport[88].

The movement sees itself as a means and not as an end to achieve social transformation by and for the collectivity. Therefore its strategy of fighting for the end of the tariff serves as a platform for building a less exclusionary society. It affirms the right to freely access the public space, which belongs to everyone, but currently is unequally accessed by different bodies, due to the commodification and securitization of their means of circulation. Thus, it can be said that, by thinking the free mobility of bodies in public space as a universal right, MPL disputes the modern/colonial power dynamics of securitization through (re)politicizing circulation. By (re)taking to itself and the population the initiative to organize and demand free and quality public transport, MPL helps decolonize the city, breaking with one of the security mechanisms (the tariff), that aims to prevent the free movement of people. And beyond this more immediate and direct opposing of space securitization, the movement lays the groundwork for dislocating and disputing the "modern imaginary of securing through circulation" (Aradau and Blanke 2010). In this process it is possible to think spatiality, temporality and subjectivity anew, by thinking how the bodies that *make* the city are at the same time a risk and a necessity to the continual constitution of the city as securitized space.

3.2 A different geographic imaginary - Who has right to the city? By whom and for whom is the city made?

MPL's organization is based on horizontality and prefigurative politics: militants seek to transform imagination into everyday practice. Also, the movement makes use of direct action, where the occupation of public space figures as one of its main tactics. By applying these tactics in June 2013, MPL opened the field of possibilities for the radical democratization of public spaces. This was done through the (re)appropriation of circulation as a means for the (re)delineation of the city's spacial contours, forms and limits:

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[88] MPL (https://www.mpl.org.br/).

> The city is used as a weapon for its own retaking: knowing that blocking a mere intersection compromises the entire circulation, the population throws against itself the chaotic transport system of the metropolises, which prioritizes individual transport and leaves cities near a collapse. In this process, people collectively take back the means of organizing their own daily lives. (MPL-São Paulo 2013: 26-27)

By retaking the public space, the MPL promotes popular circulation practices as a way of not being governed. When people take back the means of circulation they become a popular democratic force instead of a population that is "managed". In doing this, they promote a rupture in the Brazilian necro(bio)political logic of circulation. The MPL does this by privileging other forms and tactics of participation and political action: based on self-management and the occupation of privileged spaces of circulation. Such tactics and repertoires of contention[89] are based on the collective and self-organized response against people's alienation from the decision-making processes of institutional politics. The occupation of the city and the blocking of circulation also serve as means to fight the lack of channels for the expression of grievances by a large part of the population.

In June 2013 the MPL occupied streets and avenues of São Paulo with bodies, chants, and performances[90]. These movements displaced the liberal logic of capitalist circulation by building a different cityscape: that in which bodies were, themselves, making space for their preferential access to the city. The initial movement was joined by many other bodies who could then see the city as a space made by and for the people. The city, taken as it was by the initial struggle of MPL, was not anymore the preferential space for capital circulation, neither the space whose precarious workers could access only in their way to and from work. The city turned into a place for making everyday life differently. The bodies walking together, singing, jumping the turnstile, fighting back police repression, were demanding the right to (re)make that space. Instead of a space assigned to

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[89] Repertoires of collective action are a routine of processes of negotiation and struggle between the state and social actors. Each political era has had a repertoire of collective action or protest that is related to many variables, among them the form of organization of the state; the form of organization of production; and the technological means available to social actors (Tarrow, 1995; Tilly and Tarrow, 1996).

[90] For images of these different MPL's performance and occupation of the space see footage from June 25, 2013 by Valmourt (Youtube, July 1, 2013).

the circulation of what makes profit, the city was made into a space of multiple possibilities.

When the MPL underscored the importance of the free circulation of bodies in a territory it promoted a rupture in the relational logic fueling the power regimes that govern in the name of the many (the "Brazilian people"), but only attend demands of a few (owners of the means of capital production and circulation). The insistence in the demand for the tariff reduction by the persistence of the bodies on the streets modified the conditions of possibility for the occupation of public space. Hence, MPL brought to the fore the unequal conditions under which the majority of people access the city. By insisting on the access to the city as a right directly linked to other fundamental rights (e.g. health, education, leisure), it contributed to (re)politicize the issue of circulation in a radically democratic way. This because it engaged individuals in thinking transport as a collective good that should be owned and managed by and for the people. It also showed that this collective ownership should be transposed to other spaces, beyond transport. The city should also *become* a space of communal leisure and common sharing. A space made *for* those who *make it* in their everyday, as laborers who although making the city do not have access to its benefits. As such, this movement also contributed to question the temporality of politics and the temporal logic of circulation in the city. Changing the capitalist logic of circulation needs to be done in the everyday. The contestation of the control of bodies circulation in the space of the city contributed thus to the opening of other ways of making the city a space not only of work and profit generation but rather a space of common enjoyment and political transformation.

3.3 Time - the everyday in the making of history - When can marginal bodies circulate in the city?

> The "revolution" needs to be here and now: in the ways we organize ourselves, in the projects we dream of, in the continuous stimulation of the multiple, in the consolidation of politics as a direct practice of all, and not as a field restricted to specialists (whether politicians or militants). (Saraiva, 2017: 169)

In June 2013, the MPL used alternative political knowledges and practices such as direct action tactics, such as street blockages, marches and occupation of

bus and train terminals, opening the field of possibilities for the radical democratization of the public space through the autonomous occupation of everyday spaces. It subverted the logic of capitalist circulation by inverting the use of spaces and by returning the temporality of politics to the "here and now", pointing to the potentiality of the margins as a space of political subjectification. As such, MPL enabled a momentary rupture of the time of modern politics, making it possible for the population to become a popular democratic force, capable of deciding upon its own destiny, instead of being managed as an amorphous body mass waiting for either exploitation and death.

Instead of the pace of cars and buses, the streets were occupied by the temporality of marginal bodies walking and standing together. These bodies put into practice the (re)appropriation of the imaginary and material means for the (re)delineation of the city — its temporalities and spacial contours, its limits and possibilities. It can be said that MPL is a movement who "makes the city" by pointing to how we can change our destinations with our own bodies in our everyday, as argued by David Harvey (2013: 55):

> […] We, individually and collectively, make our city through our daily actions and our political, intellectual and economic engagements. We are all, in one way or another, architects of our urban futures. The right to change the city is not an abstract right, but an inherent right in our daily practices, whether we are aware of it or not.

In June 2013, MPL activists used their bodies as signifiers of a radical, horizontal and autonomous form of political participation. Through collective, collaborative and direct action of taking temporary control of the city, they also challenged one of the foundations of contemporary politics: representation. Instead of waiting for change to happen through the hands of elected politicians, people took the streets. In doing so, they achieved the goal of tariff reduction. Even if this goal was only temporally achieved, it was a concrete example of popular democratic power, of the political power of bodies acting in concert, as discussed in Butler's theory of performative assembly (2015). This is so, because in occupying the streets with their bodies, militants made political signifiers out of common everyday gestures, like walking or standing. But, in performing those everyday gestures in slightly different ways and using them out of '"normal"

context, those bodies were generating other affects, other emotions and sensations, other forms of feeling and experiencing, other modes of being. In doing that, as Butler points out, in acting together, those bodies open up time and space "outside and against the temporality and established architecture of the regime" (2011:2). The MPL did that by claiming, first, the tariff reduction, but in leaning into that claim, the movement was able to become more visible and thereof was capable of bringing out its long term proposal of a city free of tariffs, free for circulation.

Access to the city depends on privileges: on how a body signifies a certain class, race, gender and sexuality, for example. The MPL helped make those privileges more visible when questioning the political economy of circulation in the city. It makes us think the unequal ways in which public space is available to different people depending of when and who is circulating in it. Hence, it challenges the biopolitical management of public transport, which only promotes the mobility of those who work for the promotion of the liberal market and capitalism. An example of this is the transportation voucher allowance. For workers on the outskirts, this allowance allows them to circulate in the city center on weekdays, but as many do not have the financial conditions to pay for the fare, they cannot circulate in the same center during leisure days:

> When there is transport to communities or suburbs it is only available during business hours. No lines are offered at dawn. The message that this city model says is clear — "you come to offer your workforce and go away". This poorer population only has the right to serve the upper class, to build the city, to make it work, but not to enjoy it, because if this worker stays in these urban centers and noble areas to go to the theater or drink a beer she simply will not be able to return home due to the lack of transport. To prevent this unwanted class from sleeping at bus stops, you have super-thin seats, shaped in ways that keep you from lying there. (MPL-RJ)[91]

By highlighting the unequal access to the city's benefits (culture, leisure, health, better education and work opportunities), the MPL helps raise awareness of a portion of the population separated and individually segregated in the access to their rights. When MPL touches upon the issue of tariffs, it also highlights, up to a certain point, which bodies are being denied the right to have rights. Although, on the quotation above, the movement focuses on the question of class, the demand for free fare would, in fact, contribute to reduce the exclusion of

[91] MPL-RJ (January 15, 2014).

bodies regulated by race. As seen in the first chapter, black bodies have been relegated to spaces of ultra-militarized control, which promotes their continuous exclusion, abandonment and death.

When, in June 2013, the MPL took the streets to demand the tariff reduction, it was not only dealing with the issue of transport, it was also offering a broad critique of society by questioning the "normalcy" of capitalist circulation, where profit is more important than people. This, again, has close relation to the centrality of the "right" circulation of things and bodies in biopolitics (the liberal art of governance par excellence).

As discussed in Foucault (2009), in biopolitics, mechanisms of security are centric to the "normal" and "good" circulation of things and this normalcy is guaranteed not necessarily by force or disciplinary measures, but by means of regulation. In this respect, it is important to remind the discussion of chapter one, where we saw that race functions in Brazil as a technology of biopolitical regulation. As such, race, as the tariff, can be considered to be part of biopolitical security mechanisms, typical of liberalism. This is so, because race serves as a passport to either normality or abjection. So, even when certain raced bodies have more freedom to circulate, this freedom of movement is still regulated by security mechanisms. And, even when black bodies have some freedom to circulate, this movement is still regulated within a liberal biopolitical framework of either consumption or production, since the latter are the preferential means of social exchange in liberal capitalism. Furthermore, in the specific case of Brazil, we saw the power regime could be called as necro(bio)political, since it is underscored by a ultra-securitization of the biopolitical circulation through the (many times deadly) regulation of bodies through race. So, what happens is that even when black bodies can circulate as either consumers or producers, their movements are still highly surveilled.[92]

[92] This can be exemplified with the case of shopping strolls ("rolezinhos"). Since 2013, young people from the peripheries of large Brazilian cities have organized large meetings in malls using social networks. These meetings caused the shopkeepers apprehension, and, in many cases, police was called in to oversee the removal of youngsters from the malls. In some cities such encounters have been prohibited by justice.

Thus, returning to the proposal of MPL, in place of a life regulated and securitized by liberal and capitalist relations, the movement offered, in its place, an alternative from which to build other possibilities of living and making the city. To that end, the demand for free public transport uncovers the violence needed to keep a certain order of things: that of private ownership of what is commonly produced, which ensures that the grounds of inequality and racism, upon which the liberal state lies, continue. It is in this sense that the movement uses the ritual of burning the turnstile as a symbolic act of rupture with the securitization of circulation, intrinsically linked with the spacial, temporal and subjective control of bodies.

3.4 The symbology of the turnstile

> Denaturalize the turnstiles and, in each battle won, broaden the imaginary of a possible existence without them. (Saraiva 2017: 169)

Figure 15. Zero Tariff. Credit: Internet.

The MPL promotes an important symbolic action: burning the turnstile as a way to highlight the ways in which circulation in the city is subjected to a liberal security logic of privatization that is linked to broader patterns exclusion:

> we think change in society through change in the logic of urban mobility. that's why we don't want buses to have turnstiles that prevent so many people from

> coming and going in every major city in Brazil. but we know that this alone is not enough. in addition to the exclusion promoted in the actual public transport system, there are inequalities between whites and blacks, men and women, rich and poor. we have a whole world to rebuild! the turnstile that MPL repudiates is also symbolic. there are invisible turnstiles everywhere, preventing full access to spaces and services. together we must destroy them all. by fighting we want to build a world where there is no turnstile! (MPL-SP)[93]

As indicated above, even thought the MPL struggles for those it identifies as being the precarious workers, the movement is aware of the fact that other bodies (raced, gendered), also suffer from the unequal access to the space of the city and the rights entailed in that access. Therefore the understanding that effective social change will only occur when the symbolic violence of the tariff — represented by the turnstile — is linked with other mechanisms of social exclusion. So, even if the MPL underscores its autonomy as a social movement that fights for free fare, it also remains sympathetic to other political forces struggling for other, less unequal, worlds.

Racism, sexism, homophobia, all these are also forms to regulate the circulation of bodies in the public space. The fact that bodies are circumscribed by forms of securitization, in which race and sex function as technologies of normalization, based on whiteness, heteronormativity and patriarchy, points to the need of finding different political tactics of struggle, parallel to those of affirmative identity politics. Maybe the symbolism of the turnstile helps in that direction, since it has the potential to aggregate many struggles under that symbology.

However, this might be a point that could be further explored by the MPL itself. As observed by Newman (2010: 144), "the anarchist idea of freedom embodies and, indeed, maximizes […] the idea of individual liberty or autonomy, refusing to see it in opposition to the liberty of others or to the desire for social equality". Hence, although autonomy presupposes the condition of freedom, speaking of autonomy should not mean denying oppressive realities with racist, patriarchal, and capitalist structural bases that substantially feed all societal relations and naturalize various systems of oppression.

[93] See "Presentation" (MPL-SP).

Now turning again to the issue of temporality, it is clear that the struggle against other symbolic turnstiles was not limited to June 2013. By arguing against the turnstile in its multiple modalities, the MPL is sympathetic to the struggles against the evictions that were happening before, during and after 2013, due to the territorial gentrification linked to the international sports events Brazil was about to host (e.g., World Cup and Olympics). When asked about the opinion of MPL regarding such international events, a militant highlights the exploitative logic behind them:

> It is very strange and very emblematic to try to sell the structure of the city when you have a clear demand from thousands of people dissatisfied with the urban structure of the city. And by and large these major events prioritize a city-building that excludes large numbers of people. You remove slums, remove communities so that they don't appear before these big events. So, in general, people experience very little of the social benefits — or the social legacy — of these big events. (Lucas, RV, 2013)

When asked if the infrastructure which was at the time under construction for the World Cup and the Olympics was useless, the militant makes it clear that behind it there is an authoritarian and exclusionary logics of city-making:

> I don't think this [infrastructure] is necessarily useless, but if you have an authoritarian and exclusionary city building, and this is demonstrated when you have land evictions — or when you have a fare increase of public transport — that's a problem. This is why it is necessary to have, and there is, social mobilization around it. (Ibidem)

Proving that June ‘'remains" (Moraes, 2014) in different struggles, the MPL-RJ (Rio de Janeiro) speaks against the “ultra-militarization of the access to the city”. This is exemplified by the extensive use of police force to securitize the access to public leisure spaces, such as the beach. As such, MPL denounces the police action that prevents young people from the periphery from getting to beaches located in noble areas during the weekends[94]:

> Returning to the “rolezinhos” [large group excursions] to the beach, it is interesting to note that these occur on weekends or holidays, clearly demonstrating that it is a working or student class who only has this time off to enjoy a (rare) free leisure. As the turnstile of real estate speculation and the bus turnstiles were not enough to keep this class out, governor Sergio Cabral and mayor Eduardo Paes did the only thing they know how to do, ultra-militarization.[95]

[94] Heringer and Barros (Extra, August 24, 2015).

[95] MPL-Rio de Janeiro (January 15, 2014).

MPL-RJ also criticizes the ways in which young people, when coming from the periphery are classified as dangerous individuals whose actions have high potential for criminality:

> The turnstile of repression is fueled by the discourse of urban violence of mainstream media, which increases collective hysteria and ultimately strengthens the population's approval for proto-fascist measures such as those taking place on our beaches and on the buses that take people there, thanks to the culture of calling poor people leisure "arrastão" [sweeping mass robberies]. Fear is the greatest weapon in the manipulation of fascism. Every public transport reminds a little of a slave ship, every policeman resembles a little of a "capitão do mato" [man who captured fugitive slaves].

The movement is here extending its critique by associating the turnstile with other forms of repression in which persistent forms of coloniality intersect with more recent forms of securitization to continually assign black and poor bodies back to the margins of society and humanity. In chapter one, the persistency of a coloniality of power in intersection with contemporary mechanisms of security in the form of racism was illustrated with the examples of the Pacifying Police Unit program (UPP), in the 2000s, and the federal military intervention in Rio de Janeiro, in 2018. As argued, in Brazil, racism has always functioned in a way that actualizes the sovereign power to kill, be it through ultra-militarization, creating explicit zones of war and death, or by ultra-securitization, in which zones of abandonment are traversed by deadly yet disguised forms of disciplinary governance of life and death. In contemporary Brazil, these necro(bio)political practices are enabled by discourses of urban violence and war on drugs, which serve to justify the continuity of genocidal policies in order to secure the "population" or the "modern social body" (white upper classes) from these "risks".

What is interesting here is that this necro(bio)politics could be also thought in light of Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (2005) idea of a "generalized international". These authors use that idea to point out how the illusion of the secured order of the sovereign state in an insecure and anarchic international system is sustained and how it might be challenged. They do this by rethinking the field of international relations, in trying first to establish a parallel between "order" and "justice" in the international arena and "security" and "politics" in the national sphere. By generalizing the international, they want to privilege anarchy,

as a means to re-think the question of order-security, and focus instead on the issue of justice-politics. Their point is that once the contingency of international politics is given up in the name of national sovereign security, what remains is authority.

As in the case MPL-RJ, the movement is denouncing such a movement in which a "proto-fascist" sovereign authority is working in the name of security and order, and making it impossible for any political dialogue regarding justice to occur. In this sense, the political debate on who has the right to circulate does not occur. The political debate is substituted by the privileging of order and security against the risk of violence. As such, when the MPL fights to put forward a political agenda of right to free circulation in the city it is thus promoting a sort of generalization of the international, contributing to re-open the discussion on justice-politics. The movement brings the political back in, with all its contingency, in a way to also reveal that the access to free public transport is a form of social justice, that might contribute to diminish the inequalities and injustices enacted in the name of order and security.

Moreover, MPL unveils how public transport is permeated by other forms of social and racial exclusion, linked to the securitization of public spaces that should be equally accessed by all. The movement shows that, in Brazil, the tariff is a mechanism of security that is linked to an authoritarian sovereign order, which is per se conformed by the exclusion of great part of the people. Furthermore, what could also be inferred from this, is that MPL highlights how the biopolitical idea of "population" is, in fact, guaranteed by the necropolitical casting outside of all other bodies that do not correspond to the white-heteronormative and colonial concept. It is in this sense that we could think again of a necro(bio)politics, in which the abnormal bodies are marginalized, cast outside, in order to secure the (bio) inside. Here the tariff, as race, would be the technology securing and enacting the borders expressed in the parentheses "()".

Notwithstanding, the MPL argues that it was born out of the contradictions inherent in the increasing use of symbolic turnstiles to contain bodies circulation:

> In a process in which the population is always object rather than subject, transport is ordered from above according to the imperatives of value

> circulation. Thus, the population is excluded from the organization of their own daily experience of the metropolis, which is mainly carried out by the transport system. It restricts mobility to coming and going from work and places turnstiles in all city's paths. As the turnstiles are strengthened, the contradictions in the system become more evident, giving rise to processes of resistance. It is in the midst of this concrete experience of the struggle against urban exclusion that the Free Pass Movement was forged. (MPL-SP, 2013: 21-22)

So, as previously discussed, resistance and power come always together (Foucault 1978)[96], not being possible to separate them. As soon as a power regime strengthens its apparatus of social control, counter-conducts emerge and challenge the new "turnstiles", creating alternative passages and routes, different lines of flight and resistance. Hence, at the same time subjectivation processes emerge in alliance with power regimes, alternative subjectivities are constituted in parallel, subterranean worlds. The MPL, by fighting and countering the imposition of turnstiles, contributes to think other forms of being and becoming, as ways of not being governed, as will be discussed next.

[96] As Foucault (1978: 95) states: "power does not exist by itself; the existence of power relations depends on "a multiplicity of points of resistance […] present everywhere in the power network".

3.5 Subjectivity - Who makes the city space a place? Who can break with the normalcy of the city's pace?

Figure 16. "It will only change when controlled by the people" (MPL-SP).

> we believe that we should not wait for the initiatives and actions of politicians and entrepreneurs, and that only the organization and popular initiative can achieve truly significant changes in society. it is the people alone that have the power and will to change things and to make a different transport, city and even a different world.[97]

For the MPL, it is only popular struggle that can bring about effective change towards a different life for most. In June 2013, when people joined MPL in thousands, the autonomist imagination emerged in a powerful way, pointing to the possibility that these bodies were the protagonists of the changes they proposed. By risking their own skin, blocking the main avenues of cities with their bodies, the protesters imposed another order on the city: that of the people's priority over the market's priority. In this sense, the MPL liberated the potential of the free expression of the right to come and go, of living life in accordance with fundamental needs of autonomous and collective freedom.

Consequently, to claim the right to free movement is not only to claim the street, but to affirm that the common space can be transformed and (re)made. By blocking and occupying the streets with bodies, the MPL contributed to liberate

[97] See MPL-SP .

space, time and subjectivity from modern ontology, from the ways they are imagined and produced. It did so by showing that space is part of the common, made by all and therefore a right to all. Also, it pointed that everyday is the preferential time for politics, that everyday choices and negotiations are per se political. It is by recognizing that fact that people become responsible for struggling and promoting themselves the transformation of what daily affects them. The MPL opens one way to think the everyday as politicized performance: one that (re)configures politics as the construction of the common by and for the collective.

This reminds of Vladimir Safatle's (2016) proposal of another type of political body, which rather than being a static organism (as the figure of the State), is an organicity open to the contingency of interrelations. For this construction to happen, he argues, it is necessary an embodiment of politics, which cannot be done without affections. Following Butler and Foucault, this author suggests that an alternative politics can only emerge through the performative constitution of other bodies and other subjectivities. For him, it is impossible for politics to exist without some form of incorporation, which on its turn is also a dispositive that expresses affects. As such, we can think politics from the manner in which determined affects produce specific modes of embodiment. Thereof, it is possible to understand that each mode of embodiment has its correspondent mode of affection. For Safatle, some of them are imaginary unities, symbolic articulations, or real dissociations.

Thus, in order to build an alternative to the political body of the state and capital, we should abandon the idea of the individual, the subject who owns a property in itself and who needs to defend it from the other. It is necessary to make other affects circulate.This could be done by rupturing with the pre-conceptions of a unitary identity and its privileges associated with whiteness, heteronormativity, patriarchy, whose basis is the property of the self. By deconstructing this identity, by understanding it is a performed reiteration of pre-existent norms, it might be possible to become otherwise, subverting it in favor of political goals, with the aim of not being governed as a population. And this is

what the MPL proved, even if temporally possible, when it acted as a radically democratic popular force.

In June 2013 the MPL promoted, not only an encounter of bodies, it also contributed to a political transformation of subjectivities. This is so, because in the process of occupation of the city, it opened space for new political practices, imaginaries, and beings. Those making part of that history may carry within themselves the self-transformative potential that lies at the core of the autonomous and collective proposal of MPL. In this sense, the practice of direct action has in bodies its fundamental tactical vehicle. It is through the practical actions of bodies that different time-space relations are produced. It is this encounter that makes bodies and subjects anew and in this (re)making they transform themselves and their worlds.

The MPL departures from the specific issue of transport to offer a broad critique of society, in a process of (re)politicization of the everyday. This is done by problematizing the logics of the market and its entanglement with the state and by highlighting that making transport free of charge is a political decision in the direction of social justice. By politicizing the transport issue, MPL challenges the modern subjectivity, that which is capable of accepting the arbitrariness of justice as long as it has its own rights assured.

In thinking beyond and against modern tradition, the MPL points to the fact that history and geography are made by marginal bodies and, as such, they should figure as the protagonists of social change. The movement contributes to a critique of a capitalist, racist and gendered subjectivities that serve as "population" as long as they perform a submissive role in relations of production and service, but who are cast outside right after the moment they are not performing according to the logic of order and security, as exemplified in the cases of "rolezinhos" to the mall or to the beach. The MPL seems to put into practice the idea raised by Harvey, in which individuals are seen, collectively, as architects of their urban futures. Implied in Harvey's idea is a collectivist notion of autonomy, in which individual and subjective responsibility is directed to the common, to the daily practice of building a common future together. Two important factors articulate that view and

are centric to MPL: the (re)politicization of the everyday (everything is political), and the belief on the margins as potential site from where alternative political subjectivities can emerge.

As discussed, the MPL strives for being a social movement capable of thinking and acting autonomously, but thinking collectively at the same time. Because of the desire to configure an alternative to modern political representativity, hierarchy and authority, the movement also works toward the possibility of another kind of political subjectivity, capable of (re)politicizing the everyday practices of circulation: the *multiple*.

In pointing out to the role of the everyday in the transformation of society, the MPL opens new avenues for thinking how space and time are made of bodies acting together, but at the same time autonomously, without being governed by intermediaries. As such, the movement promotes a shift in political thinking, breaking with modern and liberal democratic hopes deposited in representative politics. In the place of political representation, the movement proposes localized and direct political action: that which occurs on everyday places, like the streets. This means not only a shift in how to think and enact space and time, how to make places and make history. It also means a shift in how to be political, how people can act to transform who they are, by acting politically in their everyday. Social transformation, as put by a militant, "is a political construction that is done daily. That's important: it's not just now. It is the result of daily work" (Lucas, RV 2013).

As the MPL underscores: demands are only potential outside the mediation of representation. Because representation alienates people from the substantiality and meaning of their everyday practices, making politics something abstract and distant. As such, it seems that MPL thinks in line with Butler (2011) when she claims that,

> one reason we cannot let the political body that produces such exclusions furnish the conception of politics itself, setting the parameters for what counts as political - is that within the purview established by the Polis those outside its defining plurality are considered as unreal or unrealized and, hence, outside the political as such. (p.3)

In order to counter the above mentioned Polis, that orients modern political knowledge and practice, the MPL argues that power should not be located in the figure of the MPL — the movement loses force when frozen in this place. For MPL, the demand only becomes effective through claims made on the streets. It is in public events, in situations built by the movement, that the movement ideas are actually put into practice through direct action, without mediation. And here new bodies also emerge. In these being-together, bodies acquire a different flexibility: not the one promoted by liberalism, where subjects shape themselves according to rules pre-negotiated or imposed by those supposedly representing them and their desires.

As pointed by Colectivo Situaciones (2002), many of these bodies emerge through subjective processes of *self-affirmed marginalization*, where they share a common condition of precarity that enable them to not only see the other, but recognize the vulnerability of the other. In this process of recognition these bodies are capable of constructing non-capitalist modalities of socialization; that is, activities that create solidarity values that go beyond the "society of the individual" or "population" and transform it in a popular democracy. This process of self-affirmed marginalization might entail what Butler called the exposition of the limits of the political, where bodies on the street redeploy the space of appearance in order to contest and negate the existing forms of political legitimacy.

> These are subjugated and empowered actors who seek to wrest legitimacy from an existing state apparatus that depends upon the public space of appearance for its theatrical self-constitution. In wresting that power, a new space is created, a new "between" of bodies, as it were, that lays claim to existing space through the action of a new alliance, and those bodies are seized and animated by those existing spaces in the very acts by which they reclaim and resignify their meanings. (Butler 2011: 5)

As in June 2013, these bodies, when acting together, extrapolated any kind of unity in representativity. It was not possible to have one agenda, one demand, one narrative, one meaning. And in these multiple encounters new forms of relationship and existence are prefigured, contributing to the negotiation of the configuration of new ways of being in common with each other. And it is not in establishing a common identity that this power-to (*potencia*) lies, but in

negotiating and questioning the imposition of labels and the mediation of desires and dreams. This is so, because *potencia* is embodied and performative and is also affective, in the sense it only becomes effective when practiced as embodied assembly, in being in common. By exploding in demands, the streets regained for themselves the ability to negotiate without mediators. Negotiations were face to face, body to body, hand to hand. And this opened the field of possibilities for the multiplication not only of demands but also of political autonomies.

Saraiva (2017) offers some concepts — politics of the *multiple* and (anti)politics of the *one* — that might be useful in understanding the ways in which MPL actions enable different forms of political subjectivity and in so doing challenge and expose the limits of modern politics. While the *multiple* is the power to (*potencia*) capable of politics, (anti)politics is mediation through representation. It is based on the defense of the real (status quo), and it constantly strives for the transformation of the multiple into one, through the production of indifference and resignation. As she puts it:

> The struggle for rights is political, the technical is political, the idea of connecting transport to a broad critique of society is a process of politicization. […] politics here is precisely what happens outside the state. (Anti)politics, in turn, is what the state does.(Saraiva 2017: 144)

Saraiva reasons that what we have today in Brazil should be called (anti)politics, in the sense the diversity of social backgrounds, desires, interests and subjective autonomies are all pressed into *one* subjective form. This happens both through representation and normalization:

> If the idea that someone is going to *represent* a large number of people, bringing coherence to their interests and desires is one of the forms of this operation, another would be the *establishment of the same ruler, the same norm* to which everyone must obey, regardless of the diversity of backgrounds from which they come from or the differences they face. (Saraiva 2017: 152, emphasis added)

Based on this, Saraiva argues MPL strives instead for a politics of the *multiple*: political actions that occur outside the (anti)political realm of the state. The basis for that politics is the recovery of the public space and the transformation of the *one* into *multiple*. The multiple is the diversity of experiences, persons, necessities, that enable a constant expansion of possibilities.

In her view, the politics of the multiple happen by denying the two underlying principles of (anti)politics: representation and normalization.

It is possible to find a similarity in this process of the multiple becoming one with the processes of subjectivation that happen through different power regimes, as suggested by Foucault, and discussed in detail in chapter one. However, while Saraiva sees this process as occurring unidirectionally (it departures from the state, and from the law towards subjects), Foucault's view is more nuanced. The latter provides the means to understand how these processes of subjection happen also from the subjects to the state, from subjects to the law and to the market and from subjects to subjects themselves.

The idea of the *multiple,* proposed by Saraiva, resonates with the multitude, a concept elaborated in the antiquity, used in classical Western philosophy (Machiavelli, Spinoza), which gained recent popularity through the work of Hardt and Negri (2000). The term describes a population that has not entered (or who refutes) the sovereign social contract (as that suggested in Hobbes). As such, the multitude does not present itself as a constituted "people", meaning it does not operate nor is constituted by state sovereignty. On the contrary, state sovereignty would in fact emanate from the constitutive powers (*potencia*, as in Spinoza) of the multitude. As pointed by Colectivo Situaciones (2002: 26), "the power (*potencia*) of the multitude does not allow itself to be read from the classical theory of sovereignty, but from the becomings it brings into being". As such, multitude resonates of the multiple Saraiva points out to be the sort of political being the MPL strives to collectively conform through its autonomous, horizontal and prefigurative politics based on direct action.

So, when thinking of the political subjectivities MPL helped become visible in June 2013, it could be valid to think in terms of Butler's performativity. Butler (1990), following Foucault in his view of bodies in relation to power and resistance, argues for an embodied theory of resistance. When she talks about performativity, she is referring to the *potencia* entailed in acting differently from what is expected by the norm. But this can only happen when that person acknowledges the norms permeating her existence. Even though regulated bodies

in Brazil may understand very well those norms, it might still be difficult to resist the violence with which they are imposed. As such, becoming otherwise through performance might entail many difficulties and violence, to say the least.

The issue of political representativity also lies centric in this articulation of an insurrectional social body. It is so because the MPL denies leadership and also refuses to agree with any idea of taking over state power. In 2013, it became clear that the movement was against political representations, however it never proposed that it would function as a party, nor act as people's representative. This denial to hold a position of representation at the same time it offers a critique against representativity is seen when militants contest the journalists attempt to hold the movement responsible for military police violence against demonstrators:

> Those most responsible [for the violence] are the governor and the mayor of Sao Paulo. They are the ones who generate chaos in the city, who refuse to lower the tariff. (Lucas, RV 2013)

As another militant adds, the responsible for the violence are the governor and the mayor, who sit in the command of the city, and instead of representing the majority's will, attend the needs for profit of the private sector. Hence, the representatives "are the ones who choose to transfer the transport costs to the worker" (Nina, RV 2013). Even though this position might seem paradoxical — it offers a critique against representative politics, but it does not assume a position of responsibility for what happens in protests— it points to how MPL practices another politics.

MPL politics works with basis on autonomy, in which each and everyone should be considered responsible for its actions. This position implies the denial of authority and the refusal of concentration of power in the hands of a few. In so being, the movement understands that the logic of culpability, used by those in power (e.g. media, politics), to depict the violence during protests as being the responsibility of MPL, follows a sovereign and authoritarian logic.

The responsibilization of MPL for all people protesting was inserted in the modern logic of power, which is based on the idea of representation: if the MPL called for the occupation of the streets in the name of the struggle for fare reduction, it should then be the only responsible for all those bodies circulating

the protests. This logic thinks the subject as a closed identity, as the modern state in fact is thought to be: the only institution holding authority and thus the one responsible to govern the social body. So, once the MPL returns the responsibility for violence in protests to the state, it is reinforcing that violence is one of the effects of authoritarian politics. Also, the movement shows that power is always accompanied by resistance. When the movement points to the effects of a politics of power and authority it underscores the possibilities to become otherwise entailed in an autonomous politic. Some people responded to the violence of power by using the means they had to defend themselves to do so, in order to struggle for the right to have rights. If people were not governed in that violent way, they would not feel the need to protest in the same way they did when being governed by a necro(bio)political regime.

Regarding the paradoxes through which the MPL navigates in order to exist as an autonomous movement in an authoritarian state, Saraiva thinks the old leftist dichotomy of reform or revolution. In doing so, she understands that, in MPL's view "instead of contradictory poles, reform and revolution are seen by the movement as distinct planes of consistency that need to be sewn" (op.cit.,p.168). And the MPL works in and through both, trying to learn from its political limits and possibilities, without choosing one or the other, and instead strengthening itself by affirming the sovereignty of its own concrete experiences. Saraiva makes clear that "the battle for a continuous subjective construction against the state, occurs at the same time our claims pass, necessarily, through the demand of new rights to this very state" (Ibidem).

This is one of the ways it could be said the MPL brings forth a different form of being political. In this sense, we could again refer to Butler's performativity as a means to subvert the hegemonic norm. By performing according and against the modern political norms the MPL is sometimes capable to subvert sovereign politics, as in the case of the victory in June 2013, when tariffs were reduced. So, even though the movement strives for the constitution of resistance through autonomous political subjects, it understands that it still

necessary to navigate the modern power framework within which bodies are regulated so as to achieve its short term goals.

So, whilst the movement strives for subjective processes capable of constructing non-capitalist modalities of socialization, it understands that the *multiple* is not going to be achieved from without the political landscape organized by the still prevailing capitalist economic forces. Such autonomous position is reinforced by one militant when arguing that the nonpartisan position of MPL does not mean it will completely deny the contribution, solidarity and participation of political parties:

> Our movement is nonpartisan, but not anti-partisan. We've always had political demonstrations with political parties and we've never had a problem with that. Political parties help us organize demonstrations. And our unity in the streets is because our flag is very clear: it is against the increase of the tariff. We have parties that defend the zero tariff, parties that defend a social tariff, parties that defend increases according to inflation. I think this debate will be put later, but the question of co-optation is not raised. We are an autonomous social movement, which has always organized independently of the parties. (Nina, RV 2013)

In June 2013 the movement was only capable of achieving concrete results through the collective construction of the political through the *multiple.* The MPL was not alone on the streets. And it understands that the construction of a different political imaginary, capable of social transformation, is a task of the many, not of the movement alone, acting by and for itself:

> We think the central transformation comes from the mobilization of society, the construction of different spaces. And that's what is important: for individuals to mobilize, get involved and transform their lives. This is our political focus, and not the election of one politician or another. (Lucas, RV 2013)

A different reality — opposed to the (anti)politics of the *one* — only becomes possible when the *multiple,* in its diversity, is activated. And it is this sort of political subjective activation that the MPL strives for. However, what makes this subjectivity possible is the articulation of solidarity through situated activities, those linked to the everyday, those that bodies acting together are capable of constructing. These are activities that create solidarity values that go beyond the "society of the individual" and that, consequently, begin to alter the landscape shaped by interests (capitalist, individualist). The abolition of the tariff and the construction of a world without turnstiles will only become a reality once the

collective construction of the political through the *multiple*, gathers the multiple social forces that act together for its achievement. Maybe this is one of the main contributions of MPL for thinking politics anew.

3.6 Limits of MPL's tactics

> There is a difference of imaginaries which sometimes seems to create vacuums between those who militate and those who we would like to militate with. How to create bridges where there are voids? How can we make these imaginaries find each other without acting, ourselves, as just another one who makes use of grand narratives that do not resonate with everyday life? (Saraiva 2017: 133)

It seems that MPL was not able to build a sufficient number of bridges after June 2013. The rupture promoted by the movement at that moment may be still open, but the passage to alternative worlds to which the movement has suggested has been narrowed. And this is not only due to competing narratives, political disputes, and the differential forces at play in the Brazilian context. The MPL itself has its limits. And many of them come from the character of its actions, tactics, and discourse themselves. Hence, the limits of MPL go, paradoxically, hand in hand with its principles of autonomy and horizontality.

One of the founders of MPL-SP wrote an open letter that explains the reasons for leaving the movement, in 2015, where he says: "I consider that the MPL, in not thinking of itself as a movement inserted in a broader dynamic of workers struggles, was unable to overcome its own limits"[98]. He further observes the movement "got caught within itself" and within its principles of autonomy, a-partisanship, horizontality:

> [Our] principles were transformed into our own doctrine. We considered this the only correct perspective of action making us feel superior to other leftist groupings; thus the articulations were preferably made with those who agreed with these principles, or by the individual wills of some militant, but not from concrete struggles. (Legume, op.cit.)

He claims the movement got blinded by these principles, forgetting lessons from past movements of struggle, and specially losing sight of the accumulated experience of its own past battles. He stresses the fact that autonomy, so dear to the movement, became impaired by individualism. Due to this excess of individualism and vanity the principle of autonomy became a doctrine that made it

[98] Legume (Passa Palavra, August 4, 2015).

impossible to reach out and truly collaborate with others to achieve the goal of a radically democratic and popular social change.

This shortsightedness links with another point of critique: the lack of connection with the workers in the transport sector. They are considered by some of MPL militants to be the subjectivities capable of changing public transport. According Fagner Enrique, militant of MPL-SP, these workers are the "social subject of production" of transport. As such, they are the subjects actually capable of decisively facing the power of capitalism, since they are completely immersed in the field of economic production of public transport:

> The autonomy generated and diffused by the movement today does not enter the field of economic production, because the MPL's organic link with the resistance practices of workers in the transport sector and other economic sectors is very weak or even nonexistent and happens in a very limited way in relation to the state. (Fagner Enrique, 2015)[99]

After June 2013, the MPL lost momentum. Instead of working through the potentiality they had mobilized, they continued to exclusively focus on tactics such as street acts, petitions, parliamentary pressure, school activities on the periphery, with the ultimate goal of passing a bill through popular pressure. So, instead of strengthening the ties with the workers and other social movements, MPL continued to put pressure on the state which, on its turn, was increasing its necro(bio)political repressive apparatus against other collectives and autonomous popular movements, as will be discussed on the next chapter. As seen before, the movement works through the dichotomy of reform and revolution. However, many see it as a counter-effective paradox, since the movement, although critical of the state and representative politics ends up working through this very system it condemns.

The internal critique is that, in practice, MPL has limited itself to ideologically expressing a very restricted, isolated and harmless autonomy rather than generalizing it through concerted action with workers. This would mean working with one of the most important sectors of the capitalist economy (transport), so as to put into practice the necessary transformations from within the system it aims to destroy. The limited way MPL practices autonomy makes the

[99] Fagner Enrique (Passa Palavra, June 30, 2015).

movement incapable to give rise to alternative political spaces for exchanging knowledges and tactics of resistance, capable of taking the issue of autonomy to other spaces, extending its amplitude.

There is, thus, the challenge to make this constant movement toward horizontality go beyond the MPL as a collective, to reach other spaces, collectives, subjectivities. In the words of Saraiva: "it is necessary to make horizontality flow towards those who are not part of the daily life of the MPL, those who are daily subject to the shaking of buses and subways, that is, those that make our proposal relevant" (op.cit, p. 78). In fact, in order to constitute the *multiple* against the state, the movement needs to overcome the limits of defending a very limited autonomous position.

Making horizontality a spread out practice beyond the movement is not the only problem of MPL. This might entail also dealing with internal identity issues that come inevitably to the fore when the movement tries to reach internal consensus around its autonomous collective identity. Many activists recognize the internal disputes within the movement. In the field notes from MPL-DF, brought by Saraiva (op.cit), it is possible to see that no militant feels completely comfortable or "safe" to be where she/he is. There is, rather, the constant affirmation of the fragility of the position each one occupies:

> It is easy to read in my person the man, the student of social sciences. But it is hard to read the black, from a family with no academic background, who has gone through humiliations and questionings of all kinds due to my color, who had to prove himself in adverse situations in which no one saw quality in his speech. What I am trying to say is that some militants attribute to me a privilege-position that for me is instead the fruit of an achievement (with its problems, but still an achievement). Anyway: in our movement there are many more white women with capacity for interlocution and reading of reality than black men. (black, male, militant, MPL-DF, quoted in Saraiva op.cit: 74-75)

From the above quotation we could ask: what part of the embodied identity of the militant becomes visible as politically able to speak and act and what part is effaced and loses agency? He speaks of the performative struggle he needs to exert to become visible even within the movement, which is supposedly non-hierarchic. So, the oppressions he goes through for being black are something taken for granted even within an autonomist movement that aims at creating different political subjectivities and bridges towards the Other.

Horizontality in the internal division of tasks has also become a problem, since it resulted in the aversion to specialization. What would be a fundamental point from which to consolidate and democratize knowledge became reason of shame. Hence, instead of making tactical use of their privileges, many militants feel ashamed and avoid participation so as not to make others feel bad:

> I am from the team with privileged access to knowledge, even being a woman. And I have already stopped going to various activities because I don't feel able to contribute, neither to speak my mind, nor to seek help. (white, female, militant, MPL-DF, quoted in Saraiva op.cit: 75.)

This also contributed to internal divisions, at least in MPL-SP, where a militant argues that, after June 2013, "the maintenance of the logic of autonomous affinity groups to the detriment of the formation of a broad and horizontal movement has prevailed" (Legume, op.cit). Thereby, the logic of horizontality that should potentialize collective militancy was hindered by the logic of autonomy, which worked as a filter to select those with whom the movement would work with or provide support. The same militant argued "The success of the 2013 mobilizations had as one of its backlashes the effect of falling in love with ourselves". He means that in order to participate and have access to the decisions and disputes of the movement it was necessary to have a close relationship with its members, what made MPL-SP closed to the rest of society. He also mentions that any critique towards closed identity groups, specially those formed exclusively by women within diverse MPL groups throughout Brazil, was seen as "machismo". However, on the other hand, it seems he is not acknowledging the fact that feminist militants say they do not have voice within MPL.

The strengthening of identity issues linked to autonomy is thus one of the many limits faced by MPL. If we think with Alonso (2012: 29), when she points out that "identity is what social actors define as such in a particular conflict, as a way to contrast and confront rival groups. It is a relational concept not a noun". It seems that the autonomist identity of MPL has turned against the movement itself. So, even though identity might hinder the rupture with the sovereign subject, that functions by creating and securing identities, it is still important to understand that identities help in the process of pinpointing power asymmetries and differential

forms of bodily regulation that violate black and feminine gendered bodies differently.

It seems that, after the victories of June 2013, the movement has had difficulties in conciliating its principles with the multiplicity of positions of its members, what makes it even more difficult for the movement to achieve its long-term goals of a society where circulation happens without the constraints of the tariff. For that to happen the movement also needs to (re)imagine its tactics and principles and think its internal relations anew. This, according to militants form different MPL units across Brazil, seems to be the first step towards reaching the excluded and marginalized (the precarious workers, unemployed, the racialized, sexed and gendered bodies). Speaking with them, making the struggle for free circulation resonate and become a practice beyond the walls of the militant world. Remembering paths walked and (re)inventing them while walking is one of the suggestions, as Anzaldúa[100] reminds us: "Voyager, there are no bridges; one builds them as one walks".

Another issue that seems important to acknowledge is that the MPL might have lost the opportunity window opened in the cycle of protests of June 2013, which has continued with many other movements of protest across the globe in the following years. Instead of working with the feminist and black movements, who have been fierce contesters of the power investments after June 2013, the MPL seems to have closed itself in its own autonomous world. The potential of the mobilizations of June, according to Leonardo Avritzer (2017), was instead used by those movements in search of power, as the case of Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL - Free Brazil Movement), who was capable to mobilize the discourse against corruption as a means to get access to institutional politics. That movement has in fact succeeded in electing political representatives who are now working from within institutional politics to promote the dismantling of social policies of inclusion that took more than a decade to be put into effect[101].

[100] Anzaldúa (1983), see page 254 in Moraga and Anzaldúa (2015).

[101] Some of the ultra-liberal movement proposals are to privatize health and education. See MBL's "Approved Public Policy Proposals".

Moreover, it seems that MPL ignored some of the potentialities of its own struggle, as the powerful symbolism of the turnstile which, as discussed, can put many movements of resistance in dialogue. Finally, one important discussion that seems to be missing from MPL is that linked to racism. As discussed, the movement promotes important critiques of capitalism, and even though it touches upon the issue of race and gender inequalities, the movement does not fully explore the possibilities of a politics of coalition. The issue of the tariff has a lot to do with the technologies and mechanisms of security and regulation of bodies in Brazil, and therefore it seems that, in order to "create bridges" where there is a void, it is crucial that the movement deepens the dimensions of the critiques it raises in the direction of embracing and working with these issues. Furthermore, it seems important that the movement opens itself to the internal critiques of feminists and black militants who already offer many constructive critiques that may help overcoming the obstacles in thinking the intersections of class with race and gender, for example. Even though a view of class is centric to fight liberal global capitalism and modern politics, thinking in terms of race and gender might allow the movement to think of other forms to promote actions in terms of creating alternative political subjectivities.

Thinking in line with Edkins and Zehfuss (op.cit.), in terms of generalizing the international, it seems that the MPL was capable of promoting a temporary rupture in the logics of sovereignty, pointing to how the logic of security and order, symbolized by the tariff and the turnstile, can be overcome by collective embodied performance and by direct action. However, without a constant effort to actualize the tactics of struggle, together with the establishment of networks of solidarity, the movement will end up alone in this extremely difficult fight against necro(bio)politics.

Once the movement pushes some limits, as it did, by putting pressure in the government and in trying to build other political relations with space, time, and subjectivity, it should continue in the direction of amplifying those spaces of autonomy. This, in view of what has been discussed so far, seems to have close relation with disputing the necro(bio)politics, and by building ways to make

racism much more visible in the struggle for rights to have rights. Here it is important to bring back the discussion on the race war from the first chapter and remind that class, the preferential category of struggle mobilized by MPL, is nothing more than a substitute of the race discourse in the revolutionary struggle of Marx and Engels.

So, if the MPL militants themselves point to the difficulties and potentialities in establishing solidarity networks with the "workers" they might also consider the difficulties and potentialities of establishing solidarity networks with the black movement in Brazil. Autonomy, as a politics that open ways of not being governed, can only be enacted in its potentiality once racism, as the foundational technology of power structuring Brazilian society, is destroyed or made irrelevant. The MPL proved to have some tools for this task, but it seems it still has to become more aware of the embodied reality of the peripheries it wants to work with.

Finally, there is also the need to recognize the limits of this chapter, which was an attempt to discuss the potentialities of change opened by MPL in June 2013, with focus on the actions of occupation of the public space in São Paulo. Although the present discussion might contribute to think other ways of imagining and enacting space, time and subjectivity, it is important to avoid a colonialist position that simply transposes what happens in one specific place to the rest of Brazil, and even the world, and the other way around. This would be a gesture of universalization of the particular, which ignores the multiplicity of alternative struggles for the construction of other-than-modern political possibilities. Different battles are daily fought by other bodies in other times and spaces. So, the construction of alternatives is definitely not a one-movement, neither a one-local nor one-moment task.

Here, it is worth to remember what the militants stated regarding June 2013: "It has not started in Salvador, it is not going to end in São Paulo" (MPL-SP, 2013: 22). Again it seems possible to think in terms of generalizing the international as a potential way to open the black box of the state and the closed unity of sovereignty to the contingency of anarchy entailed in the radically

democratic and popular politics of protest. As such, in making the issue of circulation a subject of political discussion and dispute, the MPL was contributing to generalize the international.

Or, as pointed out by Butler (2011), demonstrations are “anarchist moments or anarchist passages, when the legitimacy of a regime is called into question, but when no new regime has yet come to take its place” (p.2). This anarchic time of interval is the time of the popular will, “not a single will, not a unitary will, but one that is characterized by an alliance with the performative power to lay claim to the public in a way that can never be fully codified into law.” (Ibidem).

By fighting the tariff and the turnstile, the MPL was creating a radically popular political realm, one in which popular politics and justice, instead of sovereign order and security prevailed, promoting a temporary rupture in modern politics. Some questions remain: how to extend this moment of performative power, this temporality of suspension and anarchy? How to continuously reiterate the generalization of the international and the potential contingency of the popular will? How to make the politics of invisibility and excess an everyday practice? And how to resist the constant bodily regulation, that violently send they back home, by continuously and extensively privatizing the space of the common?

There are many more questions than answers here, and even though what happened in São Paulo is not a perfect reflex of what has happened in other places, it is still valid to think of how the potentialities of a local struggle can go beyond itself in setting the ground for other possibilities of political being and community that are self-governed. Thinking with Edward Said (1993), we can say that in June 2013, the struggle of MPL in fact activated “intertwined histories and overlapping territories”. Thus, even though each city and neighborhood had its specific repertoires of struggle, many carried out at least something of the multiple, maybe a common desire to change the order of things.

The possibilities of living otherwise, of not being governed, opened by MPL-SP, in June 2013, and elsewhere, continued by the multiple movements of resistance before, during and after, are, still, undeniable. What persists in these moments of rupture and suspension may be the desire to live otherwise, and what

becomes exposed is the precarity of life, whose conditions of possibility need to be negotiated in the everyday, in common with others. Maybe many of the struggles and resistances have in common the fact they reveal excesses and vulnerabilities. Excesses and vulnerabilities may be what remain in common articulating, on the one hand, the politics of power that fantasizes they do not exist, and, on the other hand, the politics of resistance that constantly opens up that pandora box, revealing the horrors that are kept secretly outside of view, inside ultra-secured limits.

Chapter 4:
Criminalization through the queered racialization of bodies in protest

As discussed so far, in June 2013, different forms of embodied and performative collective action and resistance, especially direct action and non-lethal civil violence (including the destruction of property and mass self-defense), were used as ways that deviated from the behavior stipulated by the status quo. Out of these practices, the black bloc tactic of contention, promoted an explosion of queer (i.e. incoherent, not identifiable) desires of not being governed. These queer performances of protest promoted ruptures in the existing order of volition constituted by norms and institutions that supposedly "hold" power in Brazil.

This firstly made the status quo perplex and the most clear and obvious reaction from constituted powers was the authorization of the use of excessive and arbitrary force by police. Although the latter expression of power is one of the most obvious, in this chapter, I explore some of the subtle ways in which some institutions shifted or adapted their practices and discourses in order to accommodate to the ruptures promoted by the autonomous performances of protest, linked to June 2013.

This is done by: (i) exploring some of the practices of (des)authorization of autonomous protests through the targeting, identifying, naming, disciplining and criminalizing of bodies; (ii) by looking at what type of practices and knowledges are consequently produced so as to (re)allocate politics and the political within the (bio), that is, within the modern framework of order and security. To do so, I look at depictions of the black bloc tactic in the police, the judiciary, and the media.

These movements are informed by the discussions made so far, and thus here the suggestion is that the regulation of bodies in June 2013 could be linked to the extension of the technology of race to other-than-black-bodies. This is done with aid of Achille Mbembe's (2017) idea of "becoming Black of the world" and Jasbir Puar's (2007) idea of "racialization through queerness".

Before proceeding, it is worth to briefly discuss these two concepts. For Mbembe, the becoming Black of the world is an extension of the "fiction of race"

as a technology of power — from slavery in the colonies, to imperialism in Africa — to the contemporary neoliberal capitalist exploitation and precaritization of the entire world population. This is also what Mbembe calls a "racism without races", that feeds into practices of Islamophobia, enabling the racialization of bodies whose cultural and religious practices are not western and nor Christian. Such idea resonates with Puar's understanding of the racialization through queerness. For her, the "war on terror" promoted the expansion of racism to criminalize religions and cultures with basis on a "queered" imagination of radical Islam.

Both these readings show how culture and religion have replaced biology (linked to race and sex), in current biopolitical regimes of bodily regulation. As such, the becoming black of world, promoting a generalized blackness and a generalized queerness to other-than-black and other-than-queer bodies are here used as frames to understand the generalization of security strategies as a response of power to June's resistance in "generalizing the international".

These ideas come from the previous discussions, in which the generalization of the international (Edkins and Zehfuss 2005) was understood as the temporary rupture with sovereign security and order, in the enactment of a radically popular politics of the streets. As also discussed, the regulation of bodies and the control of their circulation in time and space in Brazil has occurred as an extension of historic traces of racism and authoritarianism that have, through the centuries, undermined persistent resistances.

This said, the chapter is oriented by the question: how does power get inscribed in the social body in order to regulate its movements in time and space, and circumscribing its autonomous acting? I analyze this question in relation to June 2013 and the repression of autonomous bodies in lines of flight from or in route of collision with the hegemonic norms (the secured order of volition), and the violence, legitimized by the tacit declaration of a state of exception, used to maintain that order and guarantee the "fantasy of security" (Edkins 2019).

The state of exception, as also discussed, is here understood to be part of a specific Brazilian necro(bio)political governance assemblage. This raced power assemblage mixes distinct lineages of power, and has race as its main (although

subtle) organizing principle. In this governance assemblage, I take police, law and media as the preferential bodies where I trace a corpography of power. To do so, I consider these bodies of power and knowledge as "security mechanisms" aiding the circulation of power by securing the circulation of certain (material and discursive) bodies. In doing so, I try to uncover some of the mechanisms and techniques used to (re)affirm a specifically raced Brazilian "fantasy of security", face the risk-effects promoted by the queering of security, or the generalization of the international performed by autonomous bodies circulating June.

Hence, responding to autonomous and queer[102] June 2013, we can see the workings of this specifically raced Brazilian "fantasy of security" in the following (although non exhaustive) practices: in the excessive and arbitrary use of police violence and in the way police was extensively used to patrol, discipline and regulate the "normal" circulation of bodies in the streets; in the use of authoritarian and repressive practices inherited from the military dictatorship by police and its legitimation by justice and mass media. Also, this was seen in the incorporation of international laws on organized crime by the Brazilian legislation and in the legal and media interpretations of protest practices and tactics, such as the black bloc, as crimes, spanning from vandalism to terrorism. And, finally, in the diffusion of this criminal interpretation frame as the "truth of protest", conforming a social imaginary[103] capable of its incorporation and reproduction.

4.1 A note on method

As a way to unveil some of the ways in which power is invested in bodies circulating the context of June 2013, I here follow Foucault in "proceeding back

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[102] Autonomous movements, as discussed in chapter three, with focus on MPL, are movements that follow basic principles of anarchism: self-organization, voluntary association, mutual aid, the rejection of the state and of all forms of structural violence, inequality, or domination (Graeber 2007: 303). The understanding of queerness here goes beyond the notion of "sexual-deviance" that is resisted by LGBTQI people. It is an understanding in line with that of Jasbir Puar, as discussed in the first chapter. As Puar (2007: xiii) poses: "queerness [is] the optic through which perverse populations are called into nominalization for control". Moreover, "queer" here is understood as a way to look at the black bloc tactic, since it confused power with the expansiveness and lack of clarity of its desires, first by the use of masks, making it impossible to identify its practitioners, second by promoting the destruction of property.

[103] A social imaginary that is constituted by the media discourse on vandalism (G1 São Paulo, June 20, 2013).

down to the study of the concrete practices by which the subject is constituted in the immanence of a domain of knowledge" (Foucault 1998: 462). I explore some points of contact that relate two cases — that of Rafael Braga and that of the 23 activists — whose relations to June 2013 are very different, but whose effects of subjectivation are similarly constituted within the systems of veridiction encountered in the "games of truth" between police, law and media. As discussed in the first chapter, systems of veridiction are historically specific mechanisms which produce discourses and realities that function as true in particular times and places, conforming the major lines structuring human behavior and social relations

Here, by following the bodies constituted by and constituent of these two cases, I try to trace some of these mechanisms so as to understand how power responded the protests of June 2013 in Brazil. The aim is to understand how June brings forward different power effects, traced in dynamics and relations of bodily regulation/governance/administration and how historic traces of necro(bio)political (de)formation, such as authoritarianism, racism and violence are differently (re)activated and circulated. To that aim, I pose the question: how does the specific case of Rafael Braga — the only body arrested and convicted during June 2013 — reorient the general reading of power relations permeating those protest events?

Rafael Braga's body is here seen as a material and discursive basis upon which security mechanisms will make use of authority to promote the criminalization of bodies circulating June 2013, through their racialization and queering. As such, Rafael Braga is taken to be an entry point through which I trace a corpography of power, revealing how the Brazilian necro(bio)political governance attempted to criminalize autonomous performances of protest, exemplified by the case of the prosecution of the 23 activists, started in 2014. This is so, because, oddly enough Rafael's case was the first case in which the black bloc tactic was used to criminalize protest.

Hence, there are two central aspects that help me tracing the (de)formations of power as effects of queer and autonomous June 2013. These aspects are

intertwined, but here they follow a hierarchy for analytical purposes only. The first is the discursive use and reorientation of the black bloc tactic as the "truth effect" that legitimizes the use of authority and violence and promotes extra social support for the criminalization of bodies in protest. The second is the reorientation of the Brazilian legal framework with basis on the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (henceforth UN Palermo Convention), signed in 2000.

4.2 Violent territorialization - generalizing security

Paulo Arantes (2014), in the chapter *Depois de Junho a paz será total* (After June peace will be total), presented a reading of June 2013 in which he makes a link between the ultra-militarization of police practices in order to deter protests and what he calls the "violent territorialization" of the peripheral territories of Rio de Janeiro.

Arantes point is that the arbitrary and excessive use of violence by police in June 2013 (in which practices of coercion from the military dictatorship were reactivated), can be seen as an extension of peace keeping operations carried out by the state through the program known as Pacifying Police Units (UPPs)[104]. As such, June 2013 is seen by Arantes as promoting the spilling out of security mechanisms from the "favelas to the asphalt"[105]. His argument is that the violent governance promoted in the favelas by the UPPs "leaked" to the city streets across Brazil, in special those preparing for mega events (i.e. the World Cup, in 2014,

[104] As discussed in chapter one, the Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) is a state program established in 2008 by the Rio de Janeiro Public Security Secretariat to introduce "community policing" in favelas across the city of Rio.

[105] The oppositions favela (slum)/asphalt is commonly used in Brazil to depict the stark infra-structural differences between poorer and wealthier areas in the urbanscape.

and the Olympics, in 2016[106]). The center of this violent territorialization lies in the tacit promulgation and acceptance of a state of exception, where "there is always a corner in which one can suspend the order, make invisible, include, exclude and kill in various ways at the whim of political will" (Azevedo, quoted in Arantes 2014:5).

Spaces of violent territorialization are permeated, for example, by the contemporary police practice of killing which is legitimized by the legal discourse of "resistance followed by death"[107], as discussed in chapter one, with the aid of Berenice Bento. Hence, what Arantes' account shows is that these spaces of exception — previously restricted to the circuits relegated to stigmatized poverty — have been extended onto the streets, once protesters continued to resist despite the police brutality. For Arantes, exception and government are taken to be part of the same continuum in Brazil, and the world. This sort of governmentality follows, for Arantes, a "Pacifying Reason", an "armed government":

> The transition, or ever-consolidating redemocratization, as one wishes, no longer runs the old path regulated by the sovereign exception that the defunct historical liberalism has recreated for its own use by unraveling it from the Reason of State invented by Absolutism. Today's exception is confused with government itself. A mix of ad hoc violations, strictly administrative. A ritual system of inescapable commands, the political rationality that rules the world today — as the system of rationalizations devised by Max Weber — is quite another. It expresses another reason, a Pacifying Reason, and its government is therefore an armed government in every sense.(Arantes 2014:34)

His argument is similar to the reading Hardt and Negri make of Foucault's biopower, which I also think worth of quoting at length:

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106 These mega-events can be read as symptoms of a persistent coloniality of power. Discussing how these mega events are symptomatic of colonial practices is no the aim of this chapter. However, it is valid to at least acknowledge that the World Cup and the Olympics only happened with the political authorization (from the right and the left) of many violations in order to respond to the need to open the local space for foreign capital exploitation. According to Carlos Vainer (2013:65), "more important than repression, it is the transformations these mega events bring to our cities, as well as the very conception of the city that they express and update intensely".
Moreover, according to Articulação Nacional dos Comitês da Copa e das Olimpíadas (ANCOP, 2014, p. 21), in order to make space for the World Cup infrastructure, besides creating legislation that violated the Statute of the Supporter, construction works were responsible for the forced removal of up to 250 thousand people. Other problems were exasperated, such as the increase of people living in poor housing infrastructures, increasing informality of labor conditions, poor or non-existent public services, environmental degradation, deep inequalities, congestion and urban violence.

107 Aline Passos and Idelber Avelar argue this discourse is part of a process of contesting and criminalizing resistance, as proposed by current minister of justice, Sérgio Moro in his "anti-crime package". Moro's proposal has reduced the political costs for Law to openly fight resistance. See Passos and Avelar (Estadão, July 14, 2019).

> Michel Foucault goes so far as to say that the socially pacifying function of political power involves constantly reinscribing this fundamental relationship of force in a sort of silent war and reinscribing it too in the social institutions, systems of economic inequality, and even the spheres of personal and sexual relations. War becomes the general matrix for all relations of power and techniques of domination, whether or not bloodshed is involved. War has become a regime of biopopower, that is, a form of rule aimed not only at controlling the population but producing and reproducing all aspects of social life. This war brings death but also, paradoxically, must produce life. This does not mean that war has been domesticated or its violence attenuated, but rather that daily life and the normal functioning of power has been permeated with the threat and violence of warfare. (Hardt and Negri 2000 p.13)

Building on these arguments of a *total peace* in Arantes, made by the *totalization of war* through biopower, as observed by Hardt and Negri, one aspect I think is not visible enough is the specific role of race in the biopolitical bodily regulation. This is specially missing from Paulo Arantes' reading of violent territorialization in the Brazilian peripheries. And this seems to be related to a lack of attention to the centric role of bodies and racism for a broader understanding of violence and authority in Brazil. As such, race is here understood to be the underlying principle, or the preferential technique allowing for the extension of war from favelas to asphalt.

Hence, I agree with Berenice Bento (2018), when she argues there is a necrobiopolitical[108] governance in which race functions as a technology justifying violent practices typical of the state of exception. The latter is in general linked to the sovereign power to suspend law and to kill in Foucault. But, as Berenice Bento reminds us, in Brazil, the historic politics of killing is directly associated with the country's formation, where the genocidal "administration" or governmentality of native and slave populations lie the grounds for the colonial exploitation. As such, in Brazil, necropolitics precedes biopolitics. Moreover, in contemporary Brazil we see that sovereign power conforms a power assemblage with biopower in what some have termed a terror formation (Mbembe 2003) or Terrorist Assemblages (Puar 2007), necessarily dependent on the regulation of bodies by liberal disciplining mechanisms and security apparatuses, such as the

[108] I suggest that we should read it as necro(bio)political. The parentheses were added so as to express how the normalization of a population occurs through excluding what is considered abnormal excess, specially with the aid of the technologies of race and sex.

everyday use of coercion and limiting of circulation — from the collection of "unofficial tariffs"[109] to the official arrest of bodies.

Permeating these practices are normalizing mechanisms and technologies of governance, such as race (as discussed in chapter one). As such, the UPPs can be seen as contemporary heirs of what Fanon called the spatialization of colonial occupation, which according to Mbembe, "involves the setting of boundaries and internal frontiers epitomized by barracks and police stations; it is regulated by the language of pure force, immediate presence, and frequent and direct action; and it is premised on the principle of reciprocal exclusivity" (Op.cit., p.26). And in the case of the governmentality present in the favelas mediated by the UPPs, the terror assemblage is constantly gauged by racism when applying its sovereignty in deciding upon which body is disposable and which is not. Mbembe, following Foucault's terms, argues that racism is above all a technology aimed at permitting the exercise of biopower, "that old sovereign right of death". Hence, in the political economy of biopower, racism functions as the strategy regulating the distribution of death, enabling the murderous functions of the state.

This kind of embodied and violent regulation of territories has been a constant in Brazilian history. The use of authority and force by the police reflects a long past of authoritarian relations in Brazil, whose roots are intrinsically related to slavery and liberalism (as discussed in the first chapter). Even though the latter are normally discussed separately, as if slavery belonged to a complete other and retrograde socio-historical context, liberalism was an ideology that was

[109] In the peripheries, the violence of the tariff go well beyond that of the bus fare. On this matter, see Zaluar and Conceição (2007), where the authors point out to the economic control of militias in the Rio de Janeiro favelas. Militias serve as a "middle-man" competing with drug dealers and the state for the profitable regulation of peripheral bodies. "What sets them apart from extermination groups [police and drug dealers] is above all their control over the territory and their involvement in commercial activities that go beyond the sale of their [private] security service, such as the undue charging of alternative transport cooperatives, the inflated sale of gas cylinders, sale of gatonet (pirated cable signal), charging for tolls and for protection" (p.91)

constituted and practiced with great affinity by land and slave owners in Brazil[110]. But the present task is not to give a large historical account of slavery, liberalism and global capitalism, but rather to quickly contextualize Brazilian racism within a global framework of liberal capitalism, in which we can also locate Foucault's discussion on power as governmentality, a late modern power assemblage that extends liberalism as the main political articulation of capitalism, together with sovereignty. But before discussing governmentality, it is worth discussing the ways in which power needs to identify bodies and how this process is tied to the interdependence of law, discipline and security as means to produce docile bodies, control populations and enable the best possible circulation of bodies and goods.

4.3 Power and the need of identity

Power needs to transform the general into specific in order to function. This is so because power needs to name, to specify and identify in order to promote the disciplining, subjection, quantification and bodily regulation. Without the operation of naming it becomes difficult to target, to fix and control the movements of one or many bodies. Although power circulates through individuals and is not contained by them, power also materializes in different forms — reflected in more or less strong structures — through the circulation of power relations. The reiteration of some of these relations through time end up conforming certain norms and hierarchies that on their turn constitute a social order. One of the ways of reiterating these norms happens by the use of security mechanisms that assure the "right" (most beneficial forms) circulation and

[110] In Brazil, liberal ideas started to be adopted with more force in the early nineteenth century, having greater influence after Independence in 1822. For Costa (1998), Brazilian liberalism can only be understood with reference to the Brazilian reality. The main supporters of liberalism in the country were land and slave owners, men interested in the benefits of a liberal international economy. Although they praised "modern" liberal commerce, they longed to maintain "old" (i.e. slave-based) structures of production, freeing themselves from the yoke of Portugal and gaining space in free trade. This elite intended thus to maintain social and economic structures. After independence, the liberals intended to extend legislative power to the detriment of royal (sovereign) power. According to Carvalho (2003), there are two types of liberalism in Brazil: one linked to land and slave owners and another configured by urban professionals. The latter only appeared from the 1860s, with the greatest urban development and the increase of literate people. Within the urban environment, classical liberalism based on the extension of individual rights was better able to develop.

disposition of power relations in a given society in order to achieve the outcome of order and stability.

The right circulation of things is also dependent on power relations tying bodies and the law. Even though for Foucault, power is not something, an essence that lies within a person (head of state), or is contained by institutions (the police) or systems (the judicial system), power is still made more "visible" in such locations. However, power is also in the movements and relations between bodies — individual, institutional and discursive. Power lies, according to Foucault in relations and locations that many time are understood as imperceptible.

Hence, if power materializes through relations, the relations between the Brazilian police, the juridical system and the media, in the case of June 2013, has contributed to the reification of certain forms of racist and authoritarian technologies of power, for example. Such forms of power are certainly not given. In Brazil they have a trajectory linked to the country's past, marked by colonialism and slavery (as discussed in chapter one). Colonialism and racism contributed to constituting, locating and fixing certain bodies in determined ways. Such bodies, due to this immanent trajectory of power, have conformed in ways that position them in places of more or less freedom to circulate and to exist. However specific and contextual they may be, these colonial and racist relations are not "contained" by anybody (neither a person nor an institution), being therefore extendable to other bodies.

And here, by looking at the case in which a young, black, male and poor body ends up being the only body arrested and convicted in June 2013 and the case of 23 autonomous bodies being constructed as "a criminal organization", linked to the black bloc tactic, the aim is to look more closely at how resistance (re)activates those historical traces of power relations dependent upon naming, racing and queering (sometimes using similar tactics). For sure, these positions are not "essences" but result from social and symbolic constructions, products themselves of power and resistance relations that are contextual and dependent upon discursive performances and practices, such as those of the Brazilian police, legal and media apparatuses.

Returning for a moment to Foucault, in *History of Sexuality* (1978) he talks about a "proliferation of discourses" (p.48), in which he claims every society is traversed by a series of incommensurate but not contradictory discourses. By showing how no discourse achieves exclusive dominance, rather borrowing from other discourses, Foucault unveils how the unitary discourse of the "juridical monarchy" is displaced by the multiplicity of the modern disciplinary discourses. And this is what I would like to try to do here: to reveal how some power apparatuses, like that of security, are challenged by and respond to June 2013 uprisings by means of conforming a discursive formation of criminalization, based on the articulation of different discursive constellations spanning from the Black bloc tactic to vandalism and terrorism.

4.4 Governmentality - police as security mechanism

Another point orienting this chapter is the Foucauldian conception of governmentality as the interconnected concern with "population" and "policing", the numerical expansion of populations (statistics) and the exigencies of modern warfare (security). Modern politics, as Foucault argued in both "Security, Territory and Population" and "The Birth of Biopolitics" is based on the concern with the management of life, the governance of the population (bio-politics). Lying centric in the transformations and interconnections between sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower (or biopolitics) that intertwine in liberal governmentality are thus population and police. As this chapter is more focused in power, the focus of this section will lie in the role of police.

To begin with, it is important to briefly describe the different roles of police depending on the "art of government" we are talking about. Although the meaning and functions of police changed over the centuries, what is retained in both sovereign and biopolitical arts of government, or as Foucault called them, respectively, the "governmentality of the politiques" and the "governmentality of the économistes", is the function of the police as the "art of managing life and the well-being of the populations" (Foucault 2009).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, police, together with diplomacy and the military, formed the technological assemblage (a governmental reason), specific to the exercise of sovereignty. Police functions were closely connected with the "art of the state's splendor as visible order and manifest force" (Foucault 2009: 314), meaning "everything that gives form to the city" (Ibid. p.319). It was thus the internal mechanism of security of the state, the "art of managing life and the well-being of populations" and to guarantee that, police responded for the control of the coexistence and circulation of bodies within a territory. As such, police was in charge of the control of human activity as the constitutive element of the force of the state.

With the increasing influence of liberal economic thought in political reason in the end of eighteenth century and beginning of nineteenth century, the role of police became more restrained, and police was assigned the specific role of repression. However, a great deal of the previous functions of police as the art of managing populations was transposed and transformed by liberal governance into security mechanisms. Such mechanisms, instead of directly repressing bodies, like law and discipline, were "producing" subjectivities through the management of their desires, by the regulation of their circulation through the subtle validation of some knowledges and practices and the denial of others.

As Foucault put it in his 1975 Discipline and Punish:

> If the economic take-off of the West began with the techniques that made possible the accumulation of capital, it might perhaps be said that the methods for administering the accumulation of men made possible a political take-off in relation to the traditional, ritual, costly, violent forms of power, which soon fell into disuse and were superseded by a subtle, calculated technology of subjection. In fact, the two processes – the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital – cannot be separated. (EDP, 220–221)

As such, liberal governmentality was conformed as an assemblage of those different forms of power with the aid of security mechanisms and having the population as the "correlate of power and the object of knowledge" (Foucault STP 2009:79). In this sense, governmentality could seen as a liberal assemblage that has the political function of regulating bodies and governing in the name of capitalism.

Such governmental assemblage is based on the integration of discourses of law (linked to sovereign power) and discipline (connected to disciplinary power) to biopower as the liberal art of government whose core lies at governing life as a whole (population). Hence, this governance of life is centered upon the policing of population through security mechanisms and is intrinsically related to the rise of capitalism. This entails a new form of politics that viewed the producing body in two ways: individualized and collectivized. In fact, capitalism required a specific modality of power:

> The growth of a capitalist economy gave rise to the specific modality of disciplinary power, whose general formulas, techniques of submitting forces and bodies, in short, 'political anatomy', could be operated in the most diverse political régimes, apparatuses or institutions (Foucault 1995: 221).

With basis on that, I try to understand how this power assemblage responded to June 2013 in Brazil. The goal is to expose some of the ways in which police, law and media interacted and to trace some of the ways in which they combined and integrated in the governance of bodies circulating protest. To that end, I look at these three institutions functioning as security mechanisms working for the reassertion of certain power hegemonies through the regulation of certain bodies, practices and discourses.

It is thus possible to see more clearly the functioning of what Foucault (1995) termed the "carceral continuum", that provides a communication between the power of discipline and the power of law. As such, law could work in the Brazilian cases studied here as serving as the racially queered parameter to a normative mediator and legitimizer of (ab)normalization and disciplining practices of the police and the media.

However, by understanding the coupling between law, the police and the media as regulating security mechanisms that serve as stabilizers of certain power hegemonies does not mean this project of regulation is complete and impossible to challenge. It is by deconstructing these regulatory practices that we lay the ground for potential, focused and organized challenges that run side by side these regulations. Furthermore, it is by understanding the interpenetrations of their discourses that we can reassess the question of sovereignty and the state of exception, many times veiled by the workings of governmentality. By disclosing

those relations we can see more clearly the limits and restraints of governance and governmentality and reopen once again the discussion for the limits and possibilities for radical democratic politics and a politics of justice. And, for sure, Foucault's insights on the dispersal and proliferation of sites of power makes it possible.

Following this, we can see that governmentality allows and justifies the violent police repression, the arbitrary application of law and the declaration of a state of exception by the state, by means of the tactical use of the law, under the name of the Mechanism for the Warranty of Law and Order (GLO)[111]. But all this in the name of defending order against "chaos and terror", as a way to increase "security" against criminality. As such, we could argue that, in June 2013, governmentality worked through a "reintensification of racialization through queerness", as suggested by Puar (2007), and by fomenting the circulation of a certain truth regime that pathologized, racialized and queer(ed) autonomous bodies and movements in protest.

This is seen in Rafael Braga's case file, where he is equated with those bodies using the black block tactic. Rafael was the "minority […] imbued solely and exclusively in the execution of acts of vandalism, tending to discredit the democratic debate" (Rafael Braga's case-file, quoted in Correa 2018:225). This "minority", in general "racially demarcated" as Rafael Braga, was targeted as "queerly raced bodies for dying" (Puar, p.xii), since they were the bodies circulating June who ended up in prison to face slow-death.

Brazilian governmentality enabled, therefore, the existence and (re)activation of the sovereign power of exception during and after June 2013. This very governance that has allowed the necropolitical administration of

[111] The use of the Mechanism for the Warranty of Law and Order (GLO), a mechanism created under the military dictatorship and reactivated by president Dilma Rouseff, after the June 2013 uprisings, as a way to fiercely demonstrate a zero-tolerance policy against protest related to the World Cup, in 2014, and the Olympics, in 2016.
The Manual for Warranty of Law and Order (MD33-M-10), revised in 2013, characterized the "opponent forces" that should be fought by the Military:
a) movements or organizations;
b) criminal organizations, drug trafficking gangs, armed groups […]
c) people, groups of people or organizations acting in the form of autonomous segments, or infiltrated by movements, entities, institutions, organizations [...] provoking or instigating radical or violent actions ". And " individuals or groups using violent methods. for the imposition of self-will in the absence of police forces". See Tosta (Estadão, January 22, 2014).

Brazilian social life in the favelas, was extended to other territories and bodies in moments of massive protest, before, during and after June 2013, where the declaration of a state of exception is allowed and circulates through status quo institutions, specially (but not only), the media.

In June 2013 we see a specific conformation of the three power regimes (sovereign, disciplinary, biopolitical)[112] into something similar to Mbembe's "terror formation", or Puar's "terrorist assemblages". Whereas for Mbembe (2003) race is the original feature of this terror formation uniting biopower, the state of exception, and the state of siege, for Puar (2007), the term terrorist assemblage "attends to the connectivities that generate queer, homosexual, and gay disciplinary subjects while concurrently constituting queerness as the optic through which perverse populations are called into nominalization for control" (p.xiii). As such, a terrorist assemblage describes the mechanisms by which queerness "as a process of racialization" informs the political management that decides between life and death, health and illness, security and insecurity, living and dying.

These mechanisms of security are activated by means of a governance that seeks to regulate the circulation of these new forms of counter-conduct that produce different bodies and political subjectivities. This governance, in the Brazilian case, has deep roots in racist and authoritarian power relations, and this makes it difficult for any movement of resistance that is not extremely well organized, and aware of this fact, to resist the constant shifts promoted by its diffuse power. This is so, because such a power is spread out not only in status quo institutions, it is deeply embedded in quotidian social practices of exclusion and marginalization, and it is present in great part of the unmarked white, heteronormative and authoritarian collective unconscious.

4.5 The case of Rafael Braga

Rafael Braga, black, waste picker, was 25 years old in 2013. His arrest became notorious for indication of procedural failure and abuse of authority.

[112] Discussed in detail in chapter one.

Rafael, who was not related to any kind of political militancy, became the first and only condemned body in the context of the demonstrations, not only in Rio de Janeiro but throughout the country. Unlike the various protesters arrested during the June 2013 protests, mostly white middle class bodies, Rafael was barred from responding to the lawsuit in freedom, remaining detained until trial. After five months in jail, he was sentenced to sit five years in prison and pay a ten days fine. Rafael was arrested under the allegation that the products he was carrying in his purse would be used as a molotov cocktail (incendiary chemical weapon commonly used in protests). As such he was framed in clause III of article 16 of the Disarmament Statute (Law 10826/03), which prohibits the possession, use or manufacture of "explosive or incendiary device, without authorization or in disagreement with legal or regulatory determination"[113].

In his defence, Rafael explains how he was approached by the police:

> They called me from the other side [of the street], in the police station in front of the establishment where I slept. They arrived at the door asking 'what's that in your hand?' There were two [plastic] bottles, one of chlorine and one of 'Pinho Sol' [disinfectant], sealed, that I found in the house where I usually sleep [he mentions he lives in a favela of Penha, in the outskirts of the city, and due to lack of money for transport he usually spent the nights on the streets or in this abandoned property].[…] I've never heard of molotov cocktail in my life, I do not even know what this thing of protest is, I was not making any mess…[114]

Thus, what is possible to infer from the case of Rafael Braga in the light of the raced terror formation in Brazil, is that he is not an exception, but a rule. His arrest could be seen as "just one more" attesting the raced selectivity of the Brazilian penal system, which became a criminalizing and disciplinary structure by means of the combination of multiple discourses and practices of security that have a specific relation with racism as a regulatory factor organizing the distribution and circulation of bodies in Brazil. Prior to being a name in the newspapers, Rafael Braga Vieira was a name that circulated on the streets —

[113] Law 10826/03 on Jusbrasil.

[114] Sansão (Ponte, August 27, 2015).

along with that of Amarildo de Souza[115], the bricklayer helper executed by police officers from the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) of the Rocinha favela complex. Before circulating on the streets, Rafael's name appeared on the pages of three criminal cases: “two for theft, in 2006 and 2008, and the last, 2013, for possession of incendiary artifact” (Correa 2018).

We see that, in the case of Rafael, his name already had a history of circulation in the criminal discourse. Thus, the act of naming and identifying a body in order to better promote its disciplining and subjection was prior to the events of June. However, the repetition of the practice of capture in the June 2013 context reveals something more than just a common practice of police and justice in Brazil, which we have seen are linked to traces of authoritarianism and racism. Rafael is a point or trace in a “carceral continuum”, his body being inscribed by a line of racism that encounters in June an interruption.

However, this interruption does not mean cessation, it means rather adaptation, and reconfiguration. The authoritarian and racist traces are not only repeated in the third time Rafael was convicted. Since this third time occurred in a moment of “exception” (or a queer moment of multiple protests), his condemnation took different meanings and circulated differently. Even though the resistance discourses linked to Rafael Braga are also important to acknowledge, here the focus will lie in how the meaning of criminality, vandalism and terror linked to a black body is expanded and remodeled in a biopolitical fashion, typical of late modern governmentality.

His name and the way his body is signified by a certain criminalizing discourse is part of a process of reaffirming a security mechanism, one that aims at regulating the disposition and circulation of bodies in space through a “suppression of queernesses” in relation to order and security, that lies at the basis

[115] The reference here is to the disappearance, torture and murder of the bricklayer Amarildo Dias de Souza, resident of the Rocinha favela. For the first time a large mass movement was formed throughout Rio de Janeiro, protesting against such type of police violence. The movement created the slogan: "Cabral, Bandit, Where's Amarildo?”(Cabral Bandido, Cadê o Amarildo?). Such movement was a determining factor in the wear and tear of then-governor Sérgio Cabral. It was one of the few cases in which police officers were brought to trial. On February 4, 2014, Amarildo de Souza had his presumed death declared by the Court. On the 20th of that same month, the trial of the 25 defendants accused of torturing and killing him began. They respond for crimes such as torture, body concealment, procedural fraud and gang formation. See (Caso Amarildo, Memória Globo).

of the constitution of the queerly racialized "terrorist populations". As June 2013 promoted a rupture and a questioning of circulation control — one of the basis upon which the security mechanism of governance lies — the practices of containment needed to be activated in a different way. In June 2013 it became clear that status quo institutions (from political parties, to the government, police and justice) needed to readapt quickly in order to maintain hegemony in the ordering of social relations.

The case of Rafael Braga conforms an example of how power in Brazil is a governance hybrid, a raced terror(ist) power assemblage in which the role of police is closer to that of sovereign power, but fundamental to the constitution and functioning of disciplinary and biopolitical regimes. As such, the police practices surpass the limits posed by its formal institutional role, assuming the role of a broader security mechanism.

The case of Rafael shows how police, in its practical and discursive actions, cut across justice and is, on its turn, traversed by media discourse, which in this case also functions as a security mechanism regulating the circulation of the meaning of criminality. This is seen in the text of his prosecution, where the prosecutors state that Rafael Braga was an agent of a "minority […] imbued solely and exclusively in the execution of acts of vandalism, tending to discredit the democratic debate" (case-file, p. 126, quoted in Correa 2018: 225).

According to Murilo Correa (2018), the formation of the subjective judgment of Rafael as a criminal "takes place within the appreciation of the manifestations that occurred in those days of June 2013, mediated by the mass media" (p.225). Within this "minority" aiming at "executing acts of vandalism" Rafael, whose body is marked by Blackness and poverty "becomes the black bloc par excellence, the undecidable figure between the political prisoner and the ordinary prisoner" (p.226, emphasis in the original). The persistence of the circulation of this specific body in the disciplinary and legal discourses and practices seems to have been extended politically towards other bodies. As Correa argues, this shows "that judicial decisions are merely the continuation of police operations by other means" (p.226).

In this intricate network of power relations the police contributes in the construction of a practical but also symbolic system of criminalization, which reifies poverty and blackness as certain embodied locations, that are conferred the status of signifiers (carriers of meaning) and therefore reproducers of insecurity, risk and violence. However, when the power assemblage is deeply disturbed at its foundations, as in June 2013, those meanings are further circulated and diffused not only by practices of repression and control, but also by the (re)configuration of security mechanisms, which are more flexible and capable of dealing with the population as a whole.

This serves the reestablishment of distinct but interlinked orders who treat certain bodies as that of Rafael as dispensable but at the same time necessary, since without such a carrier of meaning, the system cannot efficiently operate and dispose of its security mechanisms. As discussed in Foucault, regarding the different conformations of population disciplining and control aiming to conform docile bodies to serve capitalist purposes, some bodies are practically and discursively constituted as more expendable than others in order for capitalism and liberalism to thrive.

Mbembe (2017) argues that this trace we here see as internal to a very specific context (that linked to June 2013 protests in Brazil) should be understood as a local configuration of a much more broaden pattern, that spans from different historic periods — from colonialism and imperialism to contemporary global capitalism. Following this logic, Mbembe points out to the expansion of racism — which served liberalism since its beginning as both an ideology and a technology of government — towards other bodies, bearers of an alleged difference imposed upon them from the outside. This is used to justify their exclusion, exploitation, precaritization, oppression, disciplining, criminalization and death.

In allusion to Fanon, Mbembe calls this extension of the "fantasy of race" to the "new wretched of the earth", which are "those to whom the right to have rights is refused, those who are told not to move, those who are condemned to live within structures of confinement—camps, transit centers, the thousands of sites of detention that dot our spaces of law and policing" (Mbembe 2017:177). This

extension of the "fantasy of race" can thus be seen as also stretching the reach of mechanisms of security towards "other-than-Black bodies".

And, in June 2013, these security mechanisms worked with basis on the spreading of this "fantasy of race" through the circulation of criminalizing practices and discourses in the police, the justice system and the media. They functioned as ways to circumscribe practices of protest that had escaped the security mechanisms, queering the control of circulation. In order to suppress that queernesses they needed to queer and to racialize those bodies, by targeting, naming and identifying certain bodies and their practices as "vandalism", "criminal", "terrorist", (re)activating in the collective imaginary a system of signification capable of (re)stabilizing the regulation of circulation of those resistant bodies in both space and time, as was the case of the 23 activists, prosecuted in July 2014 in the context the Fifa World Cup.

4.6 Black bloc tactics

4.6.1 Black bloc as queer(ed) and raced (in)visibility

Present in various manifestations and localities around the globe in the last three decades[116], the black bloc tactic is often confused with a permanent international organization, and its members as adherents of a specific anarchist ideology. However, the term "Black bloc" represents a "changing and ephemeral reality" (Dupuis-Déri 2014: 10). It has a decentralized and horizontal character, and there is no perennial and continuous organization of tactical adherents, with defined guidelines, rules and leadership. Therefore, anybody present at a demonstration can dress in black, cover the face and adhere to the tactic, and it is not necessary to be adept of a specific ideology or group. It is therefore erroneous to claim "all black bloc protesters are anarchists", for "there are no ideological impediments, only agreement as to the existence of the common enemy: capital" (Budó et al. 2016: 75).

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[116] The tactic seems to have appeared in Germany in the 1980s. However, some authors point to the fact that since the 1970s young militants have used performative violence to generate widespread visibility within radical autonomous movements in countries such as Italy, Germany, Spain, and France (Della Porta 1995, Juris 2005).

Thinking the black bloc as a discourse enlightens the ways in which local protests can be though in a more general framework of "global protests", since this tactic became globally broadcasted during the anti-globalization protests, known as "the Battle of Seattle" in 1999[117]. After that, it became assiduous presence both as a tactic of protest and in narratives criminalizing riots around the world (Thompson 2003, Juris 2005). Also, the black bloc tactic might be taken to be a symptomatic resistance to power relations in contemporaneity, characterized by the spreading of liberal governmentality as a political tool providing for the optimal circulation of global capital (Larner & Walters 2004), allowed by time-space compression (Giddens 1981, Harvey 1989, Massey 1994), and the international regulation of bodies (Wilcox 2015).

Hence, the black bloc tactic is here understood not only as a practice of protest, but as a relational link, a discursive relay or a master signifier connecting criminalization practices by police, law and media. It is the discourse authorizing governamental practices of management and punishment of bodies. As such, it seems to connect and legitimize security mechanisms used in the individual case of Rafael Braga and the collective case of the 23 activists. It might also reveal how the inside and the outside of law are two faces of the same coin. Moreover, it helps underscoring that the way that coin is flipped in Brazil is highly dependent on a raced and queer(ed) politics of bodily regulation.

This is so, because the ways in which the word "black bloc" circulated through the press[118], the police and justice has enabled authoritarian discourses with the effect of pathologizing bodies circulating June 2013 protests. Used by power in such a criminalizing way, the black bloc discourse also seems to legitimize the extension of mechanisms of security and their practices of bodily regulation and punishment to other-than-Black bodies. That said, here I will

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[117] In those events, mass demonstrations organized by anarchist militants, some of them using the black bloc tactic, interfered in the WTO Ministerial Conference, leading to the shut down of the opening ceremony and affecting multilateral trade negotiations between the wealthy and "developing" nations. Important to notice that all these protest actions were done without fatalities.

[118] See (Estadão, 08 June 2013) and (Estadão, 13 June 2013).

discuss how the black bloc tactic has enabled a discourse authorizing the practice of criminalization common to both cases presented.

When looking upon media discourses in June 2013, it seems that the constant criminalization of the black bloc tactic enabled a proliferation of criminalizing discourses also present in police and law, as the above case of Rafael Braga attests. Thus, in this section I would like to explore up to what point the black bloc tactic was used in the sense of queering (in the negative sense of the term, as in pathologizing abnormal behavior), and racializing (in the sense of legitimating the use of arbitrary violence to regulate those "abnormal" bodies, most often reserved to black bodies in Brazilian peripheries).

But first I would like to acknowledge how I perceive the black bloc as pointing to the ambiguity of the terms "queer" and "queered/raced" in this text. On the one hand, "queer" might mean positive performative and embodied resistance, capable of subverting and confusing power (e.g. Butler 1990, Cohen 1997). On the other hand, "queered" and "racialized" might mean the way in which power targets those bodies who confuse it, by means of depicting them as pathological, deviant and criminal.

It is important to emphasize that the terms "queer" and "race" are read here beyond biology (phenotype/genotype identity). In this sense, queer is not linked to sexual identity nor race is linked to physical appearance. They are here understood to be used by power by extrapolating those historic readings to the cultural and symbolic spheres, as a means to enable the criminalization of bodies in protest, since they represent risk for governance. As such, they need to be regulated by security mechanisms, by technologies like race and sex, commonly used for the bodily regulation in biopolitics, as discussed in the first chapter.

There is thus, a generalization of queered and raced technologies to social behavior considered as abnormal or pathological. This is seen here to have occurred through the black bloc bodies, since they are understood to have effected an expansion of a set of power strategies by dissolving boundaries of bodily regulation, in which the line between normal and abnormal, transposes its biological meanings.

That said, it seems to me that, at the same time the black bloc serves the discourse of criminalization of protest (it is negatively queered and raced), the tactic unites elements of counter-conduct that dislocate and also (re)locate statist practices of violence through embodied performative action (it is positive and potentially queer).

So, how is the black bloc tactic queer? The adepts of this tactic dress in black and conceal their identities by wearing masks or cloths covering their faces, making identification difficult. As discussed above, for power to "take hold" of objects and bodies it needs to name and identify in order to produce bodies as objects and subjects of power. So, once power cannot immediately "grasp" bodies, it interprets them discursively as abnormal, pathological, disturbing and chaotic.

The black bloc is potentially queer when performing a "clash of bodies". For example, when black bloc is used to perform symbolic acts of destruction of property seen to "embody" the state and corporate capitalist power. By doing so, the tactic aims at radically drawing attention to the urgency in rethinking capitalist ways of living that are leading more and more people to live in precarity and marginality, precisely as bodies marked by race and gender do in Brazil[119].

By promoting the embodied performance of destruction of public and private property the adepts of black bloc tactics enact, in the event of protest, an ambiguous heterotopian parallel space. Ambiguous in the sense it can, on the one hand, be interpreted as a valid practice of resistance against statist and capitalist violences and, on the other, be taken as criminal. Regarding the first sense, that of queer resistance, we could think of the practice as promoting a positive heterotopia, in the sense given by Foucault in "Of other spaces, heterotopias" (1984), as the "juxtaposing in a single real place several [incompatible] spaces". As such, the tactic promotes a rupture in authority, by destroying its symbols. By making use of symbolic violence, the black bloc performance promotes the juxtaposition of the spaces of capitalism and the state

[119] It is important to acknowledge that poverty is also stigmatized in Brazil. Hence, white bodies marked by a lower class status, should also count as more vulnerable. However, as statistics show, in Brazil black bodies are the preferential targets of necropower. In chapter one these numbers are discussed in more detail. Moreover, even though I do not offer that analysis here, I acknowledge the importance of the intersections of race, gender and class when looking at the bodily regulation in Brazil.

and the everyday space of people. The act of setting buses on fire in June 2013, for example, could be understood as a way to disturb the common sense that sees the bus as a simple means of transport. It points to the fact that the bus is not serving the everyday of people when it is does not perform its communitarian role: that of giving free access to the right to the city and citizenship. Buses are rather serving capitalist profit and statist control of the circulation of certain bodies in the city once there is a tariff functioning as a security mechanism. In this sense, the black block is an embodied performance at the same time critical and political. It radically marks and literally breaks with those symbolic spaces of capitalist and statist violence. As Foucault suggests when talking about heterotopias, they promote an "absolute break with their traditional time". And, in this sense the tactic also "describes certain cultural, institutional and discursive spaces that are somehow 'other': disturbing, intense, incompatible, contradictory or transforming" (Ibid.).

Regarding the second sense of the word, that of negative pathologizing, what is common is that the black bloc tactic is depicted as criminal by status quo institutions defending property and power. Foucault called this space of making bodies pathologic "heterotopias of deviation": places "in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed" (Foucault 1984). It is thus in this "heterotopia of deviation" sense that the black bloc allows for practices of negative queering and racialization of bodies, where those making use of the tactic are associated with an imaginary of undesirable, deviant, and pathological bodies.

But, who are the black blocs? The black bloc is not a "who". It is an anti-establishment protest tactic, which defies simple characterization. It is important to point out that its form of organization is not equivalent to that of a social movement. Jeffrey Paris (2003:317) states that: "Black bloc is not a group or a movement; it is a tactic open to anyone seeking to measure the social and economic courses of repressive government activity". Many of the adepts of the black bloc tactic claim that it is neither a group nor an organization, but rather a set of ideological beliefs, protest tactics and demonstration aesthetics (Dupuis-

Déri 2014, Ortellado 2014). Their actions target property they see as embodying the state and capitalist power, like government office buildings, police stations, media outlets and some retail establishments associated with big global brands. The destruction of this property, they argue, is a symbolic rejection of the structural violence promoted by the state and corporate power.

A report about the black blocs rise in Brazil, focused specifically on their use of social networks points to the "wide-ranging motivations" of this "decentralized and multifaceted entity":

> A review of the content of Black bloc sites and interaction suggests that it is used at a minimum to: (i) gather information on protests (and share among friends); (ii) report facts on the ground (telling people which streets to avoid or advising people about safe spaces); (iii) share videos, photos and testimonies on specific events; (iv) denounce police brutality and censorship (including the infiltration of protests by police ("P2") and removal of content by Facebook); (v) teach tactics to counteract military police troops; and of course (vi) incentivize participation in protests and mobilize new ones. (Igarapé Institute and SecDev Initiative 2013:8)

Thus, we may say the black bloc is a queer tactic of resistance based on direct action. It is queer because we cannot clearly demarcate its identity nor its desires (what exactly do these bodies want? "What provokes such a violent hatred against the city?…that criminal organization…burned dozens of buses. It can't be because of 20 cents!"[120]). So, here is an example of how media power gets confused. It is not capable of understanding the black bloc tactic, since it promotes the destruction of that (buses) which is understood as "serving" them. The narrative in the media body of knowledge here is not capable or not willing to overcome its utilitarian reading and (re)presenting of the world. The black bloc tactic promotes a queering of (re)presentation, but it is also queered and raced on its turn, since it is considered in this speech as a criminal organization.

The tactic can be used for many ends: denouncing police brutality or defending other demonstrators against police violence, standing in protest frontlines and counteracting police, destroying property understood to embody symbols of power. As such, it carries great potential of "queering" the status quo inside and outside Brazil. This is so because it denounces not only the structural

[120] Again, that speech of TV Globo commentator, Arnaldo Jabor, since it is also very symbolic of the "chock" of finding out that not all people in Brazil want to be governed. (See Globoplay, June 13, 2013).

violence associated with capitalist globalization, but also the everyday violence suffered by those bodies that do not conform to the rules of the game (games of truth, games of power).

It also contributes to "undermine the symbolic order" from which the legitimacy of global governance institutions derives (Juris 2005:427). This was the case of the use of the black bloc tactic in protests against multilateral organizations, such as the World Trade Organization meetings, in Seattle, in 1999. In Brazil, the tactic was used in protests against the World Cup (organized by international federation FIFA), and the Olympics (organized by the International Olympic Comittee[121]). It is in June 2013, in the context of the Confederations Cup, that the criminalization of those bodies associated to the black bloc tactic start to emerge, inciting their criminalization and brutal repression. This is well depicted in Carlos Vainer narrative (2013:65):

> It is impossible not to recognize the close connection between the protests and the context provided by the intense and massive urban investments associated with the 2014 World Cup and, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, also with the 2016 Olympic Games. The brutal repression and the speed with which the media and governments tried to frighten and repress popular movements was, at least in part, due to the concern to prevent the "irresponsible youth" and "vandals" from tarnishing Brazil's image at a time when the eyes of the world would be put on the country due to the Confederations Cup [also happening in June 2013]. "Beat them up". Mass media set the tone, and the justice minister appeared on the news of the main television network to make the National Force available to state and municipal governments.

Hence, bodies associated to the black bloc tactic are often demonized by status quo institutions (e.g. politicians, police, law, media). These bodies are held as solely responsible for the chaos at major demonstrations, even though rioters who in fact attack other people do not make use of the tactic. This seems to have been the case of some incidents during June 2013, where supposedly undercover officers infiltrated protests and, at times, started direct confrontations with the

[121] "The IOC generates revenue for the Olympic Movement through several major marketing programmes, including the sale of broadcast rights and The Olympic Partner (TOP) programme". See the Olympics webpage.

police, as a way to enable the use of force by police and the previous criminalization of activists , as reported in the New York Times (2013)[122].

4.6.2 The limits of the black bloc tactic

So, how do black blocs matter? How do they become legible/visible? As pointed by Budó et al. (2014), in June 2013 it was possible to "visualize the presence of the black bloc tactic as a means to protect militants against police repression" (p.479). So, these authors argue the "pacific presence" of adepts of black bloc tactics is "perfectly possible". However, this is not what becomes visible in the media. The black blocs presence is only visible to mass media (and power in general), once they promote symbolic violence against public and private property, motivating, or in response to, police violence.

Hence, Ortellado (2014: 281-287), argues that while the destruction of windows and the burning of buses gain enormous visibility, police violence against peaceful protesters remain invisible to most mainstream media. Ortellado notices further that it is not just the police violence against protesters that is invisible: "[a]ll abusive and violent police action on the peripheries of large Brazilian cities is either discreetly covered or not covered at all, since they do not have editorial prominence"(p.286). And this has to do with the partiality of mass media coverage. Regardless of the tactics, the role of mass media is paramount when it comes to filtering and choosing the focus of protesters' actions. Thus, Ortellado argues, "the absence of a free and active press prevents peaceful actions of civil disobedience from having an impact on public opinion" (Idem).

Although the visual aesthetics of the black bloc is sufficient to characterize its purposed radical critique, Dupuis-Déri (2014) argues that the black bloc tactic "seeks to introduce a counter-spectacle, even if, to some extent, it depends on the official spectacle, the public and private media to do so" (p. 12). Hence, bringing media attention to protests is one of the goals of the tactic, and performative violence has become the main instrument to achieve that goal. In fact, according

[122] In the following press article there are embedded videos provided by police and demonstrators. The different videos supposedly show how bodies inciting violence against police later pass through that very police without being arrested. See Mackey (The New York Times, July 24, 2013).

to Budó et al. (op.cit) the symbolic violence as a practice of protest emerged as new theme for the Brazilian journalistic agenda in 2013. However, media tended to represent the black blocs as "'vandals', 'marginals', 'idlers' who commit meaningless violence" (p.479). They gained even more negative visibility in the press after the death of cameraman Santiago Andrade during a protest in Central do Brasil (central station) downtown Rio de Janeiro, on February 6, 2014[123]. Related to that are two of the 23 activists prosecuted (Fábio Raposo and Caio Silva de Souza), who respond to murder charges, accused for firing the flare that exploded next to Santiago Andrade's head.

Moreover, and apart from this episode, this negative attention might also be linked to the limits of the use of aesthetics to catch media attention and promote the spectacle of symbolic violence. As Guy Debord argues, in "Society of the Spectacle" (1977[1967]), many times symbolic violence does not break with liberal and capitalist representation, it rather becomes part of it:

> When constantly growing capitalist alienation at all levels makes it increasingly difficult for workers to recognize and name their own misery, forcing them to face the alternative of rejecting the totality of their misery or nothing, the revolutionary organization has to learn that it can no longer combat alienation with alienated forms (Paragraph 122).

The problem in the specific case of the use of the black bloc tactic in Brazil, according to Scherer-Warren (2014: 420), is that it became more reactive to the status quo (to police, state and capitalist violence), than purposeful of more well defined utopias, necessary to promote social change. Also, as noticed by Juris (2005: 428), "performative violence, although providing an important tool for resource-poor actors in their struggle for visibility, have the substantial cost of reinforcing the media frames and repressive strategies promoted by police and government authorities". This are some possible reasons pointing to the ways in which the black bloc tactic only became visible, or was visibilized by power through a frame of criminalization. But, in Brazil, the tactic was also framed in law as "criminal organization". This process, is here understood to be linked to the current criminalization of poverty and race in Brazil, something that seems to have been extended to other-than-Black bodies, after June 2013.

[123] See (G1 Rio, February 10, 2014).

4.7 Black bloc tactic and criminalization in Brazilian law

As discussed above, the black bloc tactic gives margin to ambiguous interpretations. As a potential tactic for queering the establishment by denouncing statist and capitalist violences it is made invisible by power. However, it became visible in mass media coverage as a criminal activity or as vandalism. Correa (2018) argues the tactic served the criminalization of Rafael Braga, who was arrested based on the allegation the two plastic bottles he was carrying were potential incendiary artifacts. Rafael, he argues, was seen by police and legitimized by justice as a potential threat to the "pacific and civic manifestations". As such, he was depicted as "the black bloc par excellence".

On their turn, Budó et al. (2014, 2016), point to the fact that the black bloc tactic was depicted as "criminal organization" by the media. This has led not only to a proliferation of discourses in the media, but has also contributed to the conformation of a broader political unconscious, permeating other social spheres. Special attention here lies in the influence of media and its depiction of the social context of June 2013, where the black bloc tactic was made legible through criminalization. Such atmosphere of criminalization also generated much confusion within the different instances of legal interpretation of Law 12,850 of August 2, 2013. This law is a Brazilian adaptation of UN Palermo Convention, which legislates against transnational organized crime. In Brazil the international law was adapted to define a "criminal organization" and the disciplinary measures to combat it. This law is linked to the black bloc tactic insofar as it has, in its translation to the Brazilian legal framework, altered Article 288 of the Penal Code, regarding the crime of "criminal association", the one used to incriminate and prosecute the 23 activists, who received an arrest order on 10 July 2014.

As Budó et al. (2016) point out, characteristics of the black bloc tactic differ from the definitions of Law 12,850 of August 2, 2013, and would hardly fit the categorization of organized crime, which is defined in Brazil as "the union of four or more persons to obtain, directly or indirectly, an advantage of any kind" (Art. 1,

§ 1)[124]. This is because the Black bloc does not constitute an organization itself, but a direct action tactic that can be used by any individual, without necessarily being part of a collective, group or social movement. The black bloc tactic has as their main characteristics autonomy and non-hierarchy. In terms of gaining advantages, legal discourse gives scope for wide interpretation, as these may be "of any kind". In the case of the black bloc tactic, it is clear that the intention is to attack property that represents corporate capitalism and the state, but this attack is not supposed to obtain any "material or financial advantage", as it is specified under international law, in the Palermo protocol[125]. Something that would be completely contradictory to the anti-capitalist purpose of the black bloc tactic itself. However, the criminalizing discourses circulating media, police and law regarding the criminalization of the black bloc tactic became the basis upon which the case of 23 was set up, as will be discussed next.

4.8 The use of inter/national law - Black blocs, Black bodies, terrorists and queers

In August 2013, after the high tide of the protests, president Dilma Rousseff signed the Criminal Organizations Law - Law 12.850. This law created a new category, that of "criminal organization", which was used immediately to investigate and arrest militant and human rights activists. Only in Rio de Janeiro, according to Bruno Cava (2015), between 2013 and the end of the 2014 World Cup, 72 such groups were criminalized. According to Fernando Lacerda (2019), law 12.850 also affected social movements[126], labor unions and political organizations from the leftist opposition.

The Law on Criminal Organization is part of the legal apparatus conformed to identify and name bodies and criminalize their practices and demonstrations of resistance in Brazil. It is drafted upon the United Nations Convention against

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[124] See Brazil (August 2, 2013).

[125] For the purposes of this Convention: (a) "Organized criminal group" shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit (UN Palermo Protocol 2004: 5).

[126] See note o repudiation of STISMMEC (2016).

Transnational Organized Crime (also known as the Palermo Convention), signed in 2000. Interesting to notice that the original international convention text states as its scope of application (Article 3), the "prevention, investigation and prosecution" of "offenses" or "serious crime", "where the offense is transnational in nature and involves an organized criminal group". And it considers an offense as transnational in the following cases:

(a) It is committed in more than one State;

(b) It is committed in one State but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another State;

(c) It is committed in one State but involves an organized criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one State; or

(d) It is committed in one State but has substantial effects in another State.

It is worth noting that the Brazilian typification differs from the kind envisaged in the Palermo Convention, firstly because the number of agents is four and not three, secondly because it excludes the temporal requirement of being constituted for some reasonable time, and also by replacing the animus for obtaining material or economic advantage to obtain "any generic form of advantage".

Law 12.850 defines, in Brazil, the criminal figure of the "Criminal Organization" and disciplines the investigation and prosecution procedures in the case of the association of "four or more persons, in an organized structure, with division of tasks, with the aim of obtaining some form of advantage, either directly or indirectly, through the commission of criminal offenses". This law criminalizes "the participation in organizations, punishing with a fine and imprisonment of 3 to 8 years that who promotes, constitutes, finances or integrates, personally or by interposed person a criminal organization".

Another important point is that it makes amendments to Article 288 of the Penal Code (Decree-Law No. 2,848 of December 7, 1940), that configures the typification of "criminal association" (associação criminosa). Created during the military dictatorship, Article 288 was the one applied to the specific case of the 23 activists. Also, deserving special attention is the conflict between these two forms

of crime — the long-time existing "criminal association" (associação criminosa) and the newly conformed "criminal organization" (organização criminosa). The slight differences between them and the fact that the crime of association was the one used to criminalize the 23 activists is relevant, because they provoked a long-lasting legal dispute on the case, as attested by the sentence text:

> […] the defendants were denounced for the practice, in theory, of the crime of *armed criminal association*, provided for in art. 288, sole paragraph, of the Criminal Code (by the way, it should be noted that even the police inquiry was ***not*** instituted to investigate conduct that would, in theory, conform to the crime of *criminal organization*, since it was instituted to investigate the practice of the crime of criminal association, which can be verified by the ordinance of page 02) (my emphasis)[127]

The movement of internalizing and adapting that international law — by means of Law 12.850, signed in August 2013, in Brazil — exemplifies one of the ways in which security functions as a mechanism of global governance. A control that depends on inter/national relations, which on their turn are constituted with basis on the local and legal regulation of the circulation of bodies (material and narrative). Also, as stated in the text of that inter/national convention, it is possible to see the liberal content of its legal discourse, which at the same time praises and condemns globalization:

> With the signing of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in Palermo, Italy, in December 2000, the international community demonstrated the political will to answer a global challenge with a global response. If crime crosses borders, so must law enforcement. If the rule of law is undermined not only in one country, but in many, then those who defend it cannot limit themselves to purely national means. If the enemies of progress and human rights seek to exploit the openness and opportunities of globalization for their purposes, then we must exploit those very same factors to defend human rights and defeat the forces of crime, corruption and trafficking in human beings. (UN Office on Drugs and Crime 2004: iii)[128]

It seems, from the text of the UN Palermo Convention above, that the Brazilian legislative system adapted to criminalize those protesting in Brazil, might thus be seen as the "damned" side of globalization. And this becomes even clearer when we look at the case of the 23 activists, prosecuted and criminalized

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[127] Here it is worth to bring the citation in its originas language: …] os réus foram denunciados pela prática, em tese, do *crime de associação criminosa armada*, previsto no art. 288, parágrafo único, do Código Penal (a propósito, note-se que *sequer o inquérito policial foi instaurado para investigar condutas que se amoldariam, em tese, ao crime de organização criminosa*, já que o mesmo foi instaurado para apurar a prática, em tese, do delito de associação criminosa, o que pode ser constatado pela portaria de fl. 02). See Estado do Rio (Tribunal da Justiça, June 29, 2018).

[128] UNODC (2004).

with basis on an emerging assemblage of inter/national law, local police violence, juridical authority and media preconceptions (re)affirming the status quo. Beyond that, such assemblage constitutes relations of exception that regulate popular dissent by setting the example through the punishment and disciplining of bodies, in a specific combination of security mechanisms. As such, it regulates the circulation of bodies in space and time through a specific combination of sovereign, disciplinary and biopolitical powers. In the Brazilian case, such "fantastic" assemblage[129] could be thought through the entry/departure point (lines that go through) the events of June 2013. And the fundamental mechanism or technology enabling this could be seen as the extension of historical racism and authoritarianism to other-than-black-bodies. By constituting, adapting and enacting this fantastic assemblage, bodies in protest are thus constituted as criminal, deviant and abnormal subjectivities whose autonomous practices of resistance are socially denied and constrained, setting another layer on the grounds for the securitization and governance of order and the status quo inter/nationally.

The use of the legal terms, such as "crime by association" or "criminal organization" thus works to delegitimate certain forms of violence committed by non-state-bodies at the same time that it sanctions a violent response by established states. In the Brazilian case, this process occurred especially by using the black bloc tactic as a master signifier to criminalize popular manifestation, justifying at the same time the excessive use of police force and the judicial condemnation, based on the alternation of general and specific targeting of bodies linked to June 2013. But it goes beyond that, since it conforms and is at the same conformed by the multiple cultural relations present in the media, law and police — both in Brazil and in the international arena, as the case of the incorporation of the UN Palermo Convention and its application in the process of prosecution and arresting of bodies related to June 2013 protests. With this case, we can see an empirical example of the merging of national security and global security, and a

[129] Fantastic in the sense of coming from a "fantasy of security". For a thorough discussion of security as fantasy, see Jenny Edkins (2019).

revival of security practices that can be linked to historical traces of authoritarianism and racism in Brazilian history.

Didier Bigo[130] questions "why police activities and military activities are pushed to "fusion"?" and criticizes the ways in which such activities are linked as a justification to combat global terrorism or global insecurity. In order to refuse the "war and crime" argument it is necessary to dismantle the idea of security and show how this fiction is constructed, enabled and reproduced. The inside/outside link extends far beyond the specificities of the incorporation of the Palermo Convention and its application to criminalize protesters in Brazil, as acknowledged by special UN envoy Clément Voule[131]. He enumerates a series of state violations which are a global trend of repression against social movements and the right to protest, which are closely related to the criminalization of June 2013 and other protest movements that came as one of its effects. From the eight points he enumerates[132], at least the following have been present or linked to the repression of June 2013 protests: use of law to suppress the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association; criminalization of social movements and the arbitrary use of force to control and repress manifestations; repression of social movements; stigmatization and attack against leaders of civil society movements; restrictions imposed towards specific minority groups; obstructions and hyper surveillance of virtual spaces.

If we look more carefully to the combinations of inside and outside, we see that the "fusion" of police and military activities pointed out by Bigo to characterize a "new regime of global surveillance" linked to governmentality, we can see that, in Brazil, those traces are not a novelty. Taiguara Souza (2013), specialist in Criminal Law, commented on the different violations of Law during June 2013. According to him, Brazilian democracy is fragile due to a hybrid configuration of power. This becomes specially clear, he argues, when traces of the military dictatorship were (re)activated in the police practices of protest

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130 See Didier Bigo's webpage.

131 Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association.

132 For details, see Bonfanti (Justificando, July 20, 2018).

repression in June 2013: "that citizen that is participating in popular protests is considered an enemy that needs to fought, police action goes back to the idea of curfew, very characteristic of the dictatorship, which is to remove the protester from the street"[133]. He also mentions the fact that, in Brazil, police receives military training, something uncommon in most western democracies, but a common characteristic of dictatorial regimes. What happens, he reasons, "is that the training of Brazilian police is combat-oriented, which presupposes the logic of war. And in the face of war, the idea that the other side has rights becomes fragile under this military logic" (Ibid.).

4.9 The case of the 23 activists

23 people (amongst them students, professors and workers from other categories[134]), were convicted for fighting against the arbitrarinesses and injustices that were happening in the governance of Rio de Janeiro (under governor Sérgio Cabral, today under arrest). Beyond participation in protests during June 2013, many of the activists were present in the "Ocupa Cabral" demonstration (occupation of the streets surrounding the building where Rio de Janeiro's governor, Sergio Cabral, lived from December 2012 to July 2013) and the "Ocupa Câmara" demonstration (occupation of Rio de Janeiro's City Council from August 2013 to October 2013).

After these demonstrations, on 10 July 2014, an arrest order for the 23 militants was issued on charges of *criminal association* (Art. 288 of the Penal Code) and corruption of minors (Art. 244-B of the Children and Adolescents Statute). The pre-trial detention was revoked on 15 July 2014 by the Rio de Janeiro States Appeal Court. On 18 July 2014, the Judge re-ordered the detention of all the 23 human rights defenders.

Finally, the Appeal Court determined the release of the 23 militants on 22 July 2014 under the following conditions: to appear before the Court monthly, not to leave the city of Rio de Janeiro without judicial authorization, and to turn in

[133] See Souza (EPSJV/Fiocruz, October 24, 2013).

[134] Caio de Souza and Fábio Raposo were arrested at the time. They spent a little more than a year in prison, but since 2015 they await the trial in freedom.

their passports within 24 hours. On 12 August 2014, another condition was added: they were prohibited to attend any public demonstrations while they awaited trial. On 2 December 2014, the judge re-ordered the arrest of Elisa de Quadros Pinto Sanzi, Igor Mendes Da Silva and Karlayne Moraes Da Silva Pinheiro for attending a peaceful protest that had taken place on 15 October 2014.

Elisa de Quadros Pinto Sanzi and Karlayne Moraes Da Silva went into hiding to avoid prison. Igor Mendes Da Silva was arrested and remained in detention for seven months at the security facility of Bangu. On 23 June 2015, the Brasilia Superior Court of Justice restored the liberty of the three human rights defenders while awaiting the result of the investigation and their trial. As a result of the investigation, on 16 July 2018, the 23 human rights defenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 5 years and ten months to 7 years. Two of them (Camila Aparecida Rodrigues Jourdan and Igor Pereira D'Icarahy) were also found guilty of possessing explosive devices, which increased their sentences to 13 years imprisonment.

In the case of the use of the Brazilian version of the UN protocol Against Transnational Organized Crime, power acted by means of identifying and preventing risk in a way that blurred past, future and present. The justification was the entailed potential risk of the actions of protesters, who were treated discursively as taking part of a criminal association, arbitrarily confusing the black bloc autonomous tactic with the definition of criminal organization.

There was a tactical use of law in the case of the group of the 23 activists. Law was used as an instrument with the aim of assuring the functioning of the security devices. This was based on a two-fold tactic: first, by producing a discourse that links these activists to the black bloc tactic; second, by producing a discourse that linked this tactic of protest to an organized criminal group. Hence, the use of law functions not only as a security device, but also as a power/ knowledge apparatus, since it produces other meanings that extrapolate the original meaning of a tactic (which is horizontal and not dependent upon extending it to an organization). In understanding the Black bloc tactic as an organization, the law tries to name its leaders, and tries, at the same time to

promote a double movement: to frame and tame autonomy and anonymity as criminal activity and as criminal organization.

The law departs from the black bloc as a tactic to confer it a criminal content. By doing this law order to fixes and locates the black bloc as a criminal organization, passive of sanction and punishment. So, in highlighting this movement, we can see that security mechanisms are not contained by any body, but rather they are spread out in discourses and practices that contribute to conform desires or "fantasies of security" (Edkins op.cit.). In this sense, they fabricate fixed identities, linked to certain bodies — that due to their power relations and historic trajectories already carry in themselves determined symbolic traces — the black and poor homeless male, the morally deficient, queered individuals — that become reified through these discourses that confer them, once more, this stereotypical symbolic charge. So, it is important to remember that these identities are not fixed, but rather produced as such by these discourse that circulate between multiple power locations. The latter resort to previous symbolic and identity formations — traces that have been historically and contextually constituted in Brazil through power relations such as slavery, racism, authoritarianism, patriarchy, and sexism.


O GLOBO

oglobo.com.br

Mascare

CRIME E CASTIGO

Lei mais dura leva 70 vândalos para presídios

Presos em protesto são enquadrados por crime organizado, que é inafiançável

Cerco aos black blocs teve o maior efetivo policial desde o início dos protestos

SEM MÁSCARAS

Baiano volta à cadeia

Sininho do barulho

Engajado e baleado

Professores: cai liminar contra plano de cargos

Em São Paulo, polícia autua apenas um

Figure 17. Headline: Tougher law leads 70 vandals to jail.

As such, present, past and future get mixed and are transformed in ways to produce the stabilization of risk and the desire for order, the fantasy of security. To do so, power makes use of that which constantly haunts this “fantasy of security”, stabilized by the fiction of whiteness, of heteronormativity, of normalcy, and order. Power works by reifying and redefining the limits os that which is to be considered criminal and abnormal, deviant — constituting new raced (as black) and queered (as abnormal, pathological, criminal) subjectivities.

By naming it as such, power gets reactivated by subjecting those bodies who it cannot name in arbitrary, authoritarian and violent ways. June 2013 was queer in its horizontal and autonomous performances, but power needed identities and leaders, agitators and organizations, so as to conform, discipline, judge and punish those bodies. It was necessary to make their expulsion legitimate and nothing better to recur to the social imaginary and the unconscious to do so. As posed by Jameson (1981:4):

> The only effective liberation from such constraint begins with the recognition that there is nothing that is not social and historical — indeed, that everything is "in the last analysis" political. The assertion of a political unconscious proposes that we undertake just such a final analysis and explore the multiple paths that lead to the unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts.

Based on theories of journalism, Budó et al (op.cit, p. 72) point out that crime and violence are great mobilizers of journalist attention, because they aggregate a large quantity of news-value. They mention, amongst other researches, the well-known study of Stuart Hall, in which the selection of news follows a “hierarchy of credibility”, determined by property and power. As such, news diffusing crime and violence have higher chances of being more consumed (thereof being more circulated), and consequently “reaffirm the status quo.

There is, moreover, that which Foucault calls “games of truth”, a process in which what is visible and what is invisible regarding the militant bodies is intrinsically related with the meanings circulated about them. Meanings, like “vandals”, “thugs” and “terrorists” are largely and intensively circulated through the media and become the most readily consumed representations of those bodies by popular opinion. They are also related to the reaction of status quo institutions who, feeling the pressure of such public opinion, act accordingly.

According to Budó et al, the process of "attribution of the criminal status" goes through a narrative that situates people who disagree with the status quo (the existing structure of property and power) "in patterns already existing in the imaginary of criminality and deviance". As shown by diverse studies (Bourdieu 1982, Gohn 2000, Becker 2008, Budó 2013), such representative strategy has been traditionally used to attribute the status of "vandals", "deviant" or "criminal" to social movements who have historically challenged the status quo.

However, in the specific cases brought up here, there seems to be a link that has not yet been made. Even though it might be considered an "exaggeration", linking the cases of Rafael Braga and the case of the 23 activists, I would like to argue that they are linked by the technology of race, as per Mbembe's suggestion of the "becoming Black of the world". Also, I see this happening in parallel to the process of (re)intensification of racialization through queerness. As such, we see that the extreme measures of militarization of the everyday in Brazilian peripheries might be linked to the queer and raced demarcation from populations targeted for segregation, disposal, or death.

The criminalization of bodies circulating June 2013 reveals some of the ways in which police, law and media promote effects that expand the pathologization and stigmatization of black, trans, homo-bodies to other-than black and other-than queer bodies. This understanding departs, thus, from the understanding of "security as a fiction" (Edkins op.cit), and race as a "fiction" in Mbembe's terms. Also, like Puar, I use "racialization" to highlight specific social formations and processes that are not necessarily or only tied to what has been historically theorized as "race" (as a phenotypical condition), and "queer" (as a genotypical condition).

The act of naming and identifying serves classification and hierarchization, which serves power, as we have discussed. Racialization and queering are nothing else but operations of power to name and demarcate those bodies and populations targeted for segregation, disposal, or death. This conceals that the problem lies in an unmarked whiteness, which is many times (and even here at points), detached from corporeality and embodiment in detriment to a rationality, that, as seen is

profoundly enmeshed with eurocentric and modern values. As Mbembe (2017:110-112) argues, race is “at once image, body, and enigmatic mirror”, it is “the expression of resistance to multiplicity” and “an act of imagination as much as an act of misunderstanding”. As such, race is a fantasy turned into reality by the Brazilian necro(bio)politics, in its quotidian practice of bodies regulation.

Rafael might have been the “easiest” or “more obvious” target of power. If we trace the racist relations of power in Brazil we see that black, young, male and poor bodies are those mostly associated with “risk” by the security devices. Therefore, their circulation is impaired in multiple ways, the most common being incarceration or death as statistically proven. And Rafael was, in the end, the subjectivity whose body continued to be read, judged and inscribed by means of his physical appearance marked by a stigmatized racism. Hence, it is important to highlight that the *becoming black of the world* does not mean an overcoming of the many hierarchies and lines traversing the ways modern power is differently inscribed in bodies.

This inscription follows a hierarchy, as discussed, based on race, gender, sex, class and so on. This becomes clear if we see the differential treatment of the case of Rafael Braga and the case of the 23. Whilst Rafael awaited his trial in jail, the 23 activists had the right to await in liberty. Even though some of the 23 militants were arrested, this did not last as long as in the case of Rafael. Moreover, on the one hand, that inscription may be obvious, as in the case of mass incarceration and death of bodies marked by a raced imagination that links criminality preferentially to blackness, effacing the problematic constitution of a “normal” and “unproblematic” whiteness in this process. On the other hand, that inscription may be subtle or imperceptible, functioning through security mechanisms of bodily control as, for example, an increase in the public transport prices, making the circulation of already marked and stigmatized bodies even more impaired.

Finally, Rafael’s arrest did not require, at first sight, the activation of new or elaborated readings of the law, since his condition was that of many other black and poor Brazilians. But, if we think of the context of his criminalization and look

upon the discourses activated to do so, we see in his case some subtle particularities that point to a shift in the security apparatus, as a response to June 2013 uprisings. On the other hand, the case of the 23 activists are symptomatic of a different repetition of the same police, legal and media discursive and symbolic maneuvers. To begin with a difference, we see that in the case of the 23 the power techniques applied by the Brazilian criminal system were aligned with the international system. There was a process incorporation of the Palermo Convention against transnational organized crime in to the course of the prosecution of those 23 bodies. However different that second case may be in relation to the first case both are linked by means of an ongoing repetition of a myriad media discourses that helped raising popular support to the criminalization of the black bloc tactic in very ambiguous and many times confused ways.

In investigating Rafael Braga's case, it is possible to see how his body is crossed by multiple identity markers that serve the purposes of the posterior criminalization of autonomous protesters, conforming the case of the 23. His body is marked by "queerness, as a process intertwined with racialization" (Puar 2007). As such, his body serves the mechanisms of security in their task to call into nominalization "abject populations", marking those bodies that are "peripheral to the project of living". Rafael can be thus seen as an entry point for the power reassertion of autonomous protesters as bodies that carry a risk, potential threats to the fantasy of security. And as long as these bodies *queer* security, pointing to its hidden desires of containing contentious, autonomous bodies and their political performances, they will be *queered and raced* back, since these are some of the privileged apparatuses of bodies regulation inside and outside the closet of inter/ national relations.

Conclusions

This thesis was an effort to understand how protests may offer a way to think of other forms of enacting politics that diverge from modern politics. It focused on bodies as an analytical lens through which it sought to do a corpography of relations of power and resistance. In systematizing the relations of bodies, power and resistance in Foucault, race appeared as a technology of biopolitical regulation and, when applying that critical theoretical framework in the specific case of Brazil, it became clear that race and racism are foundational technologies of bodily regulation in the country. In conjunction with those findings, it was suggested that Brazilian power relations could be though as conforming a *raced power assemblage*.

Moreover, when discussing the ways in which bodies are regulated through race and racism, I came across Berenice Bento's (2018) notion of necrobiopolitics, a concept that reveals that Brazil, since its colonial inception, was a state constituted through the genocide of the indigenous and black peoples. I slightly changed Bento's concept, suggesting its inscription as *necro(bio)politics*, so as to make a visual allusion to the functionings of modern politics, in which the bio lies inserted in the securitized space of the sovereign border, inscribed through the parentheses "( )". The parentheses demarcate or enact borders in which, for the state to make white-upper class and heteronormative lives live, it needs to cast outside and kill those black/poor and racially queered bodies.

In chapter two, a corpography of power and resistance relations brought to the fore some of the ways in which protests were made (in)visible. This was done with the aid of Judith Butler (2011, 2015), and her suggestion that bodies acting in concert perform and promote a rupture in the space of appearance, bringing a radically democratic politics in. This is linked to the claim for "the right to have rights", something that does not depend upon any previously existent framework of law. In this sense, those bodies who together formed a performative assembly to claim for rights were capable of conforming a radically democratic politics.

The chapter reveals some instances in which power embodied in academic texts, corporate media and institutional politics makes invisible: Those bodies

acting in concert to fight for autonomy (in the sense of denying authority and representation and arguing for popular governance), and for equality in the access to rights and citizenship. These bodies of power also invisibilize those bodies acting against the arbitrary use of violence by the state in alliance with capitalism. Bodies who fight against a raced power assemblage, reflected in the necro(bio)politics that either promotes a direct or slow death of marginalized, raced and queered bodies, who deny that kind of governance.

In this chapter it is suggested that the majority of bodies of power/ knowledge dealing with June make invisible the technologies of race and abnormalization permeating protests. Also, the chapter brings some white-embodied narratives that point to some instances of rupture, where it is possible to locate a subtle understanding that there is a new configuration of the use of race and abnormalization. It is suggested that this exemplifies the extension of race as a mechanism to regulate other-than-black bodies in protest. This is so, because police violence, before reserved to black bodies in peripheries (favelas), spreads to the well-off areas (the "asphalt"). During protests, when circulation in the city is impaired, security mechanisms need to combine with sovereign exception so as to (re)stabilize and securitize the "right" circulation of what enables the continuation of the necro(bio)political space of invisibilization and exclusion.

Chapter three discusses how and up to what point the MPL's actions and demands go beyond and against modern authoritarian politics. It explores MPL's autonomist, non-partisan and horizontal practices of prefigurative politics based on direct action, to see how the they pose challenges to Brazilian necro(bio)politics. Based on this, it is argued that the MPL, by (re)taking to itself and the population the initiative to organize and demand free and quality public transport, helps to decolonize the city, breaking with one of the security mechanisms (the tariff), that aims to prevent the free movement of people. And beyond this more immediate and direct opposition of space securitization, the movement lays the groundwork for dislocating and disputing the modern imaginary of securing through circulation. In this process it is possible to imagine spatiality, temporality and subjectivity anew, by thinking how the bodies that

make the city are at the same time a risk and a necessity to the continual constitution of the city as securitized space.

Following the above, there is an attempt to read MPL's resistance in terms of "generalizing the international" (Edkins and Zehfuss 2005). It is proposed that MPL was capable of promoting a temporary rupture in the logics of sovereignty, by bringing the contingency of politics back in. This is done when MPL uses collective embodied performance and direct action to rupture with the logic of the tariff that secures the (bio) through a necropolitics justified in the name of "order" against "anarchy".

The chapter ends with some observations regarding how the limits of MPL might incur on its isolation and lack of active solidarity with other movements of resistance in Brazil, like the feminist and the black movements. Once the movement pushes some limits, as it did, by putting pressure on the government and in trying to build other political relations with space, time, and subjectivity, it should continue in the direction of amplifying those spaces of autonomy.

Moreover, it is suggested that a deeper understanding of race and racism as "turnstiles", or as mechanisms of security functioning to hinder people's circulation, would allow MPL to "create bridges where there are voids" and "make horizontality flow towards those who are not part of the daily life of the MPL", as suggested by a militant.

Finally, chapter four suggests that the sovereign state of exception — seen as extending the violent territorialization of favelas to the asphalt by Paulo Arantes (2014) — could be read as a "*becoming black of the world*", meaning a generalized blackness, together with a generalized queerness. All of this in thinking how power answered to the generalization of the international, promoted by the Black Bloc autonomist tactic of protest. This, because the Black Bloc, is understood to be ambiguously queer: At the same time it confuses power, by hiding militants identities, it also becomes visible to power by promoting highly performative acts of destruction of property. In order to illustrate the workings of power in those lines, the case of Rafael Braga, a black and poor peripheral body and the case of the 23 militants, many white and middle-class bodies, are

juxtaposed. These cases illuminate how power works to criminalize both cases through the black bloc tactic.

Now, let's turn to a quick reassessment of the questions posed in the beginning of this research: Up to what point and in what specific ways do practices of protest challenge modern conceptions of politics? What bodies, out of the plurality of June 2013 protests in Brazil, disputed the practices of modern governance/biopolitical regulation? Which bodies get to decide what, through what narratives and practices of power and resistance?

The research led to a comprehension that the groups capable of challenging constitutive practices of modern politics were those based on autonomist practices and tactics of horizontal and direct action. Autonomous groups are those that seek a radical transformation of reality by acting without relying on government institutions, political parties or private companies, and that organize themselves horizontally.

The Free Pass Movement (MPL) and the Black Bloc tactic were here understood to provoke ruptures capable of *queering power*. Queering in the sense they posed radical claims to the access of rights and challenged the bodily regulation in their access to citizenship and the public space. Furthermore, autonomist movements and tactics helped highlighting the inequalities and violences entailed in the tales of order and security pronounced by bodies of power, such as the media, law and the state. These forms of struggle also contribute to understand how embodied performative action underscores how capitalism and the state many times cooperate in the (re)production of violences through the criminalization, racialization and queering of bodies.

Within an IR framework, we could think of protests as being the generalization of the international (Edkins and Zehfuss 2005), where order and security were questioned (or queered), through the explosion of anarchies in the expression of the desires of not being governed. Popular autonomist movements, acting through direct action, by means of embodied and collective performances, bring politics back in, on the search for rights and social justice. However, power replies. It does so by extending the violent territorialization of favelas to the

asphalt, by promoting a becoming black of the world, meaning the extension of necro(bio)politics to other-than-black and other-than-queer bodies circulating protests.

In order to persist, those movements and bodies making use of repertoires and tactics of protest in Brazil may increase their potential for resistance if they re-think the role of embodiment and performativity in relation to the role of race and sexuality. This is so, because if race and sex are the preferential technologies of necro(bio)political bodily regulation of movement in the Brazilian time and space, popular resistance could advance in navigating the ambiguities of the process of becoming black of the world. As discussed along the thesis, it seems that the Brazilian raced power assemblage extended race as a means to regulate other-than-black bodies in protest. And if it did so, it is thus necessary to think of counter-conducts to respond to that movement of power, so as to continue in the direction of establishing everyday paths towards performing and (re)exising otherwise, in the direction of not being governed, to establish a radically popular and democratic politics from and to the margins.

This thesis ends where it should have begun. Although effective critique can only be waged from inside the "radical speech community" (Juris 2005), the impression I have after passing by so many bodies (discourses, images, videos, texts) circulating June 2013 in Brazil is that important discussions might be missing. The one I think more urgent is that regarding the role of racism and the racializing of bodies circulating not only protest, but daily life. The bodily regulation through racism has been largely unacknowledged by the majority of literature dealing with June 2013. Racism conforms an important axis in global governance, supporting contemporary capitalist exploitation, through the raced bio-political administration of local populations, like those in Brazil.

Hence, it seems necessary to expand the discussion on racism beyond the confines of the Brazilian Black Movement. Offering new critical perspectives

from which social movements can think of their tactics and repertoires from the intersections of race, sexuality, gender and class seem fundamental to promote more durable and effective forms of resistance in Brazil.

Action across diversity and difference is a fundamental basis upon which social movements can coordinate their actions, tactics and repertoires of protest, not only in local protests, but in protests occurring around the world. If such diversity and difference is not thought along with the intersections of race, sexuality, gender and class (which are embodied and are co-constitutive of specific cultural practices), both organization and effectiveness of protest might be hindered.

The path towards the constitution of different political subjects passes necessarily through rethinking the mobilization of different collective identities. With the aid of performativity, many movements and organizations can think of specifically tailored tactics and repertoires of protest, that help not the reification of identity, but its deconstruction and strategic reconstruction. By pointing out that the fantasy of race and security are nothing more than practices and performances that have a strong hold on the constitution of who we are, there is the possibility to reconstruct collective identities that are sufficiently flexible and resilient, because they are capable of understanding their own performativity and contingency.

Movements of recognition have long existed, and proof of it were the larger disturbances provoked by autonomist movements and tactics in June 2013, but also the everyday resistance of marginalized bodies. However, much needs to be done to overcome ossified preconceptions regarding not only the role of representative politics, the state and capitalism, but preconceptions on the roles of race, sexuality, gender and class. Once we understand the possibilities of autonomously reiterating our identities and daily practices otherwise, we might also be capable of better resisting those hegemonic frameworks that contain our actions of resistance by dividing our common humanity in the establishment of identity markers of race, sexuality, gender and class. These identity markers hinder our possibilities for the construction of a future equal-liberty:

> equal-liberty implies the inextricability of liberty and equality, and refuses to see an opposition between individual freedom and collective, egalitarian freedom, between the one and the many; any constraint on one involves a constraint on the other. (Newman 2010: 144)

We are already equally free if we think our existence is only possible in common dependency and vulnerability in our interactions with others. Interestingly here is to bring the meaning of *ubuntu*, coming from the Zulu language, which means "a person is only a person through other persons", which is reduced in Brazil to "I am because we are"[135]. Following this, what we might need to learn is to repeat ourselves, and reiterate who we are, always differently, deviating and queering those structures that try to frame our beings, and direct the performances of our lives by means of regulating our humanity through mere fantasies. For that is what race, sexuality, gender and class are in the end.

Once we learn the mechanisms through which those fantasies work to enact our beings and worlds based on a yardstick of whiteness, homophobia, sexism, patriarchy and classism, we might realize that freedom is not an essence lying in our separated constitution as sovereign subjects. Freedom lies rather in the political construction of our humanity as dependent on the recognition of one another as equal (Butler 2004). It is thus up to us to realize the deconstruction of identity and promote the construction of a common humanity equally free.

We can only realize freedom through the construction of the common, and this has been, in our common history of modernity, the task of those bodies regulated by race, sex, gender and class. There are currently artists and workers, militants and politicians who are in the frontlines of the construction of a possible future. A future of the common, a future to be shared in common, where anti-racist practices are the guides to the everyday lives of people and organizations. They foment discussions in the direction of bringing solutions and strategies to combat racism and other forms of domination that intersect with and pass through black subjectivities, such as gender and the right to the city.

One of the struggles currently happening in the peripheries is that to democratize the production of and the access to technology, since technologies are

[135] Ubuntu ("umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu"), see Malûngu (Medium, May 3, 2019).

not neutral. One example are initiatives such as Pretalab[136], a project from Olabi, an organization that works towards democratizing access to technology, bringing visibility to black women in technology. They bring to the table the necessity of including more black women in innovation and technology so as to promote an affirmative inclusion that contributes to conforming a performance towards equality.

Another initiative that involves affirming an identity performatively is thinking of the use of mass media to subvert its intrinsic racism. In Brazil, there are activists and professionals who think of ways to increase race and gender representativity in publicity. This can be seen as a way to use a raced and gendered performance to subvert white supremacist narratives. And it is a strategy for building new narratives of access to political minorities in spaces of power. An example that brings together technology and media to visibilize the political everyday of peripheries are Coletivo Papo Reto[137], Coletivo Das Lutas[138], and Coletivo DAR[139].

Art can also be a way to bring different performances of identity that contribute to undoing gender, race, sexuality. Narrative and performance that tell us stories of black LGBTQI people in contemporary art can open routes of escape or rescue for black communities. As Mbembe (2017: 183) poses:

> Reparation, moreover, is necessary because of the cuts and scars left by history. For much of humanity, history has been a process of habituating oneself to the deaths of others—slow death, death by asphyxiation, sudden death, delegated death. These accommodations with the deaths of others, of those with whom we imagine to have shared nothing, these many ways in which the springs of life are dried up in the name of race and difference, have all left deep traces in both imagination and culture and within social and economic relations. These cuts and scars prevent the realization of community. And the construction of the common is inseparable from the reinvention of community.

Yhuri Cruz, a young Brazilian black artist, promotes a sort of “reparation”, by means an artistic performance of knowledge through the iconographic reconfiguration of the body of enslaved Anastácia. As posed by the artist, the

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136 See Pretalab's webpage.

137 See Coletivo Papo Reto's webpage.

138 See Das Lutas' webpage.

139 See Coletivo Dar’s webpage.

exhibit “Monument to the voice of Anastácia” is “a time travel” to promote the liberation of her body from a history of raced violence and white-patriarchal domination. His history of the present performs, thus, the liberation of Anastacia’s body, subjected to a lifetime of silence for fighting a white man who sexually assaulted her. Although she is considered as a “holy slave” in contemporary Brazil, the circulation of her image carrying a gag still reproduces the marks of colonial power. Moreover, it reproduces the continuity of violence used for the regulation of black bodies — from the past to the present.

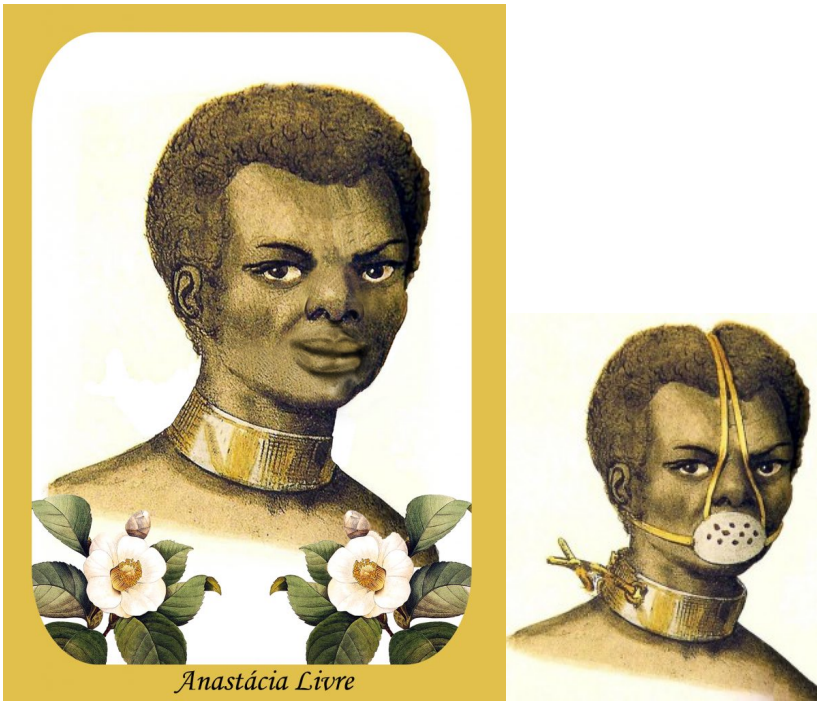

Figure 18. Anastácia Livre.

Here is how Yhuri Cruz describes this process: “It is as if the invention of the black man was the invention of a stage. (…) Pretofagia is the act you practice to live-inside and live-outside, the new stage, the old stage, the new name. PRETOFAGIA is its new stage”.[140]

The performative narration of this process of knowledge consumption and processing is a way Yhuri Cruz encounters to deal with the necro(bio)power, the

[140] “É como se a invenção do negro fosse a invenção de uma cena. (...) A pretofagia que você pratica para viver-dentro e viver-fora, a nova cena, a velha cena, o novo nome. PRETOFAGIA é sua nova cena.” (Yhuri Cruz, ensaio-cena Pretofagia).

raced terror formation that permeates Brazilian's present as a continuous transformation of our colonial past. Even though we cannot assume there is only an unproblematic continuity of our raced past, we may well acknowledge that the transformations of racism in Brazil have been constantly tainted by our past of racism and slavery, and it is by first understanding and acknowledging that fact that we may recognize different patterns of becoming black of the world, not only in Brazil, but in other parts of the globe.

The performative act of "pretofagia" offers thus an alternative narrative of blackness and power. It is a double-narrative that performs, at the same time, the destruction of black identity as it has been used by power regimes in Brazil, and a recuperation of the effaced knowledge of black resistance. It is a different repetition of a history that privileges resistance instead of power. As such, it effaces power and performatively brings resistance to visibility. It also promotes the deconstruction of blackness, by pointing out how "the black man", and those raced bodies have served the construction and sustenance of the colonial stage.

So, there are no definite conclusions, but many possible reiterations of bodies of knowledge. Resistance is definitely an art, and power is always after its commodification. Therefore it is necessary to always perform differently, and against the grain of power. This we can certainly learn from those who insist on the validity of a life that can be considered alternative, abnormal, exceptional or marginal, depending on the acts of the performer and the eyes of the beholder.

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