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

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Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fieldwork and Methodology

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

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

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

Everyday Urban Experiences, Dispositif and the Polyhedron of Powers

Everyday urban politics and peripheral urbanization

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

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

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

Everyday urban experiences, polyhedron of powers and dispositif

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Genealogies of the so-called Favela Problem

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Everyday Resident Experiences and Practices Related to Space and Tactics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Narratives of everyday practices and tactics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

sound of shootouts to identify what kind of firearm was used, or whether it was fireworks, indicate to residents if the police are coming. In addition, talking to people in the streets before walking through the favela is crucial.
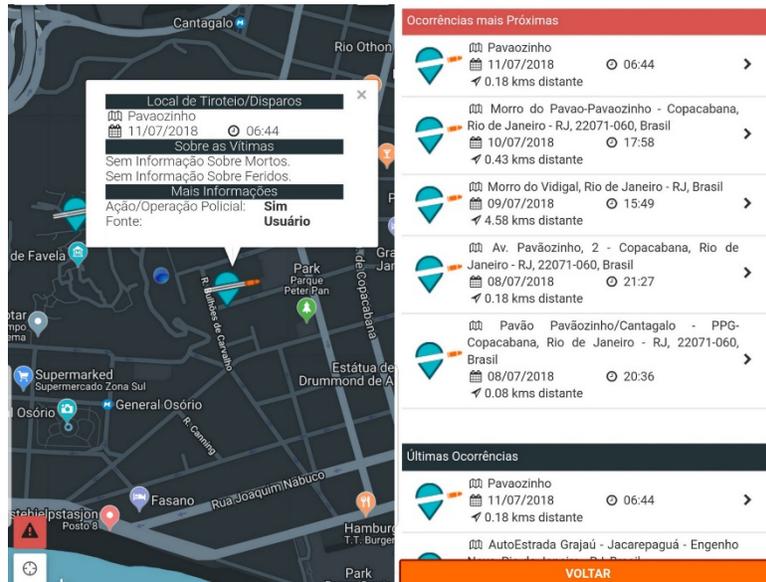

Figure 4: Screenshot from the *Fogo Cruzado* app on July 2018. This showed the latest registered shootouts in my neighborhood at the time. The blue point indicates my location; the shootout was registered at a street approximately 0.18 km from Pavão-Pavãozinho. The user registered that it was a police operation.

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

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

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

Residents from PPG wanted to show the arbitrary public investments in the favela and the clever solutions of residents to infrastructural issues. I invited Marcia and Fabio to photograph everyday life and changes since the UPP were installed. They selected which of their photos would be included here. Marcia's photos in Figures 6 and 7 show how, outside of public infrastructural investment, residents develop their own solutions, architectural forms, and spatial practices. These collide and intersect with the spatialized strategies of various actors such as the local government thus also continually transforming the polyhedron of powers. Marcia wanted to show me second-hand government services implemented through PAC or services such as access to electricity and basic services alongside the solutions that residents had developed to deal with the numerous challenges that they face in an area. She explained that a lack of light caused by the increased density of built structures and the narrowed alleys influenced residents to respond by making improvised lamps from discarded materials, including plastic bottles.
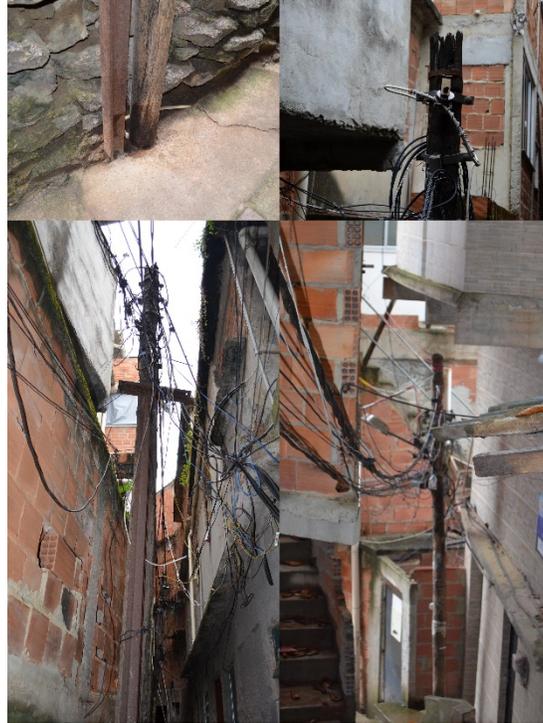
Figure 6: Public investments and resident solutions. This is a power supply from old railway sleepers that is still used today (Marcia, 2018).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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