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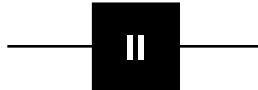

SPECIAL SECTION: RACIALIZED AND GENDERED DYNAMICS IN URBAN SECURITY

Introduction

Exceptionalism and Necropolitical Security Dynamics in Olympic Rio de Janeiro

Margit Ystanes and Tomas Salem

ABSTRACT: For more than a decade, urban development in Rio de Janeiro was driven by the urgency of preparations for mega-events such as the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. During these years, Brazilian authorities used the mega-events to create a state of exception that legitimized a broad range of state security interventions across the city. While Brazilian authorities presented the events as an opportunity to create a modern, dynamic, and socially inclusive city, this special section argues that the security interventions implemented in Rio during the years of Olympic exceptionalism intensified racialized and gendered inequalities and reproduced historical patterns of necropolitical governance that has sought to render black life in Brazil impossible.

KEYWORDS: Brazil, gender, Olympics, racialization, security

Mega-events and Securitization during the Pink Tide in Brazil

When thinking back to the period when Rio de Janeiro prepared to host the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics, international audiences may remember images of military police invading favelas and the demolition of favela homes to make space for the Olympic infrastructure. The news stories coming out of Rio's favelas during this period alerted many to the underbelly of mega-event hosting but, simultaneously, often came cloaked in a narrative about security, urban development, expanding citizenship, and social inclusion. For countless favela residents, however, these interventions reasserted old patterns of authoritarian state governance toward their communities. Favelas are self-built neighborhoods that play an important role in the social, cultural, and economic development of Brazilian society yet are excluded and underserved by authorities in numerous ways.[1] Throughout history, political elites have considered these neighborhoods locations of immorality, crime, and disease and a threat to public security and health (Chalhoub 1993; Garmany and Richmond 2019; Magalhães 2019; Valladares 2000).

Therefore, urban planning and public security efforts in Rio have frequently involved repressive interventions that aim to expulse favela residents, control their movement in the city, or render their life conditions altogether impossible.

The normalization of death in the favelas and the pervasiveness and intensity of racialized state violence toward favela residents have engendered scholarship that critically examines the postcolonial dynamics of favela-state relations in Rio and other Brazilian urban centers. Often, these employ Achille Mbembe's (2003) necropolitical framework to account for how the favelas are governed through a politics of death (see, e.g., J. Alves 2018; F. Cardoso 2018; Saborío Rodríguez 2018; see also Salem and Bertelsen; Ystanes and Magalhães, this issue). According to these authors, the urban landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and other big Brazilian cities have historically been shaped by the literal and figurative destruction of Afro-Brazilians and their cultural expressions, and their expulsion to the urban margins. As necropolitical formations then, Brazilian cities are characteristically anti-black (J. Alves 2018; see also Nascimento 1989, [1978] 2016; Rocha 2012; Vargas 2012b).

Like past interventions, the state policies implemented in the favelas in the years leading up to the Olympics decimated many favela residents' sense of security and belonging. They were exposed to the militarization of their neighborhoods, racialized and gendered police violence and death at police hands, clashes between police and traffickers, racial profiling, and a favela removal policy that violently expulsed residents from their homes (CPCORJ 2015; Silva 2012; Vargas 2013). In response, many favela residents organized and engaged in forms of activism defending their right to exist in the city (Magalhães 2019; Ystanes 2018).

While Rio prepared to host the mega-events, the left-leaning Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party—PT) governed the country through successive election periods from 2003 to 2016. It is noteworthy that federal authorities in the course of this period supported the local implementation of security interventions that to such a degree were based on the violent repression, control, and expulsion of the urban poor. This points to fundamental tensions in Brazilian society that were not resolved during the Brazilian pink tide.[2] While the PT governments oversaw considerable efforts to reduce poverty and inequality among the population, their policies failed to challenge foundational inequities such as those produced by the concentration of landownership on a few hands, a taxation system favoring the wealthy and the influence of private corporate interests in state politics (Costa 2018; Gold and Zagato 2020; Saad-Filho and Morais 2018).

In 2018, after a tumultuous period marked by the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff (PT) on dubious grounds and the political imprisonment of former President Luiz Ignáco Lula da Silva (PT) as he ran for reelection, the Brazilian electorate voted the far-right candidate Jair Bolsonaro into office.[3] This relatively sudden turn from a popular and lauded left-leaning government during the 2000s to a far-right president in the 2010s—elected on promises to overturn PT policies and restore traditional hierarchies of race, gender, and sexuality—was harrowing for many Brazilians. During the 2018 election campaign, activists on the left tried to counter the vitriolic rhetoric unleashed by Bolsonaro's campaign by promoting instead a politics based on "love" (*amor*) and "affection" (*afeto*).[4] In these resistance narratives, opposition to discrimination based on gender, race, and sexuality constitute an important part of the framework.

The far right, on the other hand, opposed what they characterized as "gay propaganda" and "destruction of the Brazilian family," and promoted the politicization of the national school curriculum on gender and sexuality with the aim of halting further change from below. Promising to reinforce social hierarchies that the left-leaning governments of Lula da Silva and Rousseff had started to weaken, Bolsonaro's election campaign rejected the use of quotas for Afro-Brazilians to reduce racial inequalities, announced new limitations to the rights of indigenous

people to their ancestral lands, and created an atmosphere of impunity for police and radical right-wing violence.

While there were considerable concern and disbelief among left-leaning Brazilians that such a platform could gain sufficient support to win the presidency, the contributions to this special section show that hierarchies based on race and gender were shaping Brazilian politics also during the PT's tenure. They point to the foundational anti-blackness and patriarchy of the Brazilian state (J. Alves 2018; Vargas 2012b), expressed in the historical experiences with racialized and gendered security governance built on socially established political fears (Furedi 2006). Anxieties about social change, loss of privilege, and the erosion of hierarchies with roots in settler colonialism and slavery were at the heart of security interventions in Rio's pre-Olympic period.

The contributions to this special section explore the continuity between security policies implemented during Rio's mega-event period and historical articulations of racialized and necropolitical modes of governance in Brazil. This introduction offers a historical contextualization for the dynamics described in the individual articles and suggests that the security interventions implemented during the years of "Olympic exceptionalism" (Vainer 2011) in Rio must be understood in continuity with the periods that came before and after. This implies that we consider the Olympic exceptionalism to be a rhetoric applied by the authorities to legitimize contested interventions and undemocratic decision-making, rather than a clear rupture with former modes of governance. What connects different historical moments in this regard is the continuity of anti-black necropolitics as fundamental to the Brazilian state. Thus, we seek to challenge narratives that present the emergence of Bolsonaro as a radical break with a former, democratic state order. Instead, we suggest the recent turn to the right in Brazil should be interpreted as a weaponization of already existing discourses of security and an intensification of necropolitical modes of governance that have been active throughout Brazilian history. We contribute to critical urban security studies by emphasizing the importance of context sensitive analysis that attend to social and historical processes as they play out in concrete locations. When doing so, past and present concerns related to racialized and gendered hierarchization emerge as crucial elements for understanding securitization in Rio's mega-event moment. Hence, it is our intention to contribute to the understanding of how Rio's mega-event moment intensified necropolitical modes of governance, as well as to methodology and analytical frameworks in critical urban security studies.

The period that concerns us here spans roughly from 2007, when Rio was awarded the hosting rights to the 2014 FIFA World Cup, to the celebration of the Olympics and Paralympics in 2016. These years marked the final stage of a period when international mega-events such as the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, the 2007 Pan American Games, and the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup and visit by Pope Francis profoundly influenced urban development in Rio de Janeiro. Events like the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics contributed to the deployment of public security interventions on an unprecedented scale. These were accompanied by monumental infrastructural and urban development projects. Importantly, the mega-events allowed authorities in Rio to govern through a state of exception (Agamben 2005) that made it possible for them to move political decision-making away from regular democratic processes, ruling instead through the management of emergencies. This means that persons whom local authorities considered experts, rather than elected representatives, were called on to make decisions (Vainer 2011; Ystanes and Magalhães, this issue). As the contributions to this special section show, these processes mirror historical states of exception in Brazil's recent past, and reinforced the colonial legacy of racialized and gendered hierarchies in the present moment.

Brazil's Contested Racial Hierarchy

The entanglements between urban development and public security that took place during the years of Olympic exceptionalism in Rio targeted the favelas and their populations. These interventions illuminate political fears and tensions, as well as the racialized and gendered configuration of Brazilian social hierarchies. Thus, we analyze a broad range of racialized and gendered state practices associated with the mega-events, including policing practices, forced evictions, and demobilization of local activism, to explore how the governing classes conceptualize Brazilian society. In particular, we analyze how these processes speak about social hierarchies and processes of othering. Our work builds on a tradition of feminist and black Brazilian scholarship that critically examines how colonial legacies shape the contemporary Brazilian social order. Central to this tradition is the work of Brazilian intellectuals such as Abdias do Nascimento (1989, [19878] 2016) and Lélia Gonzalez (1988) who, inspired by the work of Frantz Fanon and other postcolonial scholars, forcefully reject the Brazilian myth of racial democracy often used to negate the existence of racism in Brazil. In their work, this myth is foundational for the ideology of white domination in the country. It acts to conceal, or to "camouflage" (Pauschinger, this issue), racism in Brazil through a discourse of miscegenation and assimilation (C. Cardoso 2014: 969; Nascimento [1978] 2016).

Both Nascimento and Gonzalez are especially critical to arguments that cast colonial projects as beneficial to the colonized, for example, through development. Rather, they argue that historical attempts to "whiten" the population through interracial relations, immigration policies, the assimilation and repression of Afro-Brazilian culture and religions, and the murderous violence and torture against black people in Brazil is part of a genocidal project that seeks to eradicate blackness from the modern Brazilian nation and render invisible its African cultural history. In this regard, Nascimento is particularly critical of the white left. Its exclusive emphasis on class struggle has failed to acknowledge the importance and pervasiveness of racial inequalities in Brazil and the Americas, which have kept Afro-Brazilians marginalized from a working class mainly composed of people of European immigrant descent.

More recent work on Brazilian racial dynamics includes work that critically explores the role of the state security forces in policing the country's racialized social order. We find the special issue on gendered anti-blackness that Jõao Costa Vargas (2012a) edited for *Cultural Dynamics* to be of particular relevance for our purposes here. The issue explored "the imminently corrupt character of the dominant Brazilian social and ideological project," and critiqued how the predominance of Eurocentric, white, and privileged perspectives in Brazilian academic research has contributed to the concealment of racialized hierarchization (Vargas 2012b: 3). Some years later, one of the authors in the special issue, Jaime Amparo Alves (2018), followed up this work with *The Anti-Black City*. Alves's book is an ethnographic account of police terror and black urban life in São Paulo that draws actively on Mbembe's (2003) postcolonial framework to show how the Brazilian metropolis is imagined in a way that is fundamentally hostile to black life. Both Vargas' and Alves' work have informed our understanding of how racial and gender relations are produced through and are productive of urban security governance.

A Brief History of Necropolitical Governance in Brazil

Since colonial times, Brazilian social dynamics have been shaped by a pervasive racialized social imaginary imposed by the elites, who considered white identity and culture synonymous

with progress, civility and reason, and black and indigenous identity and culture as associated with darkness, danger, and emotions (Gonzalez 1988; Larkins 2017; Nascimento [1978] 2016; Oliveira Filho 2016; Salem and Bertelsen, this issue). Throughout history, the elites have engaged patriarchal male violence to repress the perceived threat from black and indigenous communities (Schwarcz 2019; Sørbøe, this issue). For centuries, this imaginary has legitimized state violence against groups racialized as black or nonwhite in the attempt to produce a white Brazilian modernity. Such genocidal violence has taken on many forms, ranging from pacification and slavery during colonial years to eugenic "whitening" projects in the imperial and republican periods; the successive "wars" on subversives, crime, and drugs; and the repression of black cultural expressions (Nascimento [1978] 2016).

After the arrival of the first Portuguese colonizers, one of the earliest configurations of racialized necropolitical governance can be observed in the settlers' attempt to "pacify" the indigenous population. The military and the Catholic Church joined forces to resettle and "civilize" the groups they displaced through colonization. In colonial pacification, the military violently uprooted indigenous communities and forcibly relocated them to Catholic missions, where those who survived the violence and disease brought by the colonists were converted to Christianity and made to work in the newly established European towns and villages. Often, converted indigenous persons were enrolled in the military forces and thus made to participate in the colonization of their people. However, as many resisted religious conversion, the Europeans believed them to be particularly susceptible to the influence of the devil. Therefore, they required strict and continuous control and supervision and were both seen and treated as children, cementing the base for a racialized paternalism that has been recurrent throughout Brazilian history (Marinato 2008; Oliveira Filho 2016: 324; Schwarcz 2019).

With the decimation of the native population and the emergence of the labor-intensive sugar cane plantation system, the Portuguese colonists turned to the Atlantic slave trade to procure enslaved persons from Africa. The outcome was a multifaceted hierarchy, where the opposition between persons racialized as white and black, Europeans and Africans, constituted a foundational principle. An important aspect of this hierarchy was also the privileging of the patriarchal, heterosexual family (Schwarcz 2019). Slaveholders assumed that the formation of families and kinship relations were not compatible with captivity and that affective and sexual relations among enslaved Africans, therefore, would not conform to acceptable norms. These assumptions were part of a dehumanizing narrative that contributed to legitimizing slavery even as the process of turning captives into slaves took advantage of the captives' human need to form community and kinship ties with each other (Florentino and Góes 2017). In the present, the legacy of these processes is reflected in myths about black promiscuity and absent black fathers. The invisibility and silencing of black families, and in particular black fathers, must be understood against this backdrop (see Braathen; Gilsing, this issue).

The landowners at the plantations exercised great local authority through relations of patronage and held sovereign power as slave owners. Throughout the colonial period, landowners were free to punish slaves and workers on their estates and surrounding areas as they pleased. In lack of an institutionalized police force, they often had close relations with the military, and in many cases, they held military degrees. During these years, a Brazilian form of authoritarianism called *Coronelismo* consolidated, with the landowner, both patriarch and patron, at the apex of the social hierarchy (Schwarcz 2019).

When the Portuguese crown settled in Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they established a formal state apparatus, including the Royal Guard, which is the predecessor to the contemporary police forces. The Portuguese colonizers had fresh in mind the experience of the Haitian Revolution, a series of events between 1791 and 1804 in which

enslaved blacks successfully rebelled against the French colonial power. Hence, the principal assignment of the state and the police was to safeguard the interests of the European elite and protect them from any revolt by black slaves—who made up roughly half the population in Rio at the time. If not stated explicitly, there were no doubts concerning the task of the newly founded police force. In the historical archives of the police, there are no registered arrests of white Europeans during the first decades of its existence (Holloway 1993; see also Salem and Bertelsen, this issue).

This mirrors how the Spanish crown upheld the privileges of peninsulars and criollos (persons born in the colonies to parents of European ancestry) in their colonial territories. In eighteenth-century Ecuador, for example, members of the European elites could claim poverty and appeal to the crown for economic support should they no longer be able to maintain a lifestyle considered suitable for their status, such as running a household with servants. The purpose of this arrangement was to preserve a white, European elite in the colonies (Milton 2007). In this way, European colonial regimes established modes of producing and upholding racialized inequality in the Latin American colonies. After independence, new state formations continued this role in the production of inequality by numerous means.

In Brazil, state institutions were shaped according to the needs of the urban elites and powerful landowners, consolidating the patrimonial functioning of the state also following the installation of the First Brazilian Republic in 1889 (see Schwarcz 2019). The preceding year, more than a hundred years after the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded in Britain in 1787, Brazil had abolished slavery as the last country in the Western Hemisphere. The new republic did not formally have racial segregation such as the United States and South Africa, but in the absence of legal discrimination, hierarchical racial relations were enforced through the ideological narrative of "racial democracy" (Freyre [1933] 1946). Within this framework, narratives about "miscegenation" rendered invisible black cultural forms, structural economic inequalities, the exclusion of black people from the emergent Brazilian worker class, and the unequal application of the law according to social status (see, e.g., C. Cardoso 2014; DaMatta 1991; Gonzalez 1988; Holston 2009; Nascimento 1989).

Historian Brodwyn Fischer argues that weak legal status has always been an important component of urban poverty in Brazil and that this situation originates from "an unusually radical misfit between Brazilian law and the people and communities it governed" (2008: 5). This inconsistency is popularly expressed in the idiom "Do you know who you are talking to?" by which members of the elite can activate their privileges in encounters with the law (DaMatta 1991; Holston 2009). Consequently, to understand legal inequality in Brazil, we must look not to the law itself but rather to the assumptions underlying them and the processes that enforce them (Fischer 2008: 5). Security interventions and policing are crucial parts of the enforcing of intentions, and hence contribute to—and speak about—the conceptualization and enforcing of hierarchy.

In twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro, the securing of privilege and policing of inequality also extended into the area of urban planning in ways that merged concerns related to public health with projects of modernization. During the republican era, these efforts were imbued with racialized anxieties about the status of the new nation, and urban development interventions often aimed to contribute to "whiten" the population (Chalhoub 1993; Garmany and Richmond 2019; Stepan 1991; Valladares 2000). Among the earliest interventions in Rio were demolitions of *cortiços* (low-income tenements) in central areas, where enslaved and free Africans lived together with newly arrived European immigrants. As contagious and deadly illnesses such as yellow fever spread easily in the crowded conditions of these tenements, they were seen as damaging to Rio's reputation as an attractive destination for European immigrants. This, in turn,

was considered an obstacle to the project of "whitening" the population through immigration (Chalhoub 1993; see also Nascimento [1978] 2016).

Rio's political elites legitimized the demolition of *cortiços* by merging racialized hierarchical sentiments with moral concerns. These tenements were not only considered home to a largely black population but also as locations for *malandragem* (roguery) and crime. Hence, the city's elites came to see *cortiços* as threats to social and moral orders in multiple ways (Valladares 2000: 7). Among these interventions are Mayor Francisco Pereira Passos' (1902–1906) belle époque urban reforms (Carvalho 2016: 23). This period is perhaps most famous for consolidating Rio's reputation as a modern and marvelous city. However, while this happened, poor, disproportionally nonwhite residents were pushed out of central areas and out of view (Carvalho 2016: 21–22, 24; see also Carvalho 2013). This entanglement between urban planning and concerns of public health and security has been termed *higienização* (hygienization), and continues to inform contemporary urban development processes (Garmany and Richmond 2019; see also Ystanes and Magalhães, this issue).

During the Cold War, members of the Brazilian Armed Forces, with the support of the United States, overthrew President João Goulart in a 1964 coup d'état. This marked the beginning of a military dictatorship that would last until the restoration of democracy in 1985. Throughout this period, military leaders engaged the state's security forces to persecute their political opponents. In Rio, paramilitary extermination groups performed "purges" of supposed criminals in poor and black communities. Brazil's military leaders saw themselves as the protectors of the country's moral order. They associated the liberalization of norms for gender roles and sexuality with communism and made a concerted effort to subdue social change and conserve traditional patriarchal and racialized hierarchies (Cowan 2016). During the years of military rule, local authorities also continued the expulsion of urban poor, who as a group are racialized as black or nonwhite, from central and attractive areas of the city (Brum 2013; Perlman 2010). Meanwhile, the national security doctrine penetrated and influenced local police forces, who increasingly understood their work as a war against internal enemies: criminals, the unemployed, addicts, and eventually black drug dealers in the favelas.

After the reintroduction of democracy in 1985, this conceptualization of internal enemies continued to undergird the activities of the police and federal security forces. Strongly influenced by the United States, the Brazilian state embarked on a war on drugs that intensified in the following decades. Absent the communist "subversive," the war on drugs provided the authorities with a new rhetorical device that legitimized the application of the state's security apparatus against favela residents. The advanced weaponry of drug traffickers contributed to strengthening the discourse of intervention, even though traffickers often bought these weapons from members of the armed and police forces. In the context of favela-based drug trafficking, armed confrontations between police and traffickers were often a form of violent negotiation over profits (Lessing 2015), and a way for an otherwise beleaguered state to assert its efficiency through spectacular displays of power (Larkins 2013). Importantly, police brutality was a way to assert police authority and impose Brazilian social hierarchies in the favelas. In the decades following the return of democracy, Brazilian police officers executed collective punishment in the form of massacres, kidnapping, torturing, and killing favela residents to such an extent that they became known as the world's most lethal police force (see, e.g., J. Alves 2018).

As has also been the case in the United States, where the war on drugs was conceived, this strategy for combating crime is profoundly marked by gendered and racialized dynamics (see, e.g., Goffman 2014). In contemporary Rio de Janeiro, the effort to subdue drug trafficking in the city's favelas has resulted in processes that critics have characterized as a "genocide of black youth" (Duarte 2013; Puff 2014; Ramos 2012) and as "criminalization of poverty" (Insurgencia

2014; Vaz 2014). While the institution of slavery lay the foundations for a society where black people were not considered part of humanity, the war on drugs provided a powerful narrative through which black people, especially those from the favelas, were recast as subjects that Giorgio Agamben (1995) refers to as bare life: they can be killed by the police (or others) without consequences. It is telling, in this regard, that the violent death of a black person in a favela is normalized, and rarely produces anger or a sense of injustice among Brazil's dominant white classes (Vargas 2013).

Olympic Exceptionalism in Rio de Janeiro

Racial anxieties and the preoccupation with the erosion of the social hierarchies we have described so far were at the center of the securitization processes experienced in Rio de Janeiro during the decade of Olympic exceptionalism. The empirical material that the contributions to this section analyze is derived from fieldworks exploring the racialized and gendered dimensions of these interventions. The studies show that despite political promises of social inclusion, urban development, and expanding citizenship promoted to the public as part of the Olympic legacy, a historical legacy of necropolitical governance articulated through the logics of security were central to the Olympic-exception framework.

Taken together, the security interventions of this period produced a hyper-militarized urban landscape with spectacular security measures implemented in and around enclaves for the privileged. In these urban enclaves, or Olympic fortresses, persons racialized as black are excluded and expulsed (Pauschinger; Ystanes and Magalhães, this issue), silenced (Gilsing, this issue), and intensely controlled by the state (Braathen; Salem and Bertelsen, this issue). Security practices with a long history in Rio de Janeiro are central to these processes, for example, through the policing of patriarchal hierarchies and masculine gender norms anchored in the capacity to exercise violence (Sørbøe, this issue), as well as racial and moral hierarchies that shape the way and extent to which different populations are policed and controlled (Gilsing; Salem and Bertelsen, this issue).

Most notably, Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora (Pacifying Police Units—UPPs) were established in select favelas, through highly mediatized police operations staged as a reconquering of these territories from the control of drug traffickers (Larkins 2015; Vargas 2013). While the rhetoric of proximity policing promised to bring peace, development, and social inclusion to the populations in the favelas, the UPPs were articulated through the same logic of war that has permeated the military police through its history, especially following the years of military rule (Sørbøe; Salem and Bertelsen, this issue). Celina Sørbøe in this section traces the hypermasculine formation of the warrior ethos not to the situation of intergroup violence in the favelas (cf. Gripp and Zaluar 2017; Zaluar 2010) but to the subjective production of anti-communist guerilla warriors in American militaries during the Cold War era (Cowan 2016). Sørbøe notes that the brutality of Rio's military police forces follows patterns configured around colonial structures of inequality and traditional gender norms. Highlighting the continuity between colonial and contemporary pacification, she points to the painful paradox that the very population that is targeted by necropolitics is also involved in its execution.

Meanwhile, also through a focus on the inner workings of the police, Tomas Salem and Bjørn Bertelsen show how policing at the UPPs, despite its rhetoric of social inclusion, mirror colonial patterns of pacification, especially as pertains to the relationship between militarization and a moral civilizing discourse fueled by religion. By examining the moral dimensions of policing, Salem and Bertelsen also add complexity to the police's operationalization of racial hierarchies

in the favela. They show that the police do not conceive of the favelas as homogeneous black spaces but rather differentiate between people and areas according to the level of acceptance of police authority. Among police officers, the success of pacification is measured by the level of support for the police, that is, to the adherence to the state order that is imposed on local communities. Together, these contributions highlight the racial dynamics of the religiously infused gendered performances that have been elevated to the top of the national political system in recent years with Bolsonaro's ascendance to the presidency.

In their discussions of the police's politics of morality in the favelas, several of the contributions also show that when favela communities are not physically expelled and excluded from the city, they are included in the urban landscape in an anti-black manner, through assimilation to cultural forms and expressions that historical and social processes have racialized as white (see Nascimento [1978] 2016; Vargas 2012b). For example, Dennis Pauschinger in this section shows how people racialized as black were excluded from areas close to the Olympic venues but were often found competing on the sports playing field. Dynamics of inclusion and exclusion according to racialized logics are also evidenced in the prohibition of funk parties in the favelas and moral condemnation of funk music (Gilsing, this issue), in the moral value attributed to Christian religious expressions (Salem and Bertelsen, this issue), in the resistance to favela evictions by demonstrating adherence to middle-class tastes and values (Ystanes and Magalhães, this issue), and in the demobilization of grassroots favela activism and strengthening of patrimonial and clientelist dynamics through infrastructural projects in the favelas (Braathen, this issue).

Furthermore, historical associations between favela territories and populations as security risks became reinforced in the mega-event context and were applied to justify the eviction of residents from numerous favelas throughout the city (Brum 2013; Magalhães 2019). Margit Ystanes and Alexandre Magalhães in this section argue that the use of favela evictions as part of the preparations to host the 2014 and 2016 mega-events cannot be considered a mere clearing of space for new infrastructure or investment: it is also integral to the security measures of these events, as well as a concerted effort to turn the Olympic neighborhood Barra da Tijuca into an elite enclave (Watts 2015). Ystanes and Magalhães also address the underlying logic of these interventions in light of historical entanglements between public health and security policies with urban planning. Building on the logic of a city partially populated by a threatening population, the authorities deployed state security forces, including the armed forces, throughout the city's urban landscape. Furthermore, the city invested in advanced surveillance technology, implemented broad bureaucratic reforms to integrate security efforts across the city, and adopted traditional lockdown strategies that isolated urban areas around the Olympic venues (Pauschinger, this issue).

The contributions to this special section do not ask how any particular groups of people experience racial or gender discrimination but rather explore how racialization and gender norms inform securitization. The authors approach this topic from a variety of points of view. Sørbøe, Pauschinger, and Salem and Bertelsen focus on the perspective of different police forces operating in the city as part of the Olympic security measures. Gilsing, Braathen, and Ystanes and Magalhães, on the other hand, examine the efforts of different communities to cope with and resist the violent and disruptive interventions enforced on them in the name of public security. Through these analyses, we aim to contribute to current debates on how securitization is racialized and gendered, both in the Brazilian context and beyond. This effort builds on recent work about how such processes unfold in Brazil (J. Alves 2018; Cowan 2016; Gripp and Zaluar 2017; Oliveira Filho 2016; Vargas 2012b, 2013; Veillette and Nunes 2017), as well other locations (see, e.g., Diphoorn 2015; Gressgård 2018).

Concluding Thoughts

The racialized and gendered dynamics that this special section explores are not limited to Brazil but have been integral to the emergence of global capitalism (see, e.g., Brown 2010). In colonial times, they undergirded the supposition that European imperialism contributed to spreading civilization and progress to other continents (Nascimento 1989; Santos 1993). The ideas of equality and freedom from slavery that philosophers and others debated during the European Enlightenment did not extend beyond white men and hence were not seen as contradictory to colonialism and black slavery (see, e.g., Buck-Morss 2009; Trouillot 1995). As the newly independent colonies looked to Europe for inspiration and acceptance even as they forged new national identities (Stepan 1991), they reproduced colonial hierarchies. The contributions to this special section show that these processes continue to influence ongoing projects of social engineering.

It is important to underscore that it is not our intention to construct an artificial contrast between Brazil as a place that has been stuck in brutal colonial logics, and Europe as a place that has moved on to more humanistic sensitivities. Europe is still a continent profoundly marked by hierarchical distinctions between an "us" and "others" (Said 1979), and where racialized processes of securitization and necropolitical governance are evident in national and EU responses to migration and the racialized articulation of the war on terror (see, e.g., Bendixsen 2017; Gressgård 2018). Indeed, the exclusion and repression of racialized "others" is a colonial structure that Europe keeps reinventing, and that hinders the formation of nonviolent social orders.

As a group of mostly Northern scholars, we write from positionalities that are implicated in these postcolonial racialization processes. In the Norwegian context, for example, Sandra Fylkesnes (2019) has shown how, in indirect ways, education policy and curriculum documents aiming to promote social justice nevertheless produces a pedagogy that is blind to the current workings of race and racism among the population. Such "pedagogical amnesia" is not unique to Norway but is currently contested by an increasing number of scholars around the world, who call for the decolonization of knowledge and research methodologies (see, e.g., Colombres 2012; Davis and Todd 2017; Salinas 2020; Smith 2012; TallBear 2014; Todd 2018; Vargas 2012b). Hence, writing in the context of this debate, and with the conviction that we all share a responsibility to untangle how racialization informs knowledge production and undergirds social injustice, we find it important to acknowledge that the composition of our group reflects these structural injustices that mark academic knowledge production. Our identities and backgrounds have shaped how our fieldworks unfolded, and the insights they produced. For example, while Jaime Amparo Alves (2018) and Keisha-Kahn Perry (2013) write about how their own experiences of racism in the Brazilian context inform their analyses, many of us have instead conducted fieldworks marked by the comforts of white privilege. In the context of securitization in particular, we have experienced how whiteness can work almost like a protective shield. In Pauschinger's contribution, for example, he describes how he, as a white, middle-class man, could easily circumvent the complex security system in place outside Olympic venues. The use of racial profiling as a security technique means that white persons are rarely considered dangerous and therefore rarely become targets of violent security measures or exclusions that nonwhite persons frequently suffer. Therefore, we have also had experiences of strangers being willing to extend their trust to us in situations that have illuminated some of the ways security measures are racialized.[5]

We finalize this work while the COVID-19 pandemic is working its way around the globe, leaving persons and societies in profound and multifaceted crises. Although many hope to return to the world they knew before the pandemic, others are calling for us to take this liminal

phase as an opportunity to think about the kind of world we would like to inhabit. The police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis and the Black Lives Matters protests that followed in its wake forcefully demonstrate the urgent need to dismantle white, patriarchal supremacy as part of this effort. As a contribution to this work, we would like to end by drawing attention to the more loving world conjured up by the new wave of black, queer, and gendered activism currently unfolding in Rio and Brazil. Drawing inspiration from critical black Brazilian scholarship such as the work of Abdias do Nascimento and Lélia Gonzales, this movement was already gaining momentum when the black, queer councilwoman Marielle Franco, who was from a favela in Rio's underserved northern zone, was assassinated by two former policemen on 14 March 2018. With her explicitly anti-racist, feminist, and queer political work, Franco represented hope for the possibility of grassroots democratic reconstruction in Brazil (N. Alves et al. 2018).

While the intention behind the assassination may have been to intimidate and subdue the movement, the opposite happened; Franco's murder amplified its message (see Braathen; Gilsing, this issue). In the 2018 elections, held in October, just a few months after the murder, several black women candidates whose campaigns referred to Franco's legacy were elected into positions for the Socialism and Liberty Party, which Franco also represented. This movement also constituted a crucial base for resistance to Bolsonaro's candidacy. The articulation of such resistance through the life and political labor of Marielle, as she is affectionately known among supporters, a black, queer woman from an underserved favela, expands the possibilities for political mobilization around more inclusive, pluralist, feminist, queer, and explicitly anti-racist identities. This movement is also building alliances with indigenous activists and the political left, forming a broad coalition that can potentially find common approaches for resisting the authoritarian and anti-black undercurrents that Bolsonaro's presidency represents. The COVID-19 pandemic has laid bare that inequality exacerbates crises and devastates personal and societal security—and the most severely affected are persons in precarious living, social, and economic conditions. As we contemplate how to address the devastation left in the wake of this crisis, the inclusive society promoted by Brazilian black, queer, and gendered activism can serve as an inspiration for everyone interested in exploring how we can conceptualize societies where all citizens can be secure.

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NOTES

1. Favelas are often referred to as informal neighborhoods, but here we have chosen to use the term self-built instead. This is inspired by Kathleen Millar's work (2018) on the life and labor of *catadores*, who collected items for recycling from Rio's now defunct Jardim Gramacho garbage dump. Millar shows that relationships, materials, and resources considered to belong to the formal and informal sectors also find their way into the other. This interconnection makes the distinction between formal and informal complicated. Many favela residents are, for example, employed in the formal economy, and formal businesses as well as state entities are present in favelas. The concept of "informal" does not capture this complexity, and we have therefore chosen to describe favelas by referring to them as self-built and underserved. This aims to capture the residents' active role in creating and developing favelas and the insufficient provision of public services to these areas.
2. The pink tide refers to when, between the late 1990s to the mid-2010s, several Latin American countries voted in left-leaning governments after a period marked by neoliberal politics. The pink tide governments made notable advances in reducing poverty and inequality yet failed to significantly challenge entrenched inequalities (see, e.g., Ystanes and Strønen 2018).
3. This petition to free Lula from imprisonment, signed by numerous scholars, outlines the circumstances behind his arrest in detail (GSBD 2020).
4. These resistance narratives can be accessed in social media via the hashtag *#elenão* (#nothim), which activists and other voters used to express their opposition to then presidential candidate Bolsonaro.
5. Relationships of trust are racialized also in other postcolonial contexts (see, e.g., Ystanes 2016).

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