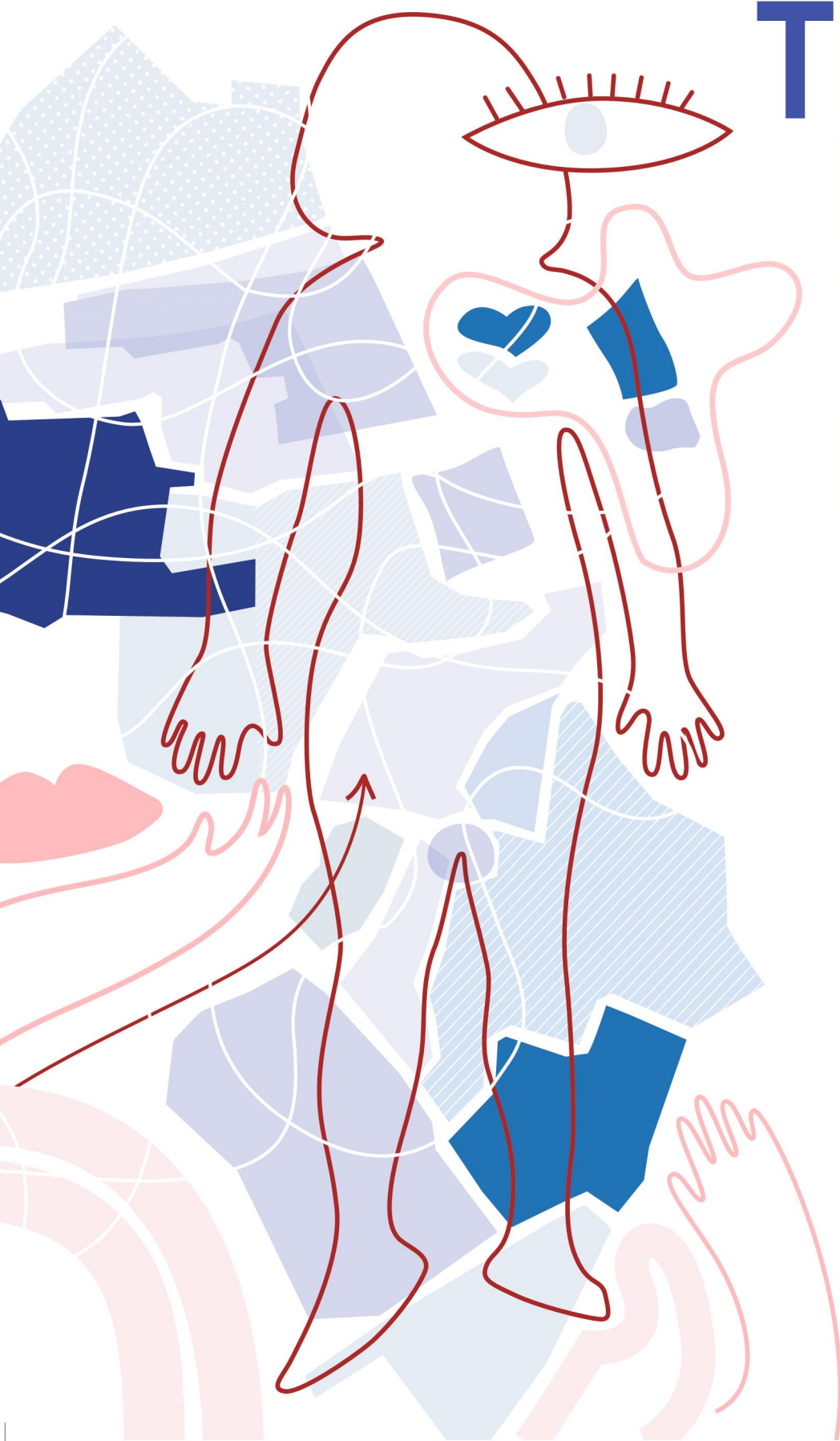# BODY-

TERRITORY

Mapping women's resistance to violence in the favelas of Maré, Rio de Janeiro

2022

Authors

Rosa dos Ventos Lopes Heimer (King's College London)

Moniza Rizzini Ansari (King's College London)

Julia Leal (Casa das Mulheres da Maré)

Andreza Dionisio (Casa das Mulheres da Maré)

Fernanda Vieira (Casa das Mulheres da Maré)

Natalia Trindade (Casa das Mulheres da Maré)

Cathy McIlwaine (King's College London)

Project Partnership

Cathy McIlwaine (PI, King's College London),

Miriam Krenzinger (CoI, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro)

Eliana Sousa Silva (CoI, Redes da Maré)

Paul Heritage (CoI, People's Palace Projects and Queen Mary University of London)

Project Manager

Renata Peppl

Advisor

Caroline Moser (University of Manchester)

Cover design

Paulica Santos

CONTENTS

I INTRODUCTION

This report discusses the findings of participatory counter-mapping as part of the research project *Resisting violence, creating dignity: negotiating Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) through community history-making in Rio de Janeiro.* Co-produced between the teams in Brazil and the UK, it focused on women's bodies as territories and on their collective knowledge about the spaces they inhabit. Counter-mapping refers to the power to produce counter-hegemonic narratives about the history and territorial composition of a community based on knowledge acquired from the direct experiences of minority subjects, i.e., who are not in control of their own representations (Peluso, 1995; Aberley, 1993; Ribeiro, 2020). As an instrument for the vindication of knowledge and narratives by women facing various forms of gendered urban violence, the counter-mapping makes visible and enhances collective knowledge produced through territorial and embodied resistance practices. In particular, we emphasize the 'body-territory' relationship in confronting gendered urban violence.

This is a particularly relevant strategy for women living in Maré considering the context of stigma and segregation within Rio de Janeiro's favelas, where confronting gendered violence is relativized in the face of other forms of urban violence that dominate the attention of society, often from a masculine perspective (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014; McIlwaine, 2021). Maré is one of the largest favela groupings in Brazil, located in Rio de Janeiro's North Zone. The territory is affected by high levels of poverty, inequality, and public insecurity, but is also home to multiple struggles, protests and resistance, and a large network of civil society organizations. Women in Maré lead much of these initiatives and have been at the forefront of historic social and urban improvements in the region (Sousa Silva, 2015; see also McIlwaine et al., 2022a, b).

Building on previous stages of the research on collaborative mapping by women working in situations of violence in Maré (McIlwaine et al., 2022a), a methodology was developed dedicated to mapping the articulations of body and territory within resistance practices against gendered violence among women residents. This analysis focuses on data collected during five 'body-territory mapping' workshops. Here, the body and territory maps were elaborated by the participants and involved discussions in which they decoded their experiences of violence and resistance as written through their bodies and explained the stories behind them. This knowledge was applied through resistance practices that connect the body-territory with the community-territory and the city-territory in a way that reveals broader structural resistance strategies.

In Section II, we discuss the methodology and conceptual framework that underpins the study. We highlight the Latin American concept of *Cuerpo-Territorio* (Cabnal, 2010; Zaragocin & Caretta, 2020) that inspires the study, having been adapted in a previous experience by one of the co-authors o responding to the COVID-19 pandemic (see Lopes-Heimer, in press). We also describe the process of adapting and implementing this methodology collaboratively among the international team. In Section III we

thematically analyse the body maps, paying special attention to what they visualise in terms of violence and resistance. In Section IV we turn specifically to participatory territorial counter-mapping, highlighting the ways in which women in Maré situate their practices of resistance on their territories, their bodies, their territorial communities, and the city more broadly. In Section V, we reflect on the key findings of this experience. Constructed from the point of view of women residents of Maré, the maps challenge homogeneous representations of Maré as a violent and dangerous place and the women residents as passive victims. In contrast, the maps help to reveal the nature of intersectional forms of violence experienced by these women and the strategic ways in which they mobilize their bodies and embody knowledge about their territories in their resistance practices.

II METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this phase of the research followed the principles of participatory co-production which guide the entire project, integrating the teams in Brazil and the UK. In previous stages of this research (McIlwaine et al., 2022a), we identified many ways in which both bodies and territories are violated and mobilized in contexts of gendered urban violence among women living in Maré along a 'continuum' of violence and resistance.

This drew upon, and reconstructed, the Latin American concept and methodology of 'Body-Territory'. In this section, we discuss the methodological development, application, participants' profiles, and the process of data analysis. *Territorio Cuerpo-Tierra* [Body-Earth Territory] or *Cuerpo-Territorio* [Body-Territory] is a concept and method that emerged from a political group of Maya-Xinka indigenous women in Guatemala and is central to the political project of community feminists (Cabnal, 2010) and territorial feminisms in Latin America (Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo, 2014, 2017b; Cruz Hernández, 2016; Ulloa, 2016). Lorena Cabnal (2010) explains how there is a cosmological understanding connecting body and nature behind 'Body-Territory' which is part of a whole and stretches across a continuum in which the body-territory is conceived as the basis for promoting life, resistance and dignity. This vision interconnects body, nature and space.

This concept and methodology has been developed by Latin American Collectives, such as the Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo (2017a), the Colectivo de Geografía Crítica del Ecuador (2017a), and Geobrujas (2018) and feminist and decolonial researchers, especially from Latin America (Zaragocin & Caretta, 2020; Haesbaert, 2020; Mollett, 2021; Lopes-Heimer, in press; Satizábal & Zurita, in press). This work demonstrates the transformative and decolonial potential of this approach which emphasises the body and the processes of embodiment and territorial multi-scalarity (Zaragocin & Caretta, 2020; Lopes-Heimer, in press).

Recently, one of the report co-authors applied this method in the context of her doctoral research, investigating the experiences of intimate and state violence, as well

as practices of resistance, of Latin American migrant women in England (Lopes-Heimer & Franco, 2020). Such experience gave rise to a methodology specific for the immigration context ('Travelling Cuerpo-Territorios') (Lopes-Heimer, in press). This learning was then brought to this research including art and technology through video production and videoconferencing which were used as tools of immersion, methodological explanation and communication.

The process of developing the methodology involved London and Rio de Janeiro team members working in a collaborative, complementary way. Virtual meetings were organised to present, and then rethink the methodology. The dynamics, structure, script and questions were rethought according to this new context, based on the accumulated knowledge of the team located in Maré (researchers from the Casa das Mulheres da Maré, who have been working directly in supporting women in situations of gendered violence since 2016) as well as data collected in the previous phases of the research (McIlwaine et al., 2022a). Following discussion, adjustments were made based taking into account local specificities in Maré and following the ethos of continued work practiced by Casa das Mulheres and Redes da Maré.

Once a final version of the proposal for the application of the method had been validated among all the team members, we produced an introductory video to be used at the beginning of the sessions. This video contextualised the Body-Territory proposal audio-visually and explained how the activity of mapping the body could be developed.[1] The video was used not only as an explanatory tool but also an immersive one to instigate the body-spatial imagination of participants preparing to start the activity. In mid-2021, with the partial improvement of the COVID-19 pandemic context in Brazil, the method was implemented face-to-face in the Casa das Mulheres da Maré, using the video as an introductory tool to start the session.

The workshops were designed so that two participants at a time were provided with the opportunity for dialogue between themselves, while ensuring compliance with COVID-19 safety protocol. In addition, a researcher-facilitator and a researcher-reporter was present, both members of the Casa das Mulheres da Maré, participated. Their responsibility was to recruit women living in Maré as participants and to apply the methodology. The team in London followed the process via video conference.

Prior to the workshops, we held several meetings to discuss the diversity of the participant profile for each session, and a pilot session tested the method with two women workers from the Casa das Mulheres. The pilot ended with a discussion in which everyone made comments and evaluated the process. Only after this was the methodology finalized. Of the five sessions, one was done with only one participan(due to unforeseen events), while the last was conducted with three. All sessions had a small number of people in the same room (3-5), masks were worn, a

---

[1] The video can be accessed at: https://transnationalviolenceagainstwomen.org/2022/06/06/body-territory-mapping-to-produce-counter-narratives-of-mare/

safe distance was maintained, and COVID-19 testing was offered (Redes da Maré had set up a free testing centre in Maré).

In the selection of participants, we sought to ensure diversity in relation to socio-body-spatial markers, since the bodily experiences of violence and resistance are intersectional. The participants were grouped in pairs and trios based on at least one common characteristic (e.g., age; sexual orientation; cis or trans gender identity; relationship with the body and with the territory). More than half of the 10 participants were racialised women; most of these women were cisgender, some were heterosexual, others were bisexual with one a lesbian and with some age diversity (see Table 1).

Table 1: Profile of workshop participants (n=10)

Age	Race	Gender identity	Sexual orientation	Location of residence
20-27: 4 32-38: 4 50 and >: 2	Black/Preta: 4 Mixed-race/Parda: 2 Indigenous: 1 White: 3	Cisgender: 7 Trans women: 3	Heterosexual: 6 Bisexual: 3 Lesbian: 1	Nova Holanda: 5 Morro do Timbau: 3 Praia de Ramos: 1 Parque União: 1

Note: *Preta* and *Parda* are the official racial categories used in the Brazilian census

The activity always began with a brief introduction by the participants, the researcher-facilitator of the activity, the researcher-reporter and the researchers who accompanied the participants online. The participants then watched the introductory video of the body-territory. The participants were then invited to lie down on a sheet of paper the size of their body, and the researcher-facilitator drew their silhouettes with a pen, outlining their bodies. Before questions were asked, the researcher described the conceptual difference between emotions, feelings and sensations, offering some examples, and describing the dynamics of the activity. The participants were invited to answer the questions below, identifying in specific parts of their bodies certain emotions, feelings, sensations, memories, people and places.

1. Where and what do I feel when I think about the violence I experienced/live inside the territory of Maré? Which parts of my body did/do these violences affect?

2. Where and what do I feel when I think about the violence that I have experienced/live outside the territory of Maré? What parts of my body did/do these violences affect?

3. Where and what do I feel when I think about how my identity is used to exert some kind of violence or control over me and my body?

4. Where and what do I feel when I think about the ways I am treated by state security forces?

5. Where and what do I feel when I think about the ways I am treated by armed groups?

6. Where and what do I feel when I think about the strategies (individual and collective) of care and resistance that I have decided to adopt in the face of violence? (two)

7. Where in my body do I feel strength and power in the face of violence? What is it like? (can be a word or a drawing)

8. Draw places, people and events that make you feel insecure, sad, violated. For example, it could be a city, a house, a street, a neighbourhood, an institution, a room, etc.; but also friends, or strangers, etc.

9. Now identify the parts of the body that feel hurt or are already healed, parts of the body that have been marked by any kind of violence. What places and people are part of this? Think about how this violence has marked your body.

10. Draw out the bodily strategies of body protection and care that you used/use against violence.

11. Draw places and/or people that bring back good memories, happy places, places of care and protection, marked by loved ones. They can be places inside or outside Maré, an institution, the house or street where you live, a place that you frequent, pass by on your way, or have lived or been in the past.

12. Now identify in this body where your strength is, where the resistance is, the will for transformation. What places and people are part of this? What strategies? Think about how this strength and capacity to resist have marked your body.

13. Identify the locations on the body-map on the Mare map.

After answering these questions, each participant was asked to talk about how the process of remembering and thinking-feeling through their bodies was experienced. Some participants reported how painful it was to look at parts of their bodies that were marked, to look at everything that had been done to them, recalling memories, sensations and emotions that they often tried to forget and leave behind. At the same time, reflecting on their experiences, allowed them to elaborate on stories of overcoming struggle. This facilitation of a collective space for exchange and sense of belonging also occurred in other parts of the research, including focus groups. Overall, a strength of this project has been the way in which it has enabled participants to tell and listen to each other's stories in a collective way.

> We don't realise how many things have happened, and today, here we were realising, looking now at how much we suffered, how much we fought and struggle. [...] and we are resisting until today (Neide, mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, living in Nova Holanda, 32 years old)

Other participants also reflected on the methodology as an intense immersive experience, in which painful moments and feelings materialized. At the same time the process of naming and locating, had a therapeutic dimension. For example, even for Lívia, a cis woman, black/*preta* and lesbian who had a strong body awareness derived from her training as a dancer and dance teacher, the activity generated a new body knowledge and provided a sense of relief.

> As a person who works with the body, and researches the body [...] it was very liberating perhaps. Or I don't know, it seems that it unfolded, it opened a new window in my body to be able to do this, because it is in fact materializing everything bad [...] the ones that marked me most are described here, you know? What I am most afraid of, afraid of putting, whether I want to or not, came in here, you know? This is very interesting, beautiful to see, because somewhere it seems that it took away from me, from this body and entered this one, right? And

for me it was very interesting to see, like, really materialized, the word, to be able to touch them, almost, you know? It's beautiful, like that, and I think that somewhere it gives me a certain strength. [...] . Somewhere it seems to come out of me, it gives me a relief, it seems (Livia, cis woman, i, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

At the end of the activity, this participant sent a message to the researcher-facilitator asking for a photo of her body map so that she could use it as a source of self-knowledge. She also said she loved her partner, Katia, and that she liked the way the activity was conducted. Lívia was the only one of the 10 participants who had been through all the previous phases of the research, as well as having already worked professionally in the Casa das Mulheres da Maré, as a facilitator of an Artistic Residency. However, of the 10 women who participated in the workshops, eight had previously been involved in activities (courses and projects) at the Casa das Mulheres and were familiar enough with the discussion of gendered violence to trust the facilitators. This relationship with the Casa das Mulheres and Redes da Maré proved to be an important factor in the effectiveness of a method which differs from more traditional approaches of interviews and focus groups in demanding an openness on the part of participants

After finalizing the maps and reflecting on them, participants shared their maps with each other, decoding the drawings and writings placed on their body-map. and reflecting on the stories behind them. The decision to work in pairs with at least one common socio-corporeal-spatial characteristic proved crucial, because it meant that during the interaction, participants could reflect on their lives while looking at the other's map, highlighting similarities and differences. In the session with only one participant, this interaction was compromised, while in the case of three participants, the interaction tended to be shortened. Here the proximity of the three participants, led to quite similar interventions and feelings, sensations and emotions about their experiences.

Next, participants thought about Maré and transposed a territorial map onto the issues that emerged in their body maps. They were encouraged to mark on the territorial map places or regions that they considered to be marked (i) by tension, in terms of violence, risks and fears, and (ii) by potency or power, in terms of liberating, motivating and engaging experiences. At this stage of the workshop participants were reminded of places or events they had mentioned in their earlier elaborations and to reflect on them spatially. Territorial maps were then unified into a collective map throughout the workshops. The data from this collective map fed into a previous stage of GIS mapping research with workers from the Casa das Mulheres da Maré in what we call "participatory territorial counter-mapping", a GIS map that compiles territorial knowledge from different women in Maré (McIlwaine et al, forthcoming. See also Figure 11 in this report).

It is significant that the field team used as a base map for the participatory methodology, the outline drawing of Maré that the workshop facilitator had tattooed on her arm; she herself carries this territory in her body, as a form of community self-affirmation and of herself, at the same time.

9

Figure 1: Elsa (cis woman, white, heterosexual, living in Piscinão de Ramos, 47 years old)
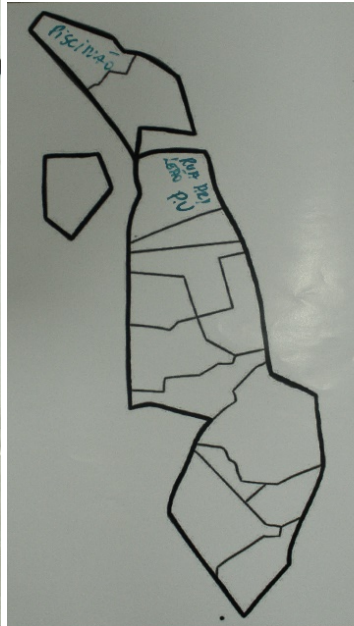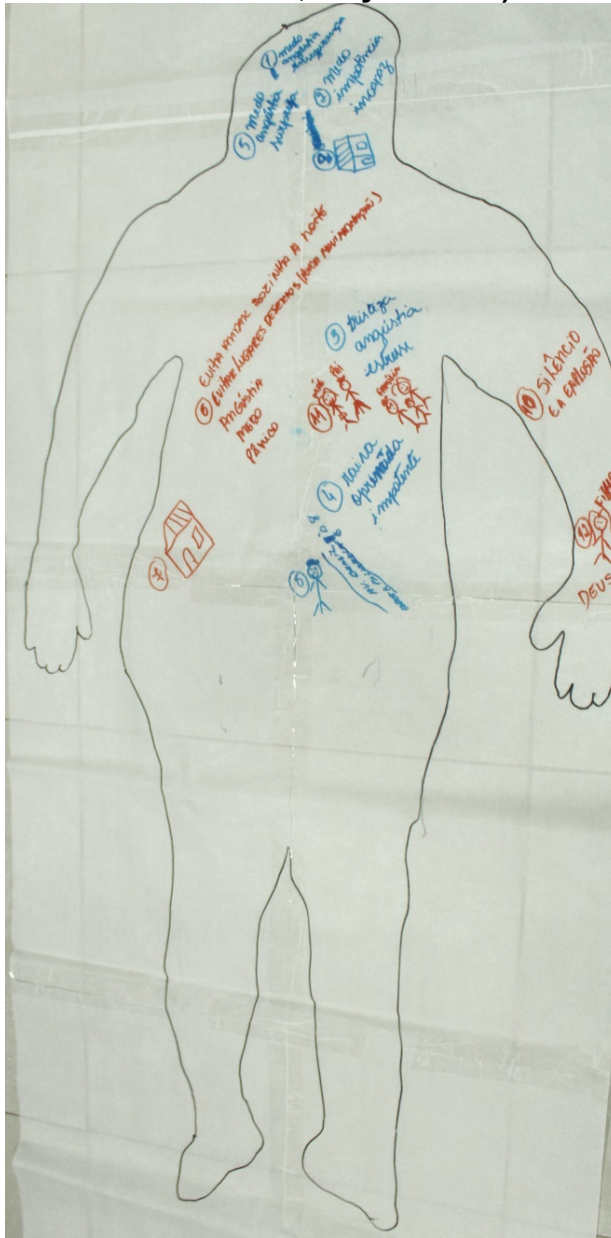
Figure 2: Monica (cis woman, white, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 49 years old)
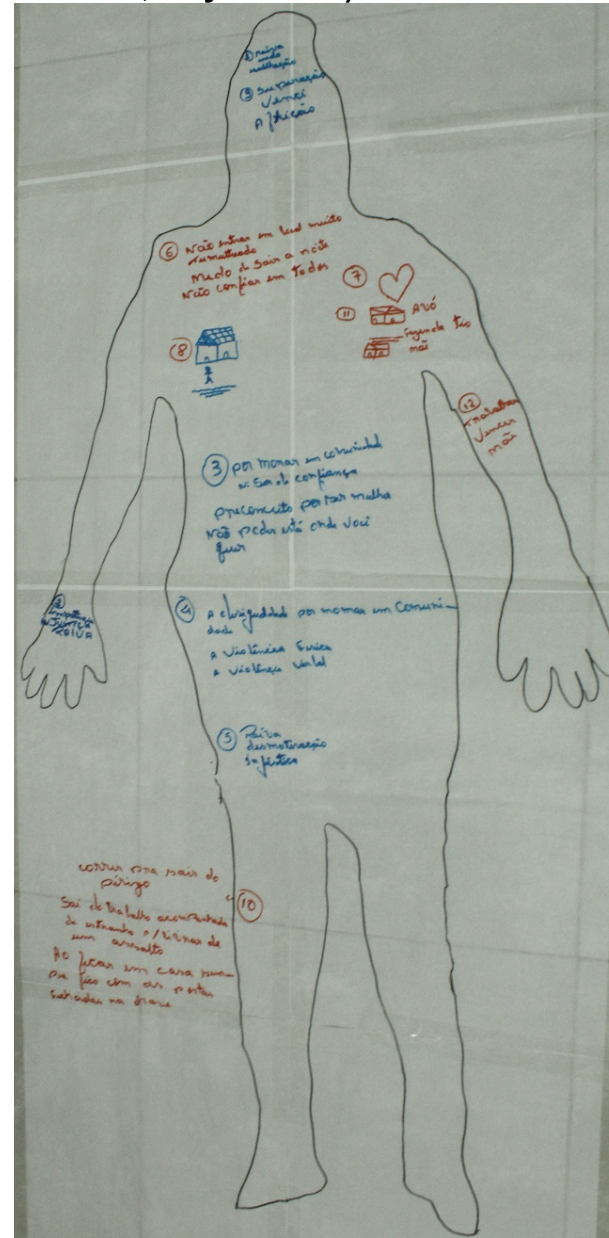
Figure 3: Rosana (cis woman, black/*preta*, bisexual, living in Nova Holanda, 20 years old)
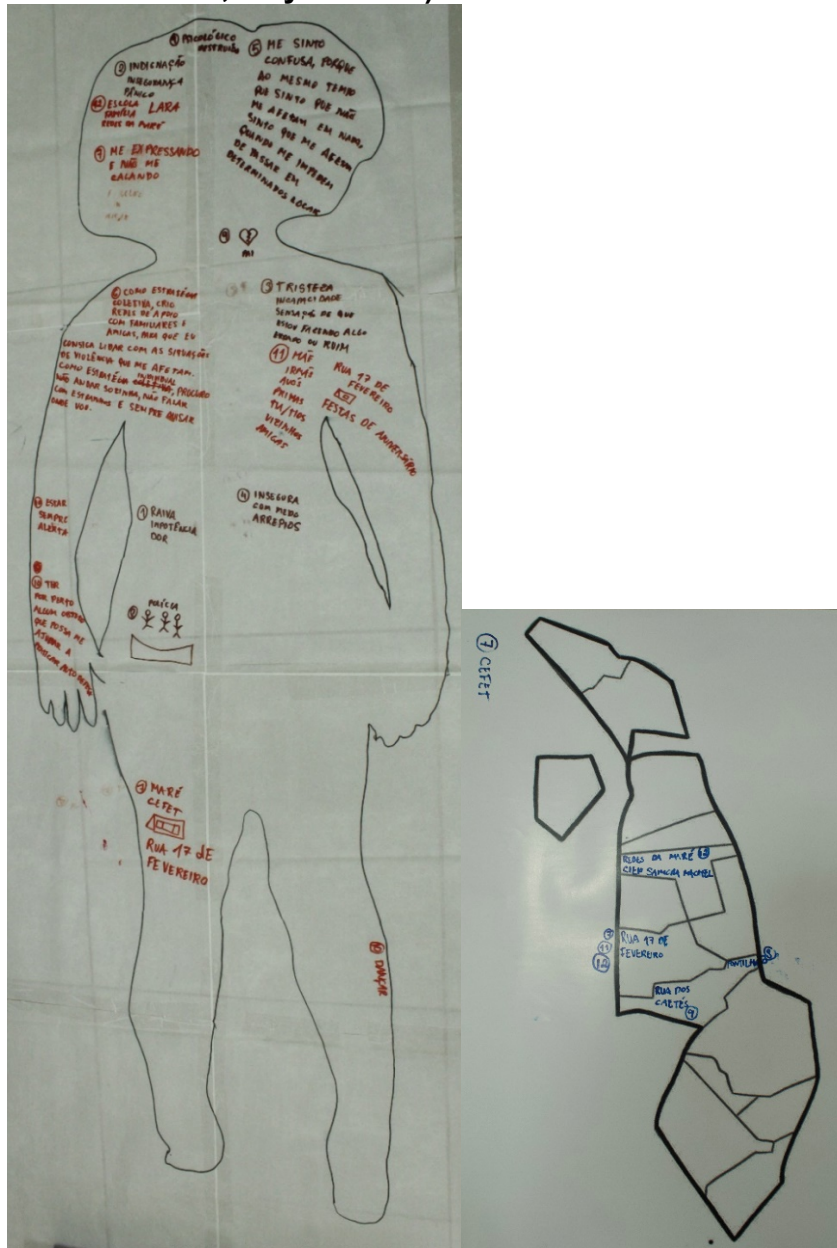
Figure 4: Janaina (cis woman, indigenous, bisexual, living in Parque União, 25 years old)
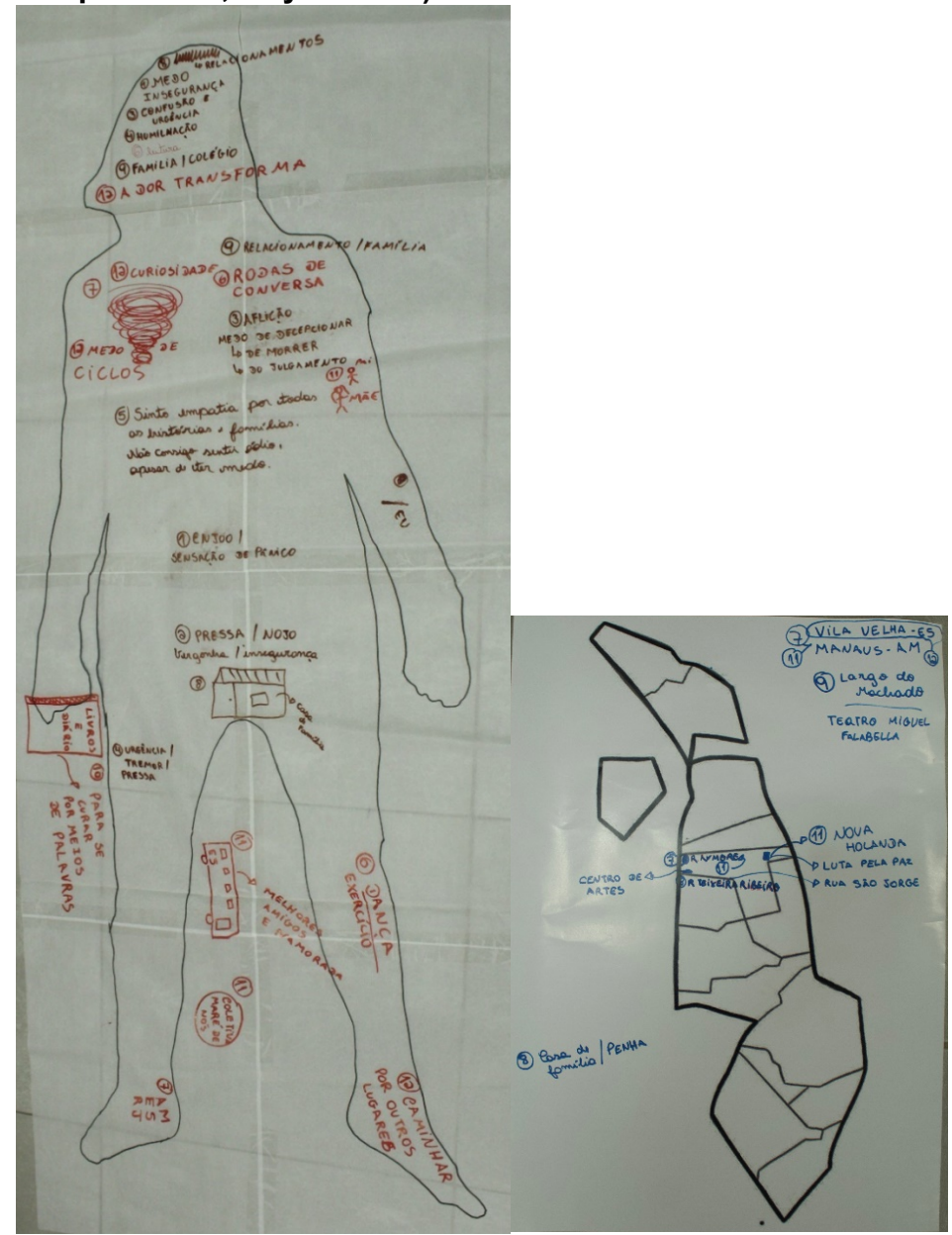
Figure 5: Livia (cis woman, black/preta, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)
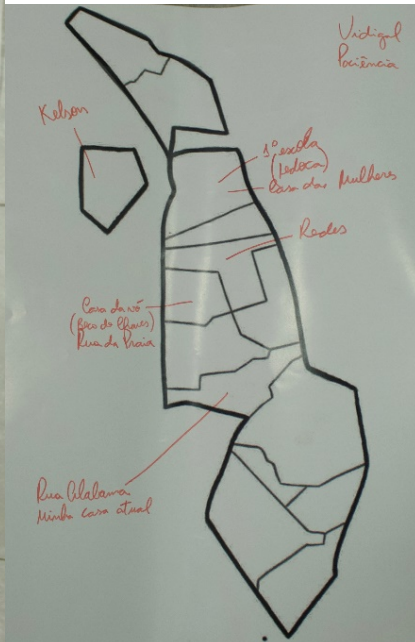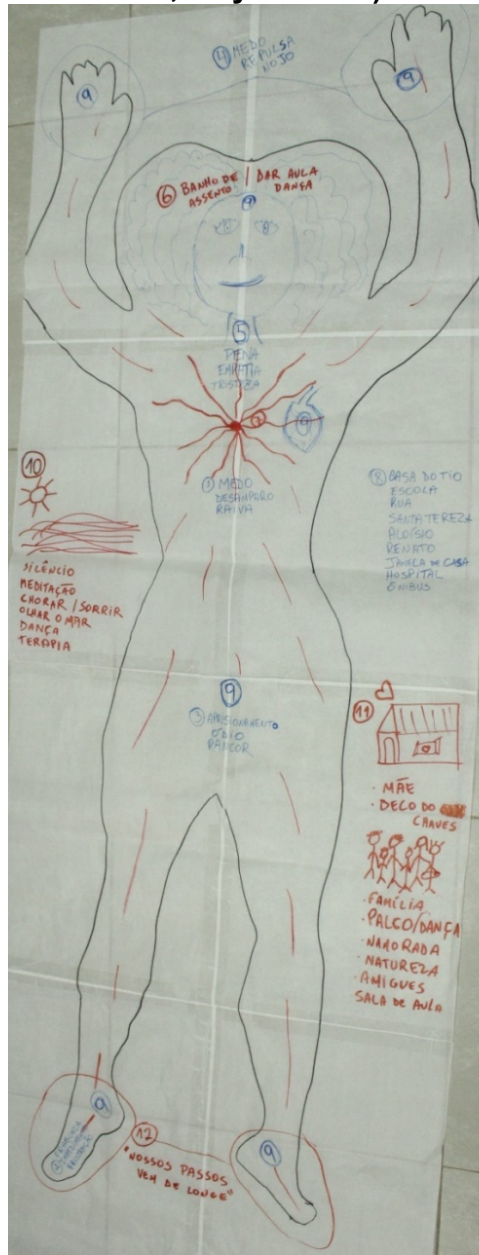
Figure 6: Katia (cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Figure 7: Bianca (cis woman, white, bisexual, living in Morro do Timbau, 27 years old)

Figure 8: Fatima (trans woman, black/preta, living in Morro do Timbau, 37 years old)

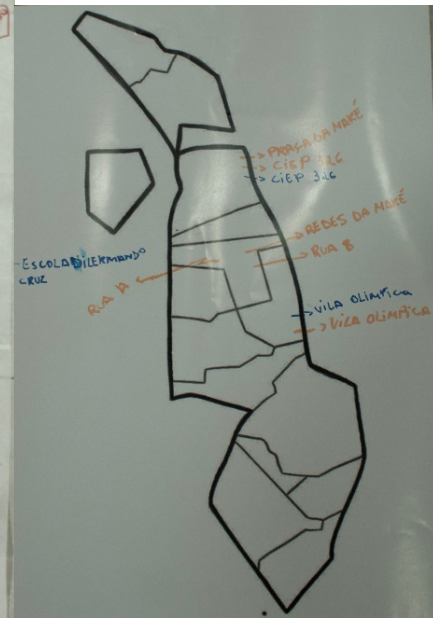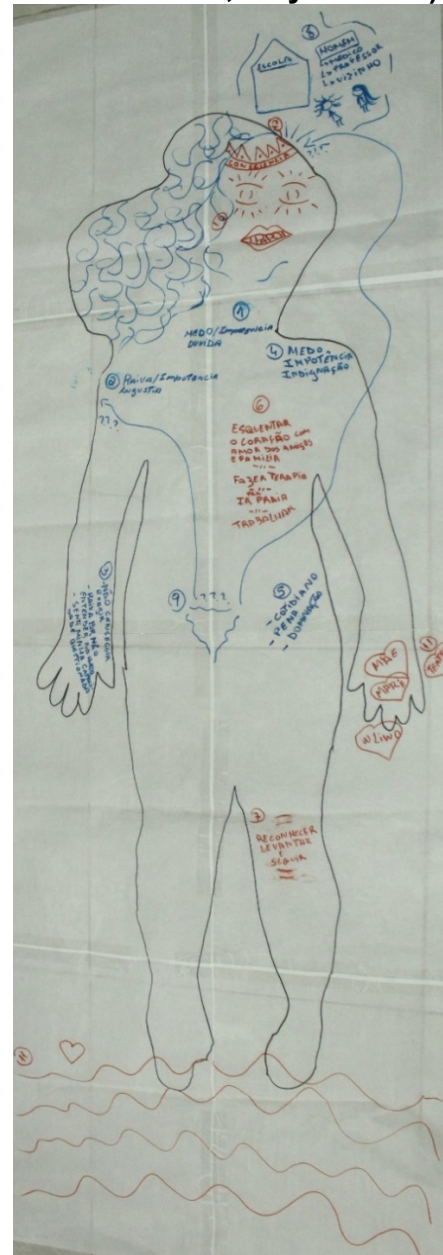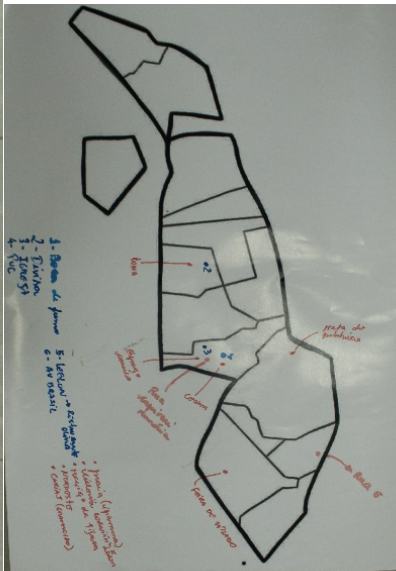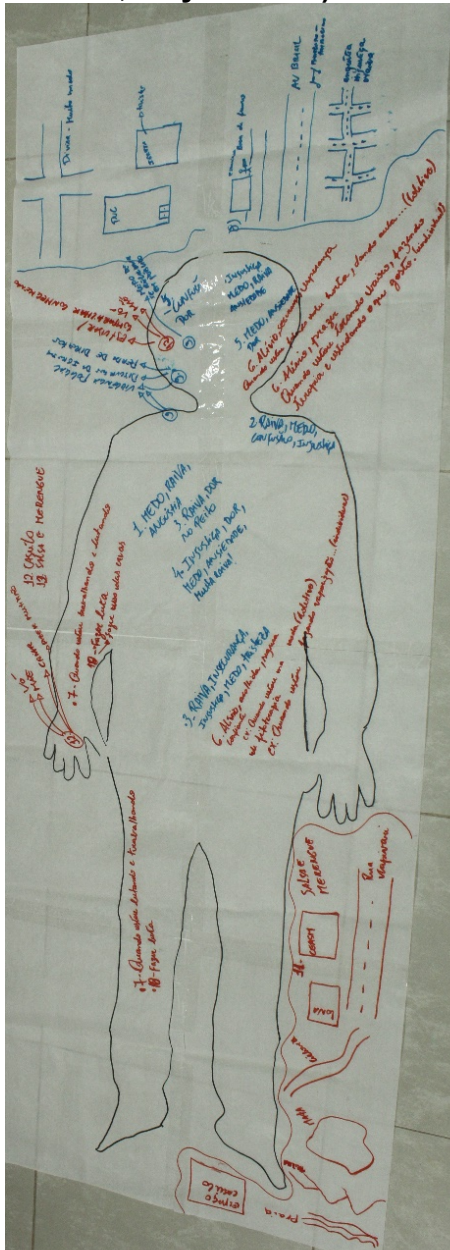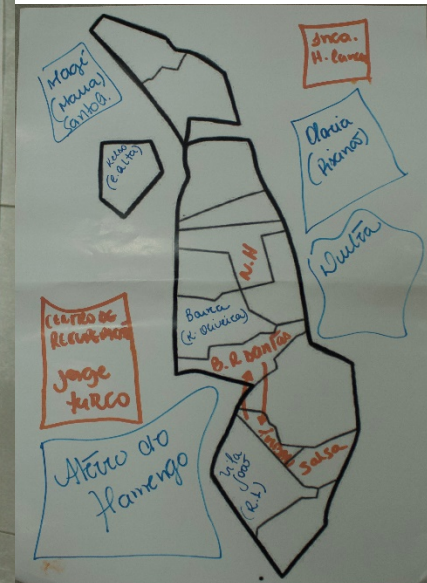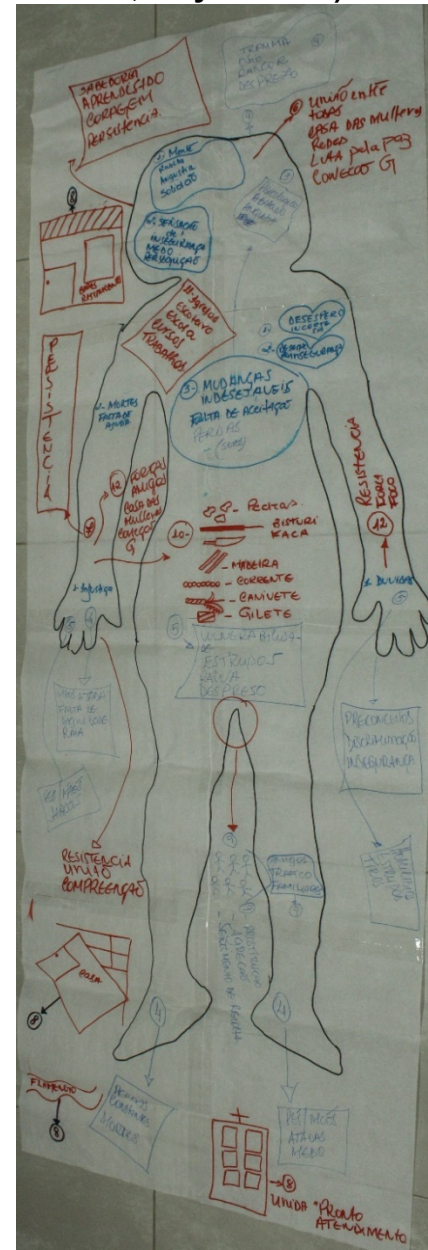

13

Figure 9: Luisa (trans woman, mixed-race/parda, living in Nova Holanda, 38 years old)
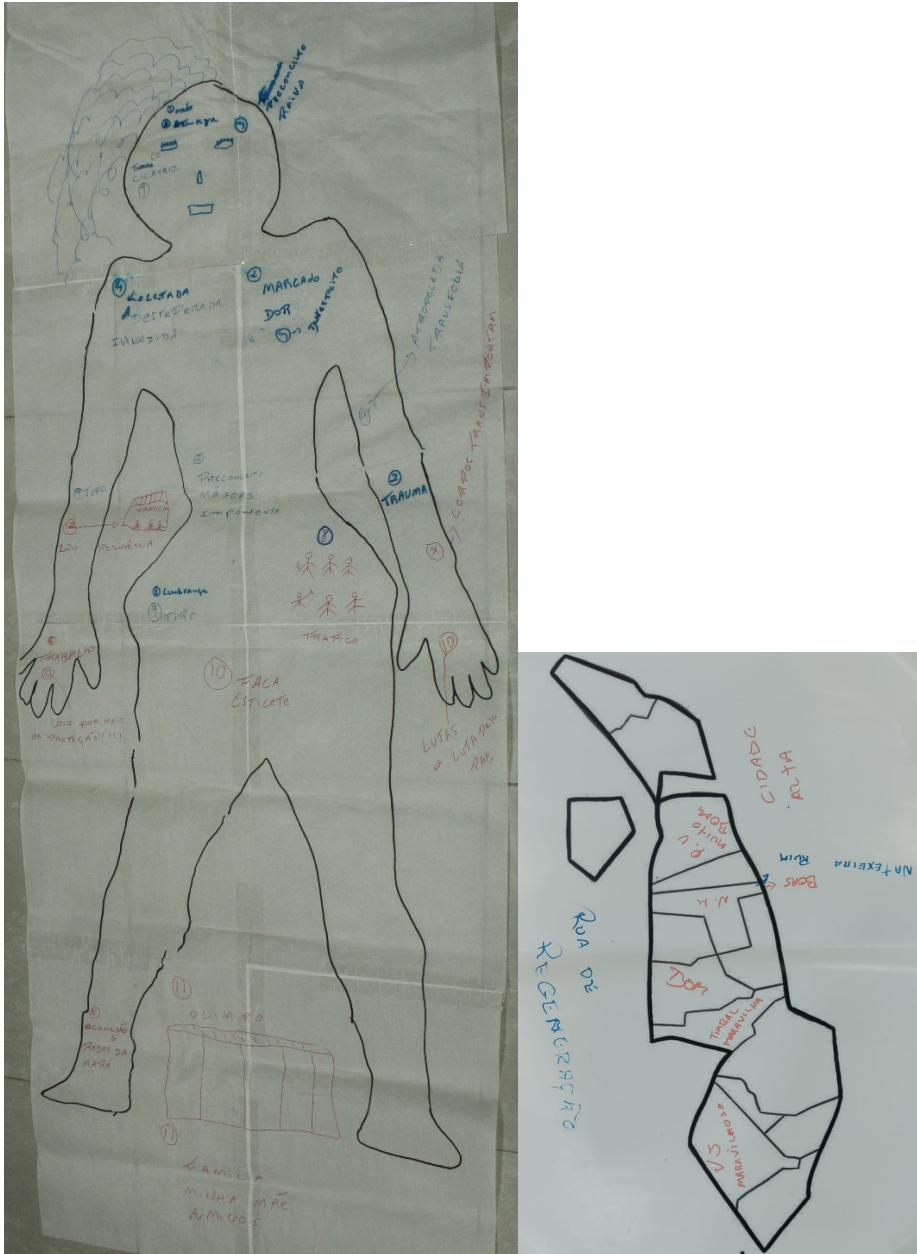
Figure 10: Neide (trans woman, mixed-race/parda, living in Nova Holanda, 32 years old)
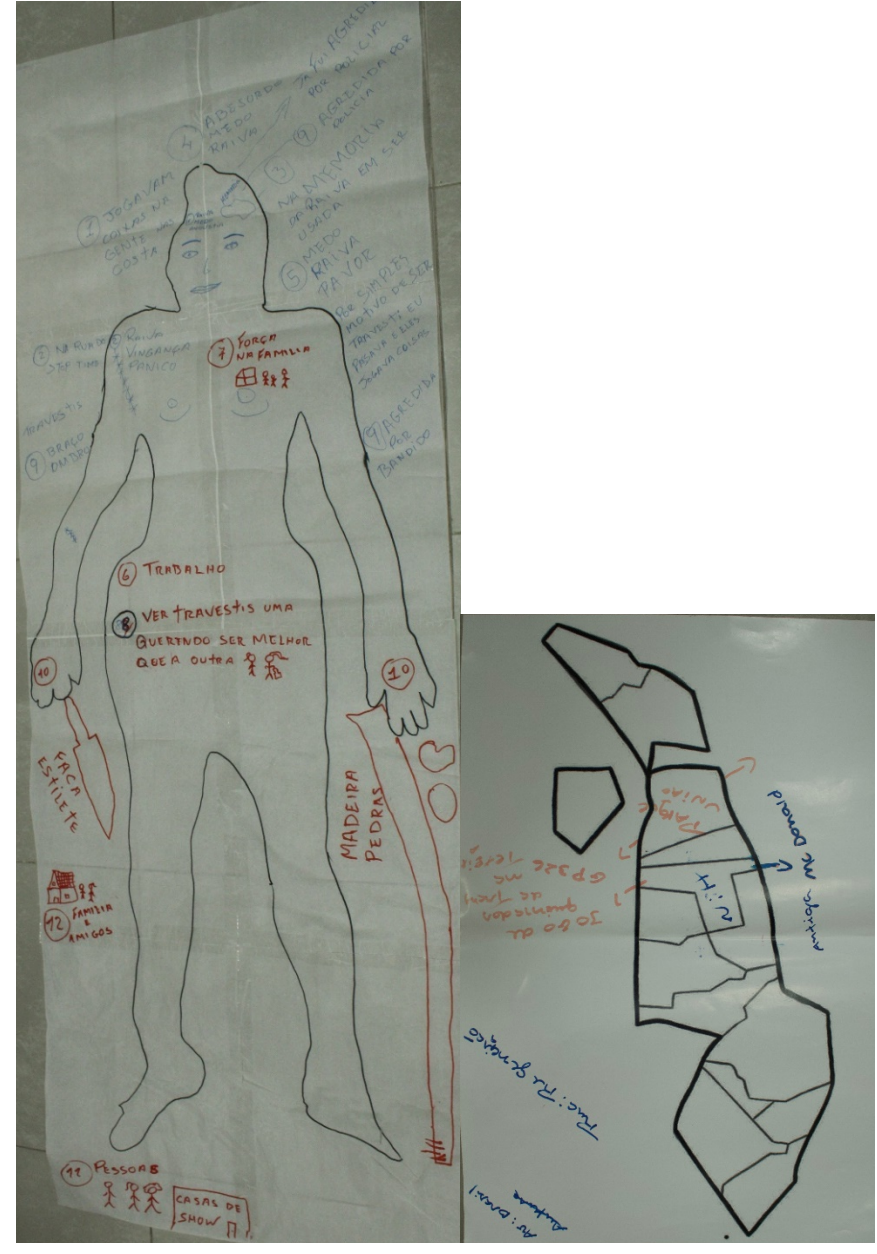
The workshop always ended with a stretching exercise to release tension which proved to be extremely important because it triggered many bodily responses. This also allowed participants, even if superficially, to disconnect from the space so that they could return to their daily lives. This exercise allowed participants to experience their bodies physically, and sensorially, within the logic, of care. At the same time, ethically there was a reliance on the Casa das Mulheres da Maré, which remains permanently in the territory, to provide a welcoming space, with the field researchers part of the intersectoral service team that monitors participants who showed any socio-legal or psychosocial demands during these research activities.

Adapting and applying this methodology was a rich but challenging process. Recruiting participants and ensuring participation proved to be even more complex in this phase of the research than in previous ones, due to the nature of the activity and other unforeseen personal issues. For example, faced with the pandemic, both the participants and the staff at Casa das Mulheres had to negotiate and manage multiple emotional and material demands, and remain flexible to the initially planned schedule. It was also challenging to develop, learn and apply a new methodology. In this sense, the pilot session was essential; indeed, it would have been even more enriching to have had more pilot sessions. In fact, facilitators reflected on how they learned to apply the methodology during the course itself, refining explanations, understanding the importance of offering examples, encouraging participants to go deeper into answers, and paying attention to managing and balancing emotions and information brought up within each session (both their own, as facilitators, and those of the participants). Recognising the more sensitive nature of this methodology, there was a concern for balancing theoretical and political objectives such as the decolonial approach used to understand the embodiment of violence and resistance, with the need to maintain a human and ethical sensitivity, especially among the researchers from the territory

The data analysis presented in the following sections was also developed collaboratively. The data were systematized from a thematic analysis of the images of the ten body-territory maps, in dialogue with the report and transcriptions of the discussions of each session, including participant's explanations as to what was written and drawn on their maps. This first version was reviewed and discussed among the research team members, changes were made and a new version of the analysis was finalized.

III BODY-TERRITORY MAPS: EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE AND RESISTANCE PRACTICES

Body-territory mapping emerged as a praxis for organizing a collective knowledge organically produced through daily resistance and recognition of the violence that affected women in Maré. Women identified and visibilized the ways in which violence and resistance practices permeated and interacted with their bodies, and specific territorial knowledge of these bodies. Women carried territorial and ancestral

knowledge in their bodies and in their uses of urban spaces that helped them resist violence. Analysis of these maps illuminated how violence and resistance were experienced on a continuum that crosses body-spaces. The spatial-bodily differences between women in Maré directly influenced how they are affected by gendered urban violence intersectionally. The maps allowed women to identify embodied and collective spaces of resistance, power and strength showing how the territory was felt and seen from within. This contrasts and challenges an external, stigmatized and homogeneous vision imposed from the outside portraying Maré only as a dangerous and violent territory. This can also be seen as a form of territorial resistance.

Women residents of Maré were exposed to a continuum of violence - structural, symbolic and interpersonal; inside and outside Maré, in public and private spaces. However, the nature of the violence they experience varies between these spaces and the specific ways in which they were affected are deeply linked to their body-territorial identities. Although women mapped and discussed various forms of violence experienced in Maré, they tended to feel safer within this territory rather than outside (McIlwaine et al., 2022a). However, their body maps tended to converge around feelings of anger and repulsion towards the violence of agents of the state experienced in the territory and beyond. Some women expressed specific ways in which their bodies were affected by police action and other armed groups. The latter were often viewed as ambivalent as they both perpetrated violence and protected participants (see also McIlwaine et al., 2022a).

Ambivalence was also revealed towards Maré itself, as a territory marked by fear of the risk of violence, but which was also a refuge, a 'nest', and home to loved ones. Individual and collective resistance intersected in this territory, passing through the body becoming connected. Also understood along a continuum, reactive or individual forms connected with practices of a more visibly collective and transformative nature, complementing each other and giving rise to what we could conceive as an organic strategy of collective resistance (McIlwaine et al., 2022b).

In the following sections, we present a more detailed thematic analysis of violence and resistance in the maps.

A) Violence inside Maré

Violence inside and outside the territory of Maré was discussed by the participants as giving rise to different territorial struggles and feelings of invasion of their territories and bodies. We present a division of gender-based forms of violence based on this distinction of what occurs "inside" and "outside" Maré , although we understand how this distinction may mistakenly suggest a separation of Maré from the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro. However, considering the importance of distinguishing patterns of violence in different locations as well as the coping strategies developed by women who travel through both "sides" daily, we consider this distinction important.

The boundaries between "inside" and "outside" of Maré are significantly influenced by the urban conflict between state agents and armed groups. This affects the territorialization of Maré and is experienced by participants as a form of invasion and domination of their most intimate and bodily spaces. Inside Maré, the presence and actions of these actors restrict the mobility of the bodies of women who reside there, especially due to the fear of armed violence and shootings. Outside Maré, the most significant fears that also condition the mobility of women are urban violence and racism. Behind this distinction is Rio de Janeiro's Public Security Policy which is driven by the militarised narrative of the war on drugs. Police action in the favelas and peripheries is renowned for systematic violations of rights. This is the most recurrent form of state presence in favelas, leading to the strengthening of dominant armed groups, which engage in a range of local organisational activities in the face of state negligence regarding infrastructure, services and social rights.

When referring to their daily lives within Maré, women point to their brutal and traumatic encounters with the armed conflict. Although their homes were often discussed as a refuge of protection, when there are police incursions in Maré many women spoke of home invasions by public security agents, largely in an abusive and illegal way. In their maps, the participants tended to converge in their feelings of fear, anger, insecurity, anxiety, and impotence. These were located in various parts of their bodies, but predominantly in the head/mind, chest, belly, shoulders and throat. These embodied manifestations signal the strong impact of armed violence on women's physical and mental health (see also People's Palace Project & Redes da Maré 2020)

These and other more direct effects of violence experienced in Maré vary according to the intersectionality of each participant's specific socio-spatial markers of race, class, gender identity, sexuality, age, geographical location, marital status and religious affiliation. Some of these experiences of violence within Maré are discussed below, particularly in terms of homophobic and transphobic violence; violence by police and armed groups; and how such violence extends to the intimate territorial scales of the home and the body.

Body experiences and police presence/action

Most participants were highly critical of state authorities, in particular the police, given their frequent and violent operations in Maré, and their understanding of the historical roots of their operations there. They expressed negative feelings of fear, insecurity, humiliation, powerlessness, invasion, disrespect and injustice, as well as physical sensations of disgust, physical and mental sickness, trembling and chills in their bodies: particularly in the stomach, shoulders, head, legs and hands. The embodiment of these emotions suggests a symbolism of the weight, burden or tiredness they feel in light of the long history of police oppression in the favelas, leading to the concrete production of physical and mental diseases in the face of territorial violence (invasions).

The police presence in Maré often felt like a literal invasion of territory and bodies, confirming the body-territory connection, particularly when they arrive with an arsenal of warfare including armoured tanks, helicopters and weapons to search streets and homes. This affected their bodies psychologically, emotionally and also physically, posing a risk to their lives. Not infrequently, bodies were also literally invaded as in cases of sexual violence, aggression and abuse of power arising from police presence.

For example, Katia, a cis woman, black/*preta*, 25-year-old, resident of Nova Holanda, expressed feeling violated and invaded in Maré. She referred to violent experiences of racism that she lived through with her ex-husband, who is also a black man. She identified fear, impotence and doubts, choking her throat and affecting her whole body (see Figure 6, number 1): "*I feel violated like that, really, I feel it in my body, I feel my body shaking, you know? When there are operations, when I see the police.*

The literal and the symbolic are constantly associated in the accounts of the participants. Janaina, a cis woman, bisexual, 25 years old, resident of Parque União, who identifies herself as indigenous. She located these feelings in her head, associating them with mental stress caused by the police's unfair and dehumanising treatment - in addition to panic and nausea in her stomach (see Figure 4, number 1). She associated her physical symptoms with coping with this violence.

> Fear and insecurity, also of that, of being invaded, of having the space invaded and not even being able to move in the territory, and it gives me a very big feeling of feeling sick, it is a feeling of panic that I always feel here [in the stomach], it seems that I feel weak, I feel like vomiting, maybe words, maybe vomit. (Janaina, cis woman, indigenous, bisexual, living in Parque União, 25 years old)

Rosana also reported feeling her stomach trembling with fear and insecurity when she was around armed state agents (see number 4 in Figure 3), stating that "*the state was made to kill favela people*". Similarly, Lívia observed that the police were historically linked to the control of the black population (referring to *população negra*, a broader racial category comprising *pretas* and *pardas*), whose objective was not to protect but to suppress. This vision and embodied feeling were based on experiences lived in the territory of Maré, and that made her feel fear, repulsion and disgust (see number 4 in figure 5). In her body map, she represented this issue in her hands, symbolizing the powerlessness she felt:

> I think it's a fallacy, a great ruin, the police, the army, like, I am completely averse, I repulse these bodies, because historically they are only linked to the control of the black population, and they were not made to serve and care and protect, for me it's about killing, and annihilating any possibility of a person who is a friend of justice, look, for me this is only what the state security forces are for. It is only to kill us, not to secure us. I put it in my hands because I feel completely without control, without the possibility of actually doing anything. And I put fear, repulsion and disgust. (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, resident of Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

In addition to the police invasion of their homes, women also mentioned aggressive inquisition – to see if they were hiding information or people. Elsa had her house raided by the police twice, which made her feel powerless, angry and oppressed by the state authorities - which affected her stomach (see number 4 in Figure 1). These episodes

made her reflect on the spatial and class inequalities in police treatment in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

> They came in, the first time [...] they [the police] broke the door down completely. And the second time they just opened it, because I had also put a star key, so they can't open it, but the second time they opened the lock and left all the lights on, the door wide open, I mean: "I'm going in and I'll leave it the way I want it," that makes us angry, because we spend this to buy things and a wretch like that comes and breaks everything, he doesn't do that at the house in the South Zone, he doesn't do that, he'll have to get a warrant, not here, he thinks he can come in and do all this. And impotence for not being able to do anything (Elsa, cis woman, white, heterosexual, living in Piscinão de Ramos, 47 years old)

Bianca, whose house was raided by the police while she was sleeping also reflected on the contrasting police treatment towards residents of Maré and other privileged parts of the city. She studies at a prestigious private university (PUC-RJ) and this made her angry that it was unimaginable that the police would enter the home of her middle-class colleagues. On her map she located feelings of pain, fear and injustice in her chest towards the state authorities (see number 4 in Figure 7).

> It makes me very angry. I also feel a lot of injustice, pain. It makes me feel sick in my chest. I feel anxiety. I feel very bad about this. I think it's absurd that we live in a society where the police serve for this, to protect a minority and repress the workers. I think the police are too cowardly. Unjust and cowardly. I don't like the police, I don't like the apparatus that the State provides. I don't like them. For me they are useless. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Trans women in particular described feelings of fear and anger, feeling violated and disrespected by the police, with their "hands and feet tied". For the three trans women who participated, the police were seen as a constant threat of violence and impunity both inside and outside of Maré. They reported abuses of authority and sexual assaults. Fatima (black/*preta* trans woman, 37 years old, resident of Morro do Timbau) reported how sexual harassment also exposed her to other risks, such as being misinterpreted or considered a police informant:

> Upon realizing that I was trans, they started [...] fondling me. [...] Someone could see... my fear was that they would come in and do something with me, and then someone would see, and see in a way that could harm me when they leave...

It also emerged that there was greater fear of interpersonal violence against trans women during police presence in Maré. The same fear was not unanimous regarding police operations as a whole; for example, the first phase of this research, one of the transgender women interviewed described feeling "tranquil" during police operations because she knew that "justice was being done" in reference to armed groups – who also violate her (McIlwaine et al., 2022a).

The spatio-temporal dimension of state violence in Maré means that it sometimes moves from public to supposedly private space directly and insidiously. Having lived in Maré since she was born, Bianca recalled the state territorialisation and violence over her community, homes and residents' bodies during the period of military occupation in Maré between December 2014 and February 2015. From state forces entering the community with tanks and helicopters, violently invading residents'

homes, to police frequently stopping and searching residents. She recalled how the front of her house was constantly occupied, either by armed groups or the police. Bianca described feeling outraged by the presence of a 'war tank' in front of her house and police helicopters flying and firing above her window.

> One thing that also affects me a lot, especially violence by the state, is the helicopter. Six o'clock in the morning the helicopter is above my window. This is one of the things that makes me most indignant. Six o'clock in the morning the helicopter is already there, the window shaking. This causes me great indignation, great anger, because this is enormous violence. This affects a person's mental health. It's horrible. It is a feeling of fear (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Body experiences and armed groups

Participants indicated that they were affected physically and subjectively by conflicts between state agents and armed groups. Creating rapid protection strategies of when confrontations break out, means often making use of shared knowledge about the territory, accumulated over years of experience. Identifying feelings of fear, anger and anxiety in her chest when confronted with armed violence, Bianca (cis woman, white, bisexual, 27 years old, resident of Morro do Timbau) - commented on how she had lived this reality of crossfire between police and armed groups since childhood, . For example, she recalled witnessing a shootout as a child while playing videogames in a lan-house,[2] hiding under the tables. She also referred to armed inter-factional conflicts, her fear of crossing the territorial boundary ('border') that separates them and being cornered in a shootout (see also Figure 11). In this way, Maré residents construct in their minds a geopolitical map of this territory, paying attention to the territorial divisions that occur from the domination of three different armed groups and state agents

Specifically, regarding armed groups, Rosana, a cis, black/*preta*, bisexual, 20 year-old woman living in Nova Holanda, revealed feeling confused about the "drug traffickers" in Maré. Although she did not fear them directly, never having been the victim of any direct incident of violence, she feared a territorial form of violence linked to the fragmentation and occupation of space by armed groups. She made specific reference to how "traffickers"[3] closed streets and limited the mobility of residents within the territory.

---

[2] Lan-houses are commercial establishments that offer paid use of computers with Internet access. They are common throughout Brazil and can often be the primary point of digital access for lower-income populations.

[3] The use of the term 'trafficker' as a reference to the armed civilian groups that sell drugs in favelas has been questioned in academic spaces in Brazil. From an anti-racist perspective, it is argued that the association of drug trafficking with favelas stigmatises retail drug traders, who are merely the tip of a scheme that is incited by international drug trafficking. Its main actors, on the other hand, who obtain greater profitability, do not suffer from the same stigma because they live in prime locations in cities and are usually white people (Santos, 2019). For this report, we chose to refer to the members of these groups as they appear in the women's speech, considering the plurality of possible relationships that are established between women residents of Maré and armed civilian groups.

> I wrote something big, because I don't feel fear, although I do, I don't feel it because it never happened to me to pass by on the street and someone messes with me, nothing like that, but I also feel fear when I pass by and there is no way, I'm in a place and there is no way to pass by because they are closing the street, for example, it is a violence when they do some kind of dance or keep shooting up in the air, this disturbs the life of all the residents around this situation (Rosana, cis woman, black/*preta*, bisexual, living in Nova Holanda, 20 years old)

There was also a temporal dimension to the way in which the presence and attitudes of members of armed groups were considered and felt in the bodies of residents. Two participants in their fifties expressed a feeling of nostalgia when "traffickers" respected them more. Elsa commented that today young people associated with drug trafficking were more dismissive and disrespectful of community residents. This made her feel surprise, fear and distress in her mind (see number 5 in Figure 1). She mentioned a recent incident in which youths associated with the drug trade had jumped on the roof of her house, which made her feel invaded.

> I was afraid, because when they started jumping on the slab I was afraid, because these new boys seem to be worse than the old ones, because I have lived here for 40 years and I have never seen this happen, but with them, we go to talk to them and they come with the greatest ignorance towards us (Elsa, cis woman, white, heterosexual, living in Piscinão de Ramos, 47 years old)

In turn, the three trans women who were around 35 years old, considered that transphobic violence from armed groups used to be much worse in the past. Even if they were still being subjected to daily verbal assaults, physical violence from armed groups tended to be less frequent and severe.

> They don't like us [...] we pass by, they want to mess with us, they want to get involved in these things with the noise of gunshots; there are some that want to be funny. In the old days it was even worse, they even hit us with things like I said. They used to hit cans, tomatoes, potatoes, vegetables, boxes. Until today it is lighter. But, even so, we still pass by and listen (Neide, mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, living in Nova Holanda, 32 years old)

The high levels of normalized violence reported by trans women reinforce their dehumanization. They described being targets of extreme physical violence, abuse and death threats, being hyper-sexualised. They reported a range of negative feelings towards armed groups, such as fear, anger, powerlessness, rape vulnerability, contempt, dread and powerlessness around their belly, genital area and above the shoulders/back. Their experiences reveal the type of social ordering that armed groups implemented in their areas of dominance: they regulated community dynamics and social conflict while also perpetrating or allowing certain people to be attacked and harassed. As a result, trans women expressed hopelessness and physical and mental exhaustion. Yet these same trans women revealed feeling even more fear and insecurity outside of Maré, where community regulations do not exist.

In contrast, younger cis women (the majority in their 20s), embodied more ambivalent feelings toward drug traffickers. Although they feared them to a certain extent, they also felt pity and some empathy, particularly those with close personal ties to them and an awareness of the social context in which people join armed groups. For example, Janaina described feeling fear and empathy located in her stomach (see

number 5 in Figure 4). Although 'traffickers' caused her fear, she did not hate them, but felt empathy towards their life stories and those of their families. Livia also felt pity, empathy, and sadness in her throat regarding drug traffickers. She said that she remained alert in their presence, but was not afraid of death as she was in relation to the police.

> I have a certain empathy for them, because my family is made up of people who are part of this management, in this way, and I feel very sad, so these three words for me, pity, empathy, and sadness... For me, they condense a little this place of looking, of observing these violent spaces, but not only violent towards me, but above all, violent towards them, towards the people there, because it is an imprisonment. It is a... I don't know, death row for me, like a projection to die in front of them, I can't imagine another future for those people. It is very sad, I don't know, the throat I think came for me, because it is how I think I can act, the only place in my body that I can do something, exchange an idea, which is what I have been doing with my cousins like this (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Members of armed groups associated with drug trafficking therefore had different ways of relating to the women in Maré. They were relatives, childhood friends, long-time acquaintances, and were also agents that attracted risks, hardships and losses. Although membership in drug trafficking crossed relationships, it was not the only factor that marked the relationships they establish with women living in Maré.

Although Katia had no relatives that had joined armed groups, she spoke of a feeling of imprisonment, which captures those who were part of armed groups, but also those who lived under their rules, making her feel dominated by a territorial power relation. Understanding drug traffickers through a social analysis of the precarious and unjust context that drew children into trafficking, she discussed how state abandonment created this cycle.

> I put it around my waist. What for? Waistline, we have to live with it here. I put everyday life because, [...] what impacts on me, in my daily life, is part of my everyday life. I see this every day, understand? I feel sorry because that's what I said, they are children who grew up in this life, they are children who didn't go to the circus, who didn't go to the cinema, they are children who woke up living on the street, and went to the street, there are so many children who don't know where their mother is, [...] I feel sorry because I know that this is what the State lacks, a lack of culture, a lack of everything. It's really the lack of things, the children have no other option, people. They stay in the street, are exposed, and that's it, it's this cycle. And I put domination, because in the same way that it is an imprisonment for these boys, it is also for us, because we live in front of these laws, in front of this system that is other, parallel, it is the exterior of the city, it is another, that only those who know the codes, the parades, and we have to live according to this, I also feel a domination because of this, you know? (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Similarly, Bianca recalled how friends had entered drug trafficking solely to 'pay the bills' despite fearing for their lives.

> Trafficking... fear, anxiety (and pain). Trafficking is complicated. I've lived in the favela since I was a child and we have laws, we have principles that trafficking gives. It's very contradictory, it's very unstable. You also don't know who's in that moment. [...] But the question of drug

> trafficking, they didn't come into my house...I don't have the same fear as the police. I think the police are much worse. It's the state that's there. I see trafficking as a bunch of people that want to have a certain amount of money, a certain buying power and they're there. And even people that I knew that were raised with me, that studied with me and got in. For me it's a bunch of kids that are going to die one day (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27 years old)

The roles of producers of violence are not cast in opposition to the victims who live in Maré. These are often their mothers, wives, daughters, childhood friends, or cousins. The "traffickers" also had an important role in organizing daily life in Maré, and may also act as a mediator of conflicts, establishing rules for coexistence and sociability and potentially protecting women (see also McIlwaine 2022a).

Violence through home-territory and body-territory

The violent territorialization and invasion experienced by women residents of Maré occurred not only at the level of their community but also connected and extended to their homes and bodies on a continuum. This was particularly emphasised in relation to state violence from the police and, to some extent, from 'drug dealers' and intimate partners. The home was not always a safe space for women, not only because of the risk of domestic violence by partners and/or relatives but also because of fear of being raped and sexually assaulted by police officers in their own homes.

The threat of police violence against women, particularly sexual violence against trans women, was recurrent as illustrated by Luisa's experience in a recent police operation in Maré. She is a 38-year-old mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman living in Nova Holanda. She entered Maré on the morning after the shootings had stopped and was walking towards her house when a police officer followed her and started harassing her as she tried to enter her house. This experience was so striking that, from then on, whenever there was a police operation in Maré, Luisa felt invaded.

> When you have an operation in here. I feel invaded. I even feel like I'm a trafficker, because I can't sleep. When they say there's an operation, I can't sleep. I can't sleep. It seems that a trauma is left inside me (Luisa, mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, living in Nova Holanda, 38 years old)

While the hyper-sexualisation and stigma of trans women put them at greater risk, the threat of rape was also a concern for cis women, as Bianca illustrates.

> Me, as a favela woman in the territory, I'm afraid of being raped, and raped by the police. I'm afraid that some thug will enter my house in a conflict and I'll be raped. I am afraid of that. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Yet women were also afraid of being raped at home too, despite it being a refuge for some. For example, Elsa and Monica, white, heterosexual cis women around 50 years old, suffered domestic violence from their husband and father of their children for many years and also had their homes invaded during operations police.

Homophobic and transphobic violence

For lesbian, bisexual and trans women living in Maré, their mobility within the territory was also often marked by experiences of transphobic and/or homophobic violence. This occurred in explicit and less visible ways. As a bisexual woman, Bianca revealed that she feared showing affection publicly. Inside and also outside Maré she did not feel safe and comfortable to hold her girlfriend's hand. She also expressed feeling personally violated by the discursive violence of the evangelical church that preached loudly in her street. Bianca felt anger towards the church for its homophobic, misogynistic discourses and religious intolerance, inciting hatred against people like her, women, bisexuals and practitioners of candomblé - what the church pejoratively called "macumba". She also felt resentful about how this discourse influenced the views of her mother who was evangelical and did not accept her sexuality.

Other bisexual participants also felt troubled by family members' lack of acceptance of their sexual orientation. Rosana expressed sadness and low self-confidence, often questioning whether she was doing something wrong   because she is living her life freely as a bisexual woman. Similarly, Janaina, also bisexual, described feeling mental confusion and fear of disappointing those around her, fear of death and an urgency to resolve something that was out of her hands.

The trans women converged on their feelings of disrespect, anger and disgust at the lack of acceptance of their gender identities by society and also sometimes by their own family. These feelings were described as affecting their heart, mind and chest, as memories that affected their mental health, causing them sadness and anger.

> There are times when it makes me angry. Because people are seeing that we are not what we are because we want to be, but because we are like that by nature and that's it, it's over. And then I think it is a disrespect, prejudice, a mixture of (negative points) in relation to our bodies (Luisa, mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, living in Nova Holanda, 38 years old)

Trans women felt invaded and controlled in the most intimate aspects of their lives. Even their romantic/sexual lives were the target of public surveillance, as noted by Luisa.

> Even for affective relationship they want to oppress us. For example, if they find out that someone has had a relationship with us, they are beaten. Even in this way I feel totally violated (Luisa, mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, living in Nova Holanda, 38 years old)

Trans participants felt that they lacked freedom of movement within (and outside) the territory due to the high risk and fear of transphobic violence. They described being at the bottom of a social hierarchy, having no one to turn to for help, feeling limited in how to respond to violence and defend themselves. Although transphobic violence exists in Maré, they considered that this was worse when they were younger at the beginning of their transition process. Neide, a mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman and resident of Nova Holanda, recalled how, at the beginning of their transition, they used to have objects thrown at them, including empty cans, fruit and boxes. This type of dehumanising treatment also caused Fatima anxiety, despair and uncertainty, felt in her head and shoulder.

> Anguish, because of that doubt that remains in us when we get up, when we leave, when we wake up, can I go there in the street? If I go, will I suffer prejudice? [...] You don't have that free will to come and go like any other person [...] (Fatima, black/*preta* trans woman, living in Morro do Timbau, 37 years old)

Experiences related to the intersection of racism, sexuality and gender made some women feel fear and confusion, especially when their family did not accept their sexuality. As a black woman and a lesbian, Livia felt the violent weight of this intersectional oppression. Although she felt that as a light-skinned black woman, colourism privileged her, she described experiencing racism numerous times, and feeling trapped as a lesbian woman due to the fear of showing affection publicly. These experiences related to her identities made her feel angry and resentful (see number 3 in Figure 5). She located them in her vagina, as these forms of violence and oppression are historically linked to gender and sexuality, yet they also intersect with race and class.

B) Violence outside Maré

Although on ethical-political grounds, this research did not make a spatial segregation between favelas and the city, narratives of the women reproduced this distinction in their experiences of violence and their coping tactics "inside" and "outside" Maré. The structural violence and discrimination experienced outside Maré by poor and racialized women acted as barriers preventing them from moving forward and hindering their physical mobility. In Katia's map, she represented the bodily effects of violence experienced outside Maré as a weight placed on her shoulders, where she felt anger, anxiety and powerlessness (see number 2 in Figure 6).

Similarly, Rosana, a cis and black/*preta* woman (20 years old) living in Nova Holanda, recounted an episode of racism outside Maré when she was treated as a suspect in a shop simply for being black. According to her, three white people robbed the shop while the shop assistant followed her.

> I feel this violence a lot when I go out on the street, especially when I go out with other black friends, I am always being watched, and I don't think this is right (Rosana, cis woman, black/*preta*, bisexual, living in Nova Holanda, 20 years old)

Similarly, Livia described the violence experienced outside Maré as something that weakened her, preventing her access to basic services. This caused her frustration identified in her feet as these experiences made her walking more difficult.

> It's very violent to be poor and black in Brazil, isn't it? We don't have access to basic things, education, health, public security. All the absences, right? And then when I think outside, because the outside that stops me from walking, you know? (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Schools and universities outside Maré often appeared as violent places due to spatial segregations and intersectional discrimination. For example, Katia spoke of her school, geographically located in a predominantly white and middle-class area, as a place where she experienced racist aggression directed at her hair. The city's spatial

inequalities were identified as a form of violence, which caused great discomfort to participants. When transiting outside Maré, differences between the infrastructure in middle-class neighbourhoods and in Maré were apparent. This gave rise to feelings of injustice, anger, confusion and fear in Bianca's shoulder (see number 2 in Figure 7). She felt angry, particularly when cycling through Leblon, an upper middle-class neighbourhood, when she compared the infrastructure of this area with the precariousness of Maré. Similarly, Katia noted that in middle-class neighbourhoods, she feared the potential threats from the police:

> Even in Leblon I am afraid, and they also stare at me, because I am different, like, not even in Leblon that theoretically everything is fine, and they don't have to do anything, I am still a threat to them (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Bianca, as a working-class woman and favela resident, noted how the state's infrastructural violence hindered her mobility and made it risky when transiting outside Maré. Working as a bicycle delivery person, the lack of bike lanes on high traffic roads was a risk to her life. In her map, she put Avenida Brasil above her head, identifying it as representing the injustice and anger she feels towards how a city that is built without a space for cyclists to transit safely. In fact, Avenida Brasil is understood as a frontier place that brings a fusion of issues relating to how favelas are spatially organised, and broader urban policies which almost always focused on spaces outside the favela. Bianca felt that both workers' rights and the right to mobility are violated through this form of infrastructural state violence (on restrictions on women's right to the city due to gendered urban and infrastructural violence, see McIlwaine et al., 2021).

> One of the places that I also felt sadness and a lot of anger, a lot of injustice, was on Avenida Brasil. I was going to work, and on Avenida Brasil there is no place for a bike to go. I had to ride in the middle of the cars to go to work. So I started to get really angry with the city structure itself, especially on Avenida Brasil. I started to get very upset with this and I felt very afraid, very sad. Violated in labour rights, in wanting to move to the other side of the city and not having the means, and risking your life to go to work. This is also violence by the state itself. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Trans women felt even more vulnerable to everyday transphobic violence outside Maré, than inside. This was because they were often alone and could become targets of harassment and extreme forms of physical violence, including by the regulatory agents such as the police.

Trans women referenced transphobic violence in public spaces such as streets, bars, restaurants, churches, schools and hospitals. Just below her feet, Fatima drew an emergency unit as a place of violence and insecurity, where her identity as a woman was disrespected, since health professionals insisted on using the incorrect pronoun and calling her by her registered name instead of her social name (see number 8 in Figure 8).

> At eight, places I have trauma. Nowadays not anymore because of things that they have improved. Because before the lack of respect was greater. It was visible and they had the argument of: "I don't see this name here. Your name on the identity card is another, so I have to treat you like this". Emergency care unit, my own house where I lived, with my parents,

church, bars and restaurants, school, courses [...]. (Fatima, black/*preta* trans woman, living in Morro do Timbau, 37 years old)

Several participants referred to lived experiences (or threats) of gender-based violence in public space, sexual violence and rape in particular. They drew specific roads and spaces such as schools and buses outside Maré, where they were the target of gender-based violence. Elsa described an attempted sexual assault that when a man tried to rape her on Avenida Brasil when she was younger and as a result, this street was marked in her mind as a place of fear. Although her paralysed body prevented her from running, she screamed for help until nearby security guards came to her aid. As she commented,

Until today this trauma exists inside me, I can't walk in deserted places, I can't, I get anxious, it gives me an anguish, something like lack of air, suffocated, if I walk in a deserted place, I walk very fast. (Elsa, cis woman, white, heterosexual, living in Piscinão de Ramos, 50 years old)

Janaina (25-year-old cis, indigenous woman) also referred to an episode in which her body was physically invaded, leading her to identify feelings of urgency, repugnance, shame, and insecurity in the area of her genitals (see number 2 in Figure 4). She drew her family's house (outside Maré) in her genital area, identified as a place of violence and insecurity. Katia (cis woman, black/*preta*, 25 years old) also marked her genital area as a bruised part of her body where she drew some question marks connecting with her mind. Violence (and sexual violence in particular) was something that marked her body and made her question herself, impacting her self-confidence and leaving her confused. Katia was sexually abused twice; the second time was by the doctor she sought help from due to the first event. This affected her mental health which she identified above her head on her map (see Figure 6). She felt very confused describing how she felt powerless in the face of a powerful man who she knew could get away with it.

Livia, a 36-year-old cis woman, black/*preta*, identified places where she experienced physical and sexual violence including both private and public spaces. Outside her body, at the height of her waist, she drew places that made her feel unsafe and violated: an uncle's house, her school, a bus, a hospital and a street in Santa Tereza where she was assaulted. She was sexually abused by two relatives and suffered bullying at school. The uterus was one of the parts of her body that Livia identified as wounded by violence because much of it was gender-based, particularly sexual. She also identified her heart, feet, and mind as places marked and affected by violence (see number 8 in Figure 5).

Trans women marked various parts of their bodies that were injured and continued to be affected by violence. They identified several physical scars on their bodies from being shot, run over, or sexually assaulted. They marked their arms, shoulders, legs, hips, genital area, but also their heads, pointing to the impact that this violence, outside and also inside Maré, had on their mental health. Fátima marked the genital/intimate area of her body as something bruised and deeply affected by violence. She suggested that this affected other trans women, for whom sex work is one of the only

means of survival, stating, "many don't like what they are doing, but either they do it or they don't live: survival".

Similarly, Luisa, a 38-year-old mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, spoke of her trauma experienced outside of Maré, which permanently marked her body, especially her arm, stomach and heart (see number 2 in Figure 9). She described being hurt and feeling pain, powerlessness and trauma in these places on her body. For trans women forced to work on the streets as sex workers, they were targeted by the police, who physically assaulted them as happened to Luisa, who was shot by a police officer. Some police officers also abuse trans sex workers financially, charging a fee so that they can use the street.

RESISTANCE PRACTICES

Participants mapped individual and collective strategies of resistance on their bodies, emphasising how these are often interconnected, territorial and embodied. Many women described therapy as an individual strategy of resistance and healing practice, as well as reading and practicing hobbies as activities that connect them with other women. Sharing skills and knowledge through teaching and collective learning groups was also seen as a means of connecting the individual with the collective. For example, Janaina and Rosana mentioned healing resilience as something that was both individual and collective; their caregiving strategies were often collective, as they involved. They summed this up in the phrase "heal yourself by healing others too".

Body power and strength

The participants identified power and strength in the face of violence in various parts of their bodies. Several located it in their arms, hands, and legs, referring to the ways they used these body parts to defend themselves and move on.

Some women identified arms and hands as bodily sources of fortitude. Janaina (cis woman, Indigenous, 25 years old) - put a book and a diary in her hands, because she believed she could "heal and protect herself with words". For Bianca, her power was in her physical strength, in her hands and legs. She started training in jiu-jitsu to learn how to defend her mother from the violence she suffered from her father, ending up founding a project on self-defence and physical activities for women living in Maré.

> I feel it in my hands and in my legs. I feel power in my hands and when I'm doing things, like creating things that I like. And also when I'm fighting, doing jiu-jitsu, in my legs I feel a lot of power. And also from pedalling. I had to work pedalling, and then I felt a lot of strength also in this, in the activities. [...] When I am working [...] This "working" can be in many ways, right? Working for the collective, for the individual. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

The refusal to be silent and the power of speech in the face of violence was identified by Rosana as sources of strength located in her mind. In her leg, the part of her body that 'carries her through the world', she identified places that were important in her life

and formation as a person, in which she could leave her mark and grow, such as the federal school where she studied ('CEFET'), the street 17 de fevereiro and the territory of Maré. Kátia identified the power in her knee, which, according to her, is "callused" for having experienced much violence, which made her more able to recognize violence, learn from it and move on.

For trans women, self-defence against physical violence was an important survival practice represented in specific parts of their bodies where they found power. For example, Fatima - a 37-year-old black/*preta* trans woman - identified her strength in her hands which she used to physically defend herself against attacks. On her arm, Luisa - a mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, 38 years old - wrote the phrase "trans bodies matter", which she identified with an affirmation of resistance, strength and survival.

Other participants made reference to the inner power embodied in their hearts, chests and minds, which gave strength. For example, Monica drew the house of relatives in her heart, and Neide also placed her family in her heart as her source of resilience. Neide explained how the love of her family gave her strength in the face of violence, especially on the streets where she works as a sex worker and was most exposed to violence.

Janaina drew a hurricane on the right side of her chest to represent the bodily strength she felt coming from Maré. She also identified states in Brazil where she had lived or travelled (AM, ES, and RJ), where she felt connected and found strength and power. Similarly, in the centre of her chest, Livia marked the solar plexus as the place where her strength and power in her body came from:

> The plexus is a very important point, a gland called the thymus, which is the place where we speak the I, I am. [...] it is here, this point for me has a place, a potency of one, of the self, which is where my energy comes from, [...] so it is a place of exchange, of energy. (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Awareness was also highlighted as something that provided resilience power, which Katia located in her head. This helped her to reflect on her difficulties, especially to avoid internalising them and feeling defeated.

> Near my head, on my spine, I wrote consciousness, because it is thanks to this that I also get up, thanks to this I have what I seek, do you understand? Of not accepting certain things, of understanding [...] if it is very difficult, there are various things that cause this difficulty, and it is a system that does this, this is what makes you not believe in yourself (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Body resistance practices

Many resistance practices were bodily explicit, referring to women caring for their bodies, focusing on areas most affected by violence, and making use of movement and exercise to improve health and/or defend themselves. Dance was an important body strategy of resistance identified by Rosana, Janaina and Livia, as was the practice of jiu-jitsu for Bianca.

> I put dance and exercise as not only individual care, but collective care, because I usually do this in the collective (Janaina, cis woman, and indigenous, bisexual, resident of Parque União, 25 years old)

The formation of a support network built through body art practices was also a source of collective resistance and strengthening of self-confidence.   The drama school was significant in   Katia's life even after she stopped performing.

> I was part of the theatre for some years, about seven years I think, and then the theatre and this research was always a place that we have a lot of... A lot of knowledge, a lot of welcoming too, and even today, although I am no longer in the theatre, the network that I have is still there, you know? [...] I only matter, I only make the stops that I do, because of this network that I have, that I started to have from theatre [...] theatre began to give me space for welcoming, to put confidence, to tell me: "you can do it, you are powerful" and it is only in this space that I can mostly look at myself and believe in what I am doing because they believe, right? (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

The practice and teaching of dance and martial arts were seen as important body practices focused on self-care with one's own individual body but connecting to other women's bodies and the transmission of knowledge as a collective practice of resistance. For example, Livia, who teaches dance, conceived of this bodily transmission of knowledge and skills as an important collective resistance practice that she located in her hair, as an expressive part of her body and identity as a black woman.

> Teaching for me has been a strategy of the collective. So, bringing my experiences and the places where I've been, travelled, taught, danced, conquered the world... Like, my strategy has been to transmit this knowledge, you know? (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Livia also identified that the individual practice of caring for her body was simultaneously collective, as this traditional practice connects her with her ancestors and with nature. She regularly did a seat bath with barbatimão (a native Brazilian tree traditionally used for medicinal purposes). Livia began doing this to improve her gynaecological health as she realized that her genital area was often overwhelmed by stress and the threat of daily violence.

> I put in a sitz bath, [...] I think it's my individual strategy, as a person, I realize that subtle violence, and very strong or high impact violence, this affects the body in that specific region, so for me, the sitz bath has been a place to look at myself, take time to look at my people, have the feeling of warmth, of welcome and this gives a... It gives a relief somewhere, kind of takes away, relaxes a little bit the violence, the whole. All the pressures that we carry with us. (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, resident of Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Similarly, Bianca also observed how violence affected her genital area, physically and metaphorically through oppressive discourses, and so she established body practices of self-care focusing on this region.   By taking care of her body and intimate areas, she improved her health, resisting the violent colonization of her body by heteronormative practices, institutions, and discourses.

> This one in the individual, is when I'm taking care of my private parts. When I am doing vaporization, when I drink tea, I feel relieved. I feel that I myself have the power of my vulva. I am the one who has this wisdom. It is not anyone from outside who wants to boss around my

private parts. It is not anyone from the church who will think that my intimate parts would have to be other to relate to any woman. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Livia wrote the phrase '*nossos passos vem de longe*' ('our steps come from far away' in reference to black feminism in Brazil. See Werneck, 2010) on her feet, embodying how her power and strength came from the collective and ancestral stories of resistance of women like her. She reaffirmed the centrality of collective and ancestral resistance, which made her feel accompanied, giving her courage and motivating her not to give up.

> I think that knowing that I'm not alone, alone, that there is one behind, in my family, and of people... Black people, black women, and black lesbians, and artists, and people that have to do with my education, beyond my family, to know that I am not alone, walking together, knowing that this step comes from very far away gives me the reason, and the desire not to give up, everything is very difficult I think. Everything leads one to give up, not to do, you know? You have to have this no, no, no, no, [...]. And what is it that takes me? My feet, I don't know, my body is in fact, literally the part of my body that carries me to places, right? And knowing that I am not alone, this gives me more strength, courage. (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Bianca emphasized the bodily strength located in her hands and head, and linked it to an ancestral power that connected her to her mother and grandmother. She recalled how these women in her family had a lot of physical strength, worked with their hands, shared knowledge and supported each other, which made this resistance that was both corporal and collective.

> This strength makes a big impression on my body in my hands, to carry heavy weights when I am in a community work project; to do the things in the garden; to hold a pen and write on the blackboard, to do the activities with the children. I see a lot of strength in the hands. And also in the head. There are times when we have to have strength, creativity, strategy to resist. And there comes this form in the head too. This strength comes from studying [...] sharing knowledge. A person who marks this very much, sharing knowledge and studying, is my grandmother. She was from the countryside and also taught classes. She was always very much a bread-sharer [...] She carried weight, she was a saleswoman. [...] A lot of strength in her hands, very hardworking. [...] And also my mother. She also always worked a lot, she was also a saleswoman and carried a lot of weight, had a lot of strength in her hands. She also did handicrafts - she still does them today. For everything she used her hands a lot. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Silence as resistance

As in other stages of the research, silence emerged as an almost involuntary embodied response, as well as a self-management practice of protection and survival mapped onto the bodies of participants. Livia made use of silence as a bodily response to trauma and protective practice in the face of sexual violence. She was sexually abused from a very young age, but remained silent until her adulthood. However, she also recognized that speaking out was an important practice of resistance.

> The violence that I suffered, the sexual abuse for example, I can't talk about it, I can talk about it to my mother now, at 36 years old, this happened when I was six, seven years old, it's my

strategy, somewhere silence was my strategy for this you know? I think speech too, but silence a lot (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Trans women also highlighted silence as a covert practice of resistance and protection. Fatima emphasised the importance of learning to self-manage, to know when and what to say and when to be silent, an important skill to develop to navigate the world as a trans woman living in the favela.

My first defence strategy was to learn to talk less. To know what I was talking about, where and with whom I was talking. (Fatima, black/*preta* trans woman, living in Morro do Timbau, 37 years old)

Physical self-defence

Some women made described personal physical self-defence to confront the threat of physical and sexual violence in public spaces. From the practice of martial arts to the use of white weapons (non-firearm type of weapons).

Self-defence as a protective practice was identified by two cis women. Rosana, a 20-year-old black/*preta* cis woman, described being always alert when walking alone and carrying objects for physical self-defence (see number 10 in Figure 3). In contrast, and as noted above, Bianca, practised jiu-jitsu and believed in martial arts technique as a self-defence practice rather than using bladed weapons (see number 10 in Figure 7).

My strategy is to do the fight [...] That's my body strategy. [...] It's with the hands and with the feet. [...] I believe in the technique of fighting. (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

The great threat and incidence of transphobic physical attacks against trans women, meant they converged on making use of objects as weapons to defend themselves physically as their main resistance and protection practice. Some objects, such as knife, scalpel, razor, razor blade, chain, they carried with them Others looked for weapons such as pieces of wood and stones in their surroundings when an attack was imminent. On their maps, they placed these objects mainly in their hands, which they carry with them to defend themselves (see number 10 in Figures 8, 9 and 10). For example, Luisa, a 38-year-old mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, explained what she drew on her map: "Knife, stiletto ... when we don't have one, we take a piece of stick, stone and leave it in a little corner, bottle".

Body-nature resistance practices

Some resistance practices that emerged in the body maps suggest a continuum between body and nature. Many participants recognized in themselves a certain bodily need to feel connected and even part of nature, seeking natural spaces, the sun, the sea and green areas as sources of strength and a strategy to heal their bodies. For example, Livia put the sun and the sea outside her body (see number 10 in Figure 5).

> I put the sea, the sun, because they are two maximum powers of strength for me. And where I can get energy from I think. I think I made some words that I think also have to do with this, which are silence, meditation, crying and smiling, looking at the sea, dancing and doing therapy, I think these strategies are fundamental for me like this (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Katia placed the sea within her heart and described it as her "first refuge", explaining that being close to nature, walking and going to the beach were healing practices. Being in nature and seeing the horizon was a physical body need and something she felt deprived of in Maré, due to the specific geographical location of the territory (which, unlike other favelas, does not have access to many green areas and a sea view). She felt her body was oppressed by the concrete and bricks that surrounded the territory in contrast to the lack of green nature. The way she related her bodily connection with nature resonates with the notion of body-ground presented by the indigenous cosmologies of community feminism (Cabnal, 2010) which understands body and nature as part of a whole.

> I believe that we are not separate from nature, they are not two opposite things, they are two things together, I feel in my body, really, I feel in my body that I have the need to be on the land, to be in the bush, I like to stay in the bush, camping, staying for days in the bush, you know? I feel this need to bathe in the sea, these are things that I think are really physical, you know? We are not separate things, so I really miss this here, [...] I think it's important that we look at the sky, it's purity, all purity we have is nature, and nature is missing in our daily lives. So it is therapeutic. (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Bianca also described a strong connection with nature, especially with the beach and green spaces. These helped her to relax and also enabled free leisure activities within the city. Bianca mapped 'Mata do Pinheiro' (Pine Forest) on her body, an ecological park located in Vila do Pinheiro which is the largest green area in Maré and made her nostalgic for how it was in the past. She related this space to good memories and visited it often, reporting being part of a collective gardening project there with other residents:

> I really like the Pine Forest. I'm going to put here a little square, the pine tree island, the forest. It also brings me many good memories. It is a wooded place and I feel very well when I am there. It's where I also do some research. It's where we managed to do some gardening activities, and it's also a good place to exercise a little of the landscape, of how Maré used to be. Mata do Pinheiro is a very important place for me. [...] The beach I also like. [...] With these activities I feel relieved being with nature. I also feel very welcome to do these activities in the city. And mainly because they are free activities (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

Families, friends and Maré as territories-homes of resistance

Relatives and friends stood out in participants' resistance practices, even though the family often occupied an ambiguous place; a place of protection and a place producing violence. Building and nurturing a support network,and being emotionally and physically close to them was identified as something that gave women strength, protection and helped in their healing process. For example, Rosana placed several

relatives on her upper arm and head, identifying them as people who bring her happiness, good memories and strength to resist (see numbers 11 and 12 in Figure 3). She explained, these were "people who heal me after bad things". Similarly, although Janaina reported a history of abuse in her family and identified her family home as a place of violence and insecurity, she found refuge and strength in her parents too. She also emphasized the role of her friends, her girlfriend and the women's collective she was part of as a support and source of collective resistance (number 11 in Figure 4).

The love and support of friends and family were often mapped as collective sources of resistance, with the territory of Maré. For example, Katia drew friends and family in her heart, pointing how they helped her to resist, warming her heart. In her hand, she also put her mother and Maré, explaining her emotional connection with the territory that she considers her "nest" (number 6 and 11 in Figure 6).

> Maré is my nest people, independent, everyone here, since my grandmother's house, it is a nest, this will not happen anywhere else, because it is where I grew up, so Maré is all this. (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Bianca mapped streets and places in Maré that were important to her childhood, where she had played and had given her a her a sense of community (e.g. Capivari Street, Ian-house, Irini coffee shop, Mr Agamemnon's grocery store). Lívia   drew her mother, family and friends, along with a street and her house in Maré, beside her hip, outside her body (see number 11 in Figure 5). These were interconnected territories, which were part of her body, providing it with belonging, happiness and resistance.

> I put house, and when I put house, the house there for me has to do with my body too, my body was my first house, my mother, my family, where we live, this space is super symbolic for me, my family (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Friendships and 'moments of sociability', especially those among trans women were described as sources of power and resistance that nurtured and strengthened them to continue surviving. Their families were also important, when they accepted and supported them. Fatima's trans friends gave her strengths she said: "here we are equal, we are transvestites, we are more aware of each other's feelings and needs".

IV MAPPING RESISTANCES BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY-TERRITORY AND THE CITY-TERRITORY

This final section presents an analysis of the participatory territorial counter-mapping produced by the participants, drawing on specific individual and collective forms of resistance. For this, we drew a GIS map - locating places that are notoriously unsafe for women, as well as places that are considered powerful or potent for women. In this, we compiled territorial knowledge shared by them (see Figure 11). Observed in conjunction with the body maps, they show how women mobilized their bodies and their territorial knowledge in resistance practices, reflecting a continuum between body and territory.

Figure 11: Participatory territorial counter-mapping of Maré

Unsafe sites
1. Posto da Polícia Militar no Parque União
2. 22° Batalhão da Polícia Militar
3. Passarela 9
4. Passarela 10
5. Avenida Brasil
6. Linha Vermelha
7. Linha Amarela
8. Fundão
9. Divisa e Cena de Uso de Crack
10. Divisa – Rua Evanildo Alves
11. Divisa – Rua Principal
12. Divisa – Rua Tranquedo Neves
13. Divisa – Rua Guanabara

Potent sites
1. Lona Cultural Herbert Viana (Cultural Pavilion)
2. Centro de Artes da Maré (Maré's Arts Centre)
3. Luta pela Paz (Fight for Peace)
4. Casa das Mulheres da Maré (Women's House)
5. Redes da Maré (Networks of Maré)
6. Espaço Casulo (Casulo Space)
7. Centro de Referência de Mulheres da Maré Carminha Rosa - UFRJ (Women's Reference Center - Federal University of Rio de Janeiro)
8. Vila Olímpica da Maré (Maré's Olympic Village)
9. Centro de Estudos e Ações Solidárias da Maré (Center for Studies and Solidarity Actions of Maré)
10. Grupo Conexão G (Connection G Group)
11. Basta de Violência! (Enough of Violence!)

— Unsafe sites   ● Potent sites

MILICIA

Praia de Ramos

Roqueto Pinto

RAMOS

Parque União

Rubens Vaz

Nova Holanda

COMANDO VERMELHO

Parque Maré

Nova Maré

Baixa do Sapateiro

Ilha do Fundão

Avenida Brasil

Linha Vermelha

Linha Amarela

TERCEIRO COMANDO

Morro do Timbau

Bento Ribeiro Danatas

Vila dos Pinheiros

Conjunto Pinheiros

Salsa e Merengue

Vila do Joao

Conjunto Esperança

CAJU

250 metres

An overview of the locations identified as unsafe on the map (in red) complicates the spatial nature of gendered urban violence in Maré. On one hand, unsafe places were directly associated with how urban violence and armed conflicts were distributed in the territory of Maré, with unofficial borders (concrete or symbolic) reflecting the logic of territorial domains of rival groups. On the other hand, experiences of violence at the 'borders' thatdelimited a transition between what we designate 'inside' and 'outside' Maré appeared more prominently in women's accounts.

The roads surrounding Maré - the Avenida Brasil, Linha Vermelha and Linha Amarela - are expressways that connect the city of Rio de Janeiro to the suburbs of the Metropolitan Region and to cities in the interior of the state. They are considered hostile to pedestrians and cyclists due to the lack of circulation structure and are dangerous especially at night due to the high incidence of assaults, and other forms of urban violence. The collective perception that they are unsafe streets, means that women's circulation requires protective and risk prevention measures, such as avoiding walking alone. Monica noted, for example, "it is always in a deserted place, they always catch women who are walking alone, and I avoid it" and Elsa "I have already told my husband to wait for me every day there on the other side: "You will have to wait for me", because I have the greatest fear of walking on a deserted street, and there it is very deserted".

These expressways bypass and outline the perimeter of Maré, as symbolic borders that reproduce the urban segregation of the favelas in the city in the context of the war on drugs and the territorial reinforcement of stigma (Silva, 2015; Wilding, 2014). From the perspective of women from Maré, these 'borders' represented how the city 'outside' often posed greater risks of violence or discrimination, especially in the South Zone neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro.

> I work there in Botafogo, [...] we don't know everyone, we walk together to see that we are not alone, and there we protect ourselves, and don't trust everyone [...]. At night I don't go out (Monica, cis woman, heterosexual, white, 49 years old, living in Nova Holanda)

> Where I also felt very angry was in Leblon. I had to go from here in Maré to Leblon to work. And the treatment was also different. People treated me badly. It was at the time of the pandemic. I felt a lot of anger for being there working, earning little and seeing the difference in the structure of Leblon compared to the structure of Maré, of Avenida Brasil; to cross all this distance and see how it is another city (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

As also noted above, police operations undermine women's sense of safety and generating anger as noted by Elsa She recounted one of the episodes in which the police invaded her house:

> I'm only going to talk about what they did in the house, they came in, the first time they broke everything... there was nothing inside, they broke the door down completely. [...] This makes us angry, because we have a hard time buying things and a wretch like that comes and breaks everything, he doesn't do this at the house in the South Zone, he doesn't do this, he'll have to

have a [judicial] order, not here, he thinks he can just barge in and do all this. (Elsa, cis woman, white, heterosexual, resident of Piscinão de Ramos, 50 years old)

The Military Police Battalion and the Military Police Station based in Maré were identified on the map as unsafe areas. Although, As noted above, men, especially young black men, are more direct targets of state violence, women are also victims of police incursions, crossfire and confrontations.

In addition, women face intense repression in their daily lives without being able to resort to institutions that guarantee rights and justice. Elsa discussed the authoritarian behaviour of members of armed groups as more intense today, in contrast to times when there was greater tranquillity within Maré.

[...When they started to jump on the slab I was scared, because these new kids seem to be worse than the old ones, because I've lived here for 40 years and I've never seen this happen, but with them, we go to talk to them and they come at us with the greatest ignorance, it's something that surprised me, I said: "God, I can't be treated like this within the community" [...] and when I went to talk to the biggest, he said: "You live in a favela, that's how it is", so I was devastated when I heard that. (Elsa, cis woman, white, heterosexual, resident of Piscinão de Ramos, 50 years old)

Furthermore, other borders have been formed within Maré to delimit the occupations of armed groups and inhibit the free movement of residents. Known as 'divisas' (border areas), these may be delimited by barricades and checkpoints or being shared knowledge. The border areas are marked by the ostensible presence of firearms and recurrent episodes of conflicts and exchanges of fire. This territorial configuration implies distinct local cultures according to the armed group that dominates each region. When they talked about their safety l within Maré, participants tended to refer specifically to their areas of residence and expressed fears in relation to other areas where different dynamics operated under the domination of other armed groups.

Here in Maré, the border too, is a feeling of fear. I had to go to work, leave my house to go to Nova Holanda, and I went through various situations of shootings and conflicts there. I was very indignant, because it is also absurd. We live in Timbau, we want to go to Nova Holanda and we have to pass through these areas. This makes me very sad, because it is bandit against bandit, poor against poor, people against people (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27).

Finally, it is important to emphasize that specific groups among women have different experiences, according to their intersectional identities. Trans women, like Neide, for example, spoke much more often about the intolerance, aggression and humiliation they experienced inside Maré.

I still have traumas, marks, scars on my body. Because they beat me, I've been pistol-whipped here inside the community, I've been shot at the entrance to the community. [...] at the time when we were starting our transition, we passed by and out of nowhere on the street we were hit with a can, they threw fruit... (Neide, mixed-race/*parda*, trans woman, living in Nova Holanda, 32 years old)

37

Lesbian women also reported violent restrictions on their freedoms such as Livia:

> I am a lesbian, so, this also prevents me from many things, I can't move around, I can't kiss on the mouth, right? All this is a violence for me not being able to show affection (Livia, cis woman, black/*preta*, lesbian, living in Morro do Timbau, 36 years old)

Yet a shared culture of fear affects women across the board, even though state violence is especially intense in Maré. However, the territory is also known for its community and civil society networks articulating important social and urban improvements, usually led by women. Women are the ones who typically join forces in solidarity and direct action to oppose violence (Silva, 2015; McIlwaine et al., 2022b). There is a widespread understanding among women about this, as expressed by Luisa: *'the word 'resistance', is what sums us up [...] resistance and survival'.* In the territorial counter-map of Maré (Figure 11), several places of feminist power were identified (in blue) where women's struggles and visions are collectively experienced and where small resistance practices can together lead to significant social transformations.

Territorialised Resistance

Women's resistance practices emerged as a collective effort involving a network of people. Being aware that walking alone made them more vulnerable, they avoided it by leaving places and returning home accompanied or in groups, asking someone to pick them up or at least letting someone know where they are going and when they arrive at their destination.

> As a collective strategy I put support network with family and friends, and as individual strategy I put, not walking alone, not talking to strangers, especially if it is outside Maré, I avoid talking to people, and always warn where I am going, because if something happens, my mother or some friends know where I am (Rosana, cis woman, black/*preta*, bisexual, living in Nova Holanda, 20 years old)

Other territorialized practices refer to moving to other "calmer" areas within Maré, as reported by Elsa, in reference to areas with less movement of police on days of operation and members of armed groups: *"[for] the agitation of the place, it is calmer, it helped my emotional life a lot"*. Monica, on the other hand, had to seek shelter outside her home on the advice of a police delegate who said he could not detain her husband who had assaulted her in public.

Choices of routes of circulation and body posture tactics were also very frequent in the words of the women, as Fatima noted about passing close to the places where members of armed groups were present in the streets: "*Particularly, I avoid. So, I know that there is that little group there, I avoid going by. And if I do, I don't even look, just to avoid these things*. Many of these strategic choices were developed by women based on teachings passed on from generation to generation of women. This transgenerational factor generated strong feelings of identification of women with the territory of Maré.

> My family is also from here, so my relationship with the territory is, I think, really historical, my grandmother came here very young, my mother too, so everything that I have today came from here (Katia, cis woman, black/*preta*, heterosexual, living in Nova Holanda, 25 years old)

Collective spaces of resistance

Maré was identified as a territory where multiple practices of resistance and community organizing activities are intertwined. Despite the scarcity of state institutions, there is a large and growing network of initiatives and civil society organizations, which are predominantly located in its central areas (Parque União and Nova Holanda). While public services are still insufficient, there are approximately 50 schools, seven health posts and one emergency care unit. There are also around 17 non-governmental organisations, nine are community organisations and eight women-led initiatives, with an additional nine online groups (Krenzinger et al., 2018).

Participants highlighted the importance of these as collective spaces where they were introduced to new knowledge, forged relationships of trust, and created networks of support and activism. As such they were considered a source of collective resistance. The map (Figure 11) shows, for example, Maré de Sabores, which is a women's cooperative; Casa das Mulheres, a community organisation focused on professional training and income generation, which also functions as a place of politicisation and solidarity among women; Conexão G, which promotes LGBTQIA+ affirmation actions in favelas; CEASM, the Maré Centre for Solidarity Studies and Actions, promoting access to culture, education, research, communication and memory; the Espaço Casulo (Cocoon Space), which acts to welcome primarily black and favela women to encourage autonomy, health, self-management and collective practices. In addition to other cultural spaces, NGOs and social projects were also indicated as important; these had the potential for collective engagements and the construction of a community culture of solidarity for women who frequent them. Bianca described localised a collective vegetable garden project, where she found a space for socialization and exchange that helped her in numerous ways.

> My collective strategy is when I am doing garden activities in various favelas. When I'm in events, in community work, and then I talk a little about the situation, when I'm doing activities with the women from the garden, when I'm giving classes... this is my resistance. Then I feel relieved, I feel I belong in a society. I feel I am a social, collective human being, not an individual human being, like: I am here, ok, suffering various forms of violence alone. No, I feel I belong. It is a feeling of relief, of welcome; a feeling of how I really should feel within a society (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27 years old)

For the trans women, two collective strategies were of particular importance: working and making use of community organisations/NGOs. In their body maps, for example, Neide and Luisa identified work as an important resistance strategy, placed on hip and leg. Fatima and Luisa drew organisations such as Redes de Maré, Casa das Mulheres and Conexão G above their head and on their leg. These relate to their commitment to seek unity between themselves and support each other (see above). Some

participants expressed disappointment about certain competition between trans women, but assessed these organisations as creating solidarity and considered spaces of resistance where patriarchal expectations of competitiveness were broken. Here, they sought to find consensus, often functioning as a refuge from violence.

> Today we have this space, we can meet, interact. We play, laugh, miss each other. Before class ends, we want the next class to start so we can see each other. If one of us has a disagreement with the other, we try to reach a consensus, because the prejudice that people have outside is enough. If you add ours, it will be one more. So, what brings me good memories these days is this: putting my mind forward, knowing that my life has not stopped in the face of the tribulations that we have outside and in here. And to be this, this body that we are. Because together we are stronger (Fatima, black/*preta* trans woman, living in Morro do Timbau, 37 years old)

Other participants highlighted the importance of collective learning spaces through which they prepare to acquire qualifications and professionalization. Bianca referred to the NGO CEASM, a pre-university where she met many of her current friends and important mentor,and felt motivated and felt a sense of belonging. She also fondly remembered other community spaces, such as the Espaço Casulo, where there is a women's herbal medicine circle, and referred to her favela of residence, Salsa e Merengue, where many community and mutual aid projects have emerged, especially during the pandemic.

> A place that also brings me a lot of happiness is Salsa e Merengue, where I learned a lot of things from the residents. And it was also a place of welcome even during the pandemic. It was where the residents organised themselves to deliver food and help each other. So, Salsa e Merengue is also a place of much learning and happiness (Bianca, cis woman, white, bisexual, resident of Morro do Timbau, 27)

During the COVID-19 pandemic, two initiatives were organised to collaboratively address its social effects. The first was the Maré Says No to Coronavirus Campaign, a campaign initiated by Redes da Maré to address the urgent basic needs and livelihoods of over 18,000 families through the distribution of food baskets. Although other genders were involved, women led and operated its core activities. The second was the Rede de Apoio às Mulheres da Maré (RAMM), a collaborative women's support network created to address the increased incidence of domestic violence during the period of social isolation, at the initiative of Fight for Peace. In addition to other training and information dissemination activities, RAMM built an 'integrated workflow' through a participatory process, mapping services and policies to address gender-based violence available to women in Maré (see also McIlwaine et al. 2022b).

Finally, other places in Maré identified as powerful related to individual experiences of empowerment and self-building as a woman. In general, they referred to their homes or those of their families, or schools and streets, as explained by Rosana:

> I feel I can express myself and not be silent, I marked some places where I feel I left my mark which is in Maré, but specifically on Rua 17 de Fevereiro, which is where I grew up and in CEFET where I graduated (Rosana, cis woman, black/*preta*, bisexual, living in Nova Holanda, 20 years old)

Several of these places collectively identified as powerful in the counter-map of Maré had also been in the individual body maps as places of happiness, resistance and good memories. This overlapping between maps - body-territory - reveals spatial-corporal practices of resistance connecting body and community territory in a continuum.

Beyond formal and organized spaces, strategies, often expressed individually by women from Maré, also incorporated collectively constructed knowledge; resistance practices that began with women from their families, friends and acquaintances, today are strategies involving many residents. Although not organized in the same way as NGOs, collectives, churches, etc., knowledge from individual practices was collectivized through community experience.

V CONCLUSION

This report has discussed the results of the participatory methodology of counter-mapping the articulation of body and territory in resistance to violence by women residents of Maré. This approach understands women as agents with power, rather than as passive victims of violence. From this perspective, the inventive ways in which Maré women organize themselves individually and collectively go beyond the traditional narratives of overcoming violence and instead place women as protagonists in the production of their urban lives, building practices of protection, care, mutual aid, and community transformation.

The report has also shown that body-territory maps that reflect women's bodily and territorial narratives can reveal specificities internal to Maré that need to be considered when creating strategies to combat and prevent violence against women. Using participatory cartographic construction, it is possible to identify ways in which the uses of territory by women make up for the lack of public resources for protection or the state presence that generates insecurity. This territorial knowledge also counters the absences of information about the favelas (Motta, 2019; Rizzini Ansari, 2022) and enables autonomous and spontaneous forms of production of territory. For example, shared knowledge about unofficial borders and internal divisions lead women residents of Maré to trace elaborate routes and circulation strategies and, in turn, nurture relevant local knowledge for public policy managers interested in developing specific to the local reality.

We have focused on the ways in which women in Maré base their practices of resistance on their territories, bodies, communities and the city more broadly. We argue that women carry in their bodies territorial knowledge, often ancestral and transgenerational. This shared knowledge is mobilized daily to confront gender-based violence, through resistance practices that connect the body-territory with the home-

territory, the community-territory and the city-territory in ways that reveal broader and structuring resistance strategies.

We conclude, therefore, highlighting the importance of deconstructing the segregation between favelas and the city. Traditional and hegemonic maps of violence suggest that the favelas are not part of the city, that they are areas of disorder. According to the participants, this segregation is often expressed as distinctions between violence and resistance 'inside' and 'outside' Maré. This report has inevitably reproduced this differentiation, yet we aim to demonstrate that women develop urban tactics and knowledges in response to this segregation, challenging the physical and symbolic barriers that define them as not belonging to the city. The elaboration on these tactics and knowledges, which vary according to their positionality, refers to the search for greater security. This is largely ignored by promoters of policies to confront gendered violence in the city.

To summarise, some key issues emerged that were overlooked previous aspects of the research process. In terms of violence, one of the strongest was the ways in which armed urban violence and especially police incursions created fear, anger and anxiety. The latter were described and felt like a literal invasion of territory and bodies, confirming the body-territory connections. In addition, the role of gunfire was identified as important – with shooting in the air called a 'dance'. Police presence and violence created physical and mental illness, especially in the stomach, head, shoulders, and legs. Hands emerged as important when women felt they had lost power in the face of state violence. The endemic nature of everyday urban violence was felt in women's waist area to signify that it was at the centre of their bodies.

Outside Maré, women in general spoke of feeling racial and class discrimination in their feet as they were unable to walk where they wanted in the city, but especially in middle class neighbourhoods. This also applied to cycling which was dangerous in Rio de Janeiro with one woman drawing a major road (Avenida Brasil) above her head stating it was a place of violence as a cyclist.

Transphobia and homophobia were widespread. For some trans women, the widespread disrespect and violence they experienced was like having their hands and feet tied. Other trans women spoke of feelings of disrespect, anger and disgust at the lack of acceptance of their gender identities by society and also sometimes by their own family. These affected their heart, mind and chest, as memories that affected their mental health, causing them sadness and anger. For trans women engaged in sex work, their genital area was identified as bruised. They felt more discriminated against outside of Maré than inside. Black women also spoke of stigma and the need to develop self-care tactics to cope with gendered urban violence as they traversed the city, especially beyond Maré.

Some interesting dimensions of resistance were identified through the mapping that again had not been revealed in other aspects of the research process. These included the idea of being protected through books and words with one woman putting a book in her hand to heal and protect. Another identified consciousness as resilience in her head as a way of challenging difficulties. Intergenerational knowledge around territorialised resistance was reported as important; several participants noted that they learnt about where and where not to walk or travel based on information from their mothers and grandmothers. The role of collective spaces of care, learning, awareness, leisure and faith were also crucial. Practices of care for the body, mind and environment was shown to generate effective resistance practices (dances, baths, rituals, exercise), as well as the connection with nature as a corporal and spiritual experience and also of socio-economic accessibility to city spaces (beaches, parks, green areas). Nature and the sun underpinned body-nature resistance practices providing energy and healing for participants.

V- REFERENCES

Aberley, D. (1993). *Boundaries of Home: Mapping for Local Einpowerineizt*. Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers.

Cabnal, L. (2010). *Feminismos diversos: El feminismo comunitario*. Barcelona: ACSUR-Las Segovias.

Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo. (2014). *La vida en el centro y el crudo bajo tierra: El Yasuní en clave feminista*. Quito: Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo.

Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo. (2017a). *Mapando el cuerpo territorio. Guía metodológica para mujeres que defienden sus territorios*. Quito: Collective Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo.

Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo. (2017b). (Re)patriarcalización de los territorios. La lucha de las mujeres y los megaproyectos extractivos. *EcologíaPolítica*, 67-71. Retrieved from https://www.ecologiapolitica.info/novaweb2/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/054_ColectivoMiradas_2017.pdf

Cruz Hernández, D. T. (2016). Una mirada muy otra a los territorios-cuer- pos femeninos. *Solar*, *12*(1), 45-46.

Fernandes, F. L. (2014). The construction of socio-political and symbolical marginalisation in Brazil. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(2), 53-67.

Geobrujas. (2018). *Brebajes y herramientas para la defensa del territorio* [Fanzine Vol. 1].

Haesbaert, R. (2020). Del cuerpo-territorio al territorio-cuerpo (de la Tierra): Contribuciones decoloniales. *Cultura y representaciones sociales*, *15*(29), 267-301.

Krenzinger, Miriam; Sousa Silva, Eliana; McIlwaine, Cathy & Heritage, Paul (eds) (2018) *Dores que Libertam*. Rio de Janeiro: Attis.

Lopes-Heimer, R. dos V. (Forthcoming). (2022). Travelling Cuerpo-Territorios: A methodology to conduct decolonial feminist geographical research with migrant women in the Global North. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, (Special Issue: Territory and decolonisation: debates from the global souths). http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2022.2108130.

McIlwaine, C (2021). Gendered urban violence against women and girls from the margins to the centre. *Urban Violence.* Amin, A. & Clarke, H. (eds.). London: British Academy, 27-31. https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/3340/Urban-Violence.pdf

McIlwaine, C; Resende, N.; Rizzini Ansari, M.; Dionísio, A.; Leal, J.; Vieira, F; Krenzinger, M.; Heritage, P.; Peppl, R.; Silva, E. (2022a). *Resistance Practices to Address Gendered Urban Violence in Maré, Rio de Janeiro*. Research Report. London: King's College London. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1i7CJL5jOdwfU3r-q0d0eOiO0YWz-CaBY/view

McIlwaine, Cathy; Krenzinger, Miriam; Rizzini Ansari, Moniza; Coelho Resende, Noelle; Gonçalves Leal, Julia; and Vieira, Fernanda (2022b) 'Building Emotional-Political Communities to Address Gendered Violence against Women and Girls during COVID-19: Reflections from Maré, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil', Social and Cultural Geography. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14649365.2022.2065697.

McIlwaine, C., Krenzinger, M., Rizzini Ansari, M., Evans, Y., & Sousa Silva, E. (2021). Negotiating Women's right to the city: Gender-based and infrastructural violence against Brazilian women in London and residents in Maré, Rio de Janeiro. *Journal of City Law*, 13 (2), 954-981.

McIlwaine, C.; Rizzini Ansari, M.; Leal, J.; Vieire, F. Santos, J. (forthcoming). Countermapping SDG 5 to address violence against women and girls in the favelas of Maré, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Mollett, S. (2021). Hemispheric, Relational, and Intersectional Political Ecologies of Race: Centring Land-Body Entanglements in the Americas. *Antipode*, *53*(3), 810-830.

Motta, E (2019) Resisting Numbers: The Favela as an (Un)Quantifiable Reality. *Mana* 25(1), 72-94.

Peluso, N. (1995). Whose Woods Are These? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Antipode*, 27(4), 383-406.

People's Palace Project & Redes da Maré (2020). *Building the Barricades: Mental health, violence, culture and resilience in Maré*. Report. London: PPP/QMUL. https://peoplespalaceprojects.org.uk/en/publications/building-the-barricades-reports/

Prouse, C. (2021). Affective registers of favela infrastructure in Rio de Janeiro, *Social & Cultural Geography*. Published Online.

Ribeiro, D. M. (2020). Indigenous Counter-mapping: Approximations between critical cartography and decolonialism. *Logos* 27(3), 17-36.

Richmond, M. A. (2018). Rio de Janeiro's favela assemblage: Accounting for the durability of an unstable object. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(6), 1045-1062.

Rizzini Ansari, M (2022) Cartographies of poverty: rethinking statistics, aesthetics and the law. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 0(0) (online first), 1-19.

Rocha, L. O. (2012). Black mothers' experiences of violence in Rio de Janeiro. *Cultural Dynamics*, 24(1), 59-73.

Santos, J. (2019). The impacts of neoliberal policies on drug trafficking in the Nova Holanda favela in Complexo da Maré. Rio de Janeiro: Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

Satizábal, P., & Zurita, M. de L. M. (Forthcoming). Bodies-holding-bodies: The trembling of women's territorio-cuerpo-tierra and the feminists' responses to the earthquakes in Mexico City. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, (Special Issue: Territory and decolonisation: debates from the global souths).

Sousa Silva, E. (2015). *Testimonies from Maré*. Rio de Janeiro: Mórula.

Ulloa, A. (2016). Territory feminism in Latin America: Defense of life against extractivism. *Nomads [online]*, (45), 123-139.

Werneck, J. (2010). Nossos passos vêm de longe! Black women's movements and political strategies against sexism and racism. *Revista Da ABPN*, *1*(1).

Wilding, P. (2014). Gendered Meanings and Everyday Experiences of Violence in Urban Brazil. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 21(2), 228-243.

Zaragocin, S., & Caretta, M. A. (2020). Cuerpo-Territorio: A Decolonial Feminist geographical Method for the Study of Embodiment. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 1-16.