RESEARCH REPORT

RESISTANCE PRACTICES

TO ADDRESS GENDERED URBAN VIOLENCE IN MARÉ, RIO DE JANEIRO

MAY 2022

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The project 'Resisting Violence, Creating Dignity: negotiating Violence Against Women and Girls through community history-making in Rio de Janeiro' is a multidisciplinary research project which aims to map the formal and informal, individual and collective pathways that women living in peripheral urban communities, particularly the favelas of Maré, develop in order to resist gender-based violence.

The research is led by King's College London (Department of Geography) and Redes da Maré in partnership with the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, People's Palace Projects, Queen Mary University of London and Museum of the Person and is supported by the British Academy via the GCRF - Global Challenges Research Fund (Heritage, Dignity and Violence programme) (HDV190030).

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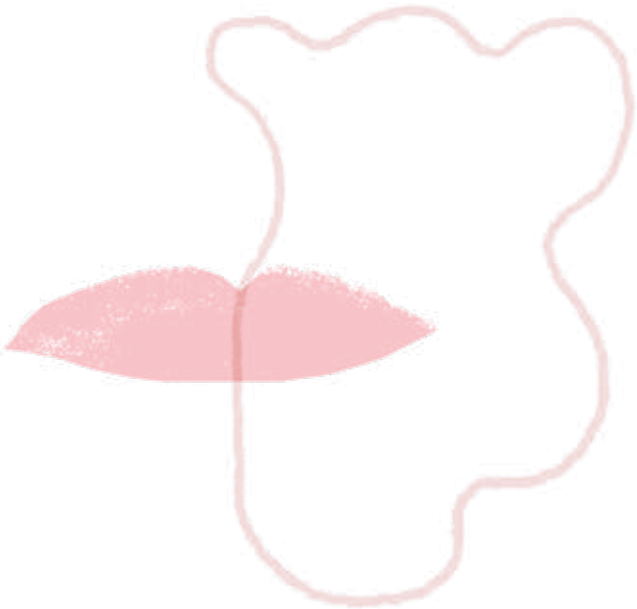


INTRODUCTION, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

This report presents key findings of research conducted as part of the 'Resisting violence, creating dignity: negotiating Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) through community history-making in Rio de Janeiro' project. It focuses on analysis of data collected in interviews and focus groups with women from the favelas of Maré, Rio de Janeiro.[1] This was based on an interdisciplinary, co-produced design and a participatory methodology for the investigation of coping and resistance practices for combatting gendered violence developed by women in Maré.[2]

The project's main aim was to examine the construction of dignity and resistance by women in relation to gendered violence in Maré in Rio de Janeiro. It addresses the following objectives:

- To assess conceptual interrelationships between resistance, agency and dignity in relation to how women negotiate gendered violence
- To identify formal, informal, and creative practices of resistance to gendered violence
- To trace the cultural processes and practices of how dignity emerges over time and is forged between women as they reject victimisation and become protagonists, both individually and collectively.
- To examine how community history-making can contribute to creating gendered resistance practices and building dignity.
- To evaluate how these processes and practices of resistance can be harnessed to reduce gendered violence in the context of endemic urban violence but also how to prevent it through challenging structural inequalities.

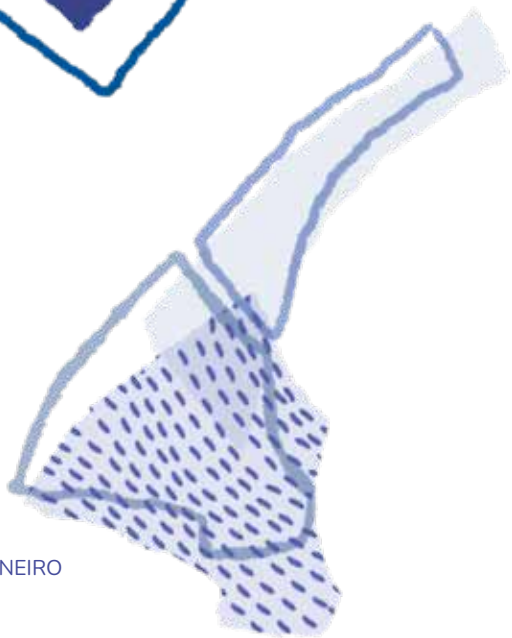
[1] The research reported here follows on from previous research conducted through a partnership between Brazil and the United Kingdom on how gender-based violence affects Brazilian women living in London and those living in Maré. The first project was developed between 2016 and 2018, through cooperation between King's College London, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Redes da Maré and the People's Palace Project of Queen Mary University of London, together with the Latin American Women's Rights Service and CASA Latin American Theatre Festival and was funded by the ESRC and Newton Fund under grant ES/N013247/1. The current project is funded by the British Academy and the Global Challenges Research Fund under grant HDV190030 and focused only on Maré.

[2] The production of knowledge and decisions on the management of the activities were addressed collectively between the researchers based in the UK and the team responsible for data collection and data systematization in Brazil. This process allowed for protagonism by the women of Maré in constructing narratives about their own processes of resistance. The collaboration between teams also allowed work to continue in the face of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

When women are targeted by an unimaginable variety of forms of gendered urban violence, they are also agents of coping with this same violence - from individual small daily acts to collective and structural political actions. In other words, the ways in which women create multiple forms of resistance, through short, medium and long-term practices in individual and collective ways, acknowledging blurring among these categories. The research sought to analyse these processes in an attempt to contribute to the weaving of a story, composed by the lines of resistance created by women throughout their lives – a collective memory – about women's struggles in this territory. [3]

This report draws on thirty-two interviews and five focus groups conducted with women living in Maré, with the objective of exploring the main forms of direct and indirect gendered urban violence they identify, the resistance practices they develop and the networks they build and access throughout their lives. The interviews aimed to deepen the specific experiences of each woman, while the focus groups were spaces of collective reflection.

Levels of direct and indirect urban violence in Mare are exceptionally high, yet women have developed multiple and innovative resistance practices to address them. Our aim is to uncover the range of such practices developed by women across a spectrum of different types - short-term, longer-term, formal, informal, individual and collective. Resistance practices can be reactive to emergency situations or more transformative in addressing structural and racialised inequalities. In all these practices, women's strength is at their heart.



[3] When we designate 'women' as a way to view the collectivity of women who participated in the research, we do not intend to generalize their perspectives, but to highlight commonality of experience, acknowledging the singularities, exceptions and nuances of the experiences of each one. We also include trans women within this.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMING: WOMEN'S RESISTANCE PRACTICES TO ADDRESS GENDERED URBAN VIOLENCE

While the aim is to outline core research findings, it is also important to briefly discuss the conceptual framework in relation to broad definitions of gendered urban violence and women's resistance practices to address it.

What is gendered urban violence? Following the 1993 UN Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women, gender-based violence refers to physical, sexual or psychological acts of harm against women and girls that occur in private and public spheres from the family, community to the state. These entail the threat of violence, coercion and arbitrary detention and can also include financial and emotional forms perpetrated by male intimate partners and other household members of different genders and sexualities including parents, siblings, grandparents, extended kin as well as employers. Intimate partner violence (IPV) refers to specific dynamics of male partners or ex-partners' violence against their female partners, the most common form of GBV. Femicide refers to the intentional murder of women because of their gender, and may occur in private or public spheres. Domestic violence is a specific form of gender-based violence which can also be perpetrated against men, children or those with gender-nonconforming identities. It is important to acknowledge that LGBTQI+ people experience disproportionate levels of violence in private and public spheres (McIlwaine, 2013; UN Women, 2015). Gendered violence can also be indirect and relate to wider forms of structural, institutional and specifically state violence (Brickell and Maddrell, 2016). This is especially marked in cities where state aggression and neglect through inadequate service provision and ineffective public policies, which is sometimes referred to as 'slow-violence' (Piedalue, 2019) or 'infrastructural violence' (Datta and Ahmed, 2020; see also McIlwaine et al., 2021).

A key dimension of gendered violence is its complexity, multiplicity and intersectionality. Gendered violence is rooted in patriarchal and colonial relations, which materialize in racist, socially excluding, sexist, homophobic and transphobic practices. In Brazil, because of the relatively recent history of slavery, such practices are particularly persistent (Carneiro, 2003; Ribeiro, 2017). Afro-Brazilian and/or LQBTQI+ women often disproportionately experience gendered violence (Krenzinger et al., 2021; see also Smith, 2016). Therefore, it is important to designate gendered violences in the plural, as multidimensional and occurring across multiple domains, directly and indirectly.

In today's context, gendered urban violence refers to multiple overlapping types of direct and indirect violence experienced by women. Some are motivated directly by the exercise of social power over women through physical, sexual and psychological means (**gendered violence in the home, gendered violence in the public spaces**), while others directly affect women in gendered ways (**armed violence/urban conflict, racial violence**), and indirectly in gendered ways (**area stigma, structural violence, infrastructural violence, symbolic violence**) with **state violence** included in all the indirect forms (see Table 1 below).

What are resistance practices? Resistance to violence refers to 'actions taken to counter or reduce violence', which may be acts, moments or interventions (Pain, 2014: 136). There is a very large body of work on everyday forms of resistance in general and specifically in relation to violence (Scott, 1985; de Certeau, 1984). Much of this acknowledges multiple resistance tactics that are formal and informal, covert and hidden, organised, disorganised along a continuum of forms (de Heredia, 2017) as well as historically imbued with intersectional power relations (Johansson and Vintagen, 2016). Here, we use the term 'practices' rather than strategies (following de Certeau, 1984) to highlight how they are more reactive in nature (Datta et al., 2007; Moser, 2009). Feminist scholars in Brazil and beyond have long explored the nature of resistance practices (hooks, 1990), that can be individual and collective, respond to multiple forms of violence (Rajah and Osborn, 2020), and entail acts of passive as well as active resistance. While some practices address individual perpetrators of intimate partner violence, others focus on challenging wider structural conditions (Faria, 2017; Fluri and Piedalue, 2017). In situations of endemic urban violence, poverty and fear, the emergence and creation of resistance practices can be compromised (Hume and Wilding, 2020; Zulver, 2016). A wide range of typologies and conceptualisations capture women's responses to direct and indirect gendered urban violence. These are diverse and contingent on the type of gendered violence and the specific structural context (spatially and temporally). Developed in a range of contexts (Piedalue, 2017; 2019 on plural resistance and slow non-violence in the US and India), many derive from Latin America, reflecting the long history of feminist activism in the region, especially Brazil (Alvarez, 1990; Loureiro, 2020; Maier and Lebon, 2010; Márquez-Montaño, 2020; Martin and Shaw, 2021) (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: EXAMPLES OF CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF RESISTANCE TO GENDERED URBAN VIOLENCE

Source	Resistance conceptualisation	Nature of resistance conceptualisation
LasTesis (2019)* based on Segato (2016)	**Public performance of resistance** (against state violence and rape culture)	Mobilise women globally around song as form of protest. Draws on Segato's ideas around rape culture perpetrated individually and by the state. A rapist in your path (*Un violador en tu camino*) (Chile, Latin America in general, globally)
Gago (2020)	**Women's Strike** (against structural and everyday embodied violence and exploitation)	Global solidarity of 'feminist international', drawing women's and LGTBQI interest groups together. Withdrawing productive and reproductive work. Public protest (Argentina, Latin America, globally)
#NiUnaMenos (2015) (Rottenberg (2019)	**Public protest** (against persistent gender-based violence and femicide)	Periodic mass mobilisations. Online activism and data gathering (Latin America in general)
Jimeno (2010)	**Emotional political communities** (against intimate, state and institutional violence)	Sharing personal testimonies to create emotional bonds that may be reconfigured into political action (Colombia)
Nascimento (2021)	***Quilombo* community building** (against colonialised, racialised, and state gendered violence - abolitionist struggles)	Black cultural resistance through building quilombos, *aquilombamento* and *quilombolas* - colonial and slavery-era form of spatialised resistance along continuum of anti-colonial, anti-racism and abolitionist struggles (Brazil)
Gonzalez (1988)	***Amefricanidade* or Amefricanity** (against colonialised, racialised and state gendered violence)	Black cultural resistance and protest movements. For example, *March da Mulheres Negras contra a Racismo, a Violencia, e pelo Bem Vivir*, 2015 (Brazil)
Zulver (2016, 2022)	**High risk feminism** (in high risk contexts and direct and indirect gendered violence against women)	Collective identity creation, social capital generation (El Salvador and Colombia)
Jokela-Pansini, (2020)	**Strategies of '(self)-care'** (in high risk contexts and direct and indirect gendered violence against women)	Collective (self-)care among feminist activists (Honduras)
Hume and Wilding (2020)	**Situated politics of women's agency** (in high risk contexts and direct and indirect gendered violence against women)	Immediate management of threat, forge safe spaces – formal and informal (Brazil and El Salvador)

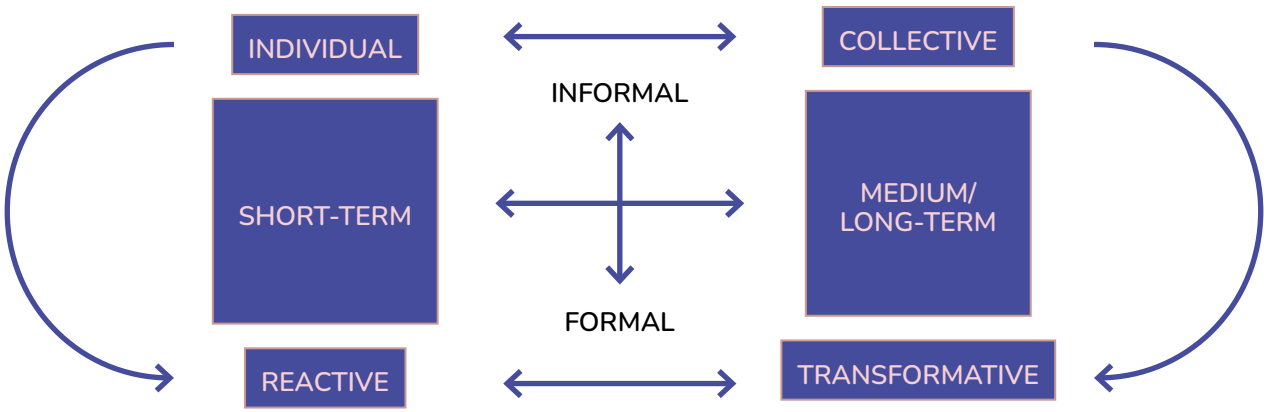
*** https://www.facebook.com/colectivo.lastesis/**

This report develops a descriptive framework of overlapping resistance practices to address gendered urban violence. These stretch across a continuum from coping practices that are reactive and respond immediately to violence to those which over time, enable the transformation of structural processes of change and reformulation of women's lives through resistance. Such processes allow for questioning of structures of power and oppression based on intersectional gender relations as well as recognising the constraints that women face in dealing with gendered violence in all its forms in contexts of endemic urban conflict.

The framework entails eight variables where we differentiate **reactive** practices in the **short-term** and **transformative** structuring resistance actions in the **medium and long term**. All practices can be **individual** or **collective,** and emerge from and reveal the lived experience of dealing with and resisting gendered violence in **formal** and **informal** ways (Figure 1). They are not organised around a linear or evolutionary dynamic (from reaction to transformation*)*, but by the composition and alternation at different moments and situations of emergency and structuring aspects. Hence, we also refer to "liminal zones" as thresholds blurring these seemingly binary dimensions (see Figures 3, 8 and 9). A key aspect underlying the framework is transformative change which resonates with Moser's (2021) work on 'gender transformation' that involves first, meeting basic needs, second, empowering women through building assets and providing economic opportunities, and third, seeking legal, institutional and societal change collectively in order to engender transformation.

Overall, the report outlines the diversity of resistance practices as responses to multidimensional violence experienced across scales from the body to the community, to the state and beyond. The individual and collective are interwoven and plural especially in relation to the collective memory and transgenerational community knowledge of women that is key to the construction of dignity. It also asks how resistance practices have emerged in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. There is evidence that feminist collectives have intensified activity during the pandemic, especially around raising awareness of domestic violence (Ventura Alfaro, 2020 on Mexico). This report also asks if this occurred in Maré.

FIGURE 1: FRAMEWORK OF RESISTANCE PRACTICES FOR COPING WITH AND COMBATTING GENDERED VIOLENCE

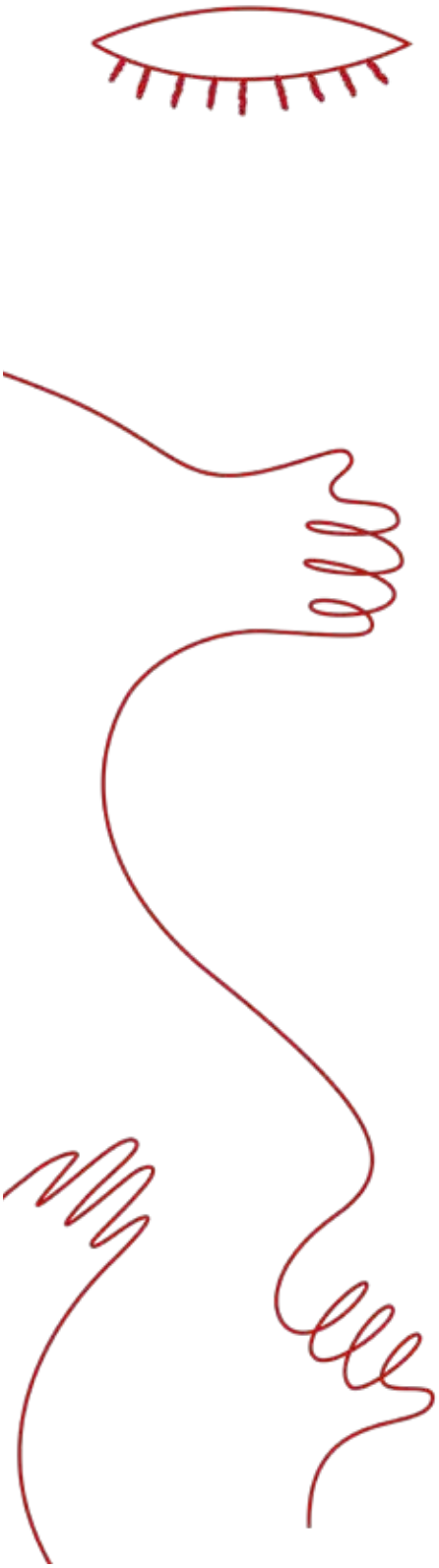


BACKGROUND: MARÉ IN CONTEXT

Maré is one of the largest groups of favelas in Brazil located in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro. The territory is affected by high levels of poverty, inequality, organised crime and public insecurity, yet is also home to multiple struggles, protest and resistance as well as a large network of civil society initiatives and organisations. Maré was consolidated between the 1940s and the early 2000s as a neighbourhood, formally created through Municipal Law No. 2,119 in January 19, 1994. It occupies almost 4kms square and is formed of 16 communities, housing around 140,000 residents, according to a 2013 community-led census. Maré is larger than 96% of Brazilian municipalities and in relation to the city of Rio de Janeiro, one in 46 inhabitants of the municipality resides there. While two-thirds of the population are from Maré itself, the remainder are from the North East of Brazil (Redes da Maré, 2013; Krenzinger et al., 2018). [4]

In terms of the population, 51% are women and 62% identify as mixed-race and black (Redes da Maré, 2013). More than half of the residents (56%) over 10 years have had at least one child with 9% of those aged 15 to 19 years being a mother or father. Almost half (45%) of women are single mothers, meaning that they bear a disproportionate burden for raising children, with many living in extended household units. Many residents have low (although increasing) levels of education and work in informal or self-employment. There are more than 3000 commercial establishments, 50 schools, seven health clinics and one emergency unit. Public service provision is inadequate, resulting in residents not being able to ensure basic rights.

Maré is dominated by three of Rio de Janeiro's illegal armed groups: two 'drug' factions, the *Comando Vermelho* and *Terceiro Comando*, and the paramilitary actor known locally as the *milícia* (militia). State security forces frequently make deadly incursions resulting in systematic violence affecting the daily lives of residents. There were 71 police incursions between 2018 and 2020 resulting in 58 deaths (People's Palace Project & Redes da Maré, 2020). In addition to deaths, such police operations violate access to public services (with closure of schools and health units) as well as invasions of homes, property damage, assaults, and arbitrary arrests. These actions are routine in favelas in Rio de Janeiro.

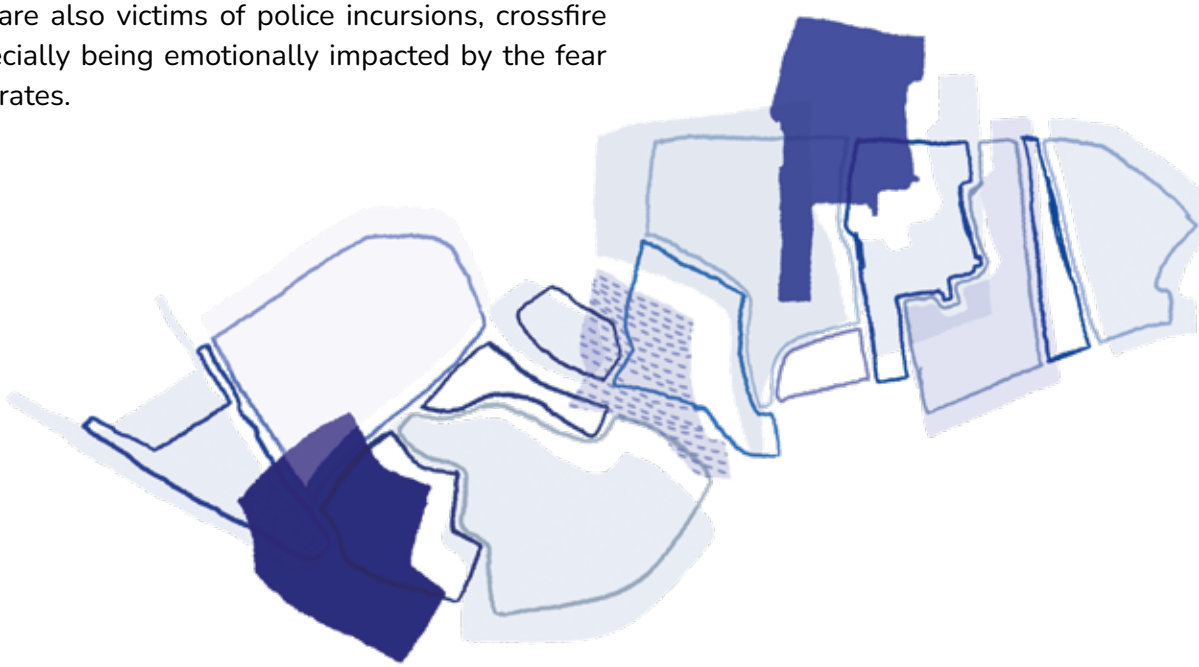


[4] The data on Maré presented in this section were extracted from the IBGE Census (2010) and the Maré Census (2013). Available in: https://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/resultados.html and https://www.redesdamare.org.br/media/downloads/arquivos/CensoMare_WEB_04MAI.pdf (5/1/22).

Police actions, clashes between factions linked to the retail trade in illegal drugs, and clashes between illegal armed groups and the security forces are the main source of fear, threat and violence in Maré (Sousa Silva, 2017; see also Fernandes, 2014; Garmany and Pereira, 2018).[5]

According to estimates, 35% of women nationally suffered direct forms of gender-based violence (in public and private spheres), 80% of which were perpetrated by a current or former partner (Guimarães and Pedroza, 2015). One woman was murdered every day in Rio de Janeiro in 2016 (Krenzinger et al., 2018). Acknowledging under-reporting, more than 250 women experienced direct gender-based violence every day during lockdown in March to December 2020 in the state of Rio de Janeiro, of which 61% occurred inside homes (ISP, 2021).

Previous research in Maré (Krenzinger et al., 2018; McIlwaine et al., 2021) showed that 57% of those surveyed experienced one or more forms of direct gender-based violence in the private and public sphere (34% physical, 30% sexual and 45% psychological), with black women most likely to suffer (69% of black women compared to 55% of mixed-race and 50% of those identifying as white). Almost half (47%) of the violence was perpetrated by intimate partners, with more than half of incidents occurring in the public sphere (53%). Significantly, only 52% of women who experienced direct gender-based violence disclosed or reported it, and this was mainly informal; only 2.5% reported to a formal source such as the police. Although men are direct targets of urban violence, women are also victims of police incursions, crossfire and fighting, especially being emotionally impacted by the fear this violence generates.



[5] Maré is territorially dominated by several of Rio de Janeiro's armed groups: the Red Command, Third Command and militia groups (Silva Sousa, 2017).

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND PROFILE OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED

This project was structured around a collaborative, co-produced and interdisciplinary methodology to examine resistance practices developed by women in Maré to address gendered urban violence. The qualitative, multi-method methodological framework comprised in-depth interviews, focus groups (including in situ observational drawing of these discussions – Heath et al., 2018), participatory GIS mapping (Elwood, 2006), body mapping workshops (Lopes-Heimer, forthcoming; Zaragocin and Caretta, 2021) and digital storytelling through social memory technology (Garde-Hansen and Worcman, 2016) in order to map the life and paths of struggle of women of Maré in confronting gendered violence.

This report is based on qualitative analysis of data collected through:

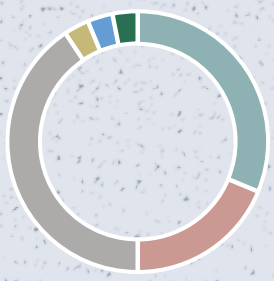
- 32 individual interviews with women living in Maré
- Five focus groups composed of women previously interviewed, grouped by social-cultural profiles that emerged in the interviews (see below) as well as women (residents or directly related to Maré) working in the field of human rights protection
- Nine individual interviews with women working on two initiatives organized after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic: the Women's Support Network of Maré (RAMM) and the Maré Says No to Coronavirus Campaign.

It is this community story, at the same time fragile and strong, and it is this memory, at the same time individual and collective, that the research aimed to portray, through the narratives of women, who themselves were committed to better understand. As Rita, a 19 year old black (or *preta*) women recounted, *I set myself to research the history of Maré and I noticed that it all started with a bunch of women. Ms Helena told me the story that she and her friends went after water, light. So the women are here while the men go out to work - so we stay here, on the front line. When there's a police operation, it's the women who go and defend [the community] - whether it's the working women, the women take care of the kids so they don't get out on the street. So women have a key role in making the favela.* (Rita, 19 years old, black or *preta*)

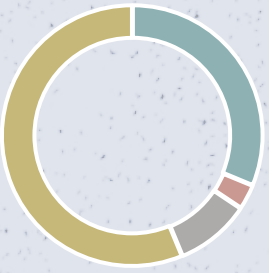
TABLE 2: PROFILE OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED[6]

DECLARED RACE*

10	White [branca]
13	Black [preta]
06	mixed-race or "brown" [parda]
01	Asian or "Yellow" [Amarela]
01	Indigenous [Indígena]
01	Unknown



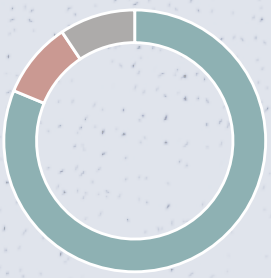
MARITAL STATUS



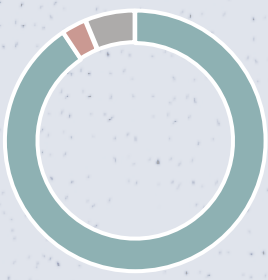
Single	18
Married	10
Separated or divorced	03
Stable Union	01

SEXUAL ORIENTATION

26	Heterosexual
03	Homosexuals
03	Bisexual



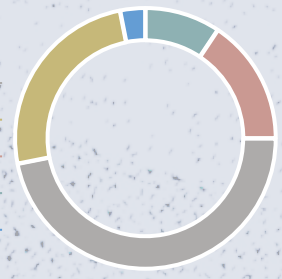
OCCUPATION***



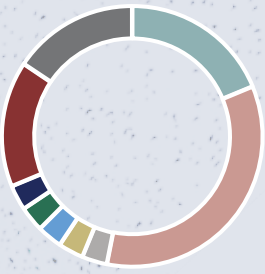
Have some occupation	29
No occupation	01
Did not report	02

SCHOOLING

15	Middle school
08	Incomplete Higher Education
05	Incomplete High School
03	Incomplete Elementary School
01	Higher education

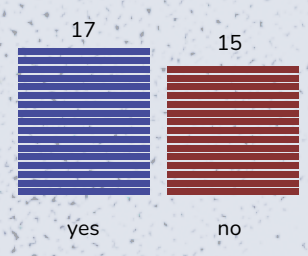


RELIGION

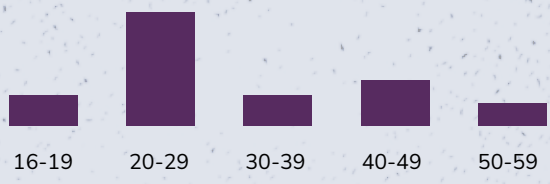


Evangelical	11
Catholic	06
There's no religion	05
Didn't answer	05
Umbanda	01
Candomblé	01
Spiritist	01
Agnostic	01
Christian (no specification)	01

PREVIOUS LINK WITH CDM**



AGE



[6] The profile data do not include pilot group participants of the Focus Group V. This was composed by women working in Maré in the human rights field.

* Ethnic-racial categories used in the research follow the Brazilian official census nomination. It is important to acknowledge that the terminology is object of dissensus notwithstanding its stability as the parameter of social research in Brazil (see Munanga, 2019).

** Linked with Casa das Mulheres includes working or having worked with the organisation, participated in some project or course, or having been supported by the House.

*** The category 'occupation' includes women who study, are performing internships, or some productive activity. Of those who work, most have formal links.

STRUCTURE OF INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

Interviews were divided into four blocks, totalling twenty-one questions. This structure was used flexibly, according to field researchers. The blocks of questions revolved around relationships with Maré in terms of length of residence, affective relationships with the territory; territories and violence in relation to challenges of living in Maré in terms of discrimination, police operations and circulation within and beyond the territory; domestic violence related to personal and family experiences of violence, especially in terms of COVID-19; the final section relates to individual and collective coping practices, together with plans for the future (see appendix 1).

The focus groups aimed to explore the collective dimensions of practices to address the types of violence identified in the interviews.[7] They were based on five common denominators including the following:

i. women who reported having formal or informal work and exposure to and coping with gender violence

ii. women dedicated to work and domestic life, who often defined themselves as "homely"

iii. younger and more politicized women who demonstrated a discursive and/or practical experience with feminist and racial perspectives

iv. women who mobilize their bodies and physical activities in Maré

v. women working in human rights organisations in Maré, dedicated full-time to supporting other women locally (pilot group).

[7] Within these profiles, the same participant can share characteristics common with others in other groups in terms of socio-demographic criteria such as age, racial identity, schooling, religion, among others. However visions and attitudes expressed during interviews were strongly connected with their daily lives and different interactions with Maré. The objective was to obtain discursive diversity and praxis, instead of portraying and contrasting perspectives according to socio-demographic groupings.

A roadmap for conducting focus groups, composed of three thematic streams was elaborated, As for interviews, this did not function as a rigid structure. Its use was managed according to the groups. These included, first, **gender and violence**, **territories and violence**, **coping practices** (formal and informal) including networks, collectives, institutions and services they know and access (see appendix 1).

Focus groups became a space for sharing stories, listening and collective elaboration for the women. There were moments of silence, simultaneous speech, laughter, crying and welcoming. The separation into different profile groups facilitated the exchange, because even when women did not know each other, they could establish a common bond. Despite the uniqueness of each one, fears, insecurities, challenges, objectives, practices and strategies to face the violence were shared in each group. The groups were also a space for reporting intimate individual stories, rarely or never shared before. To capture this nuance, often not registered by traditional social science methods, an artist was present to visually document the focus groups, creating drawings representing the participant's oral and body language.

CONTOURS OF GENDERED VIOLENCE

Women explicitly and frequently addressed various forms of gendered violence and corresponding resistance practices during interviews and focus groups, offering new insight into how women's responses are agentic, structured and modulated in direct relation to their views and stories[8]. Below are some main themes identified in the women's narratives about their perceptions and experiences, presented in a basic roadmap of types of violence, forms of manifestation and forms of resistance, These will be categorised and further analysed in the next section.

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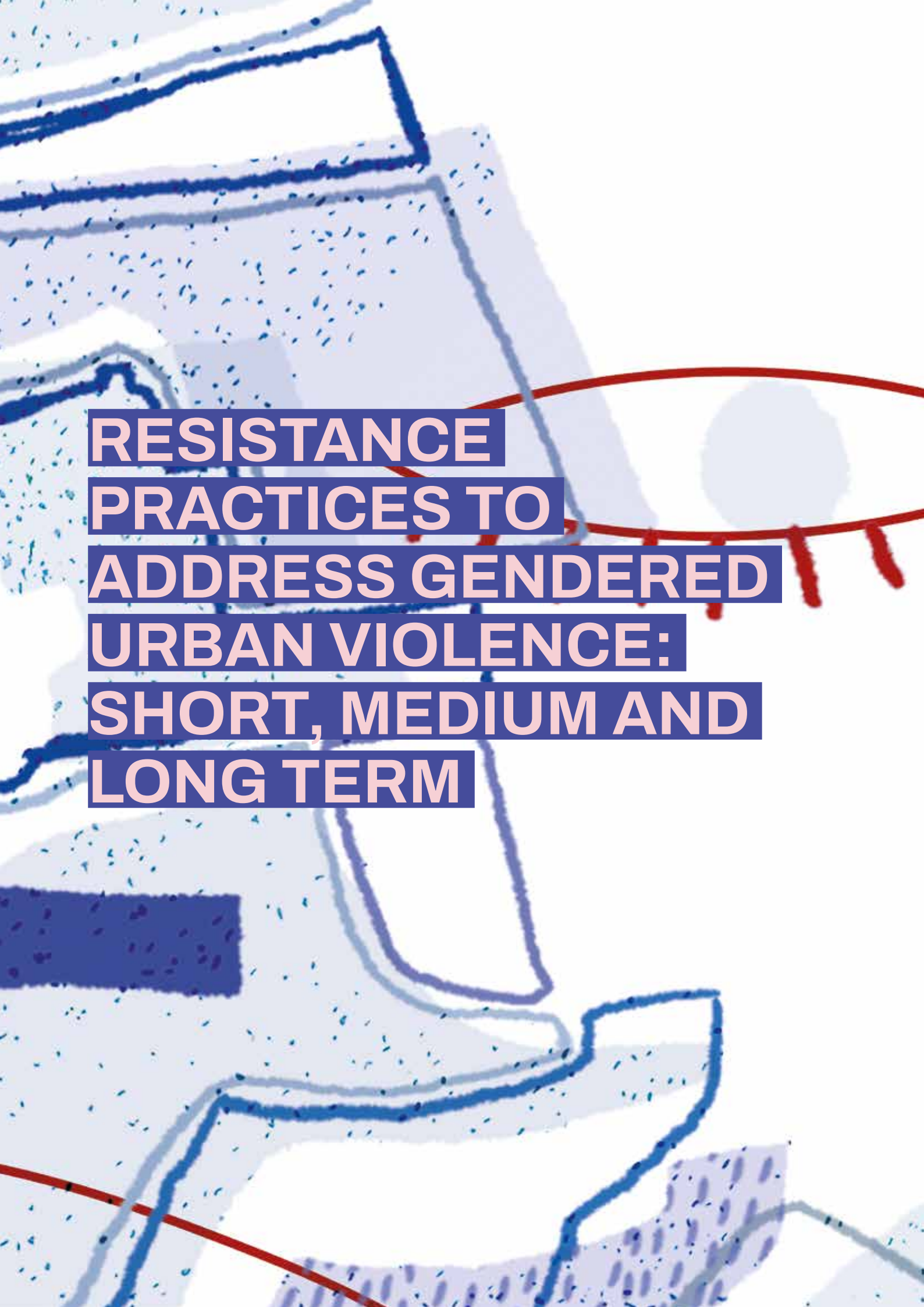
[8] Research data on violence was extremely rich, however, in this report the focus of the analysis is on practices of coping, combatting and resisting such manifestations of violence. For more information on the lived experiences of gendered violence, see previous reports from the previous research at: https://transnationalviolenceagainstwomen.org/publications/

TABLE 3: ROADMAP OF TYPES OF GENDERED URBAN VIOLENCE, FORMS OF MANIFESTATION AND FORMS OF RESISTANCE

TYPE OF VIOLENCE	FORMS OF MANIFESTATION	FORMS OF RESISTANCE
Gendered violence in the home	Domestic violence, intimate partner violence, intrafamilial abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, financial and economic subjugation, gaslighting, verbal aggression, coercion	Strategic silence, leave home, change habits and routines, move homes, avoid relationships, use affective networks of protection, use women's mutual support networks, use formal networks, use private security, participation in collective spaces, invest in financial autonomy, rely on transgenerational knowledge, recourse to religious spaces
Gendered violence in public spaces	Harassment, catcalling, sexual assault, rape, duress and intimidation, stalking, uninvited touch	Seek safe spaces and routes, avoid circulating at night, carry sharp instruments, keep close to women, control one's attitude, escort by men
Armed violence/ urban conflict	Shooting, crossfire, gang violence, police violence, extortion, threat, torture, coercion, unfair treatment, unfair management of conflicts, racially-biased policing, militarization, paralegal territorial domination, state violence	Stay at home, seek safe spaces and routes, constant risk assessment, disseminate safe information, protect family, seek company of women, protect men, record violations, uses of social media, observe local norms, alternative conflict resolution mechanisms, rely on transgenerational knowledge
Racial violence	Racism, racial bias, bigotry, religious intolerance, body shaming, hate crime, state violence	Ancestry, self-care practices, self-affirmation, online activism, creatively use body as means to resist, collective engagement, recourse to religious spaces
Area stigma	Discrimination, criminalization, symbolic segregation, suspicion, unfair treatment, humiliation, embarrassment about place of residence, state violence	Valuing community history, self-affirmation, being outspoken, participation in collective spaces, online activism, entrepreneurship, professionalisation
Structural violence	Barriers of access to education, health care, social rights, the labour market, endemic poverty and state neglect, institutionalized racism, sexism, classism, state violence	Participation in collective spaces, courses and trainings, professionalisation, return to study or work, entrepreneurship, recourse to religious spaces
Infrastructural violence	Lack of access to statutory services, re-victimization in protection services, unsafe urban infrastructures (lighting, policing, distant bus stops), state violence	Informal and affective networks, women's mutual support networks, alternative conflict resolution, seek alternative conflict resolution mechanisms, rely on transgenerational knowledge, participation in collective spaces
Symbolic violence	Homophobia, transphobia, misogyny, sexism, racism, state violence	Online activism, self-care practices, self-affirmation, transgenerational knowledge, share and re-signify traumatic memories, recourse to religious spaces, creatively use body as means to resist, entrepreneurship



RESISTANCE PRACTICES TO ADDRESS GENDERED URBAN VIOLENCE: SHORT, MEDIUM AND LONG TERM

Considering the main forms of gendered urban violence and resistance practices identified in the research, this section analyses the multidimensionality of gendered experiences and responses to violence, interconnecting public and private, individual and collective, interpersonal, urban, institutional and structural dimensions. The experience and responses to different forms of violence become visible, showing how these have been shaped by generations of women in Maré through coping practices that were always essentially collective. An important oral tradition emerged**,** a sharing of knowledge and transmission of experiences from woman to woman: from grandmother to mother, from mother to daughters, among sisters, cousins, friends and neighbours. This tradition produces a common bond, a collective of women in Maré, sometimes unknown to each other.

A framework (see Figure 1) to systematize various resistance practices developed by women to cope with gendered violence was elaborated (outlined in Table 3). These will be presented in two broad distinctions: **short-term practices and medium/long-term practices.** The former refers to those that produce an immediate and reactive effect and aim to deal with fear, danger or violence that sometimes demands knowledge of local codes and a rapid and accurate response. The second group is composed of practices that produce effects over time and are sometimes able to modify the experience of violence. These two broad groups are cross-cut by other factors that may be individual or collective practices as well as reactive and/or transformative. Some practices are informal; others are formal. All these practices are interrelated and produce threshold zones, or liminal zones of indeterminacy, which reflect blurring between categories**.** Some practices identified in the first group, for example, can produce lasting effects and vice versa.

SHORT-TERM COPING PRACTICES

Short-term practices inside Maré were identified as mainly responding to police operations and conflicts between armed groups, as well as challenges related to circulation through the city.[9] Women identified the following practices to manage armed violence: staying at home, seeking more protected spaces in their homes, evaluating routes when necessary to circulate, using phone/online apps to obtain information about situations and to record violence, and staying with other women to prevent assaults and abuse during home invasions by the police.

Outside Maré, short term practices for women include seeking to stay close to one another, especially in public transport and deserted spaces, not circulating at night, carrying sharp instruments, sharing their location with people they know, speaking loudly and responding when living or witnessing situations of harassment, staying silent to avoid conflict, and talking about the power of Maré to produce other narratives about the favela. While many of these are reactive, informal and individual practices, some can also be interpreted as collective and more strategic. For example, when women turn to other women to secure support, this forms part of a silent and instant network of solidarity, co-presence and care.

[9] Short-term practices to address domestic violence are also addressed in the following subsection, largely articulated with other networks accessed by women.

Most women highlighted armed violence as the main source of fear, threat and violence in Maré. Constant police operations, high levels of exposure to armed violence, risk to physical integrity, arbitrary arrests and summary executions, home invasions by police with property destruction, verbal, and physical abuse were emphasized.[10]

Different effects of police violence between men and women were noted. While women are more likely to experience assaults, harassment and abuse during operations and home invasions, men and especially young black men, are more exposed to arbitrary arrests and lethal police action. Many women expressed concern about leaving boyfriends, partners and husbands alone at home during an operation and for children circulating through the territory during conflicts. Regarding their daughters, they reported concerns that they would experience aggression and harassment.

Facing extreme forms of armed violence associated with urban conflict, many women had experienced anxiety attacks, panic attacks, depression, fear and feelings of permanent threat, paralysis in times of danger, constant tension, the impossibility of relaxing and various traumas, all related to the effects of violence. Older women discussed a different Maré in which the tranquillity of the games in the streets was present, without the overwhelming dominance of the security forces and armed conflicts. For younger women, early childhood experiences of operations and shootings emerged in their recollections, including the presence of armoured vehicles and helicopters. This premature experience of danger and confrontation with death feeds into fears, worries, responsibility and silences that affect women's well-being and identity. To witness arrest since childhood to distinguish and protect yourself from police operations and confrontations, to be trapped outside the house in the midst of armed conflicts, to see bodies and blood in the streets, to be immobilized in dangerous situations, and to experience from a small age the fear of death, are all traumas that appear. In view of these experiences, we outline predominant practices for coping with and addressing violence articulated by these women.

STAY AT HOME AND TRACE STRATEGIC ROUTES DURING ARMED CONFLICTS

Paradoxically, Maré is perceived as both safe and violent. Knowledge of local codes and rules offered security to research participants – generally showing no fear of assault, harassment, rape, and constraints to movement at night within the territory of Maré. However, the risk of armed operations and confrontations was repeatedly pointed out. As a way to protect themselves, most women indicated that they try to stay at home, leaving only when necessary. However, even indoors, it was necessary to develop resistance practices during police operations such as staying in more protected areas or rooms, to avoid stray bullets.

[10] At this point, the voice of a trans woman interviewed in the research is important. Although she finds police operations unfair for victimizing innocent people, she states not being afraid in these moments. Actually, she feels a kind of tranquillity that she identifies as due to the perception that the "criminals are being chased". Her condition as a trans woman would also protect her from home invasions by the police, she explains: "On the day [of a police operation] I feel [...] at peace. Because I know there's been a search for those criminals who hate me. [...] But that day I'd be left alone. I'm very sad to have innocent victims and not them, but at least something different happens." (Celine, 35 years old, black or preta).

When necessary, most women chose strategic routes evaluated as less risky – here a real cartography of the territory appears, with mapping of safer places for circulation, ways to occupy streets, strategies to get in and out of Maré, as well as to ensure the safety of people nearby. These practices are learned through family members and community networks from childhood**.** Women mobilize trans-generational knowledge, founded in territorial experience, relationships and local culture and codes learned throughout their lives. The creation of ways to face everyday armed violence often restricts women's freedoms. They do not necessarily freely choose to develop these practices as noted by Maria (46, mixed-race or *parda*): '*We're not resisting because we want to, we resist because we need to. [...] No one chooses to live this violence*'.

These practices are long learnt; many women reported experiences of fear from police incursions during childhood, often related to memories of the dangers of playing in public spaces outside their homes. Although at an early stage these experiences are not distinctively gendered, at a certain point in their youth, girls become aware of women's distinctively protective roles in such situations.

> *When I was seven years old, I was playing there in that square [...] Then it was four o'clock in the afternoon, shooting started quite insanely. I just walked into a woman's house, and the gunshots didn't stop, and she said, "Come here" [...] I remember I went into the lady's house at day time; and when I left, it was already at night. [...] It was a very long operation, a lot of crossfire, we hid under the bed for ages, until it started to cease.*
>
> **Lia, 35 years old, black or preta**

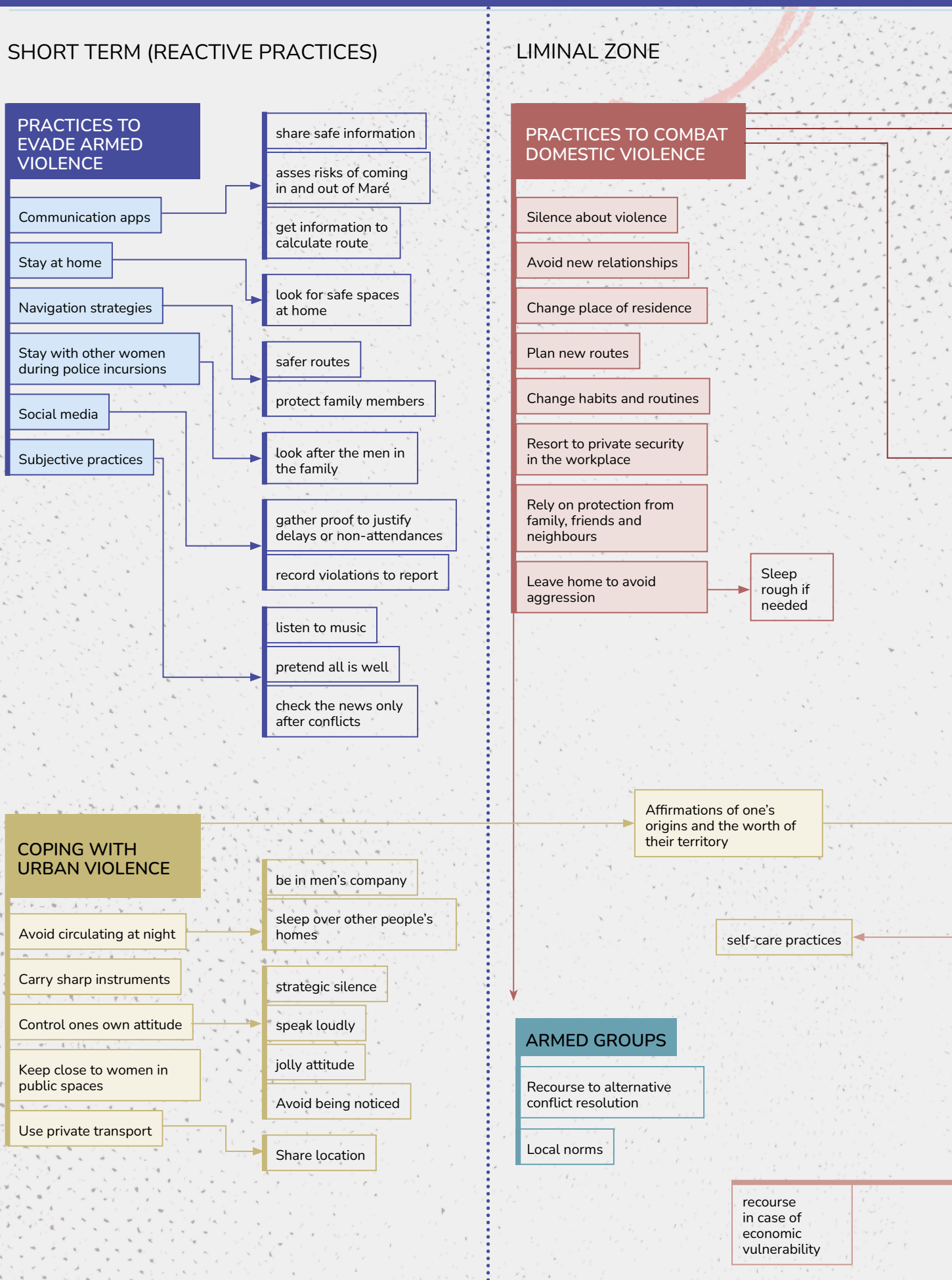
> *It's very hard for you to explain to a child that that [armed] person who is standing there on the street is not a cop, but a "bandit" [...] how are you going to explain the difference of a good bandit and a bad bandit, because there's none, and a good cop and a bad cop? [...] ''No, alright, he's a bandit, but he's got feelings, he can be a good person.'' [...] they are still too small to be able to understand this kind of thing ... it's kind of complicated, but we try.*
>
> **Angela, 25, mixed race**

> *We were on the street, playing, and out of nowhere started a war, we had to get into the neighbours' house. When we opened the window, the street was full of blood, of dead people. It was horrible.*
>
> **Rita, 19 years old, black or preta**

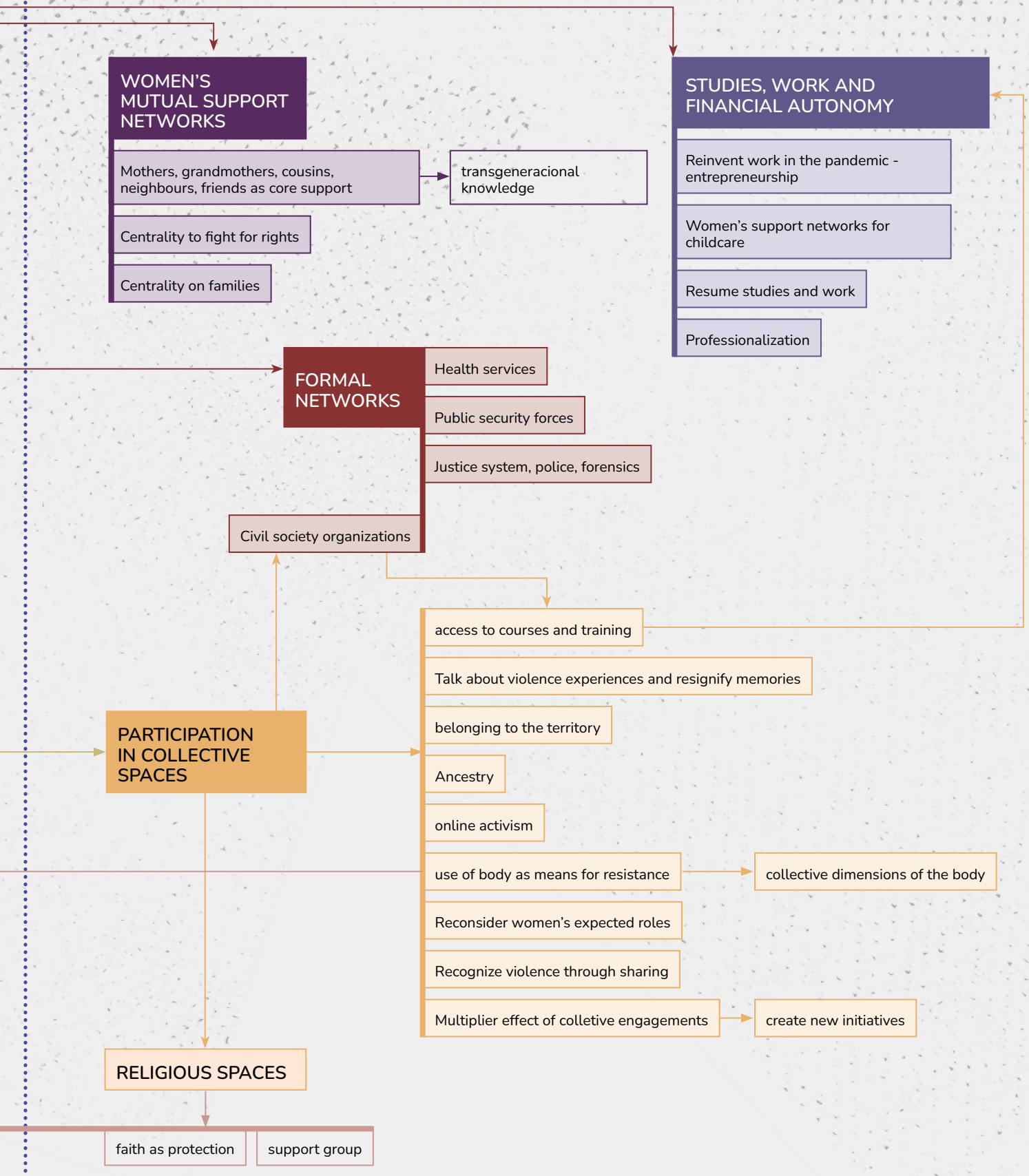
> *Like, the caveirão [the police armoured tank] is there, it's passing, I want to run, I need to hide, because since we were little we know that it is a sign of danger, and I just stood still. My dad shook me, he took me in his lap so to keep walking, get out of there, but my brain was like "I can't move, I'm paralyzed". I've always been afraid of the police. When there was a military occupation here, I was for a few good months not able to leave the house in peace, to go to school.*
>
> **Amanda, 21 years old, black or preta**

The women below recounted practices they developed around staying at home and hiding within their homes, as well as ensuring other family members are safe. It illustrates the important role played by parents in developing their children's awareness of danger.

FIGURE 3: SUMMARY OF RESISTANCE PRACTICES IN THE SHORT AND MEDIUM/LONG-TERM



MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM (TRANSFORMATIVE PRACTICES)



A lot of shooting started and I was very happy because I thought they were fireworks, and I liked the noise of fireworks, and my father caught me and we ran home, this was at night, and when he got home I did not understand and my father explained the difference of gunshots and fireworks [...] It was the first time I had to go through a war [...] I remember that it was desperate [...] my parents' room has a window and we had to lie on the floor, without light, only it was very hot, and my father had to open the window and put the mattress in the window, so the window would be open but not to enter any bullets [...] and I remember that when it was over [...] the gunshots ceased, I just heard people crying around in the other houses.

Joseane, age 19, indigenous

I don't leave the house. [...] When there's an operation, I don't even leave the house. I'll stay indoors. I lock the gate. Preferably, I do not even get near the window, because once I was by the window, a shot came in and almost hit me.

Silvia, 56 years old, white

I'll stay home if I can. If I, like, need to go to school, and if I don't have any exams or anything, I'm going to miss it. I worry about my mother who is in my great-grandmother's house, I worry about my aunt, my cousins, my sisters [...] so I'd rather stay home, waiting for everyone to arrive, than go to school not knowing what's going on.

Rita, 19 years old, black or preta

I went through a bad experience with my boyfriend, [...] The difference was that Luan is a black man. That's it, it was because of that. But to some extent, I feel that by putting myself at risk I am also putting him at risk, you know?

Lais, 19 years old, white

I worry about my son who is at home: "Carlos, don't go out, if you go out on the street take your ID in your pocket." Because even the cops, when [you] least expect they are already beating you up, not even the police respect the favela resident. I get very tense all the time until I get home.

Paloma, 47 years old, black or preta

Some women noted that men (husbands, boyfriends and sons) were especially vulnerable during police operations, as they are more targeted by certain types of violence such as arbitrary arrest, physical assault and torture, and summary execution. Due to this, women often stay on the frontline to care for and protect male relatives and friends. The comments below reflect this.

I'm not leaving so I don't leave the house empty. If my husband ... because he is a man ... sometimes I leave home with him, or I do not go out, or I leave after him, depends on what's going on at the moment [...] It's always this same approach [from the police]: I inform them that he works until such an hour, he stands for 12 hours, so I think it's only fair that he'd be resting, because in a little while he'll be working again [...] he comes home late, so he's just resting. If they need to see his work ID, we already leave it right there so we don't need to look for it [...]

Alessandra, 29 years old, black or preta

Other women still use more 'subjective' practices – i.e. practices aimed at turning inward to protect their own thoughts and emotions, such as intentionally avoiding thoughts about the conflicts outside, listening to music, pretending that nothing is going on – to face the impacts of police violence and not to paralyse themselves.

> *And in my head, I have a protective cover, which I call, which is my kinsphere - that's the dance term. As far as my hand can reach, there is an energetic field, and my energy field is very strong, these things [the impacts] don't happen, that's just in my head.*
>
> **Lia, 35 years old, black or preta**

> *I always sense before, when it will happen [conflicts or police operations]. I pray to God and that's it. The police come in, I open the house, I act naturally. That's how I think: out of debt, out of danger. [...] By listening to music I do not pay so much attention to what is happening [...] So you have to stay calm.*
>
> **Vivian, 20 years old, mixed-race or parda**

During a Focus Group, the discussion was momentarily interrupted by sounds of gunshots which raised a reflection on the participants' practices to resist. In other words, the event was not treated as normal but, in fact, was incorporated into the group's reflective process, as described by one of the field researchers facilitating the discussion:

> *Initially I thought about the dignity that is taken from us everyday, but the women [participants] did not stop talking and rather continued the group. From this fact, I realized the experience they have gained over the years, of knowing when to worry or not when they hear gunshots and this demonstrated the resistance and resilience they have built so as to live in such an environment. And finally, the re-signification, because for not to be shaken by something that is as scary as gunshots, speaks of how to endure and re-signify the violence that permeates the daily life of the favela in various ways.*
>
> **Journal entry of field researchers**

SUPPORT NETWORKS OF OTHER WOMEN

To protect themselves from home invasions, threats, assaults and harassment perpetrated by police during operations, different women indicated that they go to the homes of other friends and relatives (friends, sisters, cousins, mothers...) to avoid being alone at home, a situation that makes them more vulnerable to police violence. The central role of other women in the support network emerged as extremely important.

> *They knocked on the door early in the morning. I was scared. They came into my house, looking like they were high, talking loudly. [The police officer said:] "Can I come in?" I said, "You're already in." [...] [He replied:] "You are very naughty. Or I'm going to punch you in the face." [...] Then they went into my room, looked around [and asked:], "Do you live alone?". "Do you work?" I said, "Yes, sir, I was just getting up to open my shop, I have a salon down here." [He replied:] "You [women] never say anything. You always [claim to] live alone, you're always single."*
>
> **Priscila, 50 years old, black or preta**

> *You can't work, you can't build your house, have a house, more comfort for your children, because if you put on a huge television ... [the police will say that] you stole it or are related to someone involved. So they come, they break your house, they hit you, you understand? [...] So I can't stay home alone with them [the daughters]." So I stay at my mother's, where there's a lot of people [...] My sister who lives upstairs, behind my house, we all go to my mother's. When the operation hits, we hear gunshots, we immediately go to my mother's house.*
>
> **Patricia, 31, mixed-race or parda**

COMMUNICATION THROUGH MOBILE PHONE APPLICATIONS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Many women used the internet in different ways as a resource to combat armed violence. Main uses were communication through conversation apps to obtain information about the situation in different areas of Maré, and to assess possible internal circulation and entry and exit to and from Maré; to access news about friends and family; and to inform other people who need to leave or enter Maré; the search for records in online media vehicles and social networks that prove occurrence of police operations can be used as evidence to justify non-attendance or delays at work, school or university; and collection via mobile phones and publication on social networks or through channels of reporting images, videos and audios of police violations and abuses.

Mobile applications emerged as very significant tools. Facebook posts from local media vehicles and friends and reports from various newspapers available on the internet, as well as records made available in WhatsApp groups are primary means of access to information. Several women discussed these.

There have been times when I missed exams because I was late due to police operations [...] I've been through embarrassing situations where I said "teacher, I couldn't get here because there were shootings, there was an operation " [...] I had to prove that I lived in a violent place, I had to bring printed news reports [...] I saw a dead person halfway to school [...] when I was walking there was a dead body, and I had to prove that this was real, prove this violence that I went through with media reports [...] so they were embarrassing and bad situations [...]

Lais, 19 years old, white

As I work informally, I do not have registered employment, I can send [to work] a message and show [the operation]. I usually take prints of some information on Facebook, information that people send, even when it shows on TV, and I inform [work] that I'm not going out.

Alessandra, 29 years old, black or preta

OUTSIDE MARÉ IN THE CITY

Women perceive Maré - and favela territories in general - as spaces apart from the city. They differentiate outside, *the city*, as a space of danger, disrespect or exclusion. 'Outside' they risk being assaulted, harassed or raped. Even women who go out regularly for work or leisure, narrate this kind of concern. The prejudice and exposure to urban violence experienced in spaces outside Maré emerged as direct causes of the non-circulation of women more widely across the city, particularly among older women. Fear of violence and the financial cost of displacement were also important considerations.

Intersections related to race, class, sexual orientation, body patterns and religious practice are also linked with their constrained urban experiences. Many women noted how they felt much safer inside Maré, with Joseane stating that it was like a *quilombo* [11](see Nascimento, 2021).

Because I know that inside [Maré] there is my family, inside there are friends, inside there are welcoming spaces, whereas outside ... it's as if here was a quilombo. If anything happens to me here, I have a network to protect me.

Joseane, 19 years old, indigenous

Nobody steals from you here. You don't see anyone talking like this, "I got robbed inside Parque União." They [robbers] are not crazy.

Ilza, 48 years old, black or preta

I always feel so safe in here, safer than out there. I feel comfortable taking my phone out of my pocket, moving, sitting at the door, drinking coffee at the door, playing at the door. [...] When I go out, I don't feel it. I think it became very much a matter of affection; I always received a lot of territorial love.

Amanda, 21 years old, black or preta

[11] A ***quilombo*** was a self-built, self-governing community usually founded by runaway slaves.

Outside Maré women felt insecure, depending on the location. This included public transport as well as shopping malls, where they faced harassment and theft. The risk of rape or harassment when moving about the city, especially at night, in addition to the fear of suffering abusive police approaches outside Maré, were dimensions addressed by women.

> *I think outside the community I feel more insecure. I don't know, maybe we're on the bus with someone who's going to attack you, or who's going to go through your purse - as it has happened before as I went to work, there was a boy next to me on the bus and I was handling my phone. [He alighted the bus with me and] went through my purse, took my wallet and my mobile phone. And it can happen anywhere: on the bus, on the street. That's what I'm most afraid of.*
>
> **Rosa, 25 years old, white**

> *You walk into a mall the security guard already looks at you, you walk into a store, they hang around you and it bothers you, it makes you want to say: "Why are you looking at me? You want to look at my purse? There's nothing here." They make us feel very bad [...] Outside we feel worse than inside the favela, because inside the favela we feel good, it seems that we are free, because here everyone knows you [...]*
>
> **Focus Group I**

In view of these experiences, predominant resistance practices were outlined as follows:

SMALL SHARP INSTRUMENTS AS DEFENCE

Women identified practical responses when they navigated public spaces, most commonly beyond their community. To protect themselves against possible violence, like assaults and harassment, some women carried sharp instruments such as knives, scissors, nail files or pepper spray. Even if not used, such instruments produce a sense of security in the face of violence (see also figure 4 on how women use pepper spray and keys to protect themselves).

> *When I was studying at Pedro II [a public school outside of Maré], I would walk around with a little scissors with a sharp little edge, inside the pocket of my uniform, because I went to school in a skirt and it seemed that this was an invitation for all people to look at me. [...] I never had to use them specifically, but just knowing that they were there [...]*
>
> **Lais, 19 years old, white**

> *I carry pepper spray in my bag, usually when I go out at night. I got it from a friend, a comb that is a knife [...] And I did a few years of muay thai, so I know some basic moves that are at least for me to be able to run. And I walk around with keys between my fingers, it was something I learned and it's very useful.*
>
> **Focus Group III**

FIGURE 4: PYRAMID OF OPPRESSION: OBSERVATIONAL DRAWING OF FOCUS GROUP 4 (ILLUSTRATION BY MILA DE CHOCH)

(illustration by Mila de Choch)

PROXIMITY TO OTHER WOMEN IN TRANSPORTATION AND CIRCULATION

When circulating through the city, especially by public transport, women reported avoiding being alone, especially at night. They sought proximity with other women and not to move around unnecessarily. When they go out at night, outside of Maré, they aimed to sleep in the home of someone they know or when they need to return to Maré they try to be escorted – sometimes preferring the company of men they know as a form of greater protection (see figure 4).

> *Until last year, I was coming back with a [male] friend of mine [...] I would wait for him to leave class so we could leave together [...] Only this time, I couldn't wait for him [...] So I'd rather take a full bus, because I was always around some woman [...] because I think, in my head, that if something happens, I'm going to protect her and she's going to protect me. And I think that's basically what women do, we've already learned to defend ourselves, even if it's, I don't know, just being together.*
>
> **Tamires, 16 years old, black or preta**

When moving around at night, some women preferred private means of transport such as taxis and Ubers to reduce chances of experiencing violent situations on buses or the underground. As Lais explains, this is a recent technological innovation used by women in Maré, hitherto inaccessible:

> *I always walk alone (in Maré), but out there I'm afraid. [...] By day I don't even care that much ... but at night I don't like it, I feel bad, I get scared, I look everywhere, I walk kind of paranoid and paying attention to everything. [...] Before I didn't have a credit card to be able to use Uber, I had no card, I didn't have a mobile phone account, I had none of those things.*
>
> **Lais, 19 years old, white**

> *My mother says, "Be careful, don't be trustful", but I'm really not, I'm afraid [...] And while I don't get home, she's up there and she calls me, "Are you coming?" [I say:] "yes, mom. I'm on my way. Ten minutes from now I'll be there, I've already taken the Uber." "Don't come by bus, come by Uber, come by taxi" - she always says that.*
>
> **Ludmila, 26 years old, white**

However, women also reported feeling at risk of harassment from the drivers; although new Uber technology offers another means of private transport, women were often distrustful, and did not necessarily consider it safe. Some habitually shared their location with someone they know, so that person can follow their movements and know if something unusual happens.

> *I'm going [out], then how am I to come back? And to get into an Uber, I'm scared to death of getting into an Uber car alone [...] I share the trip status with everyone and I keep looking, because if the car stops, [someone] already knows something happened to me*
>
> **Focus Group V**

Again, to defend themselves against threats and situations of violence women often need to restrict their freedoms by making strategic choices that inevitably limit their circulation. As a result of such detailed strategic thinking about where to go or where to avoid, whose support to look for, how to behave and move at night, and so on, women talked about these practices as raising other violent dimensions of gender oppression whilst keeping them momentarily safe.

> *I can feel safer in here than out there [...] Outside we can be robbed. [...] Let me give you an example: to circulate in the city centre at night or at dawn. I'm not going to do that. I could run the risk of being raped, of being killed, of being robbed. Do you understand? We're not going to circulate.*
>
> **Patricia,31 years old, mixed-race or parda**

> *I don't sit beside a man, I stay [...] quite oppressed there, that's the feeling I have sometimes on the bus, of being oppressed, it's such an oppression.*
>
> **Focus Group V**

SPEAK UP, MAKE JOKES OR SILENCE

Some women reported that when experiencing situations of disrespect, prejudice and violence they choose to speak loudly, respond or make jokes. Others stated that outside Maré they prefer to blend in, become invisible, to be less noticed in order to avoid possible conflict and violence. In this context, body and posture adjustment, which, again, imply restrictions of choices for women themselves, are used as forms of protection (see Figure 5).

> *I think I make an ugly face [...] I think it drives away people who could do something. At least in my head, it pushes them away.*
>
> **Rita, 19 years old, black or preta**

> *[I had to] alter my image, not having a certain hair style so I do not get chosen for this kind of harassment. I dress well so as not to be chosen for this kind of harassment. I make myself look a lot worse because of it, because I'm afraid, I know it ends in terrible violence.*
>
> **Celine, 35 years old, black or preta**

> *Unfortunately I shut myself up because, for example, if I'm out there [outside of Maré], if I go through a situation and I'm afraid, I just shut myself up because I know that if I talk it will create problems. And I think that protects me, I know it's bad, that we can't reduce ourselves like that, but it's a resource.*
>
> **Focus Group III**

FIGURE 5: THE SUBTLETIES OF NORMALISED OPPRESSION IN EVERYDAY LIFE: OBSERVATIONAL DRAWING OF FOCUS GROUP 3

(illustration by Mila de Choch)

CHALLENGING RACISM AND AREA STIGMA: THE POWER OF MARÉ

Many women felt they are discriminated against and stigmatized in different situations, related to racial background, place of residence (favelas), the way they dress, the colour of their skin and hair, among other factors. Being the target of discrimination, going through racist experiences, and being framed in a certain stereotype of favela women were elements identified as violent, especially by younger and black women, leading to feelings of inadequacy and stigmatisation.

This occurred more often in their work, in collective spaces such as shopping malls and museums, in private schools outside Maré, and in universities, among others. They reported sensing a distrust against themselves – as if favela residents were equated to criminals – having their abilities questioned, being stereotyped as the favela woman or even living through situations in which people were surprised to find out that they resided in Maré, since they were perceived as intelligent and educated.

> *There were teachers of mine who asked where I lived and I would say, "I live there in Nova Holanda" [...] [They'd say] "It doesn't show that you live there, I thought you lived around here." And I didn't understand why. And then I came to understand [that] they labelled me as a person I wasn't. Because I'm smart, I do things, so I can't live in the favela? I'm not from a favela? [...]*
>
> **Sabrina, 21 years old, black or preta**

> *Sometimes I also find myself in this [oppressive] place because sometimes I stop being me, it's no longer me, to be in some places and how violent that is too. I have to be in a space, I want to be in a space, but people can't stand me there, they don't look at me, they don't listen to me, they just listen to other people [...] I've been since high school living through this gender violence in my life, my mother's life, my aunt's life and going through these issues of gender, class, race and it's all together and it hurts a lot*
>
> **Focus Group IV**

Intersectional identities related to race, class, sexual orientation and body patterns also appeared in the interviews as dimensions of stigma that make experiences of violence different and situated.

> *I'm black with fair skin, I've always been taught to be parda or almost white, because being black isn't pretty. When I went through the process of [racial understanding] ... I started to understand better certain things, because in the past I went anywhere and felt good or didn't care. I started to realize that such and such place wasn't that cool.*
>
> **Amanda,21 years old, black or preta**

I think it already comes into the issue of race, just for your colour [race] I think that's a determinant, I think it's pretty clear that trans women are much more likely to be raped than cis women, or dissident women too, the more masculine lesbians, women who dissent, who are outside of the patterns, that's what I mean [...] The poorer you are, I have the impression, I may also be wrong, but I think poorer women are much more prone to suffering violence

Focus Group IV

I know that my neighbours who have their work areas... they go through this situation. I don't go through this situation because I live in Maré, [but] because I'm a fat woman, because I'm a black woman, my hair is huge. [...] It's horrible. I feel a very big difference, a cultural difference, a difference in how to behave, how to talk. People's gazes are different. So you have to be struggling a lot to try to be a little close to that reality that is not yours

Laura,28 years old, black or preta

[about the university setting] Few, few black there. Regarding where I came from, we don't see many favela people there - not in [the dentistry school] [...] The gazes that we notice, teachers look at us differently. I can see that. They don't speak directly, but, [they make] jokes like this: "Wow, study, or else you'll sell churrasquinho on September 28 [making reference to street vending in a street in the neighbourhood of Tijuca]. [...] Another teacher comes and says to a black girl who was in my classroom: "You are free to do what you want since the Law Áurea [of slavery abolition] was passed." So we're going to suffer these things and try to swallow.

Teresa, 20 years old, black or preta

Other forms of stigma identified included religion and ethnicity.

It began with religious discrimination [...] We always have to wear a little thread [...] but my clothes covered it. Then a salon client [...] saw that little thread on my neck and said she wasn't going to do nails with me because I was a macumbeira (spiritist).

Priscila, 50 years old, black or preta

I've been oppressed or diminished, my job has been... how can I say? I had to prove that I knew what I was talking about, even though I studied, even though I was there in the space where I should share my experience, I was still challenged, so all these are ways to kill me little by little, you know?

Joseane, 19 years old, indigenous

In confronting racism, different women indicated that they are assertive and outspoken about their place of origin and the power of the favela, building other narratives about Maré**.** Although this has been construed as a short-term practice, as it aims to provide an immediate response at a micro or individual-level to a particular violation, it has the power to produce long-term effects.

[...] at the bus stop there were some kids, "pivetes" [street children], on the street, trying to get on the bus. Then a gentleman [said] "That's why these people have to die, these people who live in the favela, because they don't pay electricity, they don't pay water, they don't pay for it." He went up to me. I said, "Look, it's your son, your grandson who finance drug trafficking in the favelas, you know why? Because those who live in the favela do not finance trafficking from inside, who sustains it is who is out here." He looked at me like that. I said, "You bourgeois bastard." Then he turned around and said, "Now look at this little black girl". I said: "I'm black, I'm a spiritist with a lot of pride, I live in the favela, I work, I have my formal work papers, I pay my taxes and I walk with my head held high. What about you, you bastard? You're probably one of those who finance the [drug] traffic from inside, because if the traffic over there works well it's because you guys out here buy from them to be able to deliver and still ask for a delivery service." Wow, the man ran away from me on the bus.

Priscila, black or preta, 50 years old

So one thing I do is, whenever I arrive in another territory, anything, I always introduce myself, say my name, that I am Manauara [from Manaus] and that I live in the Maré complex, that I am favelada da Maré. Always situating myself is already a way of [implying]: "Oh, I know who I am, so don't mess with me much because I'm sure of where I came from."

Joseane, 19 years old, indigenous

A transformation emerging from these individual attitudes was re-signification of Maré itself, and how these women saw it, generating a sense of strength, respect and struggle.

I feel that this is my space, it's my home, it's the place I say, "Where are you from?", "I'm from Maré" – [I say this] everywhere, forever.

Lia, 35 years old, black or preta

I've never hidden my origin of being black, poor, from a favela. Wherever I go, I say I live in Maré. And that's it, we have to own it because, if not, you know how it is. We're very discriminated against anywhere.

Iolanda, 27 years old, black or preta

MEDIUM- AND LONG-TERM COPING PRACTICES

Women in Maré identified a wide range of medium and long-term ways of coping with gendered urban violence. These included: to return to studies and the labour market as a means of building financial autonomy and breaking cycles of violence; participation in collective spaces,[12] sharing experiences, recognising situations of violence, and reconciliation with memories and territories; finding refuge in religious spaces, where women report being welcomed, and experiencing transformative processes; the agency of the body in resistance; and practices created in the face of limited access to protection and care in terms of public policy and services, including the accessing of illegal armed groups for support. Support networks composed by family, friends and neighbours, and above all other women, were fundamental, as discussed below.

SUPPORT NETWORKS WITH OTHER WOMEN AND CO-PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

Women are pillars of support networks: these include grandmothers, mothers, sisters, aunts, cousins, friends and neighbours. And the extended family is particularly important as Angela and Lia explained:

> *They're basically women: my aunt, my other aunt, my grandmother, then my cousin here, my cousin upstairs, who's a solo mother with four kids. My Aunt Denise, too, who's a solo mom. [...] This place protects us or attempts to actually protect us. [...] One of my wishes – which I think I'm going to fulfil and achieve – is to make a women's circle among us. [...] To exchange ideas about things that you'd be silenced and things that you thought only happened to you.*
>
> **Lia, 35 years old, black or preta**

> *I was raised... I say that I have five mothers, my grandmother, my godmother, my mother, my stepmother because she does everything for me, and the great-grandmother of the father of my daughters who helps me in everything.*
>
> **Angela, 25 years old, mixed-race or parda**

These networks emerged as a resource to support those suffering abuses, with women helping each other by intervening to protect other women in situations of domestic violence. They also play important roles as carers for each other's children, a safety net during police operations, and a collective able to come to terms with past experiences of violence, to rethink the gendered roles of women themselves, and as a source of knowledge in creating family histories.[13]

[12] We designate as collective spaces instances that produce encounters between women, in different formats. They can be more or less formal, some examples being: individual initiatives that mobilize women collectively, women's courses, political discussion spaces, women's collectives, social movements, civil society organisations, and public policy provisions that organise specific spaces for women.

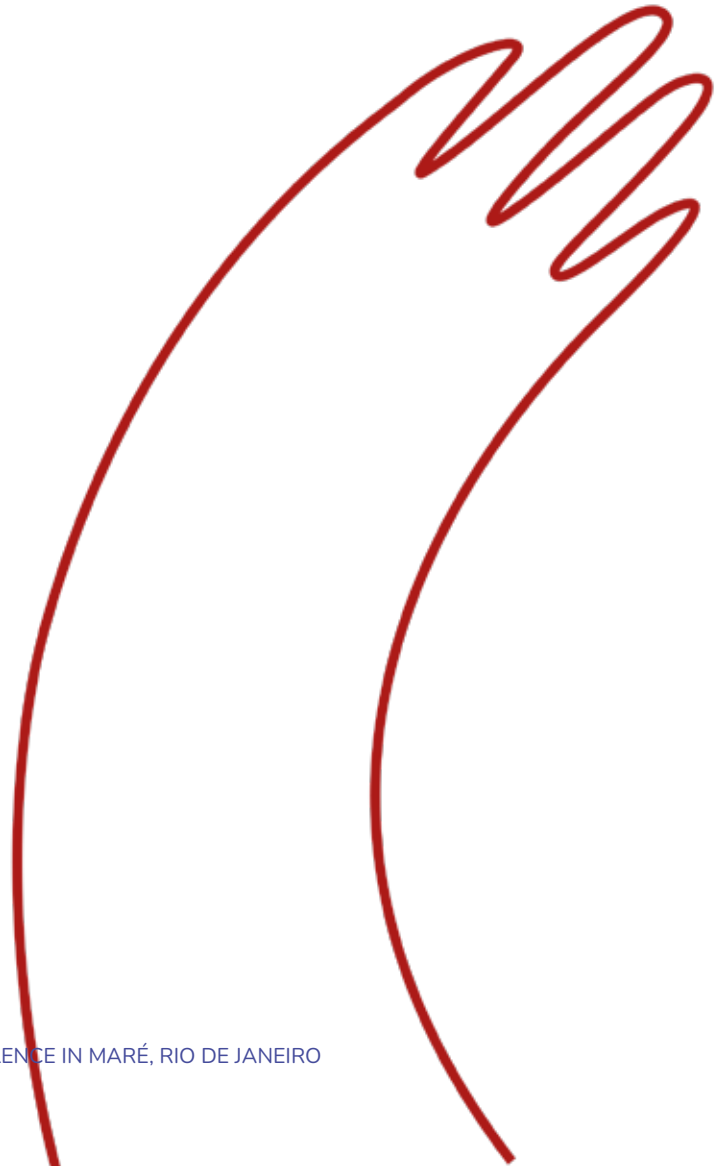
[13] Although women also refer to men (parents, relatives, siblings and partners) as a source of protection and support, 'other women' form the most commonly identified and effective support network.

Graphic design: Refinaria Design (Brazil)

Resistance practices developed by women have an important trans-generational dimension. Some are learned through transmission between family members and people close to women throughout their lives and are adapted according to situations experienced. A related aspect is their relational character. It is through relationships with local networks, with other women who make up the territories of their lives, that women learn, build and invent different ways of facing violence. Collective and shared knowledge is co-produced.

> *Women are important in any dynamic. It's the women who keep the link of everything, I guess. It's amazing. When you lose a woman in your family, how does the link break? It's very strange. I lost my mother six years ago and as much as the whole family was still there, my father was still there, my sister-in-law, it was like the family didn't exist.*
>
> **Maria, 46, mixed-race or parda**

> *I had a very large support network of women, both from Casa das Mulheres, both friends of mine, both in my family, my mother mainly [...] This is what gave me the strength to say: [...] I'm going to try another way to make things work out.*
>
> **Sabrina,21 years old, black or preta**



THE BODY AS RESISTANCE

The research highlighted the ways women's relationships with their bodies produce practices to cope with violence. Some of these entail care of the body from a more individual dimension (generally named as forms of *self-care)* such as, practicing sports and maintaining active, healthy bodies (walking, cycling, or taking dance and yoga classes), and skin, nails and hair care. Others are marked by more collective and political perspectives, radicalizing its place as a tool for engendering collective engagements, processes of change and struggles (see Figure 6).

FIGURE 6: WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE CARE OF OURSELVES, WE TAKE CARE OF EVERYONE ELSE: OBSERVATIONAL DRAWING OF FOCUS GROUP 1

(illustration by Mila de Choch)

The body is a direct repository of the effects or even a specific target of violent situations in the form of physical aggression, harassment or sexual violence. However, the body is also mobilised as a form of resistance.

> *On the issue of violence, it took a long time at first to appear [in the women's group]. Because they live nearby, some have known each other since they were born, but they were not friends [...] As my work is very bodily, this awakening of the body involves other possibilities to put itself there, in life, in the world, it is enabling, bringing this greater intimacy. [...] Specifically this work, it can bring this possibility of talking about [violence] and one saying to another "No, you don't have to let him do this to you" [...] there's a moment of work that it [the theme of violence] starts to show up and make room for the other members to express themselves.*
>
> **Member of RAMM, the Women's Support Network of Maré**

> *And there's been operations that lasted a long time, ten hours, more than ten hours. [...] It is a situation that leaves our body in a state of alert, all the time afraid, tense [...] In this, in 2019, there were days of operations that we had to suspend the [yoga] class. And our bodies were very contracted. And then I thought "we can't stop, we have to resist, we'll keep doing even if our body is tense and being crossed because of violence"*
>
> **Laura, 28 years old, black or preta**

> *But I talked to my mom now, that we still have that right to take care of ourselves. Because we take great care of people, and they end up forgetting. [...] I end up not having time for myself, nor money to take care of myself, because I take care of everyone else [...] But it's not, it's because you spend so much time taking care of everybody and you don't remember yourself*
>
> **Focus Group II**

> *I'm in a group of fat women (....) It brings experiences together. There's a friend of mine who now had a photo shoot, and she posted it [online]: "It's so good for us to dream and make it happen." Because it's not just skinny women who can be a model, you and I can be. She took several sexual photos. It's on Facebook. [...] We exchange, we talk, yes [about more difficult things]. 14*
>
> **Ilza, 48 years old, black or preta**

[14] Online themed spaces for sharing common issues are devices accessed by women as a form of resistance.

FINANCIAL AUTONOMY AND RETURN TO STUDIES

Most women pointed to financial dependence as the main reason they remained in abusive relationships. Their socially expected role related to care for family and children creates significant disadvantages, including the need to interrupt studies or work after marriage, the almost total responsibility for the home and children, and the abandonment of children by men after a separation. All these factors increase economic vulnerability and trap women in situations of violence.

From a structural perspective and in the context of difficulties in accessing quality education, sexism in the labour market and the prevalence of precarious work, many women recognised their disadvantages in accessing work compared to men, with more skilled women losing positions to less skilled men. However, they reported that this would be even more serious for women living in favelas, because employers have the perception that everyone who lives in Maré is a criminal. Hence structural and symbolic violence, was identified as a reason for women's greater vulnerability to violence, especially among older women. This can affect women in preventing them from accessing services, rights and opportunities.

> *I've already lost a job and I'm still very discriminated against for living in the community. They already look at you: "Do you live in Nova Holanda?" That's it. Then you already sense from their look that they will not hire you [...] because I think they think everybody here is bad.*
>
> **Ilza, 48 years old, black or preta**

Many women recognised the importance of financial autonomy as forms of medium and long-term resistance developed by women.

> *That's also why I wanted to go back [to work] fast, because I also don't like to be dependent on men [...] I have always been independent [...] I've seen a lot of this, you know, of my dad [throwing] things in my mom's face. And I didn't want that for my life. I started working when I was 13.*
>
> **Catia, 29 years old, mixed-race or parda**

Accessing and returning to studying are also key to creating financial autonomy. For example, Thabata (29 years old, white, evangelical) spoke about her struggles as a young mother when she was 16, leading her to drop out of school and having fewer opportunities to become independent. She sees how young women today have other options, due to improvements in education and social projects in Maré, leading to better opportunities in life:

> *Today, I say to my daughter "don't fool yourself, because you have the opportunity. I didn't have it, because I thought this [here] was all there was and nowadays you have other opportunities. So, study, don't skip steps, there are courses [available]"*

Thabata herself was able to complete her studies in an adult education programme in 2017 (ENCCEJA) and entered university in 2018.

> *In almost my 30s, I found out that there was a world outside the favela [...] It's an achievement, a dream, to be able to look at my daughter and say "I can do it, go study, because I suceeded, why wouldn't you?"And to be able to give her dignity: "what does your mother do?", "my mom goes to the university"*

PARTICIPATION IN COLLECTIVE SPACES

Participation in collective spaces often allowed women to change their life trajectories. This was expressed by talking about the violence experienced and often silenced, and being able to identify, together with others, their own experiences of violence, thus giving them new meaning. Engagement in these spaces also involved rethinking the place of women and their expected roles; in reflection on their origins and belonging to a favela; in access to courses and training and in construction of greater financial autonomy. Shared construction of memories enables revision of the present, promoting new personal, family and community understandings.

In the current context, women spoke of their valuable engagements with Redes da Maré and Casa das Mulheres.[15] Many cited these and other organisations in Maré in relation to understanding and confronting gendered urban violence and deep-seated racism. Women also developed forms of self-care through engagement in these collective spaces (see Figure 6).

> *I liked [the experience at Casa das Mulheres]. Because it opened my eyes to a lot of things, things that I didn't know, what harassment really was... And also racism. I didn't really know what it was. I opened my eyes a lot, helped me in my growth.*
>
> **Ingrid, 49 years old, Asian or amarela**

> *It's this kind of conversation here, where we are, reporting such deep pains, that's when we recognize each other and say, 'Gee, it wasn't just me who was going through this'. So it already strengthens you to talk, and you know mechanisms that you can trigger [...] Because we need a support network, because the difficulty gets bigger when you feel alone.*
>
> **Focus Group I**

These organisations impacted the lives of women in various ways, not only as service users but also as students and workers. Women predominantly lead these institutions, a fact which fosters a welcoming atmosphere for women residents to seek support.

> *My vision of the favela totally changed after I started working at Redes, at Casa das Mulheres. Totally.*
>
> **Maria, 46, mixed-race or parda**

> *[My dad] came home, he beat my mom a lot, so much so that she was all purple, with her eye half red, half burst, you know. And I grew up seeing it all indoors [...] And so I started, I got into [Fight for Peace]. I had psychological care, the social service team [...] And that's when I started taking these personal development classes, I started working with my mom too, asking some questions.*
>
> **Renata, 24 years old, white**

[15] Research was developed in partnership with Casa das Mulheres and, because of that, relied on their capacity of local mobilization. 17 of the 32 women interviewed had some knowledge or previous link to the work of this organisation. The leading role of the Casa das Mulheres, a branch of Redes da Maré, stems from its presence in the territory of Maré.

I started to insert myself more in Redes da Maré, especially in the project I had that was Cria. [...] Then I came to the course [...] "gender and citizenship" [...] I started trying to communicate more from the places I was, because I saw that many things that had happened in my childhood and in my youth, in those jobs I've been in, I've been very silenced. [...] Understand that I can come to a conversation circle of Gender and Citizenship and I can talk without being afraid of what the person will think of me or not. And I began to understand myself better from that.

Sabrina, 21 years old, black or preta

I'll tell you that before I started working at Redes, of me understanding what Redes was, of me understanding a little what Maré was, I used to say that I lived on the other side of Avenida Brasil, in Bonsucesso. We didn't call it Maré. [It would be necessary] for all women to have a place of learning, a place of listening, which we only learn by listening and we only fight when we understand violence, because when I didn't know it was violence, I normalized it.

Maria, 46, mixed-race or parda

Institutions that integrate organised civil society, although not part of the formal state network of protection and care, nevertheless often have a high degree of institutionalization and formality and offer services, which in the absence or precariousness of state policies, form important support networks known to or formed by women. Within organisations, more informal collectives of women are created.

It is important to use formal networks of resistance, I think women rely a lot on it, they count a lot on each other. This collective experience may be one of the main forms of resistance that women encounter. Whether they're aware of it or not. In Casa das Mulheres I realize that the dynamics of the kitchen, you see that there is one woman supporting the other and they tell their life stories there [...] it is a network that happens there. This greatly impacts women's lives, this collective experience. [...] How that makes them stronger.

Member of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus

The distinction between formal and informal networks is blurred, making it difficult to identify access points. Differentiation between private and public networks also does not allow for accurate categorization of these mechanisms, since civil society organisations, for example, offer effective public services of support, albeit not state-centred (and sometimes even implement public policies outsourced by the State). Funding sources for services offered can comprise both public and private resources. A liminal zone between formal/informal and public/private is formed, which also appears in other coping practices mobilized by women.

Different levels of formality, institutionalization and access to financial resources produce differentiation between movements, collectives and civil society organisations. It was noted in some interviews that organisations with higher levels of institutional organisation – i.e. a more formal structure – can produce perceptions of lack of safety and experiences of difficulty in access as well as a sense of services becoming exclusive within Maré.

I think these spaces I had access only within Redes, and I think it's good and bad, bad because Redes still today within the favela is seen as an elitized place, which is not for people in the favela to have access [...] Because I feel, for example, the Casa das Mulheres, as a safe place for me to talk, otherwise I wouldn't be talking to you, but I think you need another approach, so that other people who are not part of that cream that belongs to Redes, understand that this place is also for them, understand?

Lais, 19 years old, white

BLACK WOMEN AND THE COLLECTIVE CONSTRUCTION OF ANCESTRY

Perception of specific oppression experienced by black women was another issue that emerged. Younger women reported the importance of valuing ancestry and historical belonging to Maré to construct new meanings for life, community histories and the development of resistance.

From a group of young researchers linked to the festival Women of the World (WOW) organized in Brazil by Redes da Maré, some women built an independent Collective, called *Maré de Nós*. This group deepened research on ancestry and each member developed their own initiatives. The following statements portray a multiplier effect from participation in collective spaces for all women, especially those from black and indigenous backgrounds.

I started at Redes very small [...] And in 2018, I was invited to participate in the international WOW Festival as a young researcher and I am still today as a young researcher. From this, I began to delve into both the history of this territory and the history of my ancestry [...] we have a collective, Maré de Nós, that studies this. So I do it with five other girls, I'm the sixth, and this reverted into other projects. I have an independent project called By Her Eyes, and this project talks about the trajectory of a favela girl, the experience of an indigenous girl in a favela territory, about ancestry, about race, class and gender, so it's sharing experiences.

Joseane, 19 years old, indigenous

I have to continue with the Ancestral Jeans [name of the workshop and thrift store she had created] [...] I started to resignify this space, to stop buying clothes in a department store to be able to invest in something that I like and that I understand that is my identity, so this started a lot of thinking about this trajectory with my grandmother, with my aunts who were seamstresses, made fuxico (a type of quilting), made fuxico blankets, my mother who was always there fixing the button of an outfit of mine, my aunt who was turning the shorts into a skirt, so I started learning. [...] I started to understand how I had people, especially women in my family, who were around me and being my clothing reference, you know?

Sabrina, 21 years old, black or preta

> *My Instagram is open and I started doing hairstyles for curly hair. [...] It's just that some of the hairstyles I did were referred to ancestry and something from the past, that sometimes we would do and without realizing that it represented black people [both pretas and negras]. And then I decided to show it too. There's even a hairstyle I did, which were those coquinhos (buns) - I explain even a little bit of the story and how it came about. [...] The coquinhos I had never done, my grandmother did, but she did it for me to sleep [...] And then I thought, "There's something behind this hairstyle, there's a story behind it" [...] Then I decided to tell this story of hairstyles, which is also based on ethnic-racial groups there from the past [...] Like I said, sometimes my grandmother used to make the coquinhos. Somehow, she was taking care of my hair and also taking care of me. This exchange of affection.*
>
> **Tamires, 16 years old, black or preta**

In one interview fears emerged of getting too involved in intersectional activism due to risks of gaining visibility in the fight for rights. This is particularly sensitive considering the important figure of Marielle Franco, a former Maré resident and activist who became a council member in Rio de Janeiro. Marielle was assassinated in 2018 in a politically charged execution.

> *It was even a problem at home, which is my father, even more so with the Marielle event [her political assassination] and everything else. For a long time and until today, my father has issues for being afraid that I take up this position of building leadership, of a possible collective that get going and that begins to take on a much greater proportion than it is already having, because he is afraid, you know? And so it already became a topic for crying, of conversation, of sensitivity [...]*
>
> **Joseane, 19 years old, indigenous**

RELIGIOUS SPACES

Religious spaces help women deal with situations of vulnerability and violence. Sometimes, their faith helps them to cope, providing support for when they are sad and have no one else to talk to. In times of economic difficulty, religious institutions are possible points of support with, for example, distribution of baskets with basic food items.

> *What have I done [to avoid staying at home]? To get out I started going to church. I stayed in church doing church activities so I wouldn't just stay home, because I was just at home.*
>
> **Célia, 29 years old, mixed-race or parda**

> *Because, wow, here [in the church] we are very much of the embracing kinds, to have affection, and there are very dear people who gave me a lot of strength, helped me in many moments of my life like this. [...] I like to call it a community of faith ... it has been a fortress, it is people who are with me in joy, in sadness, at the funeral. [...] There's a group of women, [...] that's called Mothers on their Knees, Children on their Feet. And there is the social ministry that takes care of everything, but it also has a specific section of women. At this point in the pandemic, social services are more attentive about families and food. So we, all the members, give our own food and split between the families that live in worse conditions.*
>
> **Laura, 28 years old, black or preta**

Because these spaces sometimes reproduce violence, ambivalence was also present

> *I grew up in an evangelical church, I have nothing against it - Christianity, none of the religions in fact - I think I believe in all, only that specifically in the church I grew up I went through sexist, racist violence in various situations. So it ended up not being a support network even though I knew that what they preach, theoretically, should take me in, but the people who preached didn't welcome me, so it was like that.*
>
> **Focus Group III**

REPORTING GENDERED VIOLENCE TO THE STATE: POLICE AND OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES

When asked about support services for facing violence, many women stated that they did not know any state organisation or network. Lack of access to care and protection policies, or perceived inadequacy of public services was a common perception. As a rule, the main public policy mechanisms accessed are police stations, perceived as violent and ineffective by most women. In addition, health services, such as the basic or clinical units of the family, were viewed as precarious and providing poor quality care. Despite problems, these were the first places that women went to report gendered violence, especially domestic abuse. However, reporting at a police station typically occurs after serious escalation of violence, involving several episodes, aggression or even attempted femicide.

A marked ambivalence was emphasized: services that formally constitute networks for public care and protection policies are simultaneously producers of new violence, particularly in relation to favela stigma and criminalization (as noted in the context of Maré where formal reporting levels are extremely low - and elsewhere – see above).

> *[My ex-husband] has tried to kill me, he's choked me several times. I only reported, because I did not understand much, I just reported and waited. I didn't do anything else, I didn't have any support, help, nothing. After this whole threatening thing [of him hitting me]... I took everything to the police station. I went to the 28th DP [police station]. I did it [the complaint], to see if they'd arrest him, do something with him to stop him, but it was no use. [They didn't come back to me] until eight years later.*
>
> **Cátia, 29 years old, mixed-race or parda**

> *Then he took me there to the 21st (police station). [...] The guy [chief of police] came and asked, "What happened?", then I said, "He locked me in the bathroom with a butcher's knife in his hand; he wanted to kill me." Then he looked at me and asked "Where's the blood?"*
>
> **Elisa, 50 years, undeclared race**

> *When I was pregnant with my youngest daughter. Then I went to him to get money for the things; he didn't like that and assaulted me and then it was all that mess. [...] I went down to the station, filed a complaint, went through forensics. And they called me saying it was for me to keep my distance from him - I even said at the time: "You have to call him, that I was assaulted, it wasn't him. So you have to warn him, because he's the one who has to stay away from me" [...] And after that, they didn't call me anymore. [...] So we see on television, we see that a woman has been there [at the police station] three, four times, sometimes you go there [and check] there are ten police reports, and in none of those [times] the woman has been heard. And in a little while the man takes the woman, cuts her hair, attacks, pierces, kills, stabs, the woman goes to the hospital. That's when you're going to remember she had ten police reports. So it doesn't work for me. I don't think Maria da Penha Law works.*
>
> **Patricia, 31, mixed-race or parda**

When I [was going to] leave he [chief of police] asked me if I had somewhere to go because he couldn't leave him [the aggressor] in jail, so I said, "No, I migrated here a short time ago from the northeast [of Brazil]." He said: "You take care of yourself because he's going to be out there, I'm going to keep him here, take his statement and I'm going to take my time until you get home, because here we defend you, but out there we can't, you live in a community [favela], so you can't even call us, if in case he happens to go after you, you can't even call us, because if you call ... you are dead, because you know you live in a community."

Maria Rachel, 48, white

[The chief of police said:] "Unfortunately where you live, it's a "risk area", we can't get in, so the most I'll be able to do for you is to take care of you out here, if you go to work and he goes after you if he hurts you out here. Unfortunately, there's nothing I can do in there."

Focus Group I

[The expert said:] "You're here (at the Legal Medical Institute), you got beat up, but then what? Then you're going to go back to the guy, but you're interrupting my job and a lot of people who are here for real emergency, really in need, who are feeling sick, who are screwed."

Focus Group V

Only one woman reported having received effective assistance from the police, after having had a bad experience in the past. Satisfaction is so rare that her report caught the attention of other women in Focus Group I who wanted to know more about this positive experience.

I think it depends a lot, because the first time I filed a complaint at the police station, I hardly had any support from the woman [police officer], I was not supported the second time around. [...] I am followed up to this day by the Women's Patrol. Even though I'm in here [Maré], every month they send me a message to talk to me, to know whether he's complying or not. So the difference I've noticed from before to now is very big. And I was even surprised, I never had [this service]. The first time I went, I've had no follow-up and this time I'm having it, I am monitored by the Women's Patrol, the [public] defender's office and various other bodies.

Focus Group I

It is important to emphasize the process of blaming women for the violence suffered in the private dimension – among families, friends, neighbours – and by institutions. This emerged not only in re-victimizing practices within spaces supposedly aimed at welcoming women (such as in police stations), but also in other State-run spaces, like the penitentiary system and health units (see Figure 7).

They [the prison officers] are not pleasant. How can I explain? When you go in there, they have to go through your things, food [...]. But you prepare things right and when you come in, it's as if you're to blame for what whoever's inside did. They try to do reverse psychology.

Priscila, 50 years old, black or preta

> *I went to the UPA [Emergency Care Units] and inside the UPA was an act of violence because when the woman asked for my symptoms and I answered, she just looked at my face and said: wait. I was there, trembling in pain, crying ... And I found out that the woman hadn't even put my name into the system. These are other forms of violence too, there is nothing formal protecting us*
>
> **Focus Group III**

Similar experiences occurred with state health clinics:

> *I've seen situations of a girl having a sexually transmitted disease and the doctor calling everyone to look. How embarrassing it was for that girl when she left that room [...] It was a violent thing, because it was a girl who had a sexually transmitted disease, and that for the doctor it was absurd for her to have it, of how violent that was, that to me was gender-based violence*
>
> **Focus Group III**

> *I haven't used the clinic for a long time, why? Usually when I wanted to do a smear test always due to the delays - the health centre involves bureaucracy, stress, delay, you know - I always tried to do it in the private system. [...] [And at the health centre] the truth is who sees you is not a doctor, it's a nurse*
>
> **Carol, 31 years old, white**

Ineffectiveness, failure of legally instituted guarantees and the violence produced by these services – perceived as only working properly in "the city" beyond favelas – leads the women of Maré to develop other means to cope with violence, often alone or by activating informal networks. This typically involves resorting to short-term coping practices such as leaving the house when men arrive drunk and aggressive, including sleeping on the street with children if necessary; planning new routes; changing routines, habits and residence when stalked by former partners; forming safety nets with private security agents in their workplace; avoiding new relationships or being seen in the company of other men; relying on family, friends and neighbours so as not to circulate alone. These measures all imply significant restriction of freedom and choices by women.

> *I've only been able to talk about it now, after a big deal. I couldn't tell anyone. And I'm one of the younger cousins, so the girls didn't have so much proximity to me - age difference, different habits. So we didn't talk about it that much. [...] We came to talk about it [...] we discovered it all together - one shared, the other also shared. And we saw that it really happens, but that no one can talk. In my case - in the case of everyone there [in my family] - no one could talk, and I'm afraid - my daughter is still small – that she doesn't know how to tell me this, that it's happening and I'm not seeing it.*
>
> **Rosa, 25 years old, white**

Different women reported being silent about the violence they suffered in order to avoid being blamed for their own violations, listening to responses such as "but if you stayed in the relationship it's because they wanted", "if you really wanted you'd had left him a long time ago", "what were you thinking going to such places at night?" or " why were you dressed in that way?", among other reactions. Sometimes the family itself is a vector of re-victimisation, when for example grandmothers and mothers react to cases of violence disclosed with advice like "it's bad with him, it's worse without him". The silence of women, in situations like these, can be construed as a form of resistance to more violence, often stemming from a sense of guilt for violence previously experienced (see Figure 7).

When access to public services and policies was possible and effective, this produced a feeling of dignity and respect. Access to justice, although quite rare in women's testimonials, raised the possibility of disruption of cycles of violence. In turn, a lack of access to services is commonly experienced as disrespect and reaffirms the inequalities and violence that affect the bodies and lives of women in Maré.

> *As these spaces (public policies and services) that were built and designed to be spaces of protection rarely work [...] women in Maré create resistance, informal resilience. These spaces, and this connects with the idea of agency [...] It is precisely from this gap, from this non-presence, from this non-effectiveness of these services, that women become absurdly inventive. It is from this that creativity arises, ways of existing, resisting in various possible ways*
>
> **Member of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus**

FIGURE 7: THERE ARE NO WEAK WOMEN, THERE ARE WOMEN WHO DON'T RECOGNISE THEIR STRENGTH: OBSERVATIONAL DRAWING OF FOCUS GROUP 3

(illustration by Mila de Choch)

ARMED GROUPS

Facing endemic state neglect, residents of Maré find an alternative source of conflict resolution in the armed groups that dominate different areas. Armed groups occupy an ambivalent position in their narratives, both as sources of violence and as sources of protection. Some women indicated that they had personally sought help from the armed groups to deal with some situations of violence, most commonly intra-familial abuse and domestic violence. This recourse occurs for different reasons: out of necessity, when it comes to following certain local codes for conflict management; through a sense of familiarity, with members of the armed group being people known by everyone and who grew up in Maré together with other residents; and disbelief in the state or previous experiences of lack of access and ineffectiveness of policies.

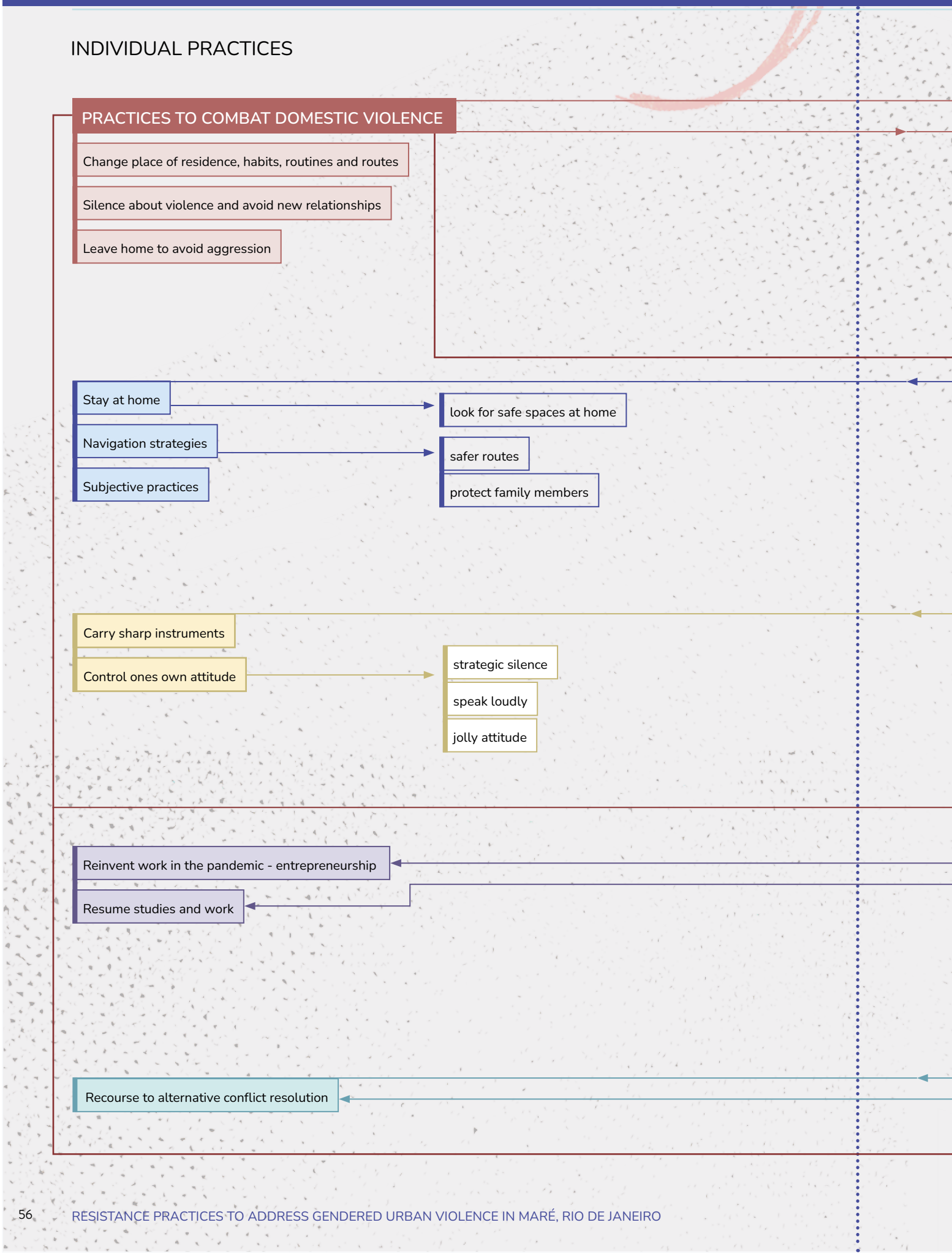
> *I resort a lot [to the armed groups], first because of my upbringing, so I have this place as a place of protection [...] I think there's no one here who never had to use this mechanism of justice for other things; I find the trafficking [groups] a public safety policy in the favela, sometimes I have that understanding. Exactly the same as the state [they decide] who has access, who will have this right to appeal, who will be recognized.*
>
> **Focus Group V**

> *Here the law is theirs [the armed group]. Do you understand? Because [if] the person has an involvement [quarrel], they cannot take it to a place of law, legally, to report to the police station, because the laws [in Maré], unfortunately, are theirs. [...] I've seen my cousin go through this a lot. My cousin's been through this a lot, because she was a bandit's wife, so he beat her up, you know? He'd kick her and everything. And she had to put up with it [...] Because they think that by the power they have, they can do anything.*
>
> **Focus Group II**

> *It was already three in the morning when I ran to the DEAM [women's police station]. A colleague of mine said, "I'm coming with you. Let's get out of here." I went to DEAM and I reported him immediately. [But it] harmed me because - I didn't know -- because when you live in a community, you have to sort it all out in here. [...] [The armed groups said] "Look, then here's the thing: you have the police report suspended, and whatever you both have to share, he's going to give you whatever he wants. If he doesn't want to give you anything, he won't give you anything. [...] you will accept whatever he wants." [...] I lost the bar, the upper house, two more floors up - which we built out of nothing - a shop next door and a car, even the savings we managed to do - I was left with nothing.*
>
> **Elisa, 50 years, undeclared race**

Various practices developed by women to resist the different forms of gendered urban violence call for categorization to better grasp their interrelations. Timelines often intersect, thus creating – as seen above – liminal zones between urgent responses and more structuring practices. Such shared zones also emerge between the individual and the collective, the formal and the informal. Practices change over time and according to the context. They are neither individual nor collective, formal nor informal, reactive nor transformative. Actions overlap, cohabit time and space, undergo advances and inflections, and affect each other (see Figures 8 and 9).

FIGURE 8: INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE PRACTICES



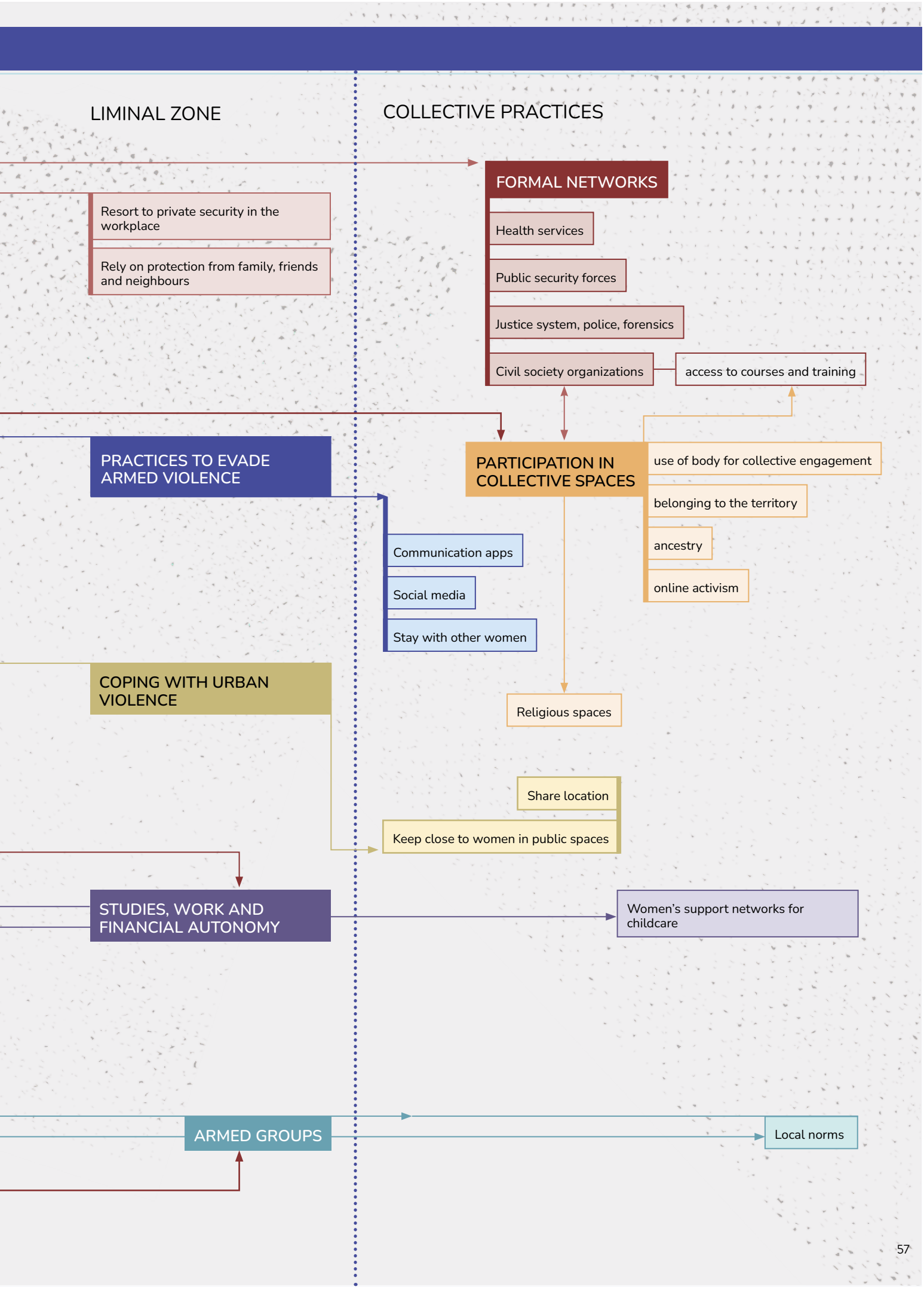
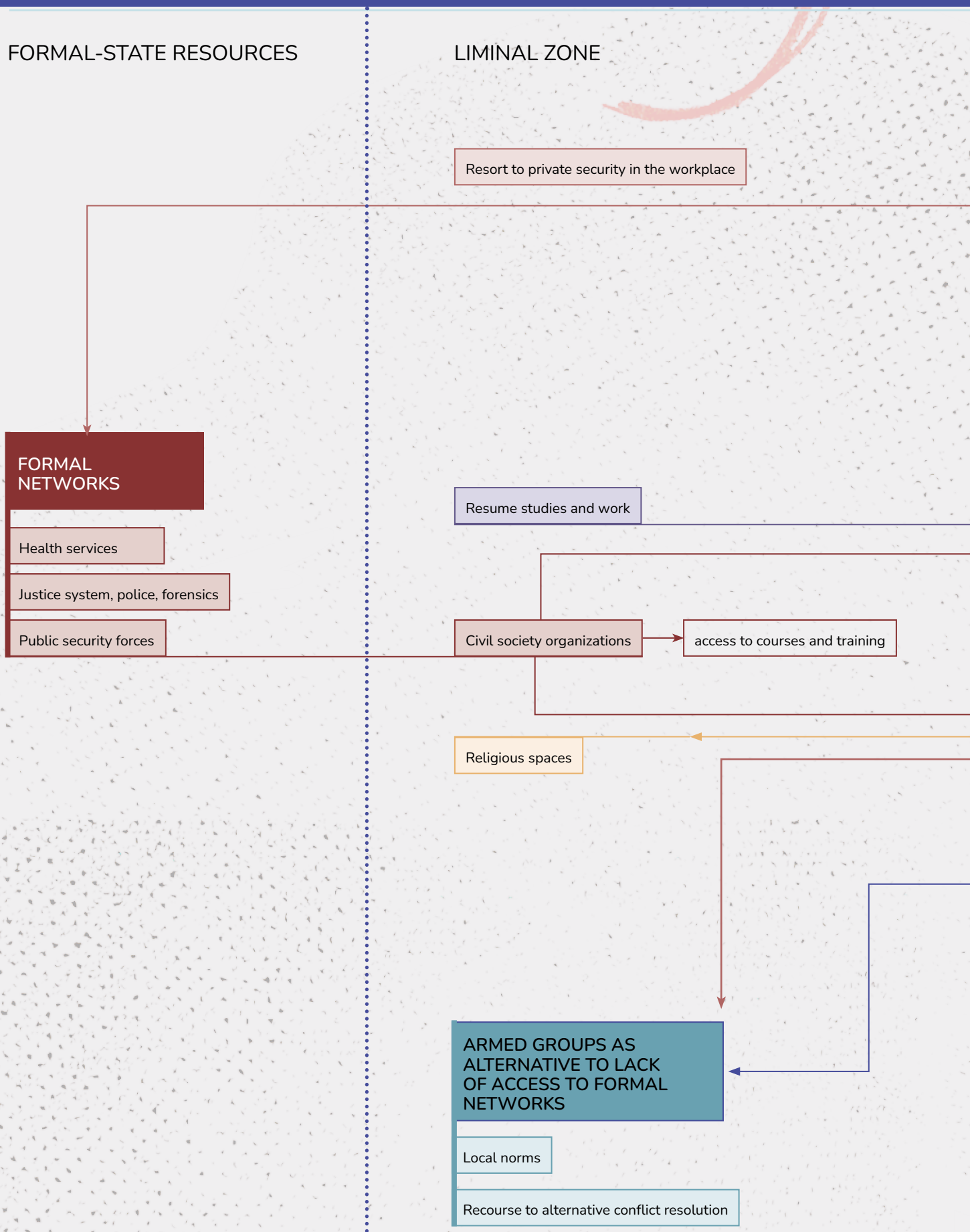
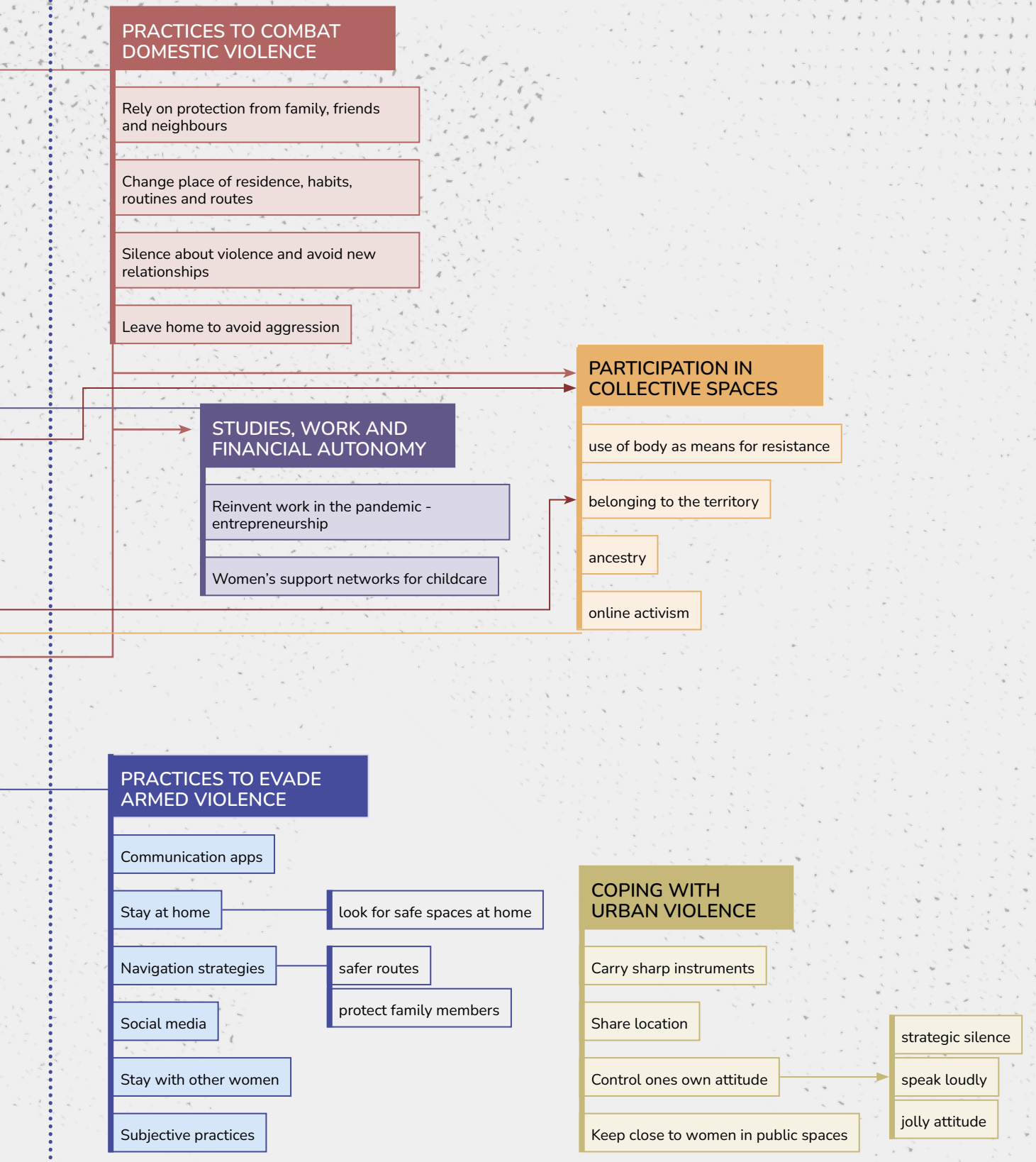
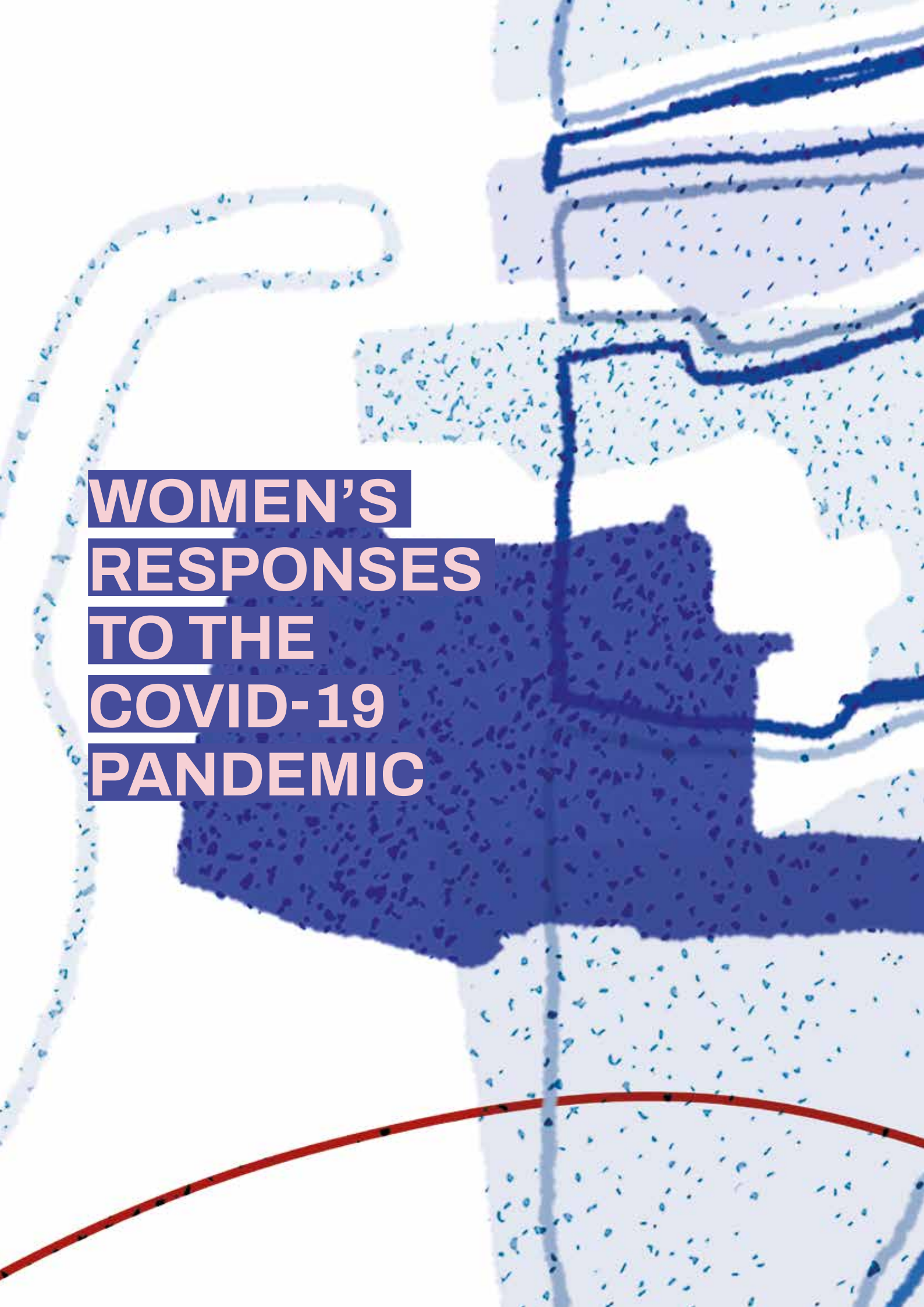

LIMINAL ZONE
COLLECTIVE PRACTICES
Resort to private security in the workplace
Rely on protection from family, friends and neighbours
FORMAL NETWORKS
Health services
Public security forces
Justice system, police, forensics
Civil society organizations
access to courses and training
PRACTICES TO EVADE ARMED VIOLENCE
PARTICIPATION IN COLLECTIVE SPACES
use of body for collective engagement
belonging to the territory
ancestry
online activism
Communication apps
Social media
Stay with other women
COPING WITH URBAN VIOLENCE
Religious spaces
Share location
Keep close to women in public spaces
STUDIES, WORK AND FINANCIAL AUTONOMY
Women's support networks for childcare
ARMED GROUPS
Local norms

FIGURE 9: FORMAL AND INFORMAL RESISTANCE PRACTICES



INFORMAL RESOURCES





WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Research began before the COVID-19 outbreak in Brazil and faced numerous challenges to ensure its continuity. Social distancing and the urgency of coping with the pandemic, especially in peripheral territories already subjected to abundant social complexities, required reassessment of planned activities. The crisis affected research, not only because Brazil was one of the most severely affected countries globally, but also because favelas have been massively impacted by the health and economic crisis. Research was thus led in a way that would integrate observation of how the pandemic affected the women of Maré.

Women interviewees and the focus groups addressed different aspects of the pandemic, indicating the singularities of its impact on Maré residents. Issues that emerged included a potential increase in the incidence of domestic violence due to the need for isolation; increased difficulty of access to health services, both for COVID-19 and other health demands; intensified economic vulnerability due to loss of work or reduced workload resulting in reduced income; the need to create new ways to guarantee sustenance of family and children; the extra burden of work at home due to the suspension of childcare units and schools; difficulties in accessing the Internet and technology necessary for remote activities and education; and the impossibility of attending collective spaces.

However, the pandemic had both negative and positive effects for women. In initial stages, it was overwhelmingly negative as women reflected below.

The beginning was more worrying, because I was contaminated by COVID [...] I lost four people in my family. One with COVID. I also lost a cousin recently and an aunt and two cousins. [...] But my aunt had more difficulty, because she had to resort three times to the UPA, three times she went there so they could do an X-ray to see that she had a tumour. [...] For her it was very difficult to get an effective care. I really needed a lot of pressure. Then with this COVID thing everyone thought it was just COVID, sent her home and she was very short of breath always [...]

Elza, 46 years old, white

A lot of people are desperate, a lot of women are desperate, not knowing what to do. I have a friend who's a mom, she's a student, she works, and she's like, "I have to go out to work, but what if I go out and get the corona? When I come back [home], [how is it going to be for] my daughter? I live in one room, what am I going to do with my daughter? How am I going to isolate myself from my daughter?

Amanda,21 years old, black or preta

I haven't used the clinic for a long time, why? Usually when I wanted to do a smear test always due to the delays - the health centre involves bureaucracy, stress, delay, you know - I always tried to do it in the private system. [...] [And at the health centre] the truth is who sees you is not a doctor, it's a nurse

Carol, 31 years old, white

Because for example [...] women have lost their jobs, the pandemic has happened and they end up depending on their husbands or partners [...] [they] end up saying: "I'm not going to report him because I'm out of a job and I need him there now." You know? And the men do it all, but how is the person going to get out of this relationship, you know?

Renata, 24 years old, white

But there were also positive outcomes for some participants. Many women reinvented themselves through starting new businesses or changing their ways of working - especially with the help of the Internet and social media. Many began to disseminate their work online, with cooking, the provision of services, sale of beauty products, clothing, among other activities. Women's creativity was essential to this reconstruction, given the absence of effective emergency public services to counter negative ramifications of the pandemic.

[...] and now in this time of pandemic I started recording self-defence classes for some women who are at home with their partners who attack [...] I posted some tips on Instagram and we got all the women in Instagram and marked as best friends, because it creates a platform that men [will] not have access to. And every Thursday I'm giving this self-defence class so they feel safer at home. And I also indicate places where they can run in case violence occurs and they don't know where to look for help.

Renata, 24 years old, white

then we needed immediate money, I said, "Immediate money is food, and I don't know how to make food, what are we going to do?" And then I searched the internet, by chance, I got into the application Tudo Gostoso [...] I said, "It's true, I don't think it's that hard. I think everyone knows how to make a shredded chicken and put mayonnaise" [...] [Then I sell] via WhatsApp and Advertise on Instagram [...]

Thabata, 29 years old, white

In 2020, two important local collective fronts were developed to cope with the effects of COVID-19 and consequent social isolation: the Women's Support Network of Maré (RAMM) [16] and the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus. Nine individual interviews with women working on these two fronts reveal both impacts and forms of resistance to the pandemic. Women created and led these initiatives.

[16] The researcher responsible for the systematization of the research data integrated the RAMM from the beginning of its formulation, which allowed for participant observation.

CAMPAIGN MARE SAYS NO TO CORONAVIRUS

One highly significant outcome of the pandemic was the formulation of the 'Campaign Maré Says no to Coronavirus', initiated through a preliminary social diagnosis, conducted by Redes da Maré. It identified the following: the local population's difficulty in accessing already precarious health services; the impossibility of observing social isolation adequately, either because of the need to go to work or poor housing conditions; the difficulty of ensuring, throughout Maré, access to adequate sanitation and hygiene; and food insecurity due to economic vulnerability considering Maré's high concentration of casual workers, among other factors.

> *Obviously the favela and periphery regions would be greatly impacted, either by the issue of the spread of the disease, by the fact that the numbers and visibility of whatever happens there would be lower than in other regions of the city, or by the economic impact of the loss of income because there are many informal workers. [...] Then came this idea of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus. It initially structured itself around the donation of basic baskets, the part of food security and the delivery of meals to homeless people I think was one of the first fronts that were implemented.*
>
> **Member of the Campaign Maré says No to Coronavirus**

The campaign began in March 2020 and was organized on six fronts: i. food security; ii. care for the homeless; iii. income generation; iv. access to health rights, care and prevention; v. production and dissemination of safe information and content; and vi. support for local artists and cultural groups.

Distribution of basic baskets and personal hygiene items was a main activity, organized by screening and identifying families by criteria of social vulnerability. Meals were distributed to the homeless and users of alcohol and other drugs [a terminology that refer to groups of drug users, of mostly crack, who also live on the streets]. An online service was also organized to provide assistance for the local population in cases of violence, violations of rights, and other demands related to ensuring access to health, including monitoring suspected cases of COVID, offering tests, and structuring remote 'telemedecine' appointments.

Interviews highlighted the structuring of health care services developed throughout the campaign. This process began with identification of health demands during the distribution of basic baskets and was consolidated through articulation between different institutions. From a process that began with a need for emergency action - ensuring access to food in a lockdown scenario and related economic instability - a complex, multifaceted response developed: the Conexão Saúde [Health Connection] project.

Conexão Saúde is a partnership between Redes da Maré and the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz), SAS Brasil, Dados do Bem, União Rio, the Community Council of Manguinhos and Todos pela Saúde. The free care offered formed a tripod encompassing the *SAS Brasil* telemedicine platform, the *Dados do Bem* test program of and *Fiocruz* support for home isolation in partnership with *SAS Brasil*. This network produced its own database on COVID-19 in Maré, developing content to ensure quality information for the local population, and to counter official underreporting about favelas and peripheral territories.

Over the last year, the campaign transformed as greater knowledge about COVID-19 emerged, such as forms of prevention and coping, but also as the specificities of Maré's needs were increasingly understood. In one interview, we observed a growing process of institutional reformulation of Redes da Maré, including new perceptions about women's demands in the field of access to justice.

> *From this discussion of access to justice, we have noticed that many of the people who ask for help in the conflicts, in armed conflicts, above all, are women. And then we began, at the end of 2020 [...] we began to broaden a little the discussion with other forms of violence [...] expand our capacity of receiving, assisting against armed violence, to [include] violence against women, violence against the LGBTQI+ population [...]*
>
> **Member of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus**

Multiple and diverse demands broadened their perception of violence, initiating a process of reflection and institutional reformulation to provide specific support to combat violence against women. A member of the campaign addressed this very powerfully:

> *The need to reinvent ourselves emerged, what are we going to do in face of this scenario [of the pandemic]? [...] Then, we started organizing the process of care for these residents. We started organizing a registration via WhatsApp and in this WhatsApp thing we didn't imagine that there was going to be so many demands, and then we had more than a hundred thousand registrations to receive basic basket. From this service via WhatsApp, the online sociolegal service was created [...] And it is in this context of the pandemic that we realize that it is not only armed violence that affects people [...] And now, at this moment, we are getting equipped to receive [cases of] violence against women [...] because we understand that there is a fragility in policies and in the law that does not include black women and favela residents [...] How are we going to support this woman so that this woman somehow builds her support network and manages to get out of this situation?*
>
> **Member of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus**

With regard to the remote assistance service developed by Casa das Mulheres, key challenges, such as the lack of privacy at home and the presence of perpetrators in the same space, were noticed, requiring institutional adaptation to the new reality. A hybrid service was structured, allowing face-to-face access with scheduled appointments, replacing the previous open door model with staff on duty.

From the response to so many challenges, considerations on the need for more long-term structural changes came up, based on the possibility of building, beyond the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, a permanent hybrid model, which could enable access to services by women from different regions of Maré. Necessary adaptation in face of a moment of urgency became a way to enhance and restructure the service itself.

The calls, we initially went only to remote [service] and it was very difficult to remotely assist the more delicate cases. And, especially because of the increase in domestic violence during the pandemic, we began to evaluate the possibility of face-to-face care. We came back in another way, [before] we had shifts where women arrived and were [seen in] order of arrival. [Now] we started to receive some cases and with an appointment. Then, I think it's important for us to incorporate [this] when we think about access. [...] Today I defend this hybrid [model]. The remote calls, if on the one hand they are selective and some people will not have access to this service, there are others who had never accessed the [Women's] House and that are only able to now because of this remote channel. It was precisely these remote calls that caused us to make shifts at our Pinheiros office [...] which is far from The Parque União, where the Women's House is located, and is controlled by another faction [of the rival armed groups]. The remote service [...] expanded our capillarity in the territory

Member of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus

Primarily women who sought the help of the campaign built the organisational campaign infrastructure. This relates to the role occupied by women in their families and in Maré.

The first factor is that the women provide care. So they are the ones who seek the services ... most of them are women. Who take care of their children [...] so I think we already have this cut out clearly when we talk about the area of health. And then, the difficulty of making men engage in their processes of care and responsibility also regarding the children and other members of the house [...] So this responsibility is women's responsibility, so I think the first problem is a certain despair about what it means to fall sick for someone who has so many social and family responsibilities, which is the centre of care [...] I think it has a first gender milestone that has to do with the issue of health, care at this moment: they will seek [care] [...]

Member of the Campaign Maré Says No to Coronavirus

WOMEN'S SUPPORT NETWORK OF MARÉ (RAMM)

The Women's Support Network of Maré (RAMM) began in May 2020, following an initiative by Fight for Peace, a local civil society organisation.[17] RAMM constituted a collaborative network between women's support services due to concern about a potential increase in domestic violence related to social isolation. Articulation between professionals from various areas of care was essential, whether they worked in public service, local civil society organisations or public universities, in order to articulate joint strategies for protecting women in Maré.

Regarding the pandemic's impact on the provision of care for women, one RAMM member, active in public health service, told us about the experience of remote assistance during the pandemic and the complexity of interacting with clients while there is the constant possibility of the perpetrator being in the same space.

> *For me, it makes me more careful to understand, for example, that I'm going to make a call to that person I've already talked to and who has suffered violence, and now I need to understand that maybe I have to think about what time that's going to be for the guy not to be home when we're going to do this call. [...] Then a woman once told me, "I can't talk now because he's here"[...].*
>
> **Member of RAMM**

She also narrated not always being able to continue supporting women previously assisted. This reveals the relationship between poverty, ramifications of the pandemic and gender violence, showing the specificity of the problems faced by women in Maré and the support networks formed by residents.

> *So it was very difficult to continue in the pandemic, with the clients I follow-up, because of the internet being the only way possible, and this makes it difficult in many occasions. So there's one of the women I see that is a person who has thousands of clinical problems, and that was one of the most touching case for me to date, because she had to go to an alley nearby to get the internet [signal], and then she had a lot of difficulty getting the set-up sorted, she had never made a video call - nor imagined what that was. And then, a neighbour would pass by and say, "Sit here," then placed [her] by a door. In a little while another one passed by: "have this glass of water while you talk to the doctor", then they'd give her the glass of water; "when you're done, just knock here and I'll help you up"*
>
> **Member of RAMM**

The way RAMM worked at first was organized with weekly meetings to define priority actions. An Integrated Workflow, to enable collaborative emergency responses within the network, was built. Members also mapped services based in Maré, or those situated outside but open to women from Maré, and developed a participatory process for collecting suggestions through expanded meetings, involving other public policy stakeholders. When ready, the workflow was presented at public meetings.

[17] https://lutapelapaz.org/ (29/12/21).

Everything has been built collectively... initially we thought about building a flow of referrals. From the construction of the flow we opened it to other institutions so that people can give their opinion, from there we reworked it, we improved this flow. Now, we have a website where people can access information about the flow and also about the institutions. And also this site has become a source of information when you are assisting a woman in a situation of violence

Member of RAMM

With the completion of this stage, RAMM began to work more structurally and in this context a training course was organized to support services aimed at the assistance of women affected by violence.

Analysis of both the Campaign and the RAMM, as well as the participatory observation, showed a movement that began with emergency actions and responses, and led to the construction of structuring, transformative initiatives to cope with the pandemic and specific forms of violence and vulnerabilities arising from it. This was not a linear movement: emergency, reactive initiatives and the transformation and structuring of services coexisted. We have argued that this also had led to the formation of 'emotional-political communities' following Jimeno (2010) (McIlwaine et al., 2022).

This confluence of practices is also perceived in the lives of women who participated in the research. Short-term coping practices intertwine with structural forms, individual with collective, formal with informal. These networks are then woven into relationships and the territory.

First it is reactive, we do not know well what we are dealing with [...] just as everything at the beginning of the pandemic was reactive [...] I think that this change occurs from the moment we recognize each other as a network and can understand what can come out of there ... this begins to be thought collectively, intentionally and not only reactively. I think there's this change from the moment we meet, exchange ideas and think together.

Member of RAMM

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Women in Maré have identified multiple coping practices created to resist gendered urban violence, revealing the complex interweaving of emergency and reactive actions with structural actions that produce more permanent and transformative changes in women's lives. By investigating these agentic experiences in various forms and scale, the active role of women in combatting direct and indirect gendered urban violence has emerged in a complex system of resistance practices.

Resistance practices are both formal and informal, short, medium and long-term actions, reactive and transformative, individual and collective. The centrality of women in the composition of support networks is key to these practices, woven into the territory, especially through oral transmission of trans-generational knowledge and experience. Although ways of coping with violence are not necessarily perceived and named as such, they are systematically integrated into the daily life of women.

The research revealed the power of local and co-produced knowledge, the formal networks mobilized by women in the territory of Maré and in their encounters with the city, and the engagements and spaces of protection created by them throughout their lives. Many of the practices formulated respond to historical gaps in public services for the reception and protection of people living in favelas and peripheries, and to historically violent, racialised State action in these regions.

However, the effectiveness of public services relates not only to guarantee of access, but also the guarantee and development of policies that meet the singularities of their histories, ways of life, and real needs. Effective policies need to recognise that women who are victims and survivors of violence, who must act and take responsibility for their own safety, are often re-victimized when attempting to access available services.

Collective spaces emerge as fundamental in the construction of coping and resistance networks for women in Maré. These range from spaces with a high degree of informality, such as small autonomous collectives, to more densely institutionalized spaces, such as civil society organisations with a high degree of formality and institutionalization. The latter places of collective engagement, allow women to recognise experiences of violence, leading to reaffirmation of their stories, construction of new bonds, return to studies, access to paid opportunities, and engagement in processes of struggle and political transformation.

However, the ambivalence of public spaces was highlighted. These can also operate as producers of violence. Police stations, in particular, have emerged as spaces where women are often violated when seeking shelter and protection. This has serious implications for future policies and the allocation of resources in addressing violence. At the same time, it is not only public service and policy provisions that produce violence. Armed groups are perceived as both a source of protection and producer of gender-based violence. In this sense, sometimes the silence of women occupies a central role in coping with and resisting direct and indirect gendered urban violence.

Collective spaces that play an important role in the construction of coping practices with structural, transformative and long-term impacts, primarily civil society organisations, must be central to future policies to better address gender violence.

Finally, the body occupies a fundamental dimension in coping with violence. Women resist through their bodies and it is in them it that the story of their struggles is marked. In embodied experiences, women trace strategic routes through the streets of Maré, hide at home; change house, work, habits; their bodies seek the company of and support other women; they enter and exit Maré to protect other bodies; their bodies respond and assert their worth; they cry,

give life to other bodies and care for so many others. These bodies find ancestral power and recreate their own stories.

In view of all this, it is important to end this report with women's voices from Maré:

> *We're the ones who make everything move. If you look around, in most places it's the woman who's working; it's the woman who is leading everything. Do you understand? And we do move... if you look, the majority of Maré's population is women. Women who raise women, who have daughters, the majority is women. [...] they create the whole world.*
>
> **Patricia, 31 years old, mixed-race or parda**

> *And I think that's basically what women do, we've already learned to defend ourselves, even if it's, I don't know, just by being together.*
>
> **Rita, 19 years old, black or preta**

> *I think women are important for everything, because no one can do anything - in my opinion, I'm not generalizing - without a woman.*
>
> **Rosa, 25 years old, white**

> *I wanted to say that we have to try to show men that they are not so superior. There's a lot of women who do much better. And we should even try to understand that we are not inferior. Show them that they are not so superior and we understand that we are not inferior.*
>
> **Teresa, 20 years old, black or preta**

> *It's funny, that in the old days people said that the man was the provider of the house, the man would chase up and get stuff. But the favela women are the ones to go out there and buying stuff for their kids, pay for school, want their best. [...] And I think it's time for women to realize how strong they are...*
>
> **Joseane, 19 years old, indigenous**

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Public and especially police/judicial services should undergo training on dealing with women reporting gender-based violence to avoid re-victimisation

- Civil society organisations should extend hybrid service provision (online and in-person) developed during the COVID-19 pandemic for women requiring support for gendered urban violence

- Provision of collective spaces, formal and informal, to capture women's support and resistance mechanisms for addressing gendered urban violence

- Creation of livelihood options for women - possibly through micro-credit loans - allowing women to make choices in relation to gender-based and especially intra-family and intimate partner violence

- State and civil society investment in community history-making and ancestry initiatives for local residents, led by women, in order to challenge stigma and racism, build dignity and celebrate women's contribution to favela culture

- Ongoing citizenship rights, educational and information-sharing work needs to explicitly include women's experience as survivors of gendered urban violence

- A systematic online app-based warning system of danger hotspots for women should be developed within and beyond Maré (to include police incursions).

- The structural conditions underpinning gendered urban violence must be addressed including addressing poverty, inequality, racism and sexism. As part of this, police incursions into Mare must stop.

- Women of Maré must be included in the creation of public policies.

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APPENDIX 1: THEMES COVERED IN INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

1. INTERVIEW THEMES

Block 01: *Relationship with Maré*

- Housing time
- Remarkable memories
- Affective relationship with the territory
- Everyday dynamics
- Role of women in Maré

Block *02: Territories and Violence*

- Perceptions about discrimination and disadvantages for living in Maré
- Police operations and clashes between trafficking factions
- Circulation in Maré
- Circulation through the city

Block 03: *Domestic Violence*

- Personal and family experiences of violence
- Loss of opportunities, property, behavior restrictions and movement
- COVID-19 and violence

Block 04: *Coping Practices*

- Strategies and practices in operating days
- Strategies and practices related to urban violence
- People who access services from networks/ institutions
- Collectives and institutions that know/access
- Experiences in accessing protection networks
- Plans for the future

2. FOCUS GROUPS THEMES

Stream 01: Gender and Violence

- Perspectives on gender violence
- What are their specificities in relation to other forms of violence
- What are risk factors (intersectionalities)

Stream 02: Territories and Violence

- Differences inside and outside the favela
- How gender violence appears in Maré
- How they are felt in other spaces of the city
- How women's bodies are affected

Stream 03: Coping Practices

- How and where they take care of themselves
- What features are used for protection
- What networks, collectives, institutions and services do they know and access
- Strategies and practices adopted


MEETING ABOUT GENDERED VIOLENCE
CASA DAS MULHERES DA MARÉ
IT'S SOMETHING THAT COMES FROM HER MOTHER, SHE'S BEEN PUTTING UP WITH A LOT OF THINGS
WE CAN TRY TO DECONSTRUCT THIS FOR OUR CHILDREN
WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE CARE OF OURSELVES, WE ALREADY TAKE CARE OF EVERYONE ELSE
MY DAUGHTER ENCOURAGED ME TO HAVE SELF-LOVE
I WENT BACK TO SCHOOL BECAUSE OF HER
WITH THERAPY I WAS ABLE TO TALK ABOUT IT, TO FREE MYSELF
NOWADAYS I DON'T ACCEPT IT, I CAN'T KEEP SILENT ABOUT IT
NOT WITH ME, NOT WITH ANYONE ELSE
PROTECTIVE LEAGAL MEASURES NEVER WORKED FOR ME
I PUT A NAIL FILE INSIDE MY BRA TO DEFEND MYSELF AGAINST HIM
MY FAITH HELPED ME
TO HAVE THE COURAGE TO LIVE WITHOUT A HUSBAND
TO SHARE TASKS AT HOME, ASK FOR HELP
NOWADAYS I TAKE MY DAY
TO TAKE CARE OF MYSELF


I HAVE ALWAYS POSITIONED MYSELF
YOU CAN'T MEDDLE, OR YOU ARE AT RISK TOO
THERE ARE NO WEAK WOMEN, THERE ARE WOMEN WHO DON'T RECOGNIZE THEIR STRENGTH
I LIKE TO LOOK AT MYSELF IN THE MIRROR AND SAY:
I'M AMAZING!
ON MY OWN
I'M AFRAID OF HAVING OTHER RELATIONSHIPS
BUT YOU CAN COMFORT HER, EMBRACE, TALK.
I NEVER TOLD ANYONE
I WAS EMBARRASSED
AT CHURCH, I HEARD THAT I WAS DESTROYING MY FAMILY AND HOME
HERE, I FEEL SAFE TO LET THINGS OUT
THE MORE WOMEN TALK AND HEAR EACH OTHER, WE CAN DEMAND MORE CHANGES
IT'S NOT JUST YOU WHO GOES THROUGH THESE THINGS
AT THE POLICE STATION, I WAS ASKED "IS THAT ALL?"
I WAS ONLY ABLE TO GET OUT OF THIS FOR MY DAUGHTER
I WANT MORE MEETINGS LIKE THIS


THERE'S A SCAR INSIDE ME
HE WAS MY NEIGHBOUR
A SHOUT
HIGH HEELS, SHAVED
THE PRESSURE TO BE ACCEPTED
I FEEL LIKE I ALWAYS HAVE TO BE READY TO FIGHT
NEVER STANDS OR SETS THE TABLE
MAKES HER CHANGE HER OUTFIT JUST WITH A LOOK
THE SUBTLETIES OF NORMALIZED OPPRESSIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE
STRAIGHTENED HAIR
WOMEN WHO DO NOT FIT THE STANDARDS: TRANS, LESBIANS, MORE MASCULINE, POOR... THEY ARE MORE EXPOSED
CHEST PUFFED OUT, CONTRACTED ABS
TENSE
IT LEFT MANY HOLES IN MY TRAJECTORY
HARASSMENT OF MEN WALKING BY
ASKING FOR A THREE WAY KISS
THREATENING US
*#!
I THOUGHT I HAD NO VOICE
THAT I DIDN'T DESERVE THE BARE MINIMUM
I'M AFRAID OF MAKING MISTAKES
I FEEL SUFFOCATED


THE PYRAMID OF OPPRESSION
"WOW, YOU ARE FROM MARÉ? IT DOESN'T SHOW..."
I TAKE CARE OF MYSELF
ALL WOMEN AROUND ME GO THROUGH THIS
I HAVE TO BE THREE TIMES BETTER THAN A WHITE GUY
I OCCUPY MY SPACE
I POSITION MYSELF AS A WOMAN FROM THE FAVELA
BLACK WOMAN, INDIGENOUS WOMAN, WOMAN FROM THE FAVELA
A WOMAN IS NOT ALLOWED TO BE WHATEVER SHE WANTS
I HAVE PRIDE
PEPPER SPRAY IN THE BAG
KEYS BETWEEN MY FINGERS
THERE ARE MANY FACETS WITHIN A WOMAN
I PROTECT MYSELF AS WELL AS I CAN
I WAIT FOR A WHITE AND MALE FRIEND TO WALK ME PAST A POLICE CAR
POLÍCIA
OUTSIDE THE FAVELA, IF I DRESS A CERTAIN WAY, THEY WON'T EVEN ACKNOWLEDGE ME
INSIDE THE FAVELA, I FEEL AT HOME
I CAN WALK AROUND HOLDING MY MOBILE PHONE

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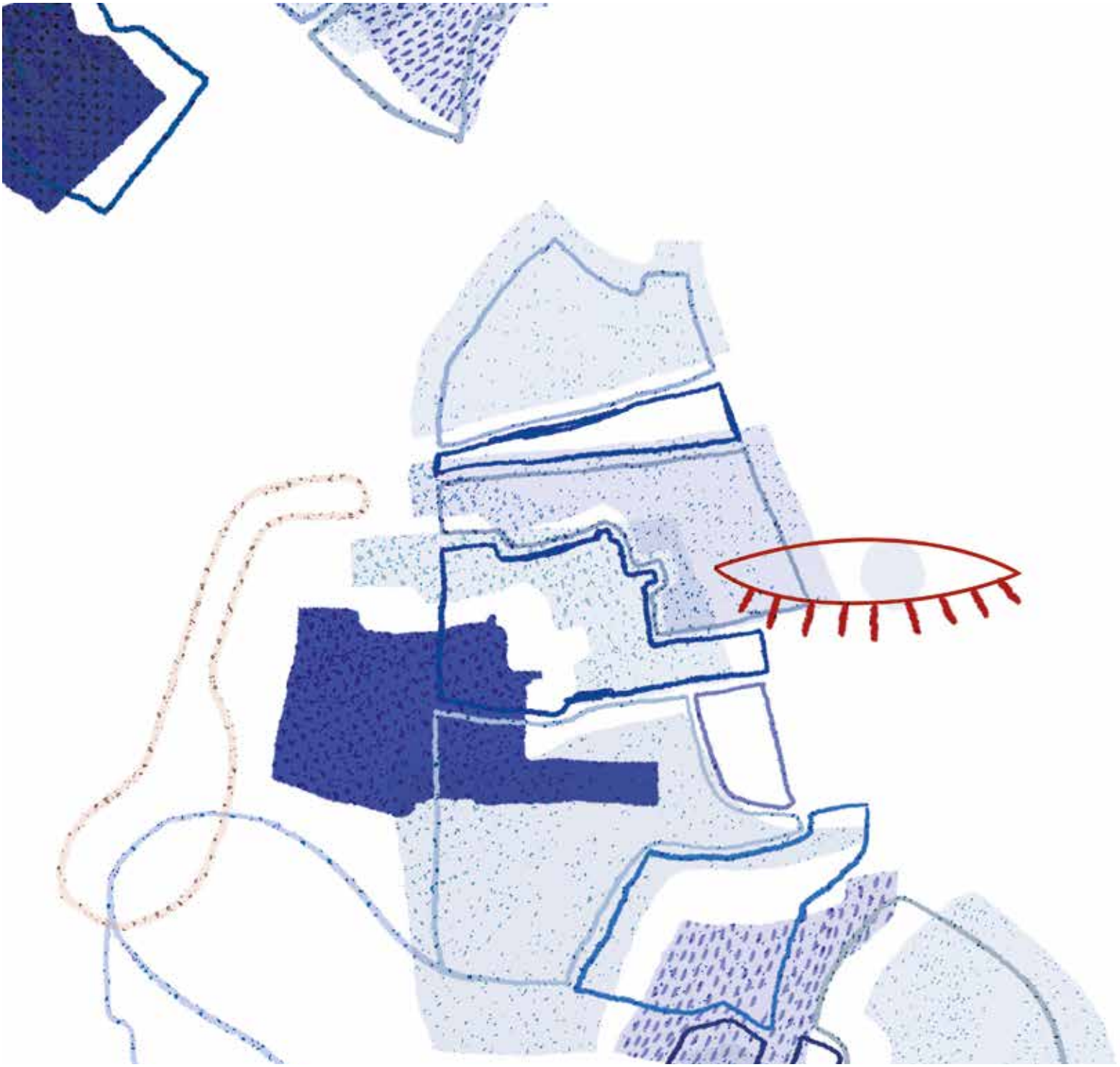

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