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Pedagogies of Occupation: Youth Aspiration, Drugs and the Politics of Time in Brazil

Fogarty Valenzuela, Benjamin

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PEDAGOGIES OF OCCUPATION:

YOUTH ASPIRATION, DRUGS AND THE POLITICS OF TIME IN BRAZIL

Benjamin Fogarty-Valenzuela

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Abstract

"Pedagogies of Occupation" is a study of working-class youth in Brazil. It focuses on contestations over the question of how they ought to occupy their time.

My research was carried out during a period of Brazilian history characterized by economic and political tumult: dreams of social inclusion and mobility were waning, and working-class neighborhoods were subject to violent forms of state intervention, justified as part of the war on drugs. In this context, the issue of how young people occupied their time was highly charged. In particular, the state of *desocupação* (the state of being unoccupied) was understood by state, private, and NGO actors as a central problem, leading to a range of interventions seeking to occupy young people—directing them towards busy everyday schedules, and opening certain aspirational horizons while foreclosing others. These interventions are what I call "pedagogies of occupation": forms of pedagogical intervention (that is, softer and more ubiquitous forms of social control, as opposed to state-authorized violence) that emphasize occupying young people's time in ways that are seen as productive.

I argue, therefore, for a turn from scholarship on the war on drugs that studies hard forms of occupation (military and police interventions)—forms of occupation that are primarily *spatial*—in order to focus on softer, pedagogical forms of occupation that concern themselves with how *time* is occupied. I make the case that political struggles over *the occupation of time* are key sites of contestation over the present life and future prospects of young people in Brazil, and that the status of being busy – as well as the charge of idleness (of time unoccupied) – serve as vital social markers, parsing youth along the lines of race, geography, gender, and class. Finally, at a theoretical level, "Pedagogies of Occupation" proposes *occupation* as a keyword for social thought, a politically charged term with both spatial and temporal stakes.

My research draws from participant observation, interviews, and archival work to develop an understanding of Brazilian working-class youth's sociocultural and pedagogical contexts. My fieldwork is grounded in the favela neighborhood of Madeiros, one of the areas most heavily hit by the violence of the war on drugs. It isolates three key sites of contestation, and is divided into three corresponding sections. Part I explores state educational actors' attempts to keep youth preoccupied and away from the perceived dangers associated with drugs. Part II takes place at a larger temporal scale, focusing on youth aspirations for the future, in terms of higher education, class, and career—their attempts to find an occupation in the sense of a profession. Part III focuses on the political sense of occupation, documenting and analyzing a student movement that took over and occupied high schools across Brazil, and its demand that the state invest in educational infrastructure.

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For their personal support over many years, I thank my parents, Bill and Rosy; my brother and his partner, Sebastian and Soralia; and my beloved wife, Bia. I also want to

thank Dona Tati and her family, who graciously took me into their home in Madeiros. This dissertation is dedicated to Benjamin, my godson and namesake, to whom I say the following, borrowing the words of James Baldwin in his *Letter to my Nephew*, "You were born where you were born and faced the future that you faced because you were black... The limits of your ambition were, thus, expected to be set forever… Know whence you came. If you know whence you came, there is really no limit to where you can go."

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Introduction: The Social and Political Stakes of the Occupation of Time

This dissertation is a study of competing visions of how time should be occupied—and more specifically, how young people in Brazil should occupy their time. In other words, it is a study of competing temporal imaginaries: of how time can be divided up, assigned value, and given moral significance, and of the fierce contestation that emerges between groups who insist on doing so in different ways.

It is the premise of this dissertation that appreciating the different answers to the question of how Brazilian youth ought to occupy their time requires a deep understanding of the pedagogical contexts which these youths help define and rework along with a range of other actors. These pedagogical contexts include not only the schools, teachers, and curriculums of the Brazilian education system as seen from the perspective of the national government, but also the wider infrastructure of after-school programs, vocational training, school-to-work programs, standardized test-prep, drug prevention schemes, parental pressures, and professional internships. Of great significance, too, are the series of occupations that swept Brazil in 2016, in which protesting students took over schools and turned them into collectively organized political and pedagogical spaces. Classrooms became their collective bedrooms and spaces for teach-ins, the kitchen a space for assemblies, deliberation, and conflict resolution. Hallways were spaces for skateboarding and dance parties.

All of these actors—the state actors who designed curriculums and taught in schools, the parents who encouraged their kids to attend after-school programming, the students who rebelled and took over their schools—were making claims about how they

believed time ought to be occupied. They were creating, enacting, and arguing for alternative temporal imaginaries.

One specific instance will help show what I mean here by "temporal imaginaries." Prior to the occupation of the school where I had been doing fieldwork, the principal utilized the school buzzer—with a sound reminiscent of a WWII bomb shelter—to closely control youth's entrance and exit times. The jarring sound had become woven into the fabric of everyday school life: bodies jerked to the cacophonous echoes that traveled through the halls and into the city. During the occupation, the principal, now deposed, expressed concern over the school being vandalized by adolescents who, without his buzzer's imposed routine, would turn the school into a "zona" (mess) and use it as a space in which to have unprotected sex and do drugs. The principal understood the occupying youths' organization of time as imbricated in immorality and criminality. When enjoying leisure in the park after school, he saw them as vulnerable. When organizing to take control of his school, he saw them as dangerous.

In his temporal imaginary, youth with free time meant trouble—whether through an idiom of vulnerability or one of danger. Reminiscent of Paulo Freire's "banking theory of education" (2000), where instructors deposit knowledge into empty heads, this temporal imaginary pictures youths in the northern Rio de Janeiro neighborhood of Madeiros as empty-headed troublemakers careening towards deviance when deprived of adult intervention. To borrow a concept from Jacques Rancière (1991), youth subjectivity is imagined as out of joint with time: either in delay (lazy, unpunctual, unemployed, uneducated, uncultured) or precocious (seeking easy pleasure and quick money, arrogant,

out of line). Forever untimely, this temporal imaginary assumes, youth are their own biggest threat.

Like many other figures of authority, the principal was unaware that during the occupation youths continued to use the school buzzer to mark meal times and teach-ins, actively organizing their time according to their own self-generated schedules. Like those who spent their afternoons in the park before and during the occupation, their days were far from "empty." They were crafted instead around elaborate group routines, mobilizations, and decisions. The students, for their part, decried the principal's treatment of them as disrespectful and "authoritarian," and demanded his removal as a condition for their dis-occupation. They objected to his draconian punctuality policy, and instituted in its place a policy of open gates, enabling students to enter and exit the school freely.

I began my doctoral research with the aim of understanding how drug prevention helped frame and legitimize interventions in the lives of upwardly aspiring youths in schools and other educational settings. I started with the sense that former rigid and militaristic ways of controlling time were gradually being replaced with a new form of neoliberal subject-making characterized by an individualistic entrepreneurial citizenship premised on constant busyness. But I discovered that there were more stories than the one told by the state and by the NGOs about youth being drawn inexorably towards danger when freed from the demands of a tightly controlled schedule. The youth themselves, I discovered, told a very different story, premised on a different set of answers to the question of time and how to occupy it.

Context: Geração Nem Nem

At the time I began my study, Brazil was entering a period in its history characterized by economic and political tumult. When I arrived in Brazil, the dream of a "new middle class" – a dream in which policies of social inclusion would sweep vast segments of the population out of poverty – was waning as a material reality, but alive and well as an aspiration. My interlocutors and their families had seen their social and economic horizons expand, only to be cast into uncertainty. As economic uncertainty grew, so did moral anxiety over the so-called *geração nem nem* (generation neither-nor): the generation that neither studies nor works. A recurrent trope throughout nineteenth- and twentieth-century Brazilian history—*desocupação*, or idleness—threatened to derail the youth and the future of Brazil and has long been a concern for Brazilian policy makers since the creation of the public education system in 1930. I will expand on *desocupação* in the first of this dissertation's three parts.

The image of empty-headed youth careening towards danger is not unique to Brazil. Media and government discourses about the *geração nem nem* emerged elsewhere in the region (e.g., in Colombia, Chile, and Argentina as the *generacion ni-ni*) in the late 2000s as well, along with a similar moral panic about young, idle youths being lured into criminality. What makes the contemporary moment unique is the emergence of a specific demographic category and the emergence of a range of interventions designed to mitigate the perceived dangers of free time. The *problema do contratempo* (after-school problem) of low-income youth—that is, the question of how youth ought to spend the part of the day during which they are not in school—takes shape against the backdrop of a specific historical moment punctuated by three interconnected factors: Firstly, facing an economic recession, parents are working longer hours striving towards the ideal "new middle class"

lifestyle that they began to aspire to in the 1990s and early 2000s, as Brazil began its "emergence" as a BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) nation. Secondly, although more have access to secondary education in Brazil than ever before, the typical Brazilian four-hour school day still leaves many spending large parts of the day in so-called "at risk" neighborhoods. Thirdly, of particular significance to this project is that a range of public and private educational interventions have been mobilized to keep youths busy in the name of preventing youths from succumbing to the "risks" to which they are understood as vulnerable.

My ethnography is a timely study of Brazil's education system from the perspective of "Generation Z" (born between 1994 and 2010), a demographic of Brazilians who came of age after the implementation of the post-dictatorship 1988 constitution, in a context in which policies of poverty reduction and access to consumer goods engendered new horizons of aspiration and needs. These new possibilities, however, have been cast into uncertainty, due to a political and economic crisis entailing dramatic austerity measures and mass protests, leading to an increasingly politicized youth.

The dissertation centers on a grouping of favelas in Rio's sprawling north zone that I will call the Complexo de Madeiros (Madeiros for short), far from the picturesque hills of Rio de Janeiro's iconic south zone. This predominantly black part of the city had been targeted by the late nineteenth-century "*lei da vadiagem*" (law of vagrancy), which criminalized wandering without destination or work ID. The neighborhood was originally stigmatized as an "illegal occupation," and later officialized as a "zone of risk" by the state. During the 19th and 20th century, the lives of residents of neighborhoods like Madeiros were punctuated by work in a local industrial zone, subjection to a military dictatorship,

and the shuttering of industry, all against the backdrop of steady migration from poorer rural regions of the country and cyclical flooding.

In neighborhoods like this one, layer upon layer of occupation (from indigenous land, to farmland, to military and industrial outskirts, to shantytown, to "formal" city) led to a murky sense of sovereignty, and my interlocutors straddle the line between recognition as rights-bearing citizens through state services, and illicit markets and informal economies. Over the last number of years, due to violent disputes over territorial control of the neighborhood (between drug-trafficking organizations, police forces, and militias, or retired and off-duty police officer forces), Madeiros was re-dubbed what media discourses termed the "Faixa de Gaza" (Gaza Strip), a name that my informants borrowed to help make sense of the *tiroteios* (shootouts) and *balas perdidas* (stray bullets, or civilian casualties). Aside from the reference to Israel's illegal occupations of Palestinian territory (the "Gaza strip"), this is also a reference to a particular state of being caught in a "strip" wherein the wreckages of a war between two sides pile up. My young informants are aware of the ghetto imaginary proffered in media discourses, leading to local nicknames like "Vietnam," "Korea," and the "Gaza Strip"—the latter becoming especially imbued with local significance. These tags capture the routine warfare between police and drug-traffickers, audible and visible in the landscape and in truncated family lineages.

The Review on Youth and Crime (2010–2014)[1] from the Instituto de Segurança Pública states that out of every five people sent to a police station in the city of Rio de Janeiro, one was under eighteen years old. Of those sent to the police station under charges of drug trafficking, one in every three was underage. Between 2001 and 2015, Brazil

[1] "Relatório Juventude e Crime," Instituto de Segurança Pública, 2016, http://arquivos.proderj.rj.gov.br/isp_imagens/Uploads/RelJuventudeeCrime2016.pdf.

registered 786,870 homicides, of which 70 percent were caused by gunfire and against black youth specifically. (As a point of comparison, the Syrian War, from its beginning in 2011 until the time of the study, had left 330,000 victims.)[2] Since 2014, the city of Rio de Janeiro has seen growing numbers in the death rate caused by state agents. The figures are astonishing: in 2014, there were 247 deaths caused by state agents in the city of Rio de Janeiro alone. This number went up to 558 in 2018.[3] It is worth noting that these are official numbers, which underestimate the total.

Method: Relinquishing Control

In order to conduct ethnography in this setting, I began by dwelling in and circulating between various sites aimed at sequestering the free time of "at risk" youth, while conducting semi-structured interviews, participant observation and archival research. I first visited Madeiros to conduct interviews in the Biblioteca Parque (Library Park). Then, I became intrigued by the park in which the library was located. I soon found out that it had once been used as training grounds, which explained why it was surrounded by refitted military buildings, converted into institutions that the government termed part of a "civic center." These buildings housed other sites, such as a school. Opposite the library and on the other side of the park is Dom Hélder Câmara (Câmara), the 800-student public high school opened in 2011, which also became one of my primary sites. Once I began conducting research at the school, I followed my interlocutors beyond Madeiros to three other primary sites. The first was a megamall, a ten-minute drive or a thirty-minute walk

[2] "A violência no Brasil mata mais que a Guerra na Síria," *El País*, December 11, 2017, https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2017/12/11/politica/1513002815_459310.html.
[3] "ISP Dados Visualização," Instituto de Segurança Pública, last modified March 1, 2019, http://www.ispvisualizacao.rj.gov.br.

north. One of the hotspots for youth, this mall had its own plaza, which I came to contrast with the public park in Madeiros. Within the space of the mall was another site, a private school part of a larger network of over twenty educational institutions focusing on test prep. This private school also served as a provocative contrast to the public school in Madeiros. Finally, I followed youth beyond their schools, into PIPE (the Center for School-Company Integration), an institution dedicated to professionalizing youths while carrying out internships in the private sector. At PIPE, I conducted research in the professionalizing classrooms with instructors, as well as the waiting rooms where youths conducted paperwork for their internship assignments. Aside from classrooms and waiting rooms, I accompanied youth as they spent time in the nearby park and mall plaza. These 'open' spaces where social life unfolded presented opportunities to participate actively in group conversations, a common feature of youth sociality. Many of my key insights build on group conversations, during which themes and perspectives emerge in unsupervised counter-publics that break with public opinion. I also followed those who were enrolled in public and private schools – as well as professionalizing courses – as they circulated the city on their daily routines, traveling from home to their schooling/training courses, to the workplace, and then back home.

Photography is one of my main fieldwork tools, serving as a visual archive of empirical evidence, but also experience (Bourgois and Schonberg 2009). When doing fieldwork, photography provides an entry-point to conversations, collaborations and exchanges with interlocutors (Pinney 2011). After fieldwork, when writing-up, photography serves an evidence and aesthetic purpose within the text. It also works as an anchor to which one might return repeatedly to which one might hinge analysis and

description (Biehl 2013a). More broadly, I believe that the visual arts can boldly reorient scholarship's theoretical commitments by rearticulating argumentation's relationship to representation (Sontag 2003). While photography is a well-developed element of anthropological ethnographic fieldwork, this visual medium is greatly relevant to scholars in other social science disciplines, who are increasingly charged with the task of producing knowledge that includes and exceeds traditional modes of written argumentation and theorization.

In April 2016, an unprecedented social movement—known as the *Primavera Secundarista* ("High School Spring")—swept through Câmara, pulling me into world-historical events that far exceeded the scope of my original research design, compelling me to make decisions based on ethical calculations. This experience led me to develop lasting relationships with students who were involved in the social movement, one of whom had a grandmother with whom I would eventually live.

My fieldwork was divided into three key phases. The first was the period in which I discovered the sites that were relevant to the young demographic I was interested in. This involved spending time dwelling in and circulating between sites. The second phase was the social movement which converted Câmara into an "occupation." And the third phase was the period I spent living in the home of Dona Tati, the grandmother of one of my primary interlocutors, Marcos, whom I met during the protest occupation. From this vantage point, I could get to know three generations: Marcos and his sister, his parents, and his grandmother.

One of the most important moments during my research marked the passage from the first phase to the second—when I made the choice to enter the occupied school. This

began one afternoon, as I stood accompanied by about forty students outside the gates of their school. They were considering the question of whether to stage an occupation of the school. Jamille, who was one of my research interlocutors, handed me a sticker. I had come to know her during my thirteen months of research in that public school prior to that day. The sticker read "Ocupa Tudo!" (Occupy Everything!). It was the name of the social movement that she was part of, which had spread over the internet as photos and stories circulated about high schoolers in public school uniform ejecting the school administration and using their schools as spaces from which to organize their movement. I hesitated to put on the sticker. The principal of the school, whom I had interviewed for two hours just the day before, was watching the assembly from behind a pillar on the other side of the fence. As others put on their stickers and made a large circle next to the front gate, a megaphone and drums rumbled, ready to announce the start of the occupation as a group of students hopped over the fence and into the school-yard. Jamille spotted me on the opposite side of the circle. She looked at me, confused, and yelled, "Benjamin, where's your sticker? Man, what's wrong with you?" I had discretely placed the sticker in my shirt pocket, attempting to appear neutral.

These moments of "choice" are moments during which anthropologists must put ethics into practice. I was faced with a dilemma. I could remain "neutral" and observe from the outside, or I could join the occupation and participate on the inside. Observing from the outside of the gate was the "safe" decision as far as my research design and access was concerned. Indeed, the methodological pillar of much social and psychological research is to preserve a semblance of distance between observer and observed so as to preserve claims to objectivity. Participating in the occupation would mean, according to this view,

"contaminating" my research findings with my presence, thereby interfering with the observed reality.

Not anticipated in my original research plan, my decision to occupy turns out to support anthropologist Rena Lederman's conviction that "fieldwork involves a disciplined relinquishment of control over the sociotemporal contexts and conceptual frameworks of research by the researcher to his or her expert interlocutors" (Lederman 2006: 485). Unlike sociology or psychology, "moving from veranda to village [or, fence to occupation, in my case], anthropologists enter domains controlled socially and culturally by the folks whose lives they hope to understand" (Lederman 2013: 600).

Moreover, deep down I knew that my methodological, political, and ethical commitments would make it very difficult for me to remain on the outside of the fence when students began hopping over. Beyond my comprehension, that afternoon, a group of my interlocutors was about to be swept up into a political movement that would fundamentally change their lives and the course of the next two months. I put the sticker on, and took a look at the words "Occupy Everything" on my chest. By taking up Jamille's provocation to form part of the movement, I was choosing to allow not only myself, but also my research design, to be swept up by the world.

This flexibility—in terms of research design, and interest— brought a wealth of new frames, evidence and experiences to my research, and is especially well suited for ethnographers studying youth and social movements in times of dramatic social change or political transitions. Ethical practice in anthropological fieldwork, it turns out, balances at the intersection of "multiple and … dissonant reference frames": one's disciplinary

training, personal values and commitments, and the (partially understood) values and commitments of those with whom one is entangled in the world (Lederman 2013: 591).

I have named this methodology section, "relinquishing control," because it captures two important ways in which I seized unplanned research opportunities not spelled out in my original research plan. Firstly, it refers to the ways in which my field site expanded from planned locations (like public schools and after-school programs) to new sites (like the megamall and Library Park) as I stayed true to my interlocutor's everyday circulations. Secondly, it also refers to a methodological disposition that enabled me as researcher to see the relevance of unexpected connections between my planned interests (e.g. Câmara), on the one hand, and emergent protest occupation events (e.g. Ocupa Câmara), on the other. Above, I have described how this openness to the field site enabled me to expand my analytical frame beyond an interest in the occupation of free time, to encompass unexpected forms of occupations that my interlocutors were engaged in.

Anthropological fieldwork is also well positioned to study youth in the process of becoming (Biehl and Locke 2017): the transition from childhood to adulthood, from financial dependence to independence, from student to worker. As Biehl and Locke argue, "The time of becoming is the real time in which life struggles are waged, in which stasis is sustained or transformation plays out, fragmented and uneven" (Biehl and Locke 2017:10). My intervention is situated within the anthropology of youth and education and in scholarly discussions about youth aspiration and youth agency. Of key interest is how education structures how students imagine the future. This work moves away from a policy-oriented focus on classrooms and students (Randall and Anderson 1999), and toward a framework that theorizes education as an arena through which people express their hopes and

aspirations. Within educational studies of cultural production as well as social reproduction, the issue of temporality remains largely implicit (Orellana and Thorne 1998). However, a recent body of work on student futures (Stambach and Hall 2017) offers a critical rejoinder to the policy-oriented educational work, pointing towards broader questions about temporality itself, about how temporality is culturally figured, and how actors construct imagined futures. Such an analytic approach goes beyond accounting for the role of the past in processes of social reproduction, but also theorizes the intersection of differently valued and realizable possibilities that transform people into fuller social beings. Following this cue, my dissertation investigates time ethnographically at the level of everyday schedules, medium-term plans, and long-term aspirations.

Occupation as a Temporal and Spatial Category

One of the main contributions of this dissertation is to propose *occupation* as a keyword for social thought. In what follows, I argue for the importance of understanding occupation as having simultaneously spatial and temporal implications and articulate the political stakes of the occupation of time. More specifically, I demonstrate how the accusation of having too much time—of being unoccupied—is extremely politicized in the context of contemporary Brazilian youth.

The word "occupation"[4] turns out to be remarkably multivalent, encompassing:

1. A person's usual work or business, especially as a means of earning a living; vocation.
2. Any activity in which a person is engaged.

[4] "occupation," *Collins English Dictionary*, accessed April 11, 2019, https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/occupation.

3. Possession, settlement, or use of land or property.
4. The act of occupying, possessing or settling.
5. The state of being occupied, taken over, settled.
6. The state of being busy.

Brazilian Portuguese definitions of the word "occupation"[5] include, similarly:

1. Take possession of/be possessed by.
2. Fill, to be full.
3. To become established in.
4. Inhabit.
5. Carry-out, exercise.
6. to employ/be employed.
7. To be dedicated to.
8. To be entertained by (spend, pass, fill).

New light can be shed on the analytical category of occupation by unpacking its linguistic uses. The above set of definitions demonstrate that the meanings of the word "occupation" diverge according to the following: If what is being occupied is a person, then what is being occupied is, more specifically, that person's *time*. On the other hand, if what is being occupied is a place, then the occupation is primarily of a *spatial* rather than a *temporal* nature.

[5] "ocupação," Diccionário do Aurélio Online, accessed April 21st, 2019, https://dicionariodoaurelio.com/ocupacao

My fieldwork reveals the way these definitions, despite their apparent divergence, are actually very closely related; in fact, the two are often used interchangeably. That is, my interlocutors demonstrate that they—as both occupiers and occupied—are concerned with how occupation is a matter of both time and space. It is through this proximity between spatial and temporal occupation that the politics of occupation become fully visible.

Clearly, the same word can have two very different spheres of meaning, depending upon whether it is used to refer to things or to people. For example, the word "upright" implies different things for objects than it does for people: uprightness for an object is a positional quality, but for people it is also a moral judgment. For the word "occupation," the third, fourth, and fifth Collins Dictionary definitions each refer to a relationship to land or things. The first, second, and sixth definitions refer to a relationship to people or bodies. Crucially, the word's connotations when applied to land or to things (settlement, possessing, taking over) refer to *space*, whereas its connotations for people or bodies (busyness, earning a living) refer to *time*. But this separation (between things and space on the one hand, and people and time on the other) is misleading, and does not hold up empirically if we consider the word's use and connotations in everyday life. For example, listen to the following sentence, spoken by a busy student after being asked why she was not occupying the school together with the others. She exclaimed, "Estou ocupada demais. Assim não da para ocupar a escola" (I'm far too occupied. Like this, it's not possible to occupy a school). She cannot occupy a space because her time is occupied.

As an anthropologist, it is my goal to uncover the practical local uses of words and draw from them in order to enhance our scholarly lenses and analytics. Far beyond the Brazilian Portuguese or English dictionary definitions of the word, in the context of

everyday use, the word *occupation* connotes both types of meanings (for people and things, as well as for space and time).

What I would like to propose is a broadening of the definition of occupation. The way forward I offer has to do with joining together some of the definitions of the word so as to use the new meanings that emerge as a lens through which to analyze my ethnographic materials. In short, I propose to extend the spatial (predominantly object/thing oriented) connotations of the word (occupation as settlement and claim of property) to overlap with the temporal (and human) connotations ("a means of earning a living," and "the state of being busy"). What analytical terrain might be opened up if we consider how both things *and bodies* can be occupied, possessed, and settled? What new vantage points to study contemporary social and political life are engendered when we consider both the associations of time (activity or busyness) and space (settling or taking over) in the same analytical frame? How does this lens help us describe a condition widely described by my interlocutors, which refers to a person as being occupied in the sense of being "taken over, settled" by the relationship to time required of them—namely, the demands of temporal compression and time scarcity? How might a person who is busily engaged in making a living also be subject to being "taken over, settled," or possessed? How does placing time and space within the same analytic frame help expand our understanding of how occupation occurs in the world, especially vis-à-vis young people at the cusp of the labor force?

Considering the analytic of occupation as having a temporal as well as a spatial dimension opens up new analytical terrain. When applied to land or property, the politics of occupation are immediately clear. The term's military and settler-colonial connotations are very close to the surface. The politics of occupied *space*, that is, have already been

adequately apprehended. The politics of occupied *time*, on the other hand, can be harder to grasp. Compared to the definitions that have to do with land and space, the definitions of occupation that have to do with people and time seem barely political: "any activity in which a person is engaged" does not on its own suggest a politics. What this study demonstrates is that the occupation of time is just as political as the occupation of space. And attempts to occupy people's time can be the subject of contestations just as vital and even just as violent as the contestations that emerge out of attempts to occupy people's land.

This dissertation explores the politics of occupation and of occupied time in three particular ways, corresponding to three widespread uses of the word *ocupação* (occupation) in Brazil. These three senses of the term correspond to the three parts of the study:

I. Occupation of time; keeping preoccupied

II. Occupation as profession

III. Occupation as a form of protest

These three senses of the word are overlapping and interconnected. From the perspective of various figures of authority, the first (keeping preoccupied) is seen as a means through which one might fend off deviance. The second (occupation as profession) follows from the first, understood as the means and ends of staying busy, so as to eventually obtain a professional occupation. The third, or occupation as protest, is a radical departure from the first two uses, representing a collective way of making claims for the right not only to self-generated daily routines, but also to desirable and livable collective futures. In

short, it is a refusal of occupation as a social marker of middle-class citizenship, and an adoption of occupation as radical democracy.

Through occupation, individuals are thrown into new contexts and new milieus—people, ideas, interventions—which shape how they experience and think about time, and impacting in turn the way they mobilize schedules and routines to make claims on state institutions, markets, and belonging. This study seeks to analyze what youths do with their time (their daily schedules) as a contested field in which an array of actors stake out claims for schedules that overlap, superimpose, and are in tension with one another. I call this field of contestation and negotiation between different temporal imaginaries the "politics of time." This empirically grounded theorization of occupation blurs many conventional boundaries (individual/environment, movement/stagnation, action/inaction, work/idleness, productive/unproductive), particularly those of youth demographic categories that scholarly literatures rely upon ("at risk"/secure, active/idle, upright/delinquent, educated/uneducated, consumerist/destitute, socially mobile/socially dispossessed).

Let me explain in more detail what I mean by the "politics of time," through an analysis of the politics surrounding the charge of *desocupação.* My research reveals how, in Brazil, to accuse someone of *desocupação* (calling them a *desocupado*) comes with a pejorative connotation, many times hurled as an insult. In its various historical guises (*vadiagem, vagabundagem, ociosidade*),[6] the concept has been employed to tag, broadly, anyone who is perceived to have too much free time: the unemployed, the young, the homeless, beggars, freed slaves, indigenous peoples—the list goes on. The way in which the tag identifies particular demographics as a problem, implying in its very mention a

[6] While each has its own connotations, uses, and meanings, these three words can be taken to refer, broadly, to the state of being "idle."

solution, speaks to the moral and political stakes of the category. A quick glance at the list of demographics most frequently accused of *desocupação* reveals the politically and morally charged ways in which it is used.

Few words to describe the concept are free of negative connotations. Even the word *ócio*, which is a synonym of leisure, oscillates between meaning "a day off" and meaning *preguiça* (laziness), *vagar* (emptiness or slowness) and *desocupação*.[7] The fact that the word traverses from a socially respected, legal activity to an illegal, socially stigmatized activity from one definition to the next speaks volumes about what is at stake in the political field activated by this disputed word, both in and beyond Brazil. How can something regarded in one breath as a reason for living (leisure) turn into an illegal threat to public order in another (*vadiagem*)? It also speaks to the way in which its adjudication has historically been carried out by members of a particular class, gender, race, and generation, in order to describe members of other classes, genders, races, and generations. For example, the *lei da vadiagem* (law against vagrancy) was originally employed to police freed slaves. More recently, groups of black youth frequenting Rio's affluent beaches have reported being profiled by police, accused of planning to carry out robberies. Idle women, for their part, are understood by conservative politicians as more likely to get pregnant in order to then receive state welfare to sustain their indolent lifestyles. The key process in the backdrop here is the identification of particular bodies (based on social markers of difference), the recognition of these bodies (in law, in language, in custom, in media) as deviant, and a society's (contested) means to eradicate them so as to purify, restore, and cleanse itself. One central term used to recognize particular bodies as deviant has been

[7] "ócio," *infopédia*, accessed April 11, 2019, https://www.infopedia.pt/dicionarios/lingua-portuguesa/ócio.

desocupação, in its various guises throughout history (Diniz 2016; Dantas et al. 2016; Martins 2011; Teixeira et al. 2016).

Central to this concept are a wide range of contradictions. Why, on the one hand, can someone from a particular class taking a stroll through the park be recognized as on a *passeio*, while someone from another background doing the exact same activity is seen as a *vagabundo* (a vagrant or vagabond)? Examples involving spatial mobility and circulation are only part of the story. Why might someone enjoying a day in the park be understood as enjoying *leisure*, while someone else doing the exact same activity may be seen as *desocupado*?

It is this daily process of adjudication, marking, and categorizing—carried out by state representatives, judges, police officers, parents, social workers, teachers—between *ocupação* and *desocupação* through which the young bodies of my interlocutors are rendered legible or illegible, deviant or upright, immoral or moral. More importantly, such adjudication is central to the means of social control to which they are subject, through regimes of intervention, education, and policing.

The Anthropology of Time

This dissertation, then, is a study of occupied time, and of the political stakes of occupation—understood as both a spatial and a temporal category. It is a study of the particular ways in which perceptions about how time is and is not occupied—perceptions that find expression in terms like *desocupado*, *vadiagem*, and *vagabundo*—are given a moral valence and employed to serve political ends. One of its key premises, therefore, is the idea that changes in and contestations over the way time is perceived can have

significant social and political implications. And in this sense, my work draws on a significant body of scholarship in history on the anthropology and politics of time. Of central importance in this field is E. P. Thompson's influential 1967 essay "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." In this section, I explain the ways in which this study builds both on Thompson's work and on a wider literature on the anthropology of time. Of course, Thompson was a social historian rather than an anthropologist, and his methods in "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" primarily consist of analyzing textual evidence rather than performing ethnographic fieldwork. But I want to suggest that Thompson can usefully be understood as taking part in an anthropological conversation: not only does he draw on the work of anthropologists like E. E. Evans-Pritchard in his essay, but his ideas have also made their way back into the field of anthropological scholarship.

Thompson's argument is premised on the idea that calendar time (hours, days, weeks, etc.) is neither "natural" nor an "inherent measure" for labor. In this respect, his work is indebted to Evans-Pritchard, who gave Thompson a provocative comparative and cultural relativist frame to think through the industrial world's "time-discipline" (Thompson 1967: 90). Simply put, it is Evans-Pritchard (and his ethnographic research on the Nuer people in the 1940s and 50s) whom Thompson credits with the idea that different "work-situations" with different temporal rhythms can have a profound effect on the way people perceive time (Thompson 1967: 59). This frame serves as the fulcrum of his argument, which goes on to historicize and draw out the implications of the way contingent notions of clock time fundamentally altered social, political, and cultural life throughout the onset of modernity. Thompson argues that the adoption of clock time as a measure of

production during the Industrial Revolution did not just affect time use: rather, it had a pervasive influence on a wide range of other sociocultural phenomena, including ideas about a person's moral worth and the emergence of time thrift at the turn of the nineteenth century. In Thompson's analysis, the Puritan and Protestant traditions, in particular, were responsible for turning idleness into vice. In this respect, Thompson was heavily influenced by the work of Max Weber, whose central text in the illustration of the capitalist ethic, *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (2002) opens by discussing Benjamin Franklin's famous catchphrase, "time is money." He attempts to detail the way time went from something "passed" (or "lived") to something "spent," as task-oriented labor shifted to time-oriented labor, to be measured by "clock time." In short, the arrival of clock time brought with it a range of social, cultural, and political transformations.

Of particular relevance to this study is what Thompson has to say about the necessity of occupying time, and in particular, the necessity of occupying *young people's* time—ideally, all of it. He identifies the emergence of a common sense view that in a mature capitalist society "all time must be consumed, marketed, put to *use;* it is offensive for the labor force merely to 'pass the time'" (Thompson 1967: 90–91). Thompson notes how one industrialist prescribed a rigorous new school system based on punctuality, discipline, and regularity so as to instill time-discipline. The first rule learned in schools was that of punctuality (ibid.: 84). As I will discuss, this approach to education uncannily anticipates the pedagogies of occupation employed by educational workers and state actors in Brazil: punctuality is given a high value, and students perceived as late, idle, or spending their time inefficiently are understood as representing a threat to the nation, economically and morally. As we will see in Part I, in Brazil, the tag of idleness has been used in the past

and continues to be used in the present to denigrate and mark specific bodies as members of deviant and troublesome populations. These tags orient actors away from behaviors associated with these groups, and towards behaviors associated with their imagined opposite—punctuality, industriousness, busyness, becoming an engine of social and cultural transformation as these norms are transmitted from one generation to the next.

If on the one hand Thompson is attentive to historical attempts to ensure that the time of workers (and future workers) is used as productively as possible, he is on the other hand equally aware of the impossibility of fully accomplishing time-discipline. In this sense, too, his work is an important precursor to the current study. Thompson makes significant efforts to do justice to avoid reductively economistic or teleological conceptions of the industrial revolution and the "cultural transformations" that come along with it. To the contrary, Thompson concludes that "the historical record is not a simple one of neutral and inevitable technological change, but also one of exploitation and resistance to exploitation; and the values that stand to be lost as well as gained" (ibid.: 93–94). Throughout the chapters that follow, I pay close attention to "resistance to exploitation" as well as to exploitation—to the failures and limitations of time-discipline as well as the efforts to instill it. Youth cultures in Rio de Janeiro are often indifferent to normative ideas about clock time, playfully subverting the expectations of figures of authority that they strictly control their usage of time. As I discuss in Chapter 1, the everyday lexicon includes expressions like *passar o tempo* (to pass time) and *zuar* (to kid around playfully) to describe their activity in the park. Youths involved in autonomously organized cultural production—such as poetry, spoken word, and rap *rodas culturais* (cultural circles) that meet in the Madeiros park weekly—affirm their craft as "work," and

joke that Monday night (when their circle meets) is in fact "Saturday night," playfully subverting the expectations attached for behavior on a worknight. In addition, the weekly get-togethers and *rodas culturais* have start times, but these are not enforced, and neither is there a specific end time. On weekends, the arrival or departure of friend groups from these gatherings is often determined by motivations internal to the group rather than adhesion to clock time. On weekdays, clock time figures more prominently in the calculations of individual attendees. Thus attempts to impart time-discipline – whether on young people in Madeiros or an emergent industrial working class in London – are always partial efforts, always take place in relation to alternative ways of understanding and enacting sociable work and value.

Thompson employs comparisons with other cultural frames and with previous historical periods in order to illuminate the contingent nature of ideas about clock time. Similarly, I attend to the way that divergent ideas about time within the same social order and historical period come into contact with one another—and how they negate, overlap, and are superimposed upon one-another. Ethnography serves to identify the technologies, tools, and devices through which that contact occurs—such as clocks, calendars, smartphones, schedules, timetables, buzzers and timelog machines—and illuminate empirically the ways in which various temporal imaginaries are materialized or upended (through law, pedagogy, force, discussion, moral anxiety etc.). This empirically and materially grounded lens investigates how ideas about time are enmeshed in relations of power, history and culture, contributing to conversations about time as an instrument of social control.

There are vital affinities between his approach, on the one hand, with its careful attention to the interaction between economic changes and transformations at the level of culture and subjectivity, and the ethnographic craft, on the other. If Thompson drew from historiography to make intelligible the temporal practices of working-class Europeans, this dissertation draws from ethnography to do the same for youth in the global South.

In this respect, the current study makes a contribution to a growing body of anthropological scholarship on the politics of time—a body of work that often draws explicitly on Thompson's essay. Often explicitly in conversation with "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," anthropologists like Nancy Munn and Henry Rutz, as well as predecessors such as Émile Durkheim and Bronisław Malinowski, have used ethnography to better understand the way temporal practices shape social and cultural life.

Nancy Munn, in an article in *The Annual Review of Anthropology* called "The Cultural Anthropology of Time," has described the difficulty of writing about time, or of finding "a meta-language to conceptualize something so ordinary and apparent in everyday life" (1992: 116). Fortunately, there is a long history of social thought which we may return to in order to ground our analysis of time. As we have seen, E. P. Thompson drew from the anthropology of time, via Evans-Pritchard, who drew in turn from Durkheim. Durkheimian social time consists of "collective representations" (Durkheim 1995) that derive from and reflect the various "rhythms" of social life. These collective representations or "categories" (days, seasons, harvests, etc.) form a meaningful and qualitatively varied—rather than an abstract and homogeneous—temporality. In short, Durkheim's thesis in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* on "social time" is that time exists for us because we are social beings. Durkheim rejects two key "realist" assumptions: first, that there is a "real" time

that just is what it is, and second, that time-reckoning enables people to grasp time as if it were one more fact of nature among many. Instead, he proposes the concept of "social time," which is a product of "collective representations" that cannot be thought of independently of social life and meaning-making.

In a vast exploration of the way time has been taken up in various fields and its genealogy as an object of study within anthropology, *The Anthropology of Time* by Alfred Gell (1992) points out that Durkheim's theorization of "social time" represents a watershed moment, setting forth a provocative line of research in the anthropology of time, and for the social sciences and humanities more generally. Gell analyzes the way Durkheim's concept of "social time" rests on the possibility "that collective representations of time do not passively reflect time, but actually *create* time as a phenomenon apprehended by sentient human beings" (ibid.: 4). Because time is not uniform from culture to culture, a vast domain of study emerges regarding the various articulations of "social time" across cultures. Among these are the classical works of Evans-Pritchard and Malinowski—and, I would add, E. P. Thompson, who historicizes time within the West.

In Malinowski's *Time-Reckoning in the Trobriands*, time concepts emerge as what he calls "time-reckoning": as a means of "coordinating activities," dating events, and gauging the length of time spans (1990: 204). His functionalist theorizing is interested in the Melanesian people's way of defining time, which he classifies into "astronomical, meteorological and cultural" (ibid.) In contrast to Durkheimian representations, "time-reckoning"—understood as the means to make sense of time— is more mundane and empiricist. Building on Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard's study of the Nuer (1969) links "time-reckoning" to what he calls "oecological time," or the natural cycles of seasons,

crops and lunar cycles. Of significance is that he sets forth a complementary set of analytics, that of "social time" (more reminiscent of a Durkheimian approach to collective representations), and that of "oecological time" (more aligned with Malinowski's empirical functionalist approach).

Henry Rutz's introduction to the edited volume *The Politics of Time* proposes a similar line of inquiry. Rutz attempts to develop a theoretical understanding of time from the standpoint of relations of power, grounded in Michel Foucault's theorization of power in *Discipline and Punish* (1977). To do so, he distances himself from previous work on time in anthropology, and takes a cue from Johannes Fabian, who wrote that "time belongs to the political economy of relations between individuals, classes and nations" (2002: x). Rutz defines a "politics of time" as concerned with, "the *appropriation* of the time of others, the *institutionalization* of a dominant time, and the *legitimation* of power by means of the control of time" (1992: 7). These relations of power, however, are shaped by organizations and institutions: few organizations succeed in controlling time entirely, leading to conflict and contradiction (ibid.: 7).

Suggesting that scholars extend the analysis of the idea that "time is money" to consider the ways in which time can also be understood as a form of *power*, Rutz puts forward a conceptualization of time as an object of power relations, signaling a lateral move from a literature that focused on concepts of time-reckoning and measurement, in order to focus on "the politics of time," understood as "the potential for social conflict that arises from competing times . . . and the struggle that ensues when one group tries to dominate the time of another group" (ibid.: 1). The premise, here, is that "societies exist in time, but in what time they exist is contested grounds" (ibid.: 6). He argues that emphasis should be

placed on the plurality of times (in tension with one another) within the same social formation rather than the relativity of concepts of time in different cultures. He locates time as objectified in cultural and material artifacts, such as clocks, calendars, schedules, normative codes. These objectify time, making it accessible to control through relations of power (ibid.: 4).

Rutz ends his introduction by lamenting the lack of a review of the anthropology of time. Nancy Munn's article (1992) published the same year as Rutz's edited volume, however, did just that. This marked a moment at which the anthropology of time was consolidated as a field of study. Of vital importance is the way that Nancy Munn expands on Rutz's considerations by theorizing time in relation to the *body*. To do this, she turns to Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* is an attempt at a unitary framework that considers actor, action, time, and space. Munn describes practice theory as a view of "action as a symbolic (meaningful, and meaning-forming) process in which people ongoingly produce both themselves as spatiotemporal beings and the space-time of their wider world" (1992: 106). Bourdieu frames time through an agent-oriented lens, where his concept of "rhythm" refers to the ways in which the body's movements constantly "make" and are "made by" the space of their enactment. These movements, therefore, are thus invested with the cultural meanings of space and so is space invested with bodily meanings. Through immersion in activity rhythms, the body is imbued with a relationship to time. The ability for an actor to navigate spatiotemporally, to Bourdieu, represents part of the actor's habitus, held in bodily memory (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu advances the discussion beyond considerations of space that don't account for time. Drawing from ethnographic

research in Morocco as well as Marcel Mauss's elaboration in his essay *Techniques of the Body* (2006), he develops his influential theory of "habitus" in an effort to consider agency and structure within the same analytical frame.

For the purposes of this study, Munn's invocation of Bourdieu and the attention that she pays to the embodied experience of time is especially important, because of my focus on pedagogy: it is at the level of the body that modern educational systems first enter the individual in the form of tacit temporalization. Like the mill, the school employs a bell. Teaching kindergarteners how to sit still at particular times and in particular spatial orderings is one of the earliest lessons taught in modern schooling systems. It is the body's very first lesson. In this way, the study of the politics of time would rightly be pursued in formal and non-formal educational settings, where individuals first run up against it. Recall the buzzer on the wall of Câmara school, seemingly obsolete in its intended role of marking the start and end of class yet repurposed by the students to mark teach-ins, meal-times and waking hours.

It is therefore not a coincidence that a rich literature on youth has emerged in the anthropology of time—a literature that is in dialogue with the ideas of E. P. Thompson. This body of work has largely focused on youth in the global South. When marginalized from labor markets for long periods of time, these youth make meaning out of and develop practices for the use of so-called excess unstructured time. Much of this work has been dedicated to understanding how, in particular, young people generate value out of what is perceived to be excesses of idle time, and how these practices reconstitute them as subjects and objects of governance. Whether through "loitering" (Wafer 2017), "leisure" (Eräsaari 2017), "killing time" (Ralph 2008), or "waiting" (Chua 2011) and "time-pass" (Jeffrey

2010), authors have identified and analyzed the productive ends of free time in its various guises. While these accounts have placed due ethnographic focus on youth in situations of long duration within spatially circumscribed milieus, none yet have pivoted to study the youth when they are prompted by regimes of intervention to be occupied. Scholars have focused on the politics of free time at the expense of examining its opposite: efforts by various stakeholders to occupy youth and the novel forms of statecraft these efforts engender.

The relationship between time and morality has been a recurring theme for scholars following Thompson—specifically, the link between punctuality and a particular middle-class work ethic (Greenhouse 1996; Eräsaari 2018; Roberts 1988) that I will explore in Chapter 3 through an ethnography of vocational schooling. In addition, the move towards moralizing and criminalizing the leisure of youth who are perceived as unproductive along racial, ethnic, class, gendered and generational lines has also been explored (debates concerning Chapter 1). These explorations of idleness (in Rio, *desocupação*) and its effects and responses have been documented (Moore 2018; Wafer 2017; O'Neill 2017; Mains 2007). Yet to be explored in-depth in the anthropological literature are the state, institutional, and parental responses to idleness, efforts to bring about its imagined opposite (what I have called *ocupação*), and the ways these ideas and interventions shape youth subjectivity. In short, I intervene by looking beyond idleness (*desocupação*), and towards the generativity of efforts at occupying idleness (*ocupação*), examining both (*desocupação/ocupação*) as two sides of the same coin.

My study contributes to anthropological research on the politics of time by looking to the liminal figure of the youth—transitioning from childhood to adulthood, from the

household to the city, and from the school to the workplace—and identifying the pedagogical processes through which youth are incorporated into normative structures, practices, and ideas about how time is best used. Following Thompson, youth as liminal figures that are generative of intergenerational cleavages provide a unique vantage point from which to analyze and theorize the dialectical relationship between culture and political economy and identify "the edges where contemporary societies find themselves" (Biehl and Locke 2017:22). In addition, this study is situated ethnographically at what Deborah Poole and Veena Das describe as the "margins of the state," (2004) a liminal territory at the edges of the formal economy, legal jurisdictions and state apparatus in urban Brazil. This vantage point offers a unique opportunity to consider both the "hard" (policing and military intervention) and "soft" (pedagogical, social inclusion, and citizenship formation) regimes of socialization, social control, and subject formation.

Like Thompson's landmark essay, then, this study demonstrates the constructed qualities of normative practices and the ways in which such practices are mediated, reinscribed, and resisted. Unlike Thompson, though, I do this via ethnography—and specifically an ethnography of youth living in marginal territories. This method has its difficulties, but it also has important advantage. During my fieldwork, I found it nearly impossible to study free time. Young people never conceive of their own time as "empty," even if observers deem it so. They sometimes spent part of the day idle and part of the day circulating their neighborhood and city due to social, professional, and familial considerations. I found that the schedules of my young interlocutors were often elaborated spontaneously, improvised, or reorganized significantly as the day wore on. This rather spontaneous way organizing time stands in stark contrast to the heavily regimented "time-

discipline" that Thompson was writing about. I wanted to employ a method that would do justice to the messiness of everyday life while rendering depth to the schedules-in-the-making of my interlocutors. In this sense, ethnography holds a unique value: it is the method best suited to mine the lived experience of time (rather than how it is theorized, or how it is imposed by the state), and the messiness of lived experience.

Outline

Pedagogies of Occupation is divided into three parts, each of which foregrounds a different sense of the word *occupation*. The first, "The Occupation of Free Time," is the most literal: it focuses on the various strategies employed by state educational actors to *occupy the free time* of young people living in Madeiros. Chapter 1 begins by explaining why free time is understood as a problem, before going on to assess the solutions educators have proposed in order to deal with it. Central to this chapter, then, is what my interlocutors refer to as the *problema do contratempo* (literally, the problem of countertime): the awkward status of the times outside of the four hours per day that students spend in school—times during which educators imagine youth to be idle (*desocupados*), and therefore vulnerable to the allure of vice, criminality, drugs, and illicit sexual activity. Free time, in this understanding—which I illustrate via interviews with Rodrigo, the principal of a Madeiros high school—is profoundly tied to perceptions of moral danger, a connection which justifies, for actors like Rodrigo, a regime of intervention setting out to occupy youths' time, thus preventing them from falling prey to vice and immorality. Rodrigo's logic is, I argue, deeply prohibitionist, running parallel to the thinking behind the War on Drugs. The strategies he employs in order to occupy youths' free time are what I call *pedagogies of*

prohibition. Importantly, these are soft forms of intervention: the form of occupation they employ is not enforced by violence, but rather by educational efforts, which attempt to direct students towards specific lifestyles, and to shape their subjectivities, rendering them good, punctual, morally superior subjects.

Chapter 1 ends with a critique of these pedagogies of prohibition, a critique that Chapter 2 extends. Specifically, I turn to the community responses to these forms of intervention, showing how the solutions to the *problema do contratempo* proposed by state, NGO, and private actors like Rodrigo create new problems of the youth and local residents in the communities these interventions target. The interlocutors I focus on—parents and grandparents, workers in the local community, and the youth themselves—do not necessarily deny that free time and *desocupação* can be a problem, but the solutions they propose look very different. Parents, for example, may not want for their children to be constantly on the brink of exhaustion, their every spare hour filled with after-school programming. And several interlocutors insist on the value of—and the right to—leisure. Compared to the pedagogies of prohibition I analyze in Chapter 1, the forms of occupation that Chapter 2's interlocutors propose are less prohibitionist, less moralizing, and more communal and more care-based.

Whereas Part I focuses on efforts at preventing crime and deviance on an everyday basis, Part II—"Professional Occupation"—takes place on a longer timeframe. Whereas the *problema do contratempo* is a here-and-now problem, concerned with the present moment, the dissertation's second part focuses on concerns about the *future* of young people, and how they can go about inserting themselves into the job market, with the eventual goal of becoming professionals, with a full-time, stable, middle-class occupation.

Part II takes places in the world of after-school internships and university entrance exam test-prep, and it comprises three chapters. The first, Chapter 3, is set at an after-school program that offers internships, aiming to form "raw," unformed favela youth into well-behaved middle-class citizens by emphasizing punctuality and constant busyness. By providing experience in the labor market and a route towards a stable middle-class future, these programs market themselves as bringing about social inclusion. That at least is the pedagogical idea: the reality, I demonstrate, is that these internships do not actually provide routes into stable professions, and in fact just have the effect of plugging young people into a never-ending circuit of work and busyness, characterized by constant sleep deprivation. Above all, this chapter punctures the widely held view that young people from favelas like Madeiros are part of the *geração nem nem* (the generation who neither works nor studies): the reality, it turns out, is that they would be more accurately described as part of what one interlocutor called *geração tudo tudo*: generation everything everything, the generation who works *and* studies, all the time.

Chapter 4 continues Part II's exploration of the obstacles in the way of social mobility, looking at one particular key site: a megamall not far from Madeiros called Nobre Shopping. It begins by attending to the ways my interlocutors navigate the city, improvising their way over various hurdles in order to spend time at the mall—a place where they can spend leisure time without being perceived as idle *desocupados*, in dangerous proximity to all sorts of immorality. In the mall, youth like my interlocutor Marcos experience a different temporal imaginary, one which allows for the possibility of a lifestyle full of leisure. But the accessibility of such a lifestyle is fleeting. It is relatively easy for young people to take a *rolezinho* (little stroll) in the mall, but what Nobre Shopping

is actually selling is the long-term dream of a middle-class lifestyle—a life in which going to eat ice-cream at the mall would be the norm rather than the exception. And achieving this kind of lifestyle, it turns out, is far more difficult. Chapter 4 analyzes how this difficulty plays out across several generations (drawing on interviews with Marcos, his mother, and his grandmother, and their different aspirations for him). And Chapter 5 focuses on the most dominant method of circumventing this difficulty and attaining the dream of a middle-class lifestyle: a university education.

Chapter 5 is set at a test-prep center located within Nobre Shopping. Sistema Tropa—or Tropa—offers preparation for the standardized test young people in Brazil take in order to enter public universities. A university degree is a passport to becoming what's known as a *profissional formado* (a formed professional): a stable upper-middle-class identity that outranks the kind of regular professional careers that the student-interns I focused on in Chapter 3 aspired to. What is especially notable about Tropa is its image of highly disciplined, rigorous militarism, drawing in particular on the imaginary of the *Tropa do Elite*: the "Elite Squad" of military police who violently occupy the same neighborhoods where Tropa's customers live. But what Chapter 5 argues is that this militaristic image, with its temporal imaginary of hyperstructured, organized time, is little more than a façade: in reality, the pedagogy Tropa offers relies on shifting the burden of organizing one's time entirely on to the students. In its neoliberal, cost-cutting approach, Tropa makes sure to come across as a place of rigor and discipline, but practically speaking its main effect is simply to pressure students into feeling like they have to be studying all the time, with no leisure. And no matter whether or not they are successful in getting into university, Tropa still profits: students who pass the test become free advertising for the school, and students

who do not end up returning to Tropa, paying for another year of rigorous (but not really) test-prep.

The third and final part, "Political Occupation," consists of two chapters. It centers on fifty-five young Brazilians between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who turned the academic calendar on its head when they occupied their school for over two months in 2016, setting up camp and vowing to run the public school autonomously until the government met their demands. Students occupied the infrastructure of over one thousand schools across Brazil and other Latin American countries, later influencing high school walkouts in the United States and setting a precedent for global youth organizing. If Parts I and II focused on the demands enacted from above—demands about how to occupy your time in the present and into the future—Part III focuses instead on young people's responses to these demands, and on the demands they themselves made from below—above all, demands on the state to maintain the infrastructure of education. It demonstrates how students rejected the temporal imaginaries given to them, and how they improvised new temporal imaginaries of their own making.

Chapter 6 takes place primarily during the earliest days of the occupation of Câmara high school—the same high school that Chapter 1 focused on, the high school run by principal Rodrigo. My archive in this chapter consists of the photos taken on my camera during this period: photos taken by me, and photos taken by the occupying students. The contrast between these two categories is a highly instructive one: it reveals the students' ways of building arguments in favor of their occupation, using photographs as evidence and as arguments, doing political work via images. Chapter 6 is a sort of confessional chapter: what the photos I took demonstrate is how, just like Rodrigo and all the other

interlocutors who believe they have a definitive answer to the question of how young people ought to occupy their time, I too thought I had the answers; I too was guilty of imposing a temporal imaginary on to my interlocutors. The photos they took, however, attest to their own temporal imaginary, and their own political claim-making, an agenda characterized above all by the demand for functioning educational infrastructure.

The final chapter offers a further perspective on the occupiers' demand for functioning infrastructure. Rather than looking at the photographic archive, Chapter 7 attends to the material practices in which the occupying students engaged, from removing graffiti, to cleaning floors. Like the photographic images discussed in Chapter 6, these material practices too were ways of making political demands; they were ways of putting ruined infrastructure to work. As a political movement, Ocupa Câmara represented both a refusal of state control—an ejection of the state from its classrooms—and, even more importantly, a demand that the state keep its promises, a demand that the state return to fulfil its obligation to provide working educational infrastructure. By doing the state's work for them (cleaning up the school building, but also holding teach-ins), the students simultaneously demonstrated to skeptical observers that they were not there to mess around, that they were the opposite of *desocupado*, *and* made a clear case that the state was failing in its duty of care, and that it urgently needed to invest resources into the education of young Brazilians in neighborhoods like Madeiros.

Pedagogies of Occupation's conclusion does two things. First, it contextualizes the dissertation's arguments in light of the recent rise of the far right—led by President Jair Bolsonaro—in Brazilian politics. Focusing on Bolsonaro's targeting of a specter of non-productive, *desocupado* citizens, I suggest that we understood his tactics as part of a long

history of anxieties and fears in Brazil about *desocupação*—fears that have long been targeted specifically at young black bodies. Second, I close by pointing towards some forms of potential resistance to the Bolsonaro regime's reactionary rhetoric and policies, which I find in the temporal imaginaries of the students involved in Ocupa Câmara. Delving into the way that Bolsonaro's right-wing ideology wants to see young people's minds occupied (imbued with traditional values, respect for hierarchies, and fear of drugs and sexuality), I bring out the vast gap between this ideology and the way that young people sought to occupy their own minds during the occupation of Câmara School.

PART I: Occupation of Free Time

Chapter 1: Pedagogies of Prohibition

Rodrigo (the principal) and I walk out of the high school Dom Hélder Câmara (Câmara) and into the open-air atrium, after a three-hour conversation in which we discussed the dangers faced by his students. It is around 4 p.m. and the halls are empty except for eight police officers stationed at the entrance and exit, and at either end of both floors of the hall. Throughout the afternoon our conversation had been punctuated by the cracks of semi-automatic fire from a gunfight occurring in the neighborhood across the street from the school. Students were discharged but the school police remained along with the principal and a small group of staff. A few youths remained, indifferent to the gunshots, unhurriedly spending the afternoon gained from school's cancellation in the park adjacent to the school. Some were Câmara alums who often spent time directly across the park from the school at the Biblioteca Parque (Library Park), where they took advantage of the free Wi-Fi to chat and, at times, got high.

Rodrigo and I stand in the schoolyard that gradually faded into the park, divided by a mesh fence. Spotting the group of youths outside the library, he stops and points, lowering his voice, as if sharing a secret:

R: Look over there in the corner, look over there. It's the traffickers.

B: You think so?

R: I don't think, I know.

B: Doing what?

R: Selling drugs, doing drugs.

B: You think so?

R: Yes sir. It functions from inside the Biblioteca Parque, man. Over there

in the corner is full of people selling drugs.

. . .

R: They have nothing to do, they're idle . . .

B: They don't work?

R: Nothing, they don't work at all.

B: How many hours a day do they spend there?

R: Ah, they spend over eight hours hanging out there (*de bobeira*).

"Você acha?" (You think?), I ask him, once again: in my understanding, these youths (whom I knew from research) led, in fact, quite busy lifestyles. In a defeated tone of voice, he continues, lamenting to himself, "sim, essa desocupação toda ai na praça" (yes, all that idleness in the park).

I wanted to understand why Rodrigo associated idleness with doing and dealing drugs. Why did it cause such audible (and visible) frustration, as if idle teenagers in the park were an eyesore? What was the problem and how did he conceive of a solution? My skepticism ("you think so?") came from having gotten to know—over the course of about a year—the way young people from Câmara and beyond dwell in the park before, after, and sometimes during school, *de bobeira* and *relaxando a mente*.[8] Inaugurated only a couple years before I arrived in Madeiros, the park was rapidly becoming an important space of socialization.

Later I ran into Welington. He and Marcos, two important interlocutors whom I met in 2016, were evening students at Câmara. Welington lived with their grandmother, Dona Tati, in the adjacent housing project. During a semi-formal interview, I mentioned

[8] Loosely, "de bobeira" and "relaxando a mente" translate to "hanging out" and "relaxing the mind," respectively. These expressions are used to refer to laid-back socializing during the free hours of the day.

Rodrigo's comments to Welington. He disliked being seen as *ocioso* or *desocupado*, two derogatory words that people often used—alongside *vadio* (idle) and *vagabundo* (lazy and idle)—for youth who had free time. To be seen as *desocupado* implied laziness and a lack of a work ethic, as well as indulgence in easy pleasure. To him, his time with friends in the park was anything but "empty." Rather, it was filled with *zueira* (messing around), *bate papo* (chatting), *namoro* (dating), and listening to music. He cherished the time he got to be *de bobeira* with friends in the park, as most of his afternoons before school were filled with extracurricular *cursos*, *oficinas*, and *aulas*—that is, the array of after-school classes offered locally to youths through public and NGO programming, such as Jiu-Jitsu classes and music classes.

I still had trouble understanding how adult caregivers came to such misguided conclusions about what in fact young people did in the park, and how long they spent there. I spoke with dozens of youths in and around the park during my research, and rarely got the sense that free time was overabundant. I would ask young interlocutors like Welington to state their daily schedule, and how much of it consisted of free time. While they could state the hours of their commitments, I was often met with long periods of silence as they awkwardly tried to recall what they experienced as a continuous flow of time. For Welington, it might entail sleeping in, eating breakfast, helping his grandmother clean the home, going to Jiu-Jitsu, going to school, and then returning home to prepare for church or for helping his father man the late-night deli he owned in neighboring Palmeira. Even without formal work, his days, by all measures, cohered. He was far from a *desocupado*. Parts of his day were structured, other parts were improvised or swept up in the plans of friends or family he saw at home, at school, or in the park (or in between). To him, he was

never idle, and rarely experienced boredom. What's more, due to his awareness of what people would think, he very rarely drank with friends at the park on weekends, and never smoked marijuana or consumed other drugs.



Figure 1: Mural on Presidente Vargas Avenue. Photo by Author, 2016.

The "eight" hours of idleness that Rodrigo assumed Welington had correspond to what adults would call the *contratempo*. Translated literally as "countertime," the term suggests a kind of marked time that runs contrary to the unmarked ordinary time of the school day. Brazilian school days are divided into three tracks of four hours each (morning, afternoon, evening). In other words, schools receive students and teachers perform roll call with three sets of students per day. This means that every student spends two-thirds of the school day (or eight hours) outside of the school grounds. Rodrigo and other teachers and administrators frequently referred to this period of time specifically as *o problema do contratempo* (or sometimes *o problema do contraturno*). These terms are widely used by

members of the educational community to refer to those two segments during which youths re not in school and therefore have—or are imagined to have—free time.

Throughout my conversations with Rodrigo and other educators, I came to see that the problem was not free time in itself. *Lazer* (leisure) is deemed a citizen's "fundamental right"[9] by the post-dictatorship democratic 1988 Constitution,[10] and included in the name of the Brazilian equivalent of a Department of Youth, the "State Secretariat of Youth Leisure and Sports." *Lazer* (leisure)—which comes from the root word of *licere*, meaning to be all right, lawful, allowed, or permitted—was understood in opposition to *ociosidade* (idleness). In the context of the school, leisure serves a specific purpose:

> R: Why do they need recreation? First, it's . . . a cleansing of the mind, and it is necessary for the kid to not get stressed.
>
> B: When you have no leisure, what happens?
>
> R: They get aggressive.

The purpose of leisure, for school administrators, is not only relaxation but also the avoidance of aggression; leisure ensures "mental hygiene" and reduces stress. But leisure must be controlled and productive, so as not to become idleness:

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[9] Listed for the first time in a Brazilian Constitution in 1988, the "right to leisure" is included as a "Fundamental Right," that, like the provision of health, the state is obliged to provide to its citizens through public policies. "Leisure" appears in the Brazilian Constitution in articles 6, 7, 217, and 227. Article 227 reads, "It is the duty of the family, society, and the State to guarantee that children and adolescents and youth, with absolute priority, have the right to life, health, food, education, leisure, professionalization, culture, dignity, respect, liberty and familial and comunal conviviality." Article 6, amended in 2015, reads, "In this constitution, education, health, food, work, housing, transportation, leisure, security, social security, protection of motherhood and childhood, assistance to the abandoned, are social rights." See Antonio Pires, "Direito constitucional ao lazer: como anda o seu?," Jusbrasil, 2012, https://antoniopires.jusbrasil.com.br/artigos/121940598/direito-constitucional-ao-lazer-como-anda-o-seu.

[10] Officialized on October 5, 1988, this is Brazil's latest Constitution. "Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988," Planalto, October 5, 1988, http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Constituicao/Constituicao.htm.

> R: But this leisure has to be controlled, it is the use of leisure as something which they can benefit from, it is of no use granting leisure just to grant leisure . . . [students must be] participating in [something], or an audience, or both—or producing.

The school schedule serves the purpose of controlling leisure in order to guarantee that it remains productive.

Lazer becomes *desocupação,* in short, when it is not carried out within the schedule and space of the school (under particular conditions and in regulated amounts). Why, I inquired, does any form of unstructured leisure become a "problem"? *Desocupação* becomes a "problem," Rodrigo told me, due to three characteristics inherent in the territory. He spoke to me as if preparing me for what I would hear when talking to state authorities about being young in Madeiros:

> R: The risk is huge. You're gonna hear this, something like this, that school has students who are in a situation of risk, students in the school, here they're safe, but when they return home or go to work, that strip [of territory; the journey] is risky because they can stray, they can escape, escape to the wrong side, you know.
>
> B: What does that mean?
>
> R: [They] will be a pawn to deal drugs, go prostitute themselves, go become a drug consumer.



Figure 2: Children playing in park across from school. Photo by author, 2016.

The first of these characteristics is the neighborhood's official status as "risk area"[11] Here, danger lies in the strip between home, school, and/or work, or the *rua* (street). The second is that families live, according to him, in what he called *bairros dormitorios* (dormitory neighborhoods).[12] Due to their long commutes and workdays, parents and

[11] The legal definition of risk area takes into account the objectivist notion of risk, characterized by the absolute capacity of identifying, measuring and preventing risk situations. This definition, however, emerges from the natural sciences, and involves geotechnics, hydrology and other technical mechanisms considered adequate to measure risk. The legal analysis tends to underestimate, or even ignore, the social dimension. The *Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente – ECA*, the federal law (number 8.069, from June 13, 1990), a protective legislation on children's and teenager's rights, states that "it is the duty of the family, the community, society in general and the public sphere to ensure, with absolute priority, the rights related to life, health, nourishment, education, sport, leisure, professionalization, culture, dignity, respect, freedom and family and community acquaintanceship". According to this legislation, risk is any situation that compromises the physical and emotional development of children and/or teenagers as a result of the action or omission of the parents/guardians, the society or the state, or even in the face of their own behavior.

[12] Rodrigo used this term to refer to neighborhoods where workers commute and work long hours, returning to their homes merely to sleep.

caregivers are absent or incapable of parenting, returning home late in the day to sleep, leaving youths vulnerable to an "escape to the wrong side." The third factor, which is the result of the first two, is the fact that schools become a "human depository." I asked him to explain:

> R: I'm a father, I take my son by the arm to the gate, that's it, I know that between 1 and 6 p.m., he's there.

The school, the principal contends, provides a safe space. Given its status as a "human depository" embedded within a "situation of risk," in a neighborhood that serves as a "dormitory neighborhood," according to Rodrigo, the school mitigates the emergence of *desocupação* and increases the likelihood of *lazer*.

> R: Only the school. Beyond that, you're running a risk. The school is a safe space. All schools are seen as islands, islands of security . . . by society.

In short, the school serves as a bastion of time management. By mitigating *desocupação*, schools help keep students from getting lost in the "strip" (or time) between enclosures. The school occupies the youth, so as to prevent their occupation of—and in—the street. In the process, it curtails the chances of youths doing or dealing drugs—or so goes the reasoning.

i. The "Problem of Countertime"

My aim in this chapter is not to make the case for more or less free time, or to argue that free time does or does not lead to drug use, but rather to attempt to understand what discourses about free time (and interventions geared to manage it) *produce*, at the intersection of pedagogy and prohibition.

Anthropologists of education have pointed out how schools are "governed by the clock," and observed how youth and childhood, especially in low-income communities like Madeiros are a site of contestation, with various temporal imaginaries through which conflicting interests stake their claims. This view of "time as a contested commodity" reveals the politics that lurk behind the outward impartiality of clock-time (Orellana and Thorne 1998, 447). While scholarship has rightly focused on the school clock and calendar itself, I turn my attention instead to the notion of "countertime," as a contested domain beyond the classroom where an array of actors vie for control over students' educational and extracurricular experiences. Methodologically, this pivot helps my analysis stay true to the educational trajectories of students whose use and perception of time include and exceed the timing of the bell, and who, in countries like Brazil, are only physically in formal spaces of schooling for four out of twenty-four hours.

The emergence of the idea of the "problem of countertime" in local, media, and state discourses can be attributed to at least three factors. The first, as already mentioned, is the fact that in Brazil students attend public schools part-time, remaining in school for four hours per period, mornings, afternoons, or evenings. The second is the long hours that parents and caregivers spend working and commuting into the zones where they work, leaving their children unattended. The third is the emergence in media discourses of a demographic category of the *geração nem nem* (generation neither nor), or the generation framed as neither working nor studying. While only a relatively small demographic of youth meet both of those criteria, this tag has coupled with anxieties over the ongoing economic crisis in Brazil to lead to moral anxiety over a generation of slackers.

In response to what they perceived as the dangers of *desocupação,* the Rio de Janeiro state and federal educational authorities set about employing various strategies to occupy youths' time. These strategies of control, which direct youth towards specific schedules and lifestyles, are morally charged and value-laden, and this first part of the dissertation documents both the strategies themselves (chapter 1) and various responses to them, ranging from reform, to evasion, to resistance (chapter 2).

The current Chapter centers on Rodrigo, the principal of a local Madeiros high school Dom Hélder Câmara, taking his perspective as an entry point to the state and educational authorities' point of view. The crux of the problem, as he sees it, is *desocupação.* It is his job, as an educational authority, to address what he and others call the "problem of countertime," or time after school. And in this sense, Rodrigo functions in the chapter's argument as a metonym for Brazil's state and educational apparatus more broadly: his view of the "problem of countertime" is shared not only by other educators, but also by both state and NGO actors.

The chapter goes on to discuss the solution to this problem, as conceived by Rodrigo. The solution, he reasons, is occupation. In part, this takes the form of a police occupation of the neighborhood in order to root out drug use and distribution, and dissuade youth from involvement in such illicit activities. Specifically, though—and here we reach the focus of this chapter—Rodrigo's solution also takes the (softer) form of a series of *pedagogical interventions* designed to keep youth (and their time) occupied. Hence the occupation I analyze in this chapter is both spatial and temporal in nature. Importantly, however, these solutions (which manifest themselves in both "hard" and "soft" forms), I find, end up generating new difficulties. As we will see in Chapter 2, the solutions proposed

by Rodrigo (and by the broader apparatus of which he is a part) are, from the perspective of the people who are on the receiving end (the youth themselves, and their parents), themselves a problem. Chapter 2 analyzes the ways in which community members and interlocutors disagreed with state actors like Rodrigo.

Conceptually I develop three key terms for this dissertation, and situate Rodrigo's pedagogical interventions as they intersect with the prohibition of the "War on Drugs," with the help of Jacques Rancière and Jacques Derrida. Derrida has analyzed Plato's *pharmakon* (simultaneously poison and remedy) to point out the fundamentally moralist project of creating arbitrary distinctions between life-giving and life-threatening substances and inscribing them in the law (providing the basis for the "war on drugs") (Derrida 1993). With the help of Jacques Rancière's concept of the "master explicator," I extend this critique to argue that Rodrigo's regime of prevention adjudicates, similarly, between what counts as an "educational" expenditure of time (on the one hand) and what counts as morally devious use of time (on the other), obscuring the moralist and hierarchical underbelly of his seemingly neutral prevention efforts. The explicator, Rancière argues, "throws a veil of ignorance over everything there is to be learned," and then "appoints himself to the task of lifting it" (Rancière 1991: 6).

Key Concepts: Pedagogies of Prohibition, the Desocupado, and Occupation Trajectories

For many Brazilian youth, free time is a source of contention. For members of working-class families who make claims on it, it is feared as a source of deviance. In what follows, I introduce three concepts that are of central importance to my argument. The first considers efforts to teach youth how to stay away from drugs and the deviance associated

with them, the second elaborates upon the figure of the empty-headed youth, and the third concerns the trajectories the so-called *desocupado* traverses on his/her way to becoming *ocupado.*

"Pedagogies of prohibition" are the legal, pedagogical, and moral means by which youth are taught three consistent lessons: first, at the most specific level, that drugs must be avoided, but also, more broadly, lessons about what *not* to do, and, finally, what one *should* do. Historically, the first message—that drugs are bad—is most recognizable in the track record of discussions about drugs by the Brazilian Ministry of Education (Ribeiro 2013). In the United States, this mode is best known via former First Lady Nancy Reagan's "just say no" campaign and the D.A.R.E. prohibitionist propaganda that emerged in the 1980s through the education system. Soon, however, these pedagogies expanded beyond dictating merely the consumption of specific illicit substances, to teaching youths what *not* to do: who not to hang out with, where to avoid going, how not to dress, what not to say.



Figure 3: Schoolkids at shopping mall. Photo by author, 2015

Of most significance in my field site, though, is the third mode: telling youths what they *should* do. This third and most prominent mode is oriented toward action. Expanding from youths understood as consumers of drugs, to encompass any and all youths, this mode is prescriptive: it prescribes what one should consume, where one should spend time, and with whom one should spend it. This third mode entails seemingly neutral pedagogical directives that are generative of specific coordinates that orient schedules and routines. Over time, these shape the lifestyles—and, in turn, the subjectivities—of those targeted by them. What sets the third type apart is that—even more so than the second mode—it no longer deals exclusively or even primarily with the control of illicit substances. Prohibition expands to encompass domains that prompt action in everyday life. This kind of prohibition no longer occurs solely through the legal domain (enforced by policing and interdiction). Rather, it occurs through the domain of pedagogy. The concept "pedagogies of prohibition" thus allows us to include within the same frame both what prohibition negates and what it produces, encompassing two perspectives and regimes of intervention: on the one hand, the perspective of horizons that it forecloses, and on the other (and most noteworthy), the social, experiential, epistemic, and ontological itineraries that youth are directed towards. While much scholarly work has dealt with the destructive and violent aspects of the War on Drugs (Hart 2013; Penglase 2014; Bourgois and Schonburg 2009; Musto 1987), I am interested here in the more subtle forms of social control enabled and enacted through pedagogical intervention. The latter, I believe, has significant effects on the experiences, political identities and subjectivities of entire generations. Actors like Rodrigo, for example, can now frame and justify interventions in the lives of youth in ways that exceed dissuasion or persuasion. They entail a sort of "hidden curriculum" (Snyder 1971) that

shapes the experiences that young people are able to access, curtailing their daily horizons and redirecting them in architecturally specific ways.

The second key concept I want to define is the figure of the *desocupado*. Like the *youth* (Latham 2002), the *desocupado* is a floating signifier upon which a variety of actors project their anxieties and expectations for the next generation. While youth have been conceived of as privileged figures of the hedonism of leisure, they have also been held up as the engine of growth for a developed nation. In his essay "Free Time," Theodor Adorno argues that "free time is shackled to its opposite (Adorno 2001: 187). "Indeed," he continues, "the oppositional relation in which it stands imbues free time with certain essential characteristics" (ibid.: 188). Drawing from a locally salient framing of free time and its opposite, I understand the dyad (*ocupado/desocupado*) as a politicized field in which various actors stake knowledge claims and, in turn, exert power over others. Youths who are tagged as *desocupados* are subjects seeking transformations at the level of their own personhood and experience; they are objects of knowledge for state representatives, caregivers, and other epistemic cultures; and they are targets of a host of interventions, from the pedagogical to the punitive. My analysis centers on both the adjective form (*ocupado/desocupado*) and the noun form (*ocupação/desocupação*) of this dyad, paying particular attention to *desocupação,* and the figure of the *desocupado,* as well as the interventions geared towards converting each into its opposite.

Drawing from Ian Hacking's work (2004), I seek to deepen an understanding of the "historical ontology" of the category of *desocupação,* as well as its coming into being as an object of intervention, paying particular attention to pedagogical and prohibitionist framings. The imaginary of free time as a danger invites drugs and addiction into many of

my interlocutors' theorizing. Like the figure of the addict, the figure of the *desocupado* serves as a "shadow to the normative ideal of the freely choosing subject" (Raikhel and Garriott 2013: 12). Put simply, *desocupados* are seen as having less than full autonomy. Following this line of inquiry, Jamie Saris's contribution to *Addiction Trajectories* positions the figure of the modern addict in stark contrast to the productive citizen. Unlike even the criminal, the addict "erodes the very conditions of possibility of the social contract," to the point that "no sure exchange is possible," and therefore "neither sanction nor suasion can reach them" (Raikhel and Garriott 2013). The *desocupado,* like the figure of the addict, in all its ambiguity, carries with it a negative stigma but also a renegade quality.

Methodologically, I look for what I will call *occupation trajectories.* This is the third of the three key concepts I want to introduce here. A focus on *trajectory* moves away from synchronic markers or behaviors and toward diachronic ones, attending to the ways in which individuals undergo changes through life events, environmental processes, and individual experiences. Studying trajectories entails an understanding that "home," "school," and "the street" cannot be conceptualized separately. Subjectivity is formed not so much in the home, at school, during work, or in the practice of "education," but rather in the movement between them. Trajectories help keep time and space within the same analytical frame.

These three concepts are connected to a specific history. In Rio de Janeiro's favelas, the difference between recognition as a *desocupado* (as opposed to a *trabalhador* or worker) can mean the difference between being deemed innocent or guilty, killed or let to live. That difference can also open and foreclose horizons of personhood, identity, and

political practice. In order to better understand the legal and social stakes, it is necessary to learn more about the deeper historical context at play.

Context: Layers of Occupation and Statecraft in Madeiros

Desocupação as a category has a history of its own that dates back to the abolition of slavery (1888) and the birth of the modern Republic (1890), when Brazil's political and economic elite set out to build a state apparatus, developing an elaborate juridical apparatus designed in part for the purpose of punishing and controlling marginalized populations, such as freed slaves and their descendants (Martins 2011). There is a traceable lineage of words used to designate marginalized groups identified as anti-citizens, immoral, or parasitic—such as *vadiagem*, and more recently, *vagabundo*[13]—each of which has a history that exceeds the scope of this study. Brazil's nineteenth-century criminal code instructed judges to oblige individuals accused of "vagrancy, mendicancy, alcoholism, prostitution, and turbulence, for words or actions that offend the good customs, tranquility or the peace of families, to sign *Termos de Bem Viver* [terms of good living]."[14] These *Termos* were an instrument of control that established, through a sort of "contract," norms of behavior and corresponding punishment for deviance (Martins 2014). The 1890s penal code defines vagrancy, and stipulates the corresponding punishment[15] for breaking the *Termos de Bem Viver* (Chazkel 2011). A 1907 police reform introduced measures stipulating that individuals convicted of vagrancy, after serving their sentences, be handed a document obliging them to "take an occupation," within a specified amount of time (ibid.: 284).

[13] For more on President Jair Bolsonaro's use of the term *vagabundo* in relation to the history of *desocupação*, see Conclusion.
[14] Criminal Code of 1832, Chapter II, Article 2.
[15] Penal code of 1890, Article 399 and 400, respectively.

According to historian Amy Chazkel, "a variety of research and investigative organs tracked criminal defendants and compiled ongoing data on them to construct profiles of criminal types and careers"; among them, the figure of the *vadio* figured prominently (ibid.: 224). Of significance is the way in which it can be traced back to the early establishment of a state apparatus, as well as the construction of a specific category of defiance that marks specific bodies as deviant.

Dona Tati, the grandmother of Marcos, one of my key interlocutors, used the word *vadio* on various occasions when referring to her grandchildren. While still used by elders like her to describe someone in a state of idleness, the word is generally less common, and has been replaced by a wide range of descriptors, including *desocupado* and *vagabundo.*



Figure 4: The Brazilian Coat of Arms. Photo by author, 2015.

Rio de Janeiro is Brazil's second largest city and one of the destinations of many

of the rural-to-urban migrants who settled there during the twentieth century. Rio's development lagged far behind that of São Paulo, and, as noted by the historian Brodwyn Fischer in *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro,* it was "never an especially notable hotbed of working-class radicalism, but the city's urban poor had particularly strong, physical, cultural, and even political presence" (2008: ix). Nevertheless, this proximity to the seats of power allowed the working class to "play the political game" (ibid.) during the twentieth century, a tumultuous period of Brazilian history, in which the right-wing president and dictator Getúlio Dornelles Vargas dominated Brazilian politics, ushering in the end of Brazil's First Republic (which followed the demise of the country's nineteenth-century empire) and the emergence of the Estado Novo, or the New State. This was followed by a series of democratic periods interrupted by dictatorships, during which the relationship between state power and everyday citizens was altered. As Brazilian citizenship began to seem like a real possibility for a larger number of people, even in Rio de Janeiro—the national capital until 1960—this process excluded large swaths of the population. These poor populations still found themselves treated like illegal immigrants in their own land, and grew increasingly critical to important networks of profit and power. While fighting for the right to work and live, many times in informality and outside the boundaries of laws and rights, these vulnerable populations were targeted by a history of racist laws. Most relevant to this dissertation is the Lei da Vadiagem, or Vagrancy Law. Not allowed access to dignified means of making a living, those left beyond the pale of the productive economy were criminalized.

Classified as a punishable offense—*idleness*—during the military dictatorship (1964–84) but resignified as a social right—*leisure*—in the 1988 constitution, free time

has long been a politicized field that is given a positive or negative valence depending on social markers of ethnicity-race, class, gender, generation, and geography. Today, *desocupação* is largely used interchangeably with *vadiagem* (vagrancy), and is still considered by law to be a criminal offense. While the law against mendicancy was revoked in 2009, the law of idleness is in effect to this day.[16] As interlocutors from Câmara pointed out, to be *pobre, preto, e favelado* (poor, black, and from a favela) like many of them meant that being called a *desocupado* was an insult, since it could be interpreted, literally, as implying that someone was an indolent or a criminal.[17]

In the late 2000s, media and government discourses about a demographic category known as the "*geração nem nem*" (the generation that neither works nor studies) emerged across Brazil. Sensationalistic media reports with titles such as "The future imperiled by the '*geração nem nem*'" and "Geração nem nem: a time-bomb"[18] are representative of the national conversation about a biopolitical category that, according to federal statistics,

[16] Article 59 defines vagrancy as a misdemeanor (under the category of custom-habit misdemeanors) punishable with up to fifteen months of prison. "Decreto-leis" are a category of laws established during the military dictatorship. Chapter VII of the decree-law, entitled "Das contravenções relativas à polícia de costumes," (On Misdemeanors Related to the Policing of Customs) defines a vagrant, in article 59, as "anyone who habitually indulges in idleness, while eligible for work, without the income that secures means for subsistence, or who provides for his-her own subsistence through illicit occupation." The charge may be dropped if suspect proves "a source of income, that guarantees means of subsistence." While article 60, against "mendicancy for idleness or cupidity," was revoked in 2009, article 59 remains in effect today. While the law was regularized in 1941, it had been present in Brazilian law since 1890. When the law was created, the Vagrancy Precinct and the Sheriff of Customs and Leisure (Delegado de Costumes e Diversões) existed. **"**Decreto-Lei Nº 3.688, de 3 de Outubro de 1941," Planalta, October 3, 1941, http://legislacao.planalto.gov.br/legisla/legislacao.nsf/Viw_Identificacao/DEL%203.688-1941?OpenDocument.

[17] The recent Lei de Drogas proved disastrous as it leaves the designation of trafficker or user to the discretion of police officers, leading to racist and classist discrimination against favela residents and young people.

[18] "O futuro sob risco da geração 'nem-nem-nem,'" O POVO, October 23, 2017, https://www.opovo.com.br/jornal/colunas/segurancapublica/2017/10/o-futuro-sob-risco-da-geracao-nem-nem-nem.html.

neither works nor studies.[19] The latter article sums it up: "Nearly 10 million Brazilian youths (15 to 29 years old) neither work nor study. It's a reserve army that can be steered towards good or evil."

Such media discourses help foster what sociologist Stanley Cohen called a "moral panic" (Cohen 1972) over young, idle youths perceived as at risk of being lured into criminality. Alongside the *geração nem nem*, the *problema do contratempo* (the after-school problem) of favela-residing youths has long been a concern for Brazil's political elites since the public education system was created in 1930. With roots dating back to moral panics over freed slaves, dictator Getulio Vargas declared idleness a crime eleven years later, under the 1941 Lei da Vadiagem (vagrancy law). While rarely used, the law is still in effect today.

Since its creation, the "Vagrancy Law" sought to control the location of young bodies in space and time—either on the factory floor producing, in the classroom learning how to produce, or at home tending to the family. The *rua* (street) connects those spaces. *Vadiagem* implies lack of circulation, or circulation without a predetermined destination. Those outside of legitimate circuitry were locked up in jail cells. Therefore, like the Lei da Vadiagem, the *problema do contratempo*, belongs to the tradition of controlling the placement of bodies in space and time. In this light, free time is conflated with time on the street.

Rodrigo had become one of my central interlocutors at Câmara. His life trajectory was an allegory for the recent history both of the neighborhood and of Brazil as a whole.

[19] Ana Carolina Moreno, "Cresce o número de jovens entre 15 e 29 anos que não estudam nem trabalham," Globo, May 18, 2018, https://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/cresce-o-numero-de-jovens-entre-15-e-29-anos-que-nao-estudam-nem-trabalham.ghtml.

Once a military barracks in the heart of Rio's industrial zone, the complex upon which the school today stands was abandoned in the 1980s, he explained. When it was renovated in the late 2000s, its name was changed from the Quartel de Bustamante to Madeiros. Having served in the military for nearly two decades, Rodrigo was a man of hierarchy, bureaucracy, discipline, and obedience. He lobbied for and welcomed the stationing of police officers inside the school in order to prevent a recurrence of the robberies that had plagued it from 2015 to 2016.[20] He began his career in the Ministry of Education after the downfall of the military dictatorship and the implementation of the 1988 constitution that guaranteed democratization, social inclusion, and formal citizenship. Retaining the qualities of his previous career and flaunting his self-titled role of "fire extinguisher" crisis resolver, he was consistently posted in some of the most socially and materially neglected schools in the city. As a retired army officer, the principal of Câmara School was a proponent of the escalation of policing and interdiction efforts, stationing police officers inside the school halls. As a place where the younger generation spends large parts of the day, the school can be thought of as a technology of state control.

[20] On weekends, the police would leave and the school would be invaded overnight.



Figure 5: Military granary, Madeiros. Photo by author, 2017.

During our interviews, Rodrigo reminded me that Câmara sat within a former military barracks, describing in nostalgic detail the superior quality of the architecture, and the way that the building's integrity was compromised when investments from then-President Lula Inacio da Silva turned the school into a "Model Olympic Villa." This entailed adding an annex and sporting facilities, widening the windows and replacing the perimeter wall with a fence. These reforms were part of the federal government's Projeto de Aceleração ao Crescimento (PAC). PAC was a capital investment project with a division dedicated to social welfare projects aimed at creating Centro Cívico (civic center) hubs for social inclusion services for newly minted "new middle class" residents of Rio's post-industrial, historically poor and violent North Zone favelas. The emergence of PAC came alongside millions of reais earmarked for youth prevention, in addition to NGO and

foundation funds. Arts and sports *cursos* were developed, alongside *cursos tecnicos* (training courses oriented towards job markets).[21]

In practice, by 2014, far from a middle-class Centro Cívico, residents of the cluster of neighborhoods surrounding the PAC development projects (now occupied by the Pacifying Police) saw a dramatic spike in violence. The Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) is a project of the Department of Public Security of Rio de Janeiro, that emerges with the premise of fighting drug trafficking and violence in the state, with a focus on the favelas of the city of Rio de Janeiro[22]. Before, during and after (when violence spiked) residents have been subjected to a longstanding brutal dispute over control of the territory that has claimed scores of young innocent lives, and led to the psychological traumas associated with warfare. Regarded as a "risk zone," free time was cited incessantly as one of the roots of the neighborhood's problems. I set out to understand in what ways this had a bearing on my interlocutor's lives.

[21] Educational youth programming is carried out primarily by NGOs (Casa Viva, Favela Criativa, Luta Pela Paz, Agencia da Juventude, cursos tecnicos (SENAI, SESI, SENAD FAETEC), and by the state government (Centro de Referência da Juventude, Caminho Melhor Jovem, Biblioteca Parque, Casa do Trabalhador).

[22] It should also be noted that within the UPP's official strategy, or the "consolidation of pacification", the UPP Social program was created, conducted by the Rio de Janeiro City Hall and coordinated by the Pereira Passos Institute (IPP) in partnership with UN Habitat (the United Nations Organization for Human Settlements). Intended to coordinate social, cultural and environmental action, the program was designed within the scope of the State Department of Social Assistance and Human Rights at the end of 2010. Its premise is that social programming should be developed in parallel with policing efforts, generating interactions between police authorities, community leaders, human rights activists, NGOs, as well as middle-class conservative sectors. In January 2011, through an agreement between the state governments and the city of Rio de Janeiro, the program was transferred to the municipality, UPP Social Carioca being instituted. Subsequently, the program changes its name, being today known as Rio + Social, present in thirty communities. The discrepancies between the stated objectives and the practice of the UPP has been the subject of intensive scholarly debate. For more, see Marielle Francisco da Silva (2014).

ii. Imagining Youth Subjectivity and its Occupation

Time to think	*Tempo "prá" pensar*
Do you want to stop?	*Quer parar?*
What do you want?	*Que 'se quer?*
To live a little like a king	*Viver pouco como um rei*
Or a lot like a Nobody?	*Ou então muito como um Zé?*
— *Mano Brown*	— *Mano Brown*

Rodrigo's way of imagining the *desocupado* draws on racialized and gendered stereotypes of youth in favela neighborhoods like Madeiros. Administrators like Rodrigo conceived of the school as a bastion for time management, security, and the welfare of "at risk" populations. The discourses that Rodrigo employs—the idea that the school is located within a "situation of risk," a "dormitory neighborhood," and that it serves as a "human depository"—have histories of their own that exceed the scope of this chapter. Taken together, though, the shared implication is that the neighborhood is devoid of leisure outlets.[23] The school hereby compensates for a local lack of leisure options that students might otherwise seek out in the wrong company, or at the nearby shopping center.

> R: *(impersonating a student)* Man! I'll go to the food court . . . here there's pizza, snacks, another kind of pizza, here there's beer, here there's . . . What does this place offer to the student? *(referring to the plaza and surrounding*

[23] There is a widespread discourse in Brazil about favelas being deprived of access to leisure and culture. The understanding is that the young grow up in neighborhoods deprived of state welfare services (such as public space and infrastructure, and public programming) and this leaves them vulnerable to the allure of illicit traffickers (whose symbolic capital as "gangsters" is assumed to be attractive) and/or capitalist consumerism through private means. A growing movement that seeks to reimagine and revalorize the favela as a racialized hotbed of cultural production and resistance runs counter to the idea that it is a barren cultural space.

> *neighborhood)* It's got nothing! Everybody standing here *(pointing)*, without doing anything!

I read a description of Rodrigo's after-school flash theatre initiative. When he took over from the previous director, his "Provisional Administration Plan" as principal listed a range of after-school sports and leisure activities. While I never saw them put in practice, he did run a partnership with local police officers for a weekly after-school Jiu-Jitsu class, and with the professor of the Choir Luiz Carlos da Vila (named in honor of the samba composer who is the school's namesake).[24] He understood outlets for culture and leisure to be instrumental in the overall "formation" of a student, who is otherwise left to the mercy of his impulses and desires (be it capitalist consumption, the money and fame from drug trafficking, or the high from drug use).

The former military officer had been a history teacher for over twenty years. He taught before becoming principal. I met him for the first time while sitting in on his classes. When students entered, he instructed them, via his headset loudspeaker, to copy down his lesson and answer the questions on the board. This gave us plenty of time to interview at his desk. I asked him about free time:

> R: With free time, the head turns into the Devil's workshop. Devil's head, workshop of the Devil. *(impersonating a student)* "Aaaah, I'm gonna mess with Benjamin, I'm gonna hide his backpack" . . . Free time indulges that, that just can't be.

[24] Due to budget constraints, the choir teacher worked for free for a number of months, and the Jiu-Jitsu teacher worked for the UPP police force.



Figure 6: Teens in Madeiros public housing. Photo by author, 2017.

The devil, he concludes, occupies empty heads. Idleness, according to this way of thinking, breeds a trickster, someone willing to flout the rules for easy enjoyment. Speaking quietly, he would periodically look over at his students who were seated copying questions from the whiteboard. He elaborated on the effects of the *oficina do diabo*:

> R: He goes out to smoke, snort, prostitute him/herself . . . all of these ladies here, they have their hormones way up there, some guy comes along who knows how to talk, she gives herself up, experiences an *orgasmo* and will want one every day—prostitution. *(impersonating young woman)* Aaaah it was easy, I'm gonna sell my body. If she was well oriented, she wouldn't let herself go, obviously she has the right to have the *orgasmo* if she wants, but it can't affect her career.

The siren goes off. Interrupted momentarily, our conversation continues as students shuffle out of the room and a new *turma* (class) settles into their chairs to silently copy down questions:

> B: So, bad ideas get into people's heads.
>
> R: Directing the guy . . . turning him/her into an idler over there in the street *(points in the direction of the park)*.

He continues, giving me an example of what the danger may be for young men:

> R: For example, the youth goes to the beach, over in the beach . . . [unintelligible] If he doesn't have a well-formed emotional structure, he makes a group, carries out a dragnet robbery [*arrastão*], goes and robs people. The beach is the most democratic leisure we have, and if the youth doesn't know how to behave because he sees a person there with a first-generation smartphone, consuming, and he doesn't have anything in his pocket, he will want to grab what's yours, it's the famous *arrastão*. . . . You have to break that, you have to change that.

His creative examples align almost comically with stereotypes about the leisure time of favela youth. For young men, the problem is a desire to consume, leading to a temptation to grab-and-run with a newly released smartphone at the beach.[25] For young women, the temptation is one of sexual desire. His conceptualization of youth subjectivity sees youth desire as careening towards dangerous and often illicit forms of pleasure and

[25] This stereotype draws from the public controversy over the city's reorganization of bus lines. Activists saw the city's elimination of direct bus lines from the city's major favelas to the public beaches as a racist and classist form of segregation. City officials claimed it was part of the "rationalization" and "modernization" of the bus routes. The controversy erupted and brought to the public eye a discussion about Rio's infamy as a "divided city" (between the sprawling working class north zone and the iconic affluent south zones) and the question of access to public spaces for democratic leisure. Since Ventura (1994), many authors have addressed this topic.

consumption. Idleness enables youths to become untimely—precociously ahead of their time, and out of their place. Young women will discover the orgasm and eventually get pregnant (as opposed to waiting for marriage). Young men will want commodities and become thieves (as opposed to waiting to find work and get a salary).[26]

Being idle is asking for trouble, fanning air into a devilish furnace of destructive behavior and misused pleasure. To see someone as *desocupado* hereby ceases to be a mere description from the outside (an epistemic judgment), and slips into becoming the assignation of a quality of being on the *inside and outside* (an ontological state), to which particular behaviors can be traced and anticipated. This state, according to Rodrigo, must be broken or modified. This is why, as I found, the rhetoric of idleness was also often used as a mantra orienting preventative action.

Rodrigo saw it as his job as an educator to create, preemptively, the right conditions for the expenditure of time. This sets up a field of action (free time) and a regime of intervention (to occupy free time). That field is his school. However, Rodrigo identifies the crux of the problem as being beyond the school gates, in the "area of risk" that is the street.[27]

The Utopia of Full Time Technical-Vocational Schooling

[26] Debt hereby represents a way around this temporal impasse. Debt is a commodification of future income. It enables bringing the future (experience) into the present, augmenting the moment.

[27] Da Matta (1991) describes the opposition house vs. street. On the one hand, the universe of the home, the space of rest, intimacy, where one finds peace; and on the other, the universe of the street, a cruel space where the individuals struggle for their lives. Of significance is how, in chapters 6 and 7 of the dissertation (Part III), organized students convert their school (formerly a disciplined space of work) into what they call their home (a space of sociality, intimacy and organizing) blurring that distinction through occupation as a form of protest.

Earlier in our conversation that day, Rodrigo had taken a pen and paper and sketched the architecture of his ideal school, dreaming up its seamless orchestration of students' movements through time and space. Its inner court, taller walls and higher windows would protect the school from thieves and shootouts. This impulse represents nostalgia for a totalitarian past that much resembles Foucault's characterization of a "disciplinary society." In *Discipline and Punish,* Michel Foucault describes the emergence of a "gentler" modern way of punishment. This new way, he argues, becomes the model for control of an entire society (with factories, schools, and hospitals modeled on the modern "panoptic" prison (Foucault 1977). In Rodrigo's fantasy, young bodies would be contained within spaces of enclosure such as the school, the home, the barracks, the workplace, and the jail.[28] His military background would put him at the helm of the school, which would contain and "form" young people in their transition from the household to the labor market.[29] As a full-time institution, it would not only, in his words, "form subjects" for the labor market with vocational training (often for factory floor labor) but also fill their free time with arts (classical music, theatre) and sports (athletics). The arts would keep young people away from forms of inappropriate cultural production associated with the favela such as "funk" music, and the athletics would deplete their libidinal and metabolic energy, sending them directly home to collapse on a bed. Their full-time, exhausting schedule would insulate them from their community while transforming them into disciplined workers, minimizing, in turn, youths' unsupervised circulation in the street and their overall idleness. In

[28] Foucault's theorization of a *discipline society* diverges from Rodrigo's vision, given that Foucault is clear in pointing out that the deployment of this model was not due to a coordinated effort on behalf of an organized central authority. Rather, Foucault theorizes techniques and institutions that came about for various purposes, converging to create a modern system of disciplinary power.

[29] Subject formation at this liminal stage is especially fraught as it represents the transition from childhood to adulthood, from nuclear family to autonomy, and from financial dependence to financial independence.

Rodrigo's vision, this would also have the effect of curtailing drug consumption and distribution, and diminishing crime.[30]

Then, he showed me a photograph of the school building before it was converted from a military building into a school. Directing my attention to small windows located far from the ground, he lamented the large windows that were put in place, making the school vulnerable to robberies. He then pointed to a walkway on the second floor that overlooked the atrium, describing with nostalgia the place where the generals would stand to salute the troops parading below. He concluded that the reforms were "a political intervention, not a technical one. I am not a politician, I am a technician . . . I want to give you security and give you the conditions through which you might realize yourself..."



Figure 7: Youth in front of employment office. Photo by author, 2016.

[30] The debate over whether or not disciplinary society was in fact empirically present at some point in Brazil aside, the degree of social control exercised by the military in neighborhoods like Madeiros—controlling youths' circulation, leisure, and cultural production—has been well documented. See: Cavalcanti 2008.

While the previous generation (my interlocutors' parents) was privy to full-time large-scale technical-vocational schools associated with diminishing idleness and ramping up Brazil's industrial might under the military dictatorship[31], the majority of high school students today study at part-time public and private schools[32]. Rodrigo did not hesitate to give me his utopian plan for a full-time school that would solve the *problema do contratempo* and *desocupação.* He sketched it on a piece of paper. Later, as we stood outside the school observing the groups of young *desocupados* in the park, he elaborated on the utopian school that he had drawn: its schedule, architecture, and pedagogy.

R: Because if I had one of the schools with that model I'm imagining, I would have an activity for that person...

B: What would you have students do?

A secretary interrupts our conversation. Rodrigo turns to ask for an update on the shootout situation. She says that "there were three dead, two *bandidos* [traffickers] and one *trabalhador* [worker]." She explains that the ambulance hadn't picked up the bodies to avoid entering the favela (referring to a neighboring favela). Rodrigo utters some comments, turns to me, and continues. His utopia accounted for the violent context with higher walls, smaller and higher windows, and a centralized courtyard and swimming pool.

R: They would either be practicing a sport, or would be in a technical

[31] Brazil, and specifically Rio de Janeiro, has a big tradition of vocational education that goes back to the 20th century. Starting in 1906, Brazil sees the creation of a network or technical-vocational schools, by the federal government, which in the future became what is now known as the *Centros Federais de Educação Tecnológica (CEFET)*. Adilso de Campos Garcia, Arlinda Cantero Dorsa, and Edline Maria de Oliveira, "Educação Profissional no Brasil: Origem e Trajetória," UFJVM, May 2018, http://site.ufvjm.edu.br/revistamultidisciplinar/files/2018/05/Edilene1502.pdf.

[32] Brazil has a low rate of "full-time" education enrolment in general but specially in high schools. In 2017, this category represented 7.9 percent of all enrolment (considering public and private schools). Ministério da Educação, "Censo Escolar 2017: Notas Estatísticas," January 2018, http://download.inep.gov.br/educacao_basica/censo_escolar/apresentacao/2018/apresentacao_Notas_Estatisticas_Censo_Escolar_2017.pdf.

training classroom.

His dream school would be a full-time technical school, engineered to solve the problem of idle time.

> R: What time is it? [The] clock strikes three o'clock. Bell rings, go for lunch. [Students] arrive to have lunch in ambience [where] there would be music. Not funk. Music, a very interesting sonata, to relax. [The] bell rings, put them to study. *(impersonating a student)* Ah, my vocational class is over.

Rodrigo begins pecking at a piece of paper with his index finger.

> Written here [in the schedule] is an athletics class. Go to the changing room and put on gym clothes to present yourself to the professor, and go do your training. Finished, [the student] goes there to eat dinner. He requests an exit, and leaves.
>
> B: Through the East gate?
>
> R: Entrance through the East gate, exit through the West gate.
>
> B: Directly home.
>
> R: Directly home, to sleep and do something, but goes home.
>
> B: Then the parent comes home.
>
> R: In terms of the condition of the subject, he is only there to say, hey, *puffff (imitates collapsing on a bed with hands)*, goes to sleep immediately because he was exhausted.

Curious as to whether he also knew the popular refrain, I uttered (as if asking a question), "mente vazia..." (empty head). By the second word, Rodrigo had joined in seamlessly, finishing the phrase for me: "...oficina do Diabo" (Devil's workshop).

His utopian school functioned, in his words, "not unlike a fort," protecting its students both from the bullets of the outside world, and, more importantly, from disorder within, orchestrating bodies like clockwork. Like a factory floor, students would enter through a specific entrance onto an assembly line of programming punctuated by the bell, a grand orchestration in space and time of classes, free time (with classical music, not funk), technical training, arts, and sports.[33]

This packed schedule would entail students returning home to their parents exhausted, their bodies pushed to the limits, collapsing on their beds upon return—one day closer to job market insertion.[34] Earlier, he had explained, to my surprise, that his vision for education was to *violentar* (the verb form of *violent*, or, "to violent")[35] students in their previous vulnerable ignorance, in order to (in his words) "form subjects" who would be valued and successfully incorporated into the labor market. The process he imagined involved the forceful creation of disciplined subjects by disembedding them (Rodgers 2004) in a particular temporal and spatial architecture that would be superimposed over previous rhythms and schedules. For the final step, he envisioned direct partnerships with factories and corporations, allowing him to send his top students directly to fill empty spots.[36]

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[33] Rodrigo later described the strategies he employed to enter and exit the school safely. Firstly, he approaches and leaves the school from different directions, avoiding a predictable route that may be intercepted by criminals. Secondly, when standing in the school atrium [visible to the park and the street on either side], he positions his body strategically behind the cover of the building's large Greco-roman posts, "beyond the line of fire." His spatial imaginary of the school, it seemed, was just as elaborate as his temporal imaginary, equally informed by a military discipline.

[34] Rodrigo's dream school would also take part in partnerships with companies. Referencing the FAETEC, his technical school would form partnerships with private companies to create seamless insertion into the job market. The middle man, he reflected, would be the politician, who would surely want a cut, due to corruption. This piece would ruin his dream. He emphasized that his dreams were made impossible by the corruption of state bureaucracy. He was not a politician but a technician.

[35] *Violentar,* as a figure of speech, can mean to brutally force.

[36] He cited the sistema SESI, a technical training school funded by Brazil's biggest industrialists to supply their industry with qualified labor (which they argue is often in short supply). Rodrigo described this

The aspect of his vision that stuck with me, however, was the complementarity of military discipline and private sector labor market insertion. Describing in detail the integration between the school and the company, he added:

> R: The *burguês* [bourgeois person] would say, send me a hydraulic technician, a technician in plumbing. [I'd send] the best from here, Joe and John, show up at this location.
>
> B: Direct insertion.
>
> R: [The student] gets there, takes a test, normally the company does an evaluation...
>
> B: So it's a bridge between the school and the company.
>
> R: Yes, that's it. Done! The problem is resolved. I think it's easy to resolve, but then there comes the politician who wants to take advantage of everything. I'm not a politician, I am a technician, I do things, and get results.

This arrangement of meritocratic test-based placement in private companies would cement the school-to-work pipeline, and "resolve the problem." However, the enemies of such a vision are the politicians, whose greed gets in the way of such a seemingly common-sense vocational track for favela youth.

Orchestrating every last detail of the students' placement in time and space, or "keeping them busy," entailed *colégio integral* (or full-time schooling) in an eight-hour

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example, with admiration in his voice, "Like the SESI school in Jacarepaguá. The SESI school is a boarding school. The student only goes home for the weekend, on Friday. And lives there Monday through Friday. And there are teachers who sleep there to give pedagogical support. The student would be occupied [busy] with general training and technical training. And *(snapping his finger),* quickly get out of here [pointing down, implying Madeiros]."

day (as opposed to four). This meant a barracks-like control not only of their pedagogical life (how and when they are educated), but also of their metabolic life (through the regulation of energy through sport and food), social life (who they are exposed to), and cultural life (exposing them to refined arts). Most importantly, to him, it ensured their status as productive workers in the formal economy.

Nostalgic for the past, Rodrigo lamented that because the school day is only four hours, his ability to occupy youths was limited. If only he could put the traffickers and drug users in the plaza in his utopian school, he seemed to imply, the problem of violence and criminality would slowly fade. "There's something utopian in the school I described, but that is what I imagine," he admitted. A military man whose career had begun in the army and transitioned to education, his vision for a perfect school was a fantasy of seamless clockwork control and subjection of students, not unlike a military barracks. The use of standardized testing to place students directly in occupational tracks is, in many ways, the way the Brazilian higher education system works. However, Rodrigo sought to see that implemented at the level of high schools.

Full-time Schooling Versus Wholesome Schooling

Rodrigo is not alone in advocating for full-time schooling as a solution to local problems. Brazil's former Minister of Education Aloizio Mercadante has argued that "without full-time education, Brazil will not grow."[37] This argument made its way down to the state level, bolstered by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank. Claudia Costin, the

[37] "Mercadante: escola de tempo integral é o futuro da educação," *Terra*, August 28, 2012, https://www.terra.com.br/noticias/educacao/mercadante-escola-de-tempo-integral-e-o-futuro-da-educacao,6dfb42ba7d2da310VgnCLD200000bbcceb0aRCRD.html.

former Secretary of Education in Rio de Janeiro state and a former Senior Director for Education at the World Bank, has advocated for and designed policies to provide "full-time education through after-school programs" in "schools in conflagrated areas, where children and youth are more vulnerable," bringing about "opportunities for the use of free time with activities like arts and sports that middle-class students organically have with their families."[38]

In 2016, the Minister of Education after Dilma Rousseff's impeachment, Mendonça Filho, put forward an emergency measure. He announced his intention to double the number of full-time students by 2018 by mandating an accelerated "emergency" transition from part-time to full-time education to be implemented in all Brazilian secondary education. The objective of the reforms, he argues, is to "remove youths from vulnerability and guarantee quality public education,"[39] by implementing "escola em tempo integral." Though the word "integral" can also mean "wholesome" in Portuguese, critics were quick to point to the difference between real, high-quality, wholesome education and the kind of full-time schooling designed primarily to keep young people busy that Filho was proposing.

There was a catch in the plan, which education professionals were quick to point out: a spending cap in education implemented in 2016 and limits to budgets and infrastructure (space and teacher salaries) meant that this extension from 800 hours per school year to 1,400 hours per school year would be carried out by institutions and actors

[38] Claudia Costin, "Os caminhos para a educação integral," *Estadão*, January 13, 2013, https://opiniao.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,os-caminhos-para-a-educacao-integral-imp-,991186.
[39] For the government's press release on the "new secondary school launch ceremony" that took place on September 22, 2016, see "Cartilha sobre o Novo Ensino Médio é lançada no Senado; publicação explica mudanças," Ministério da Educação, August 9, 2017, http://portal.mec.gov.br/component/tags/tag/39691-novo-ensino-medio.

other than public employees of the ministry of education. The main reason being that the physical infrastructure of the Ministry of Education would be dramatically over capacity should the hours of schooling per student increase to 1,400. Education scholars have concluded that these extra hours would be provided not by the Ministry of Education or in its infrastructure but rather by non-state ("third sector") actors such as OSs (social organizations, a Brazilian legal entity that blends elements of a state welfare provider with an NGO) and NGOs through "public-private partnerships" (PPPs). The additional 600 hours of schooling, it seemed, would have to be "outsourced" and "privatized" (Beguoci 2019). Despite this emphasis on full-time schooling and recent policies aiming to implement it, the numbers remain low, according to a report by *Folha de S.Paulo*, which concluded that "currently only 6% of all secondary school students study at full-time schools, and the goal is to arrive at 24% by 2024."[40]

Rodrigo's utopian dream of a government school orchestrating students on a full-time schedule, as if on a factory floor, may not come to fruition. Privatization and outsourcing of additional hours (due to budgetary, infrastructural, and human resources constraints) appears to be the way of the future, at least according to the government under Michel Temer (President from 2016 to 2018). Nevertheless, the utopian vision that Rodrigo shares with actors such as policy makers, members of multilateral organizations, NGO workers, and individuals in the "third sector"[41] is that a full-time school day would help

[40] Paulo Saldaña, "Reforma de Temer do ensino médio deve ampliar escola integral," September 22, 2016, https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/educacao/2016/09/1815683-reforma-de-temer-do-ensino-medio-deve-ampliar-escola-integral.shtml.
[41] The "Third Sector" in Brazil connotes foundations, NGOs, OSs and other legal categories that are not considered part of either civil society or the state.

solve the "after-school problem" in areas of "vulnerability," understood as one of the biggest problems facing Brazil and its younger generations.

Figure 8: Teacher and class at Câmara School. Photo by author, 2017.



As we have seen, Rodrigo's ideal school would be designed to "solve" the problem of idleness after school through the implementation of full-time schooling. Because he recognizes this as utopian, he resorts to after-school programs, such as the choir and Jiu-Jitsu martial arts classes he oversaw at the school. The majority of these after-school activities, such as *cursos* (courses), *oficinas* (workshops) and *aulas* (classes), however, are beyond his control as principal.

While Rodrigo dreams of disembedding youths in a factory- or barracks-like institution, and the Ministry of Education attempts to scale up its full-time schooling, a panoply of organizations also currently at work to occupy young people's time after school. I refer to these efforts as time-management interventions. In a decentralized and patchwork manner they seek to solve "the problem of countertime." And importantly, while Rodrigo

would have brought about a "discipline society," the programs I encountered during my fieldwork are better understood as the mechanisms of "societies of control."

Deleuze's (1992) concept of "societies of control" describes the ways in which freedom and control and our relationship to them function within an increasingly interconnected, technological, and surveilled society. Put succinctly, "societies of control" can be described as an evolving form of control that marks a shift from enclosed structures to a sophisticated network of entangled systems. Prior to Deleuze, Michel Foucault (1977) had theorized a "disciplinary society," exploring the ways in which bodies and minds were trained to conform to strict mechanisms of control that were recurrent and deeply engrained. This type of control, Foucault understood, ensures that populations will govern themselves through the threat of surveillance and subsequent punishment. Deleuze, in turn, points out a societal shift in the structures of disciplinary societies that coincided with the rise of neoliberalism (1992). In this shift, the governing of populations is not limited to enclosed spaces like the school, factory, hospital, and jail, but is instead freed up to operate in open systems and networks.

In a society of control, the panoptic gaze and spatial confinement of bodies gives way to increased technological, digital, and market involvement in the regulation of life and labor. This includes flexible yet omnipresent tracking. Rather than liberation, the erosion of longstanding institutions and forms of disciplining means, to Deleuze, another transformation in their hold on us. Discipline is no longer confined to its former institutional homes, but rather decentralized. "If disciplinary society in the past was characterized by bodies known and governed by nation-states, today, as public infrastructures and institutions falter, it is an assemblage of clandestine security agencies

and multinational corporations that track (and profit from) our bodies and labor" (Biehl and Locke 2017: 26).

Put another way, if a society of control gives the impression of freedom, it also comes with increased training and capacitation.[42] Writing in the 1980s, Gilles Deleuze explained:

> Control societies will no longer pass through places of confinement. Even the Schools. We should closely watch the themes that develop over the next forty or fifty years. They will explain how wonderful it would be to pursue both school and a profession. It would be interesting to see what the identity of schools and professions will become with constant training, which is our future. It will no longer entail gathering children in a place of confinement. (Deleuze 1992)

In this passage, Deleuze provides a prescient and lucid illustration of the some of the societal shifts that figures like Rodrigo are resistant towards. His more authoritarian instincts aside, Rodrigo understood the decentered after-school efforts at solving the "problem of countertime" that included more training and capacitation as crucial in what he described as a "war" against *desocupação.* In many ways, Rodrigo saw a combination of the confinement of the past with the decentralized entrepreneurialism of the present as the best way to curb idleness.

[42] Deleuze discussed the ways in which technological advancement was a major contributor to the creation of a society of control. A good example to help think through his concept is the smartphone. Smartphones create vast mobility for people due to their access to the internet. These free us by providing access to the "information super highway," yet they are also controlling, because they are always capturing information based on our actions and interactions with the technology. Unlike control societies, where workers are contained within the confines of their workplace, the societies of control, and the technologies embedded within them, provide freedom that allows us to move around more, work and communicate in more flexible ways, and buy anything through the internet, however without being able to disentangle ourselves from systems of surveillance (such as professional and social networks).

Deleuze's analysis of the plasticity of power at the dawn of a techno-capitalist world also comes with a reminder that counter-knowledge, or understanding and critique, grows with being governed in a particular way and has the potential to transform into acts of resistance (Deleuze 1997). Nevertheless, as pointed out in João Biehl and Peter Locke's edited volume, *The Anthropology of Becoming*, "while much of his description rings true, his brief sketch of a society to come does not answer the question of how social transformation happens; how people reckon with it; and what kinds of social spheres, sensibilities and forms of self-fashioning come into being as changes take hold and forms of governance rework themselves" (Biehl and Locke 2017: 24). The volume is an invitation to mobilize ethnography and theory to illustrate the contours of the sea changes that Deleuze anticipated as they articulate to our interlocutors' lives and social milieus.

iii. Prohibitionism and the War on Free Time

The previous section described the societal shifts that have decentered the Ministry of Education as the sole entity responsible for the confinement of young people during the workday. I have traced this shift with the help of social theory, which describes this shift from "disciplinary society" to a "society of control." For figures like Rodrigo, if containing youths to insulate them from drugs is no longer feasible due to shifts in the education system (from a centralized approach to a more decentralized approach), another form of prevention must take its place. This section centers its analysis on the favela neighborhood of Madeiros, charting the way that pedagogical approaches to curb *desocupação* dovetail with prohibitionist approaches.

According to Rodrigo, the unbridled desire of a *desocupado* (to consume and to

have pleasure) includes a desire for mind-altering substances. The school sits sandwiched between the park and a city avenue. Each day students walk by homeless people who are chemically dependent and use the sidewalks to get high at night and sleep during the day. Rodrigo referred to it as a *Cracolândia*[43]. I asked Rodrigo whether he saw it as a risk. He responded:

> R: Students here are in danger. They may think, *I've never tried it, I'm gonna try it*. And it's on that day that he goes to have the experience, he is emotionally fragile. He experiments, slips, that's it! Right there, society loses him/her to the underworld, loses him/her to drug trafficking. Scientists proved that crack rocks cannot be experimented with even a tiny bit. You give a rock to the guy *(snaps fingers)*—lost a student, lost a human being, lost the war.

Rodrigo supposes that students are at risk because of their inherent desire to experiment with their experience.[44] Any "slip" (here attributed to an emotional state) means spontaneous chronic addiction, as proven by medical science. Society hereby loses a human being to the "underworld," to "trafficking." As principal, he loses not only the

[43] *Cracolândia*, translates literally as "crack land." While public health specialists have long disputed the existence of such delimited areas by arguing that substance-dependent individuals circulate the city constantly, my informants used the word to describe an area of the city known for hosting groups of people who are chemically dependent on particular substances (largely crack cocaine). Though the state's public health system attempts to provide care for them (at CAPS-AD units), the health networks don't meet the demand. Those left beyond the pale of state intervention are housed in evangelical "comunidades terapéuticas," or come together (usually at night) in specific city blocks to ensure access to the substances they are dependent on. To date, various epidemiological studies have pointed out how there is currently not a crack epidemic in Brazil. For more on crack in Brazil, see the work of Francisco Inácio Bastos (2012).

[44] Substance use has been conceptualized as a form of experimentation or intervention at the level of life itself. In addition to being a form of self-medication, it is someone's attempt to harness "the experiential or experimental potential of the body by means of a particular substance or activity" (Raikhel and Garriot, 2013: 28).

student, but the war—presumably a war against drugs and drug traffickers.



Figure 9: Students with chemically dependent drug user. Photo by author, 2016.

While the principal's ideas about the addictive properties of crack cocaine have long been debunked, it is worth noting how claims about drugs and addiction are naturalized and legitimized through references to pharmacology (the branch of medicine concerned with the uses and effects of drugs). Thomas Szasz (1974) criticizes pharmacology for making contingent distinctions between good and bad drugs. He points to a historical moment in the nineteenth century when modern medicine was consolidating control over the knowledge and practice of remedies through the discipline of pharmacology. This included diverse forms of control over substances: quality, circulation, epistemic control (privileging certain pharmacological knowledges over other "quack" remedies), and moral control (Góngora 2018). The latter was generated through local law and international drug control treaties, seeking to distinguish between remedies and poisons, transforming—through clinical evidence, but also through political consensus—

"panaceas" into "panapathogens."[45]

Medicinal pharmakons are understood as life-giving, and their counterpart, illicit pharmakons, as lethal, associated with hedonism and sin. This biopolitical technique is officialized in *pharmacopoeias*, or classificatory lists published by national or international bodies consisting of lists of medicinal drugs and illicit drugs. What these lists overlook is a consideration of dosage, an attribute of crucial importance that can render any of the inventoried pharmacological agents innocuous, effective, or harmful. From this standpoint, items in these lists can have a wide range of biological and social effects depending on their intensity. In this light, it is helpful to draw from Derrida's (1981) conceptualization of the *pharmakon*, which is simultaneously remedy and poison, introduced into the body (human and discursive) with all its ambivalence. Derrida points out that no classificatory system can capture in its entirety the essential ambivalence of the pharmakon, and therefore rather than presenting objective data, the lists serve as a way of gauging the political and moral climate of the historical moment in which they are generated.

In order to add or remove an item from these lists, the actors involved in this cause have to draw from various rationalities and moralities. This means that positions that attribute fixed qualities to psychoactive substances are of a moral order and therefore prohibitionism may be understood as a moralist project. From this perspective, when we see illicit markets being targeted by drug policies based on moralism, we see populations of high social vulnerability, converting prohibitionism in a project with racist, classist, and misogynist effects.

[45] A moral classification that transforms a drug into "the source of all disease." Neologism coined by the Hungarian psychiatrist Thomas Szasz in *Ceremonial Chemistry: The Ritual Persecution of Drugs, Addicts, and Pushers* (1974).

Revisiting the narrative Rodrigo tells about crack in this light, not only do we see an implicit distinction between "legal" and "illegal" drugs, but this distinction also marks the border between leisure and idleness. What role, then, does *desocupação* and its perceived dangers play for figures like Rodrigo? Why is free time associated with drug use and illegality? And what work does that association perform for figures like Rodrigo? The key connection I want to make is the following: If doctors adjudicate what counts as a remedy versus what counts as a poison, then, similarly, educators are vested with authority to distinguish between life-giving versus life-threatening uses of time.

The Moralist Kernel of Pedagogy

My ethnographic data reveals an entanglement between drug prohibition and modes of pedagogical thought and practice, suggesting that the study of one is incomplete without the study of the other. In this section, I go into detail to reveal the moralist core of the prohibitionist project propping up the "War on Drugs" in order to extend that analysis to pedagogical interventions targeting "the problem of countertime" and *desocupação*. By further fleshing out the concept of *pedagogies of prohibition*, and delving into Jacques Rancière's conception of "explication" in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, this section extends the previous one in order to ask in what (perhaps unexpected) ways pedagogy linked is to prohibition.

With a long history of its own, modern education partakes in moralistic forms of control similar to those employed in the prohibitionist project. At its core, institutionalized education sets out to enact specific types of control. The control it exerts pertains to subject-citizens rather than substances, and takes a number of forms.

As with Góngora's typology of prohibitive control described above, these can be understood via the same four categories: quality (classroom techniques to distinguish learning from non-learning through elaborate grading and testing mechanisms), circulation (the placement of bodies in place and time), epistemic (developed to privilege one type of knowledge and truth over others, supported by the disciplines of pedagogy and scientific rationality to the detriment of other forms of knowledge deemed "irrational" or "unscientific," such as bodily impulses, instincts, individual experience, intergenerational cultural transmission, and home-schooling), and finally moral (grounded in local law and international conventions and seeking to distinguish between fact and falsity, transforming, partly via the science of pedagogy but primarily through political consensus, the ignorant body into the degree-bearing educated citizen).

This adjudication between what counts as education and what doesn't is officialized in the *curriculum*: the document that enumerates the required areas of study, their content, and grading and testing criteria. Because of the complex and relational nature of knowledge, the forms of official knowledge enumerated reach their limits when a plurality of perspectives are taken into consideration and knowledge is understood as relational. Therefore, rather than presenting objective data, curricula, like pharmacopoeias (or lists of licit and illicit drugs), serve as a way of gauging the political and moral climate of the historical moment in which they are generated. An actor seeking to alter the content of the curriculum draws from particular moralities and rationalities. This means that actors with positions that attribute fixed qualities to knowledges are of a moral order and therefore, like prohibitionism, institutionalized pedagogy may be understood as a moralist project. Institutionalized, pedagogy hereby reveals its prohibitionist kernel; prohibitionism, its

pedagogical propensities.

However, there is one key distinction that helps illustrate the need for the term *pedagogies of prohibition* I am proposing. If prohibition draws from historically contingent epistemologies, legal institutions, and moralities in order to *negate* action, *pedagogies of prohibition* do the same in order to *generate* and *direct* action. If prohibition seeks to control bodies, pedagogy seeks to prescribe bodies' movement. We hereby see how the concept *pedagogies of prohibition,* becomes relevant in our effort to understand the intersection of prohibition and pedagogy.

In *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, Jacques Rancière presents a scathing critique of what he calls *the explicative order,* and a larger critique of the modern science of pedagogy and its dogmas. He tells the story of a French schoolmaster named Joseph Jacotot whose inherited understandings of pedagogy unravel. The pivotal moment in this unravelling—in which, as Rancière puts it, "a grain of sand had gotten into the machine" (Rancière 1991, 3)—occurred when schoolchildren learned French by reading a book, and *not* through his explication. This event catalyzed a series of realizations for the schoolmaster. Before, the master would transmit knowledge to students to bring them to his degree of expertise. He would explicate or simplify to young and ignorant minds. The goals were the transmission of knowledge, and the elevation of the student, as high as their social destination demanded. Observing the way his students learned on their own, however, he was obliged to rethink his whole pedagogical model. Specifically, Jacotot overturns his ideas about *explication* and *understanding*, apprehending that the latter could no longer be conceived of simply as "what the child cannot do without the explanations of a master" (ibid.: 6).

Rancière points out that almost all children—regardless of gender, social condition,

or skin color—learn their "mother tongue" best through practice in the world and with parents: "the words the children learns best, those whose meaning he best fathoms, those he best makes his own through his own usage, are those he learns without a master explicator" (ibid.: 5). They learn to speak fluently long before the arrival of an *explicator*, a figure of central importance to what Rancière calls "the myth of pedagogy":

> Before being the act of the pedagogue, explication is the myth of pedagogy, the parable of a world divided into knowing minds and ignorant ones, ripe minds and immature ones, the capable and the incapable, the intelligent and the stupid. The explicator's special trick consists of this double inaugural gesture. On the one hand, he decrees the absolute beginning: it is only now that the act of learning will begin. On the other, having thrown a veil of ignorance over everything that is to be learned, he appoints himself to the task of lifting it. Until he came along, the child has been groping blindly, figuring out riddles. Now he will learn (ibid.: 6–7).

The pedagogical myth, he continues, divides intelligences into two: one that is inferior (that registers perceptions and repeats them by chance within the closed circuit of habit and need), and one that is superior (that knows things by reason and proceeds by method from

the simple to the complex).



Figure 10: Students copy down lesson from whiteboard. Photo by author, 2017.

I would like to extend Rancière's reading of Jacotot (the "ignorant schoolmaster") to Rodrigo. Let us imagine, for a moment, that Rodrigo is the ignorant schoolmaster. When imagining his utopian full-time school as a solution to *desocupação*, Rodrigo sees the time of his students as inferior until it is under his watch. While they may have learned to navigate the world through their own intelligence and through instructors that did not closely control their time, it is only under the school's meticulous schedule that their time becomes recognizable as potentially productive. Beyond the school gates, students' time is either too fast or too slow. Unmoored, their inertia carries them towards misfortune. It is up to the schoolmaster to manage their hours and minutes, pulling them out of their ignorance and into a superior way of being in time.

Drug prohibition is sustained by the imposition of control via contingent moralities and rationalities—arbitrarily designating some substances poisons (what Szasz refers to as

"panapathogens") and others medicine (panaceas). This is what I have been characterizing as prohibitionist ideology. When this ideology intersects with modern pedagogy, the "explicator" serves as the beacon of truth, or the guide for students who would otherwise get lost in their "ignorance." Take Rodrigo as an example, who designates some uses of time-space as life-giving, and others as life-threatening. This approach to pedagogy reveals a fundamentally moral prohibitionist core operating beneath an outwardly emancipatory project.

It is this *myth of pedagogy*—or the secret that the only appropriate time is the time of the educator—that is smuggled into regimes of drug prevention that hinge upon time management. Locating the prohibitionist kernel at the intersection of drugs (pharmacology and its addicts) and time (pedagogy and its idlers) can generate ripe analytical terrain to think through forms of subjectivation and governance today. If the addict has too much drugs, the *desocupado* has too much free time. The addict stands outside of the lists of pharmacological agents deemed suitable for consumption. The *desocupado* stands outside of the timetables of curricular and extra-curricular learning. From the standpoint of biopolitics, the figure of the *desocupado* is not unlike the illicit drug user; free time, then, is not unlike a *pharmakon*.

Similarly to the way some kinds of drugs are classified as "addictive," thereby becoming dangerous, some ways of spending time are classified as idleness, passing from pedagogically valuable to being dangerous. From the vantage point of *pedagogies of prohibition*, a biopolitical technique is also established here, which seeks to manage citizens' time to protect them from accidental or purposeful idleness, but also to impede them from carrying out their own forms of spending time, in what Deleuze has called vital

experimentation (Biehl and Locke 2010, 337). Some fruitful analytical terrain is opened up when we view free time, here, through the lens of the pharmakon (something that can be simultaneously vital and deadly). Free time, like drugs, is seen simultaneously as vital (yet dangerous), constitutive of the good life (yet bearing with it the anti-citizen), and part of what grants work its meaning (yet threatening to become pathological and addicting).

In this light, the figure of the *desocupado* represents a youth who is *in between* being an ignorant body and becoming an educated citizen, who falls outside of the bounds of the school and its curriculum (and any other node in a disciplinary apparatus such as the workplace, the household, etc.). It is a figure traversed by ambiguity, whose existence poses a threat to the integrity of pedagogy as a discipline. Neither here nor there, the figure of the *desocupado* can help us mine the interstices of various traditional dichotomies: educated/ignorant, citizen/delinquent, willful/impulsive, legal/illegal, formal/informal, dangerous/vulnerable and addicted/consuming.

It is not a coincidence that Rodrigo saw the *desocupados* as being in danger of addiction to crack. At stake in both the figure of the addict and the figure of the idler is the status of the subject of modern governance and science. This may be why similar moralities and rationalities about the addict are mobilized to apprehend idle youth.



Figure 11: Câmara students wait for gates to open. Photo by author, 2017.

On the *faixa* (strip) between home and school, school and work, the street and containment, efforts to occupy the *desocupado* represent an effort to re-establish a situation in which the subject is recognizable, and therefore governable. Occupation, here, serves as a sort of mobile enclosure, not unlike that put forth in Deleuze's prescient theorization of shifting forms of governance in a "society of control."

An analogy to this critique can be applied when thinking about idleness. From Rodrigo's pedagogical standpoint, understanding the state of *desocupação* as the root cause of deviance, on the one hand, shifts the blame for illicit behavior from the youth to external factors (the lack of educational programming, "options for culture and leisure," a part-time school day, "unstructured" families). Put another way, in practice, the discourse of *desocupação* can shift blame *away* from youths rendering them *vulnerable*, and, in the same breath (or post-factum), serve as a way attributing a cause for deviance, rendering them *dangerous*.

The problem with this understanding is that, similarly to biological models of addiction, it flattens understandings of social processes and youth subjectivity, reading the figure of the *desocupado* as deviator-in-potential, and turning them into carte-blanche objects of pedagogical interventions geared towards keeping them busy and directing them towards contingent and moralistic ideas of "proper" occupation.

On the basis of contingent moralities and rationalities, individuals are authorized to distinguish between "good" and "bad" uses of free time. The effect is that anyone who can conceivably be tagged as idle is suddenly transformed into a potentially dangerous subject and into an object of preventative interventions. Who, however, makes those judgments, and to what effect? The concept of *pedagogies of prohibition* reveals the way a politics of

time helps draw the line between a dangerous space for a youth, on the one hand, and a space endangered by a youth, on the other, as it intersects with social markers such as race, gender, class, generation, and geography. That line stakes out the terrain upon which interventions are devised and deployed.

The interventions proposed by Rodrigo (and by the broader apparatus which he is part of) regarding the problem of *desocupação* are, from the perspective of state and NGO actors, about preventing contact between youth and dangers (such as drugs) in "at risk" zones. I found that many times, from the perspective of the people who are on the receiving end of these interventions (the youth themselves and their parents), these solutions are themselves generative of problems. The following chapter outlines various responses on behalf of those on the receiving end, from reform, to evasion, to resistance.

Chapter 2: Beyond Pedagogies of Prohibition

The previous chapter centered on the local school principal Rodrigo, taking his perspective on *desocupação* and efforts to occupy youth as an entry point into the state and educational authorities' point of view. It analyzed the solutions he proposed to the *problema do contratempo*—solutions involving the occupation of students' time—connecting them to the ideology behind drug prohibition, and understanding them as a form of pedagogical prohibitionism. These solutions, however, generated new difficulties for local residents. This chapter analyzes an array of responses to the new problems posed in the lives of my interlocutors and their caregivers. First, it examines the ways in which youth experience and evade occupation, generating alternative ideas about time. Then, I examine parental worry and how it prescribes gentler forms of occupation, premised upon a different understanding of drugs and their risks. Finally, I examine alternative conceptions of leisure, grounded in the Brazilian Constitution, which enshrines a "right to leisure."

The chapter is also structured according to different types of intervention: both hard and soft forms. It begins by examining the "hardest" form of prohibition—state violence—and how it is justified by an after-school Jiu-Jitsu instructor at Câmara. I analyze how, in response, parents refuse to accept this justification, and provide their own interpretations of the problem and possible solutions. The remaining three examples focus on softer forms of prohibition—on pedagogies of prohibition—focusing first on the youths' lived experience, and how they evade pedagogies of prohibition via *rolês* (undirected strolls). Then, I focus on Carol, a librarian at the library across from the school, who envisions a gentler, reformed version of pedagogies of prohibition. Finally, I focus on Dona Giulia, a

mother of a former Câmara student, and her insistence on the importance of the right to leisure. The chapter analyzes alternative responses to the "problem of free time" that conceive of time as something lived, rather than something feared. It also shows how students explode the moral frames that imagine youth subjectivity as temporally or spatially empty by enacting new forms of cultural politics and the processes that generate new horizons of personhood and politics.

i. After-School Programs: Between Trafficking Drugs and Fighting Jiu-Jitsu

Rodrigo's ideas about after-school dangers, I found, were present throughout Madeiros. In what follows, I describe an interaction with an after-school Jiu-Jitsu instructor who framed his work as "at risk" youth prevention. I analyze his views on the killing of a teenager by police. I also explain the way in which his framing of "the problem of countertime," knowingly or not, also drew from stereotypes of criminal youth, thereby blaming the victims of state violence. I contrast his views with those of community members, drawing from both his story and the story of an after-school arts-oriented prevention program. I use these two cases as examples of the dozens of after-school instructors (also known as *agentes de cultura*) who circulated Madeiros, working for different NGOs, social projects, and government programs.

On September 8, 2015, Pedro (aged twelve) was fatally shot by police during a shootout in Madeiros. That day, a viral graphic video of the aftermath—in which a woman screams "assassins" at the nearby police officers seen in the background of the lifeless body—unleashed what locals call *manifestação* (protest) and police officers call

descontrole (disorder, chaos). A human chain was created around the body to protect it from police alteration or the planting of evidence. Angry local residents defied riot police who used tear gas to disperse the crowds. Two public buses were set alight and used to block the entrance to Madeiros.

On September 9, I got into a heated discussion with a middle-aged man who introduced himself as "Soldier of God." He was an after-school Muay Thai teacher and police officer who worked for the UPP Social, the social arm of the Police Pacification Units (UPP) in Madeiros, and had been hired by Rodrigo to teach martial arts. For residents, life had changed quite noticeably since the days when the road was cleared (quite literally) with tanks and bulldozers to make way for the "pacification"—or, in the eyes of many observers, the "occupation"—of the UPP Social in Madeiros, as well as dozens of other "zones of risk" in Rio's favelas. While the police occupied space, the time of shootouts became unhinged from previous ritualized confrontations, making everyday life as unpredictable as it was dangerous. Incidents like Pedro's shooting and the *manifestações* in response were slowly becoming a bitter part of life, and my local interlocutors, young and old, were increasingly angry about what they perceived as the militarization of their neighborhoods under the new UPP policing program (Cavalcanti 2008; Silva 2014; Valente 2016).

In October 2012, military tanks and heavily armed members of the BOPE (Special Ops) victoriously rolled down the streets of Madeiros and raised the flags of the State of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. "As of today, we'll have one less Gaza Strip," declared the Rio Public Safety Secretary José Mariano Beltrame. *Globo,* a national newspaper announced

that the territory was occupied in a record time of "twenty minutes."[46] In iconic War on Drugs fashion, these newspaper articles featured photographs of youth being stopped and frisked, and announced arrests and seizures of crack, cocaine, and weapons. This military occupation would give way, within two months, to the UPP Social—the social branch, or "soft security" side of the military "hard security" occupation. A community policing public security initiative intended to secure and socially integrate dozens of Rio's historically *trafficking* dominated neighborhoods (largely favelas), the UPP Social was to begin the implementation of a range of social programs intended to take back public spaces, upgrade social services, guarantee dialogue with the community, and provide opportunities for youth.

[46] Tássia Thum, "Manguinhos, Jacarezinho, Mandela e Varginha terão UPP até janeiro," *Globo*, October 14, 2012, http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2012/10/manguinhos-jacarezinho-mandela-e-varginha-terao-upp-ate-janeiro.html.



Figure 12: Caveirão (big skull) outside Madeiros. Photo by author, 2017.

By 2015, when I began my ethnographic research, the UPP social programs had largely been eclipsed by "business as usual" war between trafficking factions and police over control of the territory. This may be why, as a part-time Jiu-Jitsu teacher for the UPP, "Soldier of God" worked at various programs, funded by foundations, development organizations, and NGOs. Many of them were funded by the Secretaria de Esporte, Lazer e Juventude,[47] the government branch behind a number of "at risk youth" programs hosted at the Centro de Referência da Juventude, the Biblioteca Parque, and Câmara School. "Soldier" was one of dozens of entrepreneurs, known locally as *agentes de cultura,* who

[47] The Secretaria de Esporte, Lazer e Juventude is a Rio de Janeiro state secretariat designed to promote citizenship and leisure through arts and sports.

circulated through these spaces and organizations giving martial arts, arts and sports after-school classes. He was contracted by the UPP Social to teach Jiu-Jitsu, and had partnered with Rodrigo in order to teach an after-school program in Câmara that met twice a week.

We chatted informally while standing in the atrium of Câmara, discussing the prior day's incident. The neighborhood had been shaken by a series of mass protests that erupted spontaneously when a video of the moments after the shooting went viral. He dismissed this as *descontrole* (disorder, chaos), and attempted to explain to me why the police were innocent, and how the traffickers had duped the protestors.[48] In his eyes, Pedro "tava abandonado a essa hora na rua" (was abandoned at that hour in the street). When I enquired, he explained that because Pedro was neither in school, nor at home, nor going anywhere at the time of his shooting on Tuesday morning, he was suspect. When I reminded Soldier that his family and a community organization claimed he was playing soccer and was running for cover when he was shot, Soldier of God explained how he arrived at his conclusions. He pulled out the video that had gone viral, and used it to support his case. After listing pieces of evidence—such as his being barefoot (to run faster), being positioned near a ledge (to take cover while firing on police), and having been taken in by the police numerous times (known as *passagens pela polícia*)—he concluded that Pedro was surely involved in a drug-trafficking organization. When he fired on police, they intuitively protected their lives and fired on him.

Most notable was Soldier of God's lament: had Pedro only been in his Muay Thai class, he would've been kept busy with sports, away from the *trafico* (trafficking). His

[48] Those who oppose impromptu mobilizations in favelas in response to police killings have tagged this as "*apologia ao crime"* (advocating for crime). Any form of resistance to police actions is, in this view, an implicit form of support for organized crime and drug traffickers.

pastoral empathy took me by surprise, and left me thinking. Pedro was not out of place. After all, he was in a prominent soccer field near his home in his neighborhood. Rather, I came to understand, he was out of time. 11 a.m. Neither at school, nor at home, nor at work. Like Rodrigo, Soldier of God didn't see anything inherently criminal about Pedro. Nor did he deny that he was, rightfully, at a soccer field at the time of the incident. Rather, after the incident what tipped Pedro over from being vulnerable to being dangerous was his placement in *time.* Had Soldier, via the UPP Social after-school program, removed his idleness with Jiu-Jitsu, he would be innocent and alive.

This kind of prevention is hinged upon considerations of space, but most centrally, time. In other words, the way the subject of prevention spends their time is the primary determinant of whether he or she is read as vulnerable or dangerous. Before the incident, Pedro's idleness meant that he straddled the line between vulnerable and dangerous. While under this logic he is good by nature, he has the potential to *se desviar* (be led astray) *if* he is not busied with pedagogies of prohibition. When an incident happens, the cause is traced back to his idleness. So is his presumed complicity and guilt. This sets up a bullet-proof circular logic that frames and legitimizes interventions *before* incidents, and reinforces itself *after* incidents do occur.

Soldier of God argued for the police's innocence that afternoon by claiming that Pedro was a dangerous suspect by virtue of his being out of joint with official timetables: "abandoned at 9 a.m., when he should be in school." This dislocation in time rendered Pedro, presumably, a *traficante.* Had he been in his Muay Thai class or in school, he would no longer have been a dangerous subject.

Soldier of God's argument, a very common one in the context of police invasions

in Madeiros, frames black bodies as enemy combatants whose trial and execution is delivered instantaneously by the BOPE, the special police force that invaded that morning.



Figure 13: Madeiros park at night. Photo by author, 2017.

The status of free time, here, makes a place right or wrong, safe or dangerous, rather than the context itself. In a swift logical move, the causal explanation for risk/harm is shifted from the context to the subject. In this way, these stately discourses are instrumental in determining how the line is drawn that separates endangered youth from dangerous youth, and the youth worth acquiring from the youth worth abandoning, incarcerating, or killing. This sleight of hand shifts the conversation from a sociological one to an individualized one, and brackets structural explanations such as state violence and historical dispossession. This is a deterritorialized and radically individualized view of risk that emerges from discourses associated with the war on drugs.

The pedagogies of prohibition that I analyzed in Chapter 1 are the dominant form of prevention in Rio de Janeiro today. Throughout my research, I was made aware of a large network of educators, *agentes de cultura* (agents of culture, or youth programming leaders), NGO workers, instructors, and parents who work arduously to implement pedagogies of prohibition.

Fabio, an *agente de cultura*, works at the Brooklyn R.E.C., a project intended to lure youths away from drugs and into after-school music production. Funded by an NGO that sponsors the projects of individuals or groups of music and culture entrepreneurs, I attended one of their recruitment workshops at the Biblioteca Parque Madeiros and spoke to Fabio, the founder of the project, afterwards. His project stood out amid the wide range of efforts and initiatives focusing on youth cultural production. I wanted to know his view about the relationship between his work—and other after-school educational programming—and free time. His characterization is emblematic of a widespread discourse that justifies such programs by virtue of their sequestration of free time.

> F: So our focus is on the prime material, we're aware of the need there is in the favela. It's not just a question of professionalism, a name, that the guy [the youth who produces in the studio] turns into a great artist, but also a question of the social element of that youth, you get me, the time that he is in school or the time that he is working on studies, he is not hanging out [*de bobeira*], he is not drugging himself, he is not close to, because the reality of the favela is a very sad reality, you get me, at every corner you find a drug sales point . . . [unintelligible] So bad examples, you see, so in some way, we pull the person out of that a little, understand, and in the city he

> ends up distancing himself a bit from that way, that within the other experiences that he had, he ends up finding other paths and experiences, understand?

In Fabio's view, every minute that a youth spends inside the production studio equals one minute less spent in a territory embedded with *bocas de fumo* (drug sales points). Like many other *agentes de cultura* I interviewed, Fabio, rather than vindicating youth cultural production and leisure as an end in and of itself, positioned free time as a problem and legitimated his work via language of prevention.

Attributing Misfortune and Caring

I wanted to get the perspective of parents and caregivers. I spoke with Dona Olivia, the mother of one of my primary interlocutors, Marcos, about the incident of the police shooting of Pedro. I found that parents, who pragmatically and proactively devised improvised and patchwork strategies to teach and orient their young through the territory, had a very important perspective. As Dona Olivia saw it, the killing of Pedro was not his own fault for not being at school. The problem was not his dislocation in time. Rather, it was the police occupation and routine armed invasions in areas with children playing soccer. The problem, in other words, was not the youth and his placement in space and time. Rather, it was the escalation of violence in their neighborhood.

In Dona Olivia's view of risk, Pedro was shot by police because of the bad fortune of being where the shootout happened (in the favela) at the time it happened (when the police decided to carry out an operation). This logic implies an innocence or inevitability, and authorizes interventions that are geared toward modifying the context (reducing

violence or police invasions) or removing youths from the context in which there is risk. According to Dona Olivia's reasoning, prevention should hinge on violence reduction or on *removal.* She recalled that during the days of her mother, Dona Tati, who could not afford to move to another neighborhood, she and her siblings would often get *trancados* (locked) at home for hours on end. She concluded that ultimately the shooting had to do with the misfortune of being in the "wrong place at the wrong time."

Dona Olivia's focus is on the context as the primary causal factor rather than any behavior or habit of the individual youth. State and NGO prevention policies should, in her view, minimize police violence and attempt to facilitate the removal of youth to safe-houses, rehab centers, relocation, internment in the military or in boarding schools.

A series of historical events during the 2000s, however, had made blaming the context increasingly untenable. During the 2000s, as government policies of social inclusion and pacification sought to turn the favela into a regular part of the city, the problem could no longer lie in the context, and it became clear that removal was not an adequate solution. If the neighborhood is now controlled by state forces, its residents on their way to being members of formal economies who have services and pay for utilities, then removal (which was limited in scale and expensive) is no longer a tenable option. It is, after all, supposed to be a neighborhood like any other. In this light, danger cannot be reduced by avoiding the place altogether. This past of removal and enclosure has given way to a new modality of preventative educational interventions that seek to pack youths' schedules with extracurricular educational programming. The underlying reasoning can be summed up as follows: *With too much to do, they will not have time to get into trouble*. It is no longer a question of avoiding the place, but the *quality* of time spent in that place.

Alongside the uptick in this kind of prevention intervention, causal explanations seem to have shifted from "wrong place, wrong time" to "right place, wrong *kind of* time."

This logic turns the time of youths into a blank slate for risk prevention interventions. How to keep a youth busy all the time? The logical impossibility of any one youth spending all their time in the right kind of way is compensated for by a patchwork and improvised effort to direct youth towards constant busyness through an archipelago of decentralized, semi-regulated private, state, NGO, and caregiving figures of authority. These interventions are proffered, legitimized, and marketed in the name of social inclusion and citizenship education. Any part of the day of a young citizen that goes idle represents a danger for the individual, which represents a threat to society. The busier, therefore, the safer. While busyness does not remove the status of vulnerability, vulnerable is better than idle or dangerous, the logic goes.

Paulo Freire's (2000) theory of "banking" education critiqued school systems that fill youths with content, as if they were empty vessels, in an effort to turn them into "cultured" and "civilized" subjects. In addition to "culturing" youth with a hegemonic curriculum, even more important is the banking carried out by the individual, which may occur at all times, making the youth themselves the bankers of their own time.

In some sense, the logic of pedagogies of prohibition sets itself up to provide a secular answer to the unanswerable question: Why do bad things happen to good kids? Or, phrased another way, why do good kids do bad things? The answer that these pedagogies propose is *desocupação*. Rather than attribute it to coincidence (the conventional attribution of causality), or, better yet, identify state or historical actors, pedagogies of prohibition attribute causality to *desocupação* and to a failure to pre-emptively intervene

pedagogically.



Figure 14: Youth in park on cellphone. Photo by author, 2017.

For Soldier of God, this logic does three things. First, it legitimates his work as an *agente de cultura.* Secondly, and specifically due to the absence of the pre-emptive work, it positions Pedro as potentially dangerous, and therefore, in the situation of an incident, presumably guilty of his own death. Thirdly, it subsumes incidents having to do with drug trafficking and consumption. Had the incident been related to drug consumption (for example, an overdose), the same logic would be applicable with little to no alteration.

Pedro's family, like Dona Olivia, denounced the police assassination by pointing out that he was playing soccer when he was shot. So pronounced was the anger that a spontaneous protest erupted, which was eventually quashed by riot police. The problem was not Pedro's dislocation in time. Rather, it was the police occupation and routine armed invasions in areas with children playing soccer. Following these stakeholders' logic, an alternative to turning youths into bankers of their own time would be an educational project that seeks to teach youths to struggle politically to use their time to make their place "right."

ii. Strolls: The Products of *Rolês*

As we have seen, members of the community such as Dona Olivia have vastly different approaches to free time compared to state and NGO actors. Implicit in a critique of these forms of prevention is an understanding that, in fact, youth themselves devise elaborate uses of their free time. Often overlooked by figures of authority, youth find ways of subverting these interventions. One way that they do this is through the practice of going on strolls through their neighborhoods, or *rolês.* The destination of the *role*, in the experience I recount in the following section, is a place decried as seething with illegality

by observers (like Rodrigo and Soldier), yet one that offers young people a space to hang out together beyond the purview of figures of authority.

Rolês are unsupervised "strolls" through the neighborhood. They are generative of youth sociality and are constitutive of the everyday trajectories of my interlocutors in and through their territories. I use *rolê* as an ethnographic vehicle to illustrate the rhythms (improvised and socially crafted) that organize my interlocutors' time (that observers understand to be empty). What follows is an ethnographic aside that explores in some texture what young people do in their free time.

In Madeiros, everybody has a story to tell about the *casarão*. An imposing granary that can be seen when walking, circulating, and traversing the territory by car or train, it is an iconic landmark. Originally a granary within the military zone marked for demolition, members of the community pushed to have it preserved, with the hope that one day it would be renovated into a cultural center.

"Bora dar um rolê no casarão!" (Let's go for a stroll in the *casarão*!) Three days after Pedro's shooting and the protests in response, shootouts were frequent and school was often cancelled or students were let out early. One day that school stopped early, after being *de bobeira* in the park, someone pointed out the PAC. Spontaneously, Thiago, Yuri, Marcos, Felipe and I decided to go up to the roof. Visible from the classrooms of Câmara, students pointed it out to me repeatedly. They went there during *tempo vago* (vagrant time), or after class and before their next responsibility.



Figure 15: Climbing to the top of the abandoned granary. Photo by author, 2016.

It seems we were all drawn to it and feared it at the same time: abandoned decades ago, it was said to be riddled with used condoms, graffiti, and piss, and inhabited by homeless drug users. Providing respite from the grit of the everyday below, teens often used the terrace as a place to get high—both physically and mentally. A number of informal rap music videos are filmed on the roof, or reference it in their lyrics.

Headed to the rooftop terrace, we walked through dark hallways and up over four flights of stairs. We came across a pentagram, with which Thiago promptly began to summon the Devil, speaking in tongues, until Felipe, the most religious one of the bunch, told him to shut up. At the top floor, we gazed into the granary's gaping black hole, once used to store grain for the military (and at times of economic depression for civil consumption). Yuri said there was a body in it from the years of the military dictatorship, and hopped over the hole nonchalantly, making me nervous. After climbing out through the window to a landing, we had to boost each other up, using windows as footholds, to crawl onto the terrace.

The journey paid off: the vista of Rio de Janeiro's Zona Norte extended in all directions, lit by the evening sun. Most striking was the westward view of the Floresta da Tijuca mountains which ran south to the Cristo Redentor, nestled among iconic vertical favelas, which contrasted with the sprawling horizontal favelas of the Zona Norte visible from the *casarão*. Punctuating suburban sprawl, these make up a large part of Rio's urban metropolis. From here, one could see the *praça* and Câmara—the "civic center" below. Yuri noticed the police in front of Câmara, across the park, and recounted having seen UPP police storm the *casarão*. The youths atop, he recounted, threw their marijuana in the granary and bolted. Some escaped, others didn't. Below, the school and the police looked

dark, removed from the celestial spectacle we enjoyed from above: evening light, breeze, and expansive horizons.

Later, as I reflected on that afternoon, I recognized how my young interlocutors related to danger. A cartography speckled with "affective intensities" (Biehl and Locke 2010; Deleuze 1987) —the drug users, the pentagram, the silos, the heights, the police—their neighborhood was seething with potential dangers, their spells on us playfully broken as we circulated and transgressed, demonstrating our infallibility, performing our young autonomy. To us, an element of the sublime, of something simultaneously attractive and dangerous, pervaded the *casarão*, and we went there to transgress, and to feel closer to the infinite sky. In contrast to the prevention-oriented interventions they were targeted by, the students understood danger to be an inevitable part of life in Madeiros, an element they needed the *vivências* (experience) to be able to navigate. When I prompted them about the popular refrain "an empty head is the devil's workshop," Yuri pointed out that "cada um tem sua cabeça" (everybody has his/her own head).

I realized how these playful subversions helped cultivate a sense of expansiveness, an immunity of sorts to other glaring, harrowing dangers they were constantly reminded about in their everyday life. Moreover—in a neighborhood that the state declared a "zone of risk" where teachers, caregivers, parents, youth leaders, social workers, doctors, and NGO workers understand danger to be present at every turn—these excursions into occult spaces helped calibrate a sense of what actually is dangerous and what is not. They also helped cultivate a sense of sociality.

In the same way that the *casarão* provided us with the grounds to carry out this cathartic reckoning with danger, the unknown, and authority, and to test our finite bounds

or lack thereof, it also provided older figures of authority such as their principal Rodrigo a canvas upon which to project—from a distance—their anxieties and fears for the youth. Observers from below commented incessantly on the way youths do drugs up there, have unprotected sex, and even conduct devil worship. From the vantage point of the school principal, being up there meant you were smoking crack or marijuana, while to those above it meant relaxing—it meant a new perspective, fresh air, and a good view.



Figure 16: Overlooking park from the *casarão*. Photo by author, 2016.

I marveled at the dramatic misunderstanding between these actors. When youths slow down to accommodate their own rhythms and itineraries, they are shunned by figures like Rodrigo. "The Corcovado has his back to the Zona Norte," Yuri reminded me. While one could see Rio's iconic Christ's silhouette due south, upon closer inspection, many had pointed out, he is revealed to be facing the South Zone, with his back to the North. Yuri

tried to show me the video of Pedro's killing. I didn't want to watch it. I asked him why he wanted to revisit that video. His showing me the video was his way of substantiating what he meant by having the son of God's back turned towards his neighborhood. When Pedro had been shot, he was running to safety, he emphasized to me, seeking to point out the bare injustice of it all. In retrospect I have thought about this as a profound contradiction. How is it that, on the one hand, these youths are told to become "self-made men," while, on the other, they are killed by police in unprecedented numbers and manners. How, I began to ask myself in the aftermath of this experience, are all of these young men and women told to "correr atrás" incessantly (a widely used popular expression meaning, literally, "to run after," and connoting hustling, chasing it down, or racing), yet when they, quite literally, run from a gunfight, they run the risk of getting shot down in their own neighborhood. Yuri was right, the Gods, but also the sovereign, had their backs turned to him and his neighborhood.

iii. Parental Preoccupation: The Story of Carol

This section elucidates the perspective of a librarian on keeping young people safe. I met Carol at the Madeiros public library, located adjacent to the park, across from Câmara. Stemming from her own and from other mothers' states of *preocupação*—which translates literally to preoccupation, and connotes a state of worry—she offered a vivid example of a more gentle and humane approach to managing the growth pains and troubles that emerge when growing up in Madeiros. *Preocupação,* is composed of the prefix "pre" followed by "occupation," and in the way that Carol and others use the term it refers to the worry that motivates familial figures of authority to care for their young kin. This sense of worry is

the root affect that state, NGO, and other forms of "at risk" youth prevention harness in order to justify and garner funding for time-management interventions. In contrast to the interventions seen in Chapter 1, Carol's approach to care also entailed a patchwork effort on the part of extended family members, friends, and other figures of authority to curb the destructive potential of juvenile experimentations. I tell the story of Carol, her mother Dona Giulia, and her brother Antonio, in order to point out the crucial differences between their approach and other forms of the pedagogy of prohibition.

Carol activated a computer for Joaquim and handed him a flier for Jovem Aprendiz, an after-school part-time work program that he wanted to apply to. As he walked off, she leaned in and lowered her voice to a whisper: "I wouldn't tell anybody this but I'm going to tell you because you're not from here. . . . He's part of a group that robs eggs," she told me. "I tell him to come spend all his time here so that I can give him one sermon a day." She recounted telling his mother, "your son is a good kid" but at age fifteen, when he gets together with a "grupinho perigoso" (dangerous group) "your child could pay a very high price." The problem, she added, is that Joaquim's mom works all day, and "o olho dela não vê além da esquina" (her eye doesn't see around the corner). She ordered Joaquim to spend his time in the library, and under the supervision and guidance of Carol, find after-school activities (*cursos, cursos tecnicos, aulas, projetos sociais* and Jovem Aprendiz*).*

Carol told me that the number of people who came to look for after-school activities for their kids—such as vocational training courses, arts and sports, language and part-time internship courses—spiked on weeks in which the police occupation of the neighborhood led to a shootout between police and drug-trafficking factions that claimed the life of a young neighbor, like in the case of Pedro.

In between her interactions with the patrons—elementary– and high school–aged children and youth—I spoke with her at length about the perceived dangers and caregiving strategies that parents, caregivers, NGOs, and state policies draw up to keep teenagers safe as they transition from home to school to work while toiling to establish autonomy. I was interested in particular in stories like that of Joaquim. How was it that his everyday life, from waking to sleep, came to be shaped by a patchwork effort of community members, educators, state representatives, NGO workers, and librarians like her, while his mother was at work?

Carol sat behind a computer with her back to the library park's large window walls, manning a help desk that mostly served as a free *lanhouse* (internet cafe) for children and youth from the neighborhood. They knew her, and were known by name. I sat perpendicular to her and could see through the window wall and across the park. Opposite the Library Park was Câmara. Outside the window wall, a young man was using the library's internet while lighting up a large joint. Carol made nothing of him and continued chatting with me. Where Rodrigo would've seen him as a drug user or trafficker, she took a "harm reduction" approach to free time, if you will.[49]

In addition to her relationship to Joaquim, Carol also took part in an everyday effort to care for her younger brother, Antonio, who had recently dropped out of school and was at the age at which he had begun circulating the city and claiming more independence. Their mother Dona Giulia, who also worked at the library, was also constantly thinking through how to prevent harm from befalling her seventeen-year-old son and sixteen-year-

[49] The logic of harm reduction in the context of drug use is based on the acceptance that the drug user will consume drugs. Under this manner of thinking, the mitigation or reduction of harms inflicted on him- or herself and society is carried out through a medicalized approach that conceives of the user as a patient rather than a criminal.

old daughter. She later told me the story about her other son, Antonio's older brother Junior: she had "lost one son to drugs," she recounted, and was "not going to lose another."

Like Joaquim's mother, Carol and Dona Giulia's *preocupação* meant they were also engaged in a patchwork effort to mobilize kin and friends, as well as NGO workers, school staff, teachers, neighbors, and other library workers, for the sake of prevention. Carol was part of a large web of figures of authority who, in piecemeal and improvised ways, at odd times and places, intervened in the lives of youth by making judgments about how they should spend their time. In so doing, they sought to minimize threats.

Carol's care for Joaquim was as ordinary as her job attending to questions and assigning computer stations. She kept an eye on him and mediated between him and his mother, providing frank advice to each about the challenges of being young. Carol's "one sermon a day" was figurative, but it was also literal. From an evangelical Christian background, she intended to instill a particular life-wisdom in Joaquim through quotidian conversations. More importantly, Joaquim's mother relied on the Library Park as a sort of informal daycare center where he would be contained and under the watch of Carol. This kind of care consists of observations, like those of a neighbor who keeps an eye on the coming and going of the young, creating webs of self-evident accountability and visibility.

While the kind of care that individuals like Carol and Dona Giulia practice to keep youths safe is part of a larger web of care that is motivated by moralities and rationalities constitutive of what I have characterized as pedagogies of prohibition, it is important to point out some crucial differences.

Their *preocupação* was not unfounded, however. The PAC Civic Center was preceded by the implementation of a pilot public security program that sought to reclaim

territorial control from drug-trafficking factions in order to formalize services (water, garbage collection, power) and in turn provide social services (health, education, leisure), in effect returning the area to state control and providing full citizenship to previously marginalized favela communities. On paper, it all looked dreamy. In practice, the arrival of state security forces (the UPP) unleashed waves of instability. Most intensely, what was once a ritualized back and forth contained by backroom deals and mutual self-interest for less media attention and scrutiny turned into an all-out war; "[o] tiroteio não tem horário" (the shooting doesn't have a schedule) is how Dona Giulia put it.

One day I went to visit Carol and her mother Dona Giulia at their home for a family get-together. We walked up to the third floor of their housing project. Dona Giulia told me the history of the neighborhood. A milk factory shut down and lay in ruin. Slowly, migrants seeking work in the metropolis began to settle the area as the city expanded northward away from its original coastal region into a northern plain that runs alongside the Floresta da Tijuca mountain range. Some lived inside the abandoned factory, but it was eventually demolished. The factory was razed and its rubble was used to raise the ground level, which, located in an area designated as a marshland by the state, floods routinely to this day. Then, the area was settled. Families—her parents and grandparents among them—built homes in the territory by means of "auto-construction." These houses were removed years later, and the housing project upon which we stood was erected upon their ruins. Dona Giulia drew from that history of occupation, removal, and occupation to illustrate the struggle of her grandparents, contrasting it to those faced by her sons and daughters. We talked about the role of education in this process, and Carol succinctly illustrated some of the sea changes her family had gone through. She began by illustrating an intergenerational gap.

The educational horizons and aspirations of her grandmother, she told me, were limited to attempting to guarantee an income and a basic livelihood before learning to read and write, much less "take classes in Portuguese, mathematics, or geography." Citizenship had an "insurgent" quality to it, in which people scrape together the resources necessary to make do (Holston 2008). "We fight within our limits," carol said to me. To her, this meant attempting to ensure formal educational trajectories geared towards citizenship and the accomplishment of dreams.

Similarly, the *preocupação* of Dona Giulia's grandparents' day was one of food security and house flooding. Prevention entailed locking the young inside the house, or having a spouse, grandmother, or older sibling take care of the young while the head of the household is at work. Today, youth are required to circulate in various social and institutional milieus in order to secure educational attainments, spending money, and professionalizing experiences, as well as to build self-made social networks through that circulation (Antonio has gone to three schools in the last three years). This widely recognized need to circulate fueled by increasingly expansive aspirational horizons does not mitigate the deeply felt *preocupação* of caregivers like Dona Giulia, who expressed fear of his circulation in the *rua* on his way to school.

"I lost one son and I'm not going to lose another"

This section tells the story of the perspective gleaned by Dona Giulia, who had "lost a son" to drugs. She offered a new perspective that emerged from her efforts to keep him away from danger. Recently, Antonio (her second youngest child) had dropped out of school after having issues with a teacher, who characterized him as having behavior problems.

Leading up to our interview, Dona Giulia had been tormented by the thought of losing a second son, and, in her own way, had toiled to keep him insulated from trouble.

As in the cases of both Marcos and Antonio, mothers have strategies to mitigate the dangers their young ones face. On an everyday basis, Dona Giulia imparts her own understanding of how to moderate one's behavior in order to stay safe in Madeiros:

> G: He has a problem with authority. I am trying to make him understand that he will have to submit himself, that that's how life is and that's how the system is, hierarchical at every turn, there's no escaping it because there are those who order and those who are ordered, there's no use in that anarchy of "I do what I want, nobody tells me what to do" . . . he's at the peak of his teenaged years.

Rather than outright rebellion against authority, she urges a performance:

> G: I explained to him, OK, we can't suffocate what we think, but we need to know how to talk, where to talk, this and that, then he left that school . . . he was very critical.

She later explained to me that moderating his speech could also entail other forms of expression: "The body speaks, the clothes talk . . . I always tell Antonio to interact with the police in a calm way, with *calma* (calmness)." She understands this performance to be a commonsense coping mechanism to get by unscathed in her neighborhood. While the racial dynamics of Brazil are unique, scholarly work on a "politics of respectability" has discussed this in the context of the United States, where their parents teach African-American youth how to behave in order to be "respectable" in non-black circles (Ralph in Biehl and Locke 2017: 93–110).

Antonio was a precocious young man. He was "ahead of his time," in Dona Giulia's words. Critical and independent, he was once thrown out of school for calling out a teacher for not talking about race on *Dia da Conciência Negra*. Having struggled herself to get a scholarship to study social studies at the university at age sixty, she appreciated his critical stance, criticizing how schools want "identical puppets" who obey rather than students who "question, who create discomfort."

In the context of the conversation about Antonio getting kicked out of his school for talking back and refusing to be told how to think, she reflected:

> G: . . . the school is not prepared to deal with difference. It is prepared to deal with the puppet—exactly, it is more or less the same as Antonio: the student who questions is not a student who the school wants. The school wants a student who lowers their head, who does everything the way the school programmed. It does not want, does not want a student who questions what bothers him, who asks things, because only the university wants that. But this student who questions in high school and middle school does not reach the university, they do not pass the entrance exam, they're rebels, they're a mess, they do not want anything, they're from the unstructured family who are not there for them, and they already, if they swallowed it all, they leave school and do not get into university, an excellent individual who would do very well if he had training, and then you see a mathematician dying in traffic, a mathematician in traffic...

Dona Giulia identified the source of deviance as something that is imposed on people like Antonio: as part of everyday stigmatizations that, if repeated enough, were

eventually "swallowed," and, in this way, performatively materialized over time in young bodies and futures. Rather than understanding risk as something immanent in idle youth to be banished by keeping them busy, she takes one step back. In the above statement, she locates risk in the educational system's inability to incorporate difference (like the precocious sass of Antonio), and the larger tendency to tag students as devious, which, in a self-fulfilling prophecy, makes it less likely for them to finish high school.

> G: ...because you cannot handle these guys, these guys are very intelligent, very articulate, they're diplomats, the guys can negotiate quietly, because this is an intelligence that the school did not recognize, did not recognize their intelligence. That as he was not a little doll, he was not like that, but I was able to understand it with Antonio, I lost Junior, but I will not lose Antonio.

I learned that her worry of losing him took on two valences. The first concerned the way she lost Junior. The second fear, and the more salient one in the conversation that ensued, was of losing him in everyday life, to the busy schedule of *correria* (running/hustling). Antonio now worked as a Jovem Aprendiz, the program that Carol encouraged Joaquim to join. An *agente de cultura* encouraged him, and many of his peers signed up for an after-school Jiu-Jitsu class (not unlike that offered by Soldier at Câmara). His routine was packed. Dona Giulia did not like this one bit.



Figure 17: Dona Tati from her balcony overlooking park. Photo by author, 2017.

Dona Giulia thought that this exhausting routine, from which he returned "almost dead," was stifling his dreams. A lighter workload that did not resemble that of someone who is working to feed a child, she reasoned, would give him a clearer vision of what his dreams are and how to reach them. While, on the one hand, Antonio swears during heated discussions that "I don't want to be like you guys," his schedule comes to resemble that of his father, who "works all the time" according to Dona Giulia, repairing A/C units and refrigerators from early in the morning until late at night.

> G: ...in this lifestyle that he's in, he cannot, he has to wake up at 6 a.m. to work until 2 p.m. and then go to school at night, a school that does not have quality (education)...

His routine, in her estimation, was overpacked and stifling "o sonho dele" (his dreams), or his ability to think clearly about what he wanted to do with his life.

> G: He lives in a big conflict, because I want to turn to him and say, you are living the life of a teenager who is a father, you have to work, you have no children, you will prepare to enter the market with what you really want to do with your life.

Meanwhile, his desire for his own spending money to purchase consumer goods (and independence/autonomy, as he and other youths explained to me) encouraged him to lead an even busier lifestyle.

> G: But at the same time, he wants to buy fashionable t-shirts, he wants to buy a soccer ball, because he is always playing soccer, he wants to buy a latest-version phone, so he lives in a conflict between getting his job and trying to enter the course that prepares him better. He is already in the second year of high school... in this dynamic where he is, he cannot even dream.

Antonio's dilemma is wanting to "have his things," which entails autonomy, independence and money for mobility (such as going to the Rock in Rio music festival with friends). A job with a Carteira Assinada—a Brazilian workers passport to formal employment with benefits—has an added allure of distinction in favelas. On the other hand, in the second year of high school, many students take a college-entrance test prep course, or *curso*, to improve their odds of gaining entrance to a public university. Finally, his closest friends all take after-school Jiu-Jitsu classes, which, in Dona Giulia's mind, pushes his routine to the extreme, making it impossible for him to think about his dreams. "When it exits [the dream], it's sort of frozen, it's left latent..." added Dona Giulia. In and through his incessant movement, his dream, if it exists, lies dormant, frozen. While Dona Giulia didn't want to

lose another son to drugs, she also didn't want a son who returned home after a fourteen-hour day "almost dead."

The Right to Leisure

These alternative forms of caregiving and mitigation of danger offer a striking contrast to some of the more forceful and violent responses seen earlier in this chapter. At the core, these responses, from caregivers like Carol and Dona Giulia, tend away from facile "solutions" and take into consideration a wide range of factors helping shape the situation faced by youths in Madeiros. Worth noting is that these efforts at caregiving do not criminalize leisure. Rather, they offer up a defense of a certain right to leisure even in contexts like their own. The following section closes the current chapter with another conception of leisure espoused by the poet MC Xandy, one that is different from the understanding of the term enshrined in the constitution. His lyrics resignify work, positioning it as part and parcel of making meaning, of being politically conscious citizens. Leisure, in this context, is not understood as the reward for work. Rather, the two are interrelated aspects of a larger struggle for dignity and self-determination in favela contexts.

Dona Giulia's understanding of how to keep her second son in school (and away from drugs) radically diverges from the voices of Rodrigo, Soldier of God, Fabio, and others who labor in youth prevention at the PAC. She sees caregiving as a question of his adjustment or maladjustment to a school system, rather than having to do with the dangers of free time. She disagrees with the premise maintained by the *agentes de cultura*, teachers, principal, and bureaucrats that busier is better.

> G: I think mainly that those who study, who work a lot with the head, need to have moments of relaxation, to de-stress, have to have leisure. So, I think at that moment I think it's good to have a balance...

As a woman who came of political age during the democratic period following the 1988 constitution, she believes in the right to leisure, and understands the consequences of the extremes of complete idleness and complete occupation as taking their greatest toll on Antonio's future ability to have a family and divide his time between work and leisure. Here, she identifies another "problem of free time": namely, the lack of free time in an over-busy work day.



Figure 18: Antonio taking photographs. Photo by author, 2016.

G: ...or he will be a completely irresponsible man, with himself and with

> the family… or he will be, like those who enter the work, who only live for work, twenty-four hours. His father is like that, cannot think, he cannot admit to taking a day off to do something totally different, so I do not want him to follow his father's way, I want him to build his way, and then that half way where he gets the week to study, and the weekend too, with responsibility for leisure, to be able to point to a guy who will know how to share his time with his family and work, which is ideal, not to freak out

She positions time spent getting money as in tension with proximity to a family, and enumerates all the things that getting money will not, in fact, bring home.

> G: I know that the more a couple stays away from home working, the more money they bring into the house, the more distance they will have... Money does not care, money does not limit, money does not understand, money does not solve. So we really have to take time to give birth to children, so it's important to work hard to give the best, it's important, but you need to have that back...

Dona Giulia went on, elaborating on the products of free time of young people, including Antonio, at the Library Park after school:

> G: He stays here... if you come here at night there are several groups, there are skateboarders, there are people who play rock, several groups there. Contrary to what one thinks these boys are very intelligent, contrary to what these boys say they talk a lot, they talk a lot, they talk a lot, they get down there and here in my chair I listen to what they're talking about. They discuss a lot of things, they confront things they've discussed in the family, there

> are people who are evangelical, who are spiritualist, who don't believe in anything, they argue about that, they question it... out there, from the top of our wisdom, we look at them and say we do not want anything, as we go away, they go into long conversations... I want to record what they say... you know that hiding recorder when the person doesn't know you are recording?! And then take some people to see: here it is, who says that this group does not want anything? Who says that this group does not know? Yes, they know, a lot! They discuss politics very well...

One of the youths who spends time at the corner of the Biblioteca Parque (where Rodrigo pointed out what he thought were drug traffickers and users) is a hip-hop artist. MC Xandy spends large parts of his day in the Madeiros park. He is part of a hip-hop collective named PAC'Stão (sounds like Pakistan, in Portuguese) that hosts weekly "rodas culturais" (cultural circles) in the park that include spoken word, poetry and rap battles. The collective derives its name from the federal development program *Projeto do Aceleração ao Crescimento,* known in vernacular as PAC. In a playful subversion, they redubbed PAC to *Por Amor a Cultura* (for the love of culture). With references to love of cultural production and MC Xandy composed "Meu Lugar" (My Place), which is a poetic reading of the *correria* of a poet and hip-hop artist in Madeiros:

> In our life we are the scriptwriter and the protagonist
>
> Favela-resident chronicler, artist and improviser poet
>
> I'm aware that consciousness is the way,
>
> A mind with information makes the flow little more than a detail
>
> I come from a tenement of poets,

every alley in the favela, a story, my library

Listen to the old ladies, ask for blessings from the aunties,

And thank God that today is a day of *correria*.

But good morning, good evening, I do not even know what time it is,

tired body, exhausted from so much improvising (rhyming),

Work is incessant, but I do it from the bottom of my heart.

And if it is not for the cause, I don't know the reason for being alive.

I traffic some books to inform my children,

My favela kills minors who dissent.

...

Chorus:

It's just that I never knew what I wanted to be

Just knew that one day my space I had to occupy

To make some difference before I die.

Because I know that my favela has always been a good place.

His *poesia (*poetry or lyrics) begin by paying homage to where he comes from: "every alley in the favela, a story, my library." After being blessed by family, he thanks God that today is a *dia de correria* (day of running/hustling). This intense work of improvisation exhausts body and mind. One loses oneself in time. This work takes the form of "trafficking" books to bring information to the kids. This work, he contends, is from the heart; it gives him a reason to live. The chorus pays homage to the importance of occupying space, the "good" space of the favela.

His lyrics reveal an adept awareness—and an articulate rebuttal—of the ideas used

by local educators to characterize the *pobre, preto e favelado* (poor, black and favela-resident) that he is understood to be, as well as the way he and his friends (and collective) choose to organize their time. A response to those who might see him as a druggie or trafficker, his lyrics resignify work, positioning it as part and parcel of making meaning, of being conscious, informed. In short, his lyrics position his collective as the scriptwriters and performers of a life story that occupies alleyways and libraries—a life occupying the space of his territory, his favela. This form of dignified meaning-making takes place in zones unreached by the interventions of pedagogies of prohibition. What observers tag as *desocupação* is often, in fact, an alternative temporal imaginary—an imaginary that undergirds a social reality grounded in alternative forms of personhood and resistance.

PART II: Professional Occupation

Chapter 3: Professionally Exhausted

> "In my generation, studying has boomed, and everyone who studies needs to work, so we end up doing everything, right, everything everything [*tudo tudo*]—work *and* study."
>
> —Laura (eighteen years old)

i. Student Workers

Scene One: It was 9:04 a.m., and the young woman was under slept, hungry and on the verge of an emotional breakdown. At 9:00 a.m., moments before she arrived to the eighth-floor professionalizing classrooms, Gonçalo had slid the queue barrier (like the ones at airports) to the right, blocking off access to his sign-in sheet. As he explained to her that she was four minutes late, and that she could not be allowed into her *curso,* she began crying uncontrollably. I watched this seventeen-year-old stranger from within the barricaded sign-in desk feeling while wretched. She was wearing the green polo shirt that read "Jovem Aprendiz" (Young Apprentice), the ones that punctuated the city while on their way to internships in corporations as part of the Center for School-Company Integration (PIPE) professionalizing internship. It wasn't clear what made her break: the physical malaise, the lost salary for the day and report to her boss, the prospect of facing the grueling two-and-a-half-hour commute back into the Zona Norte by bus, or the feeling of failing to live up to the ideal of becoming a *profissional* and securing an occupation. But what was clear was that for her parents, PIPE administrators, and education policy-makers, her day went according to plan. More than being professionalizing, it was pedagogical. It

inscribed within her memory and body the importance of punctuality. It also kept her very busy, and one step closer to getting a foot in the door at a multinational.

Scene Two: It was 8:45 a.m. that same morning, moments before the scene described above. Youths signed at the front desk with Gonçalo and shuffled into their rooms. Gonçalo would leave the bright neon lights off, and apprentices would place their backpacks on their school desks, lay their heads down and sleep before the instructor arrived. After four workdays at their corporate internships, the fifth day was spent at the PIPE headquarters, participating in a course aimed to teach them about how to behave and be punctual in the workplace. True to its name, PIPE intends to integrate, or provide the bridge between high school and the job market. The objective, as voiced to me by the program's superintendent, was the *formação* (formation) of *profissionais* out of *cru* (raw) favela youths. Operating in the name of "social inclusion," PIPE was the charitable arm of the foundation of one of the wealthiest and influential media corporation family businesses in Brazil. "Arrive early or never arrive," one youth who woke up at 4:15 a.m. to arrive before the traffic bottleneck from his distant neighborhood later explained to me. What this range of adult actors overlooked, however, were the students' very own bodies. Caught in bottlenecks and shootouts, train delays and gridlocks, arriving at PIPE on time was less a matter of professionalism and more a matter of metabolic adjustment to chronic sleep deprivation. Occupied by constant exhaustion, the body's last bastion of resistance was nodding off.

In Chapter 1, I discussed the utopian vision of full-time technical-vocational schooling that Rodrigo (the principal of Dom Hélder Câmara) laid out for me. He imagined a packed schedule that would push students to their physical limits. This rigorous and

totalizing form of pedagogy—aimed at the complete occupation of all time in the day—would, he imagined, prepare students for insertion in the labor force. The culmination of his dream school would be the creation of partnerships with the private sector. Students, having been formed into good professional subjects, would be seamlessly transitioned into the workforce, and into the middle class. Rodrigo outlined a utopian vision that sent his students from the total occupation of free time to a full-time, middle-class occupation.

Rodrigo's vision, in many ways, *already* exists. This is the focus of the current chapter. In what follows, I explore the forms of professional training that private sector firms and their initiatives, like PIPE, run: forms of pedagogical intervention that aim at fulfilling Rodrigo's dream of a smooth pathway from schooling into the labor force. As in Chapters 1 and 2, my analysis pays particular attention to the lived realities of these pedagogical programs, and the ways in which they attempt to assert control over students' time. I make two key claims. The first is that, far from the imagined figure of the unoccupied (*desocupado*) youth of *geração nem nem* (the generation who neither works nor studies), the reality for many of my interlocutors is that they are *over*-occupied. They are members of what one interlocutor called *geração tudo tudo*: the generation who both works *and* studies, all the time. This is the primary function of the professionalization programming that PIPE offers: while it may claim to be aimed at providing training for the workforce, in reality its main effect is simply to occupy youths' time—not only the time they spend in the classroom but also, crucially, the hours of commuting that students from the Zona Norte have to undergo. Put differently, while PIPE consistently emphasizes the differences between the *professional* training they offer and the *educational* focus of high schools like Câmara, the reality is in fact very similar: the chief pedagogical function of

PIPE's professional training is simply the total occupation of young people's time. This pedagogical effect is one that I refer to, following one of my interlocutors, as *pedagogia da enrolação* (loosely translated as the pedagogy of time-wasting).

The second claim is a related one: because these youths have to balance their high-school education not only with internships and vocational training but also with lengthy commutes (exacerbated by the poor state of transit in Rio and by the need to avoid the threat of violence), they are constantly sleep-deprived, and often on the brink of complete physical exhaustion. The body makes its presence felt as a very material limit on the efforts to occupy youths' time in contemporary Brazil.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first describes the aims of PIPE's professional training, and the ways in which it sets about achieving its goal of forming students into punctual, temporally-disciplined professional subjects. Sections 2 and 3 each turn to the students, and their critique of PIPE. Section 2 focuses on PIPE's shortcomings in terms of achieving their goal of increasing social mobility: in reality, the jobs and internships that students find through the program are exploitative and temporary, and do little to provide pathways into the middle class. And Section 3 focuses on the bodily impact of the expectations my interlocutors face, sacrificing not just free time but also sleep in order to attend occupational training courses and internships. There is, it turns out, a limit on how much time can be occupied, and that limit is the physical needs of the students themselves—above all, the need to sleep.

Methodologically, the chapter draws from interviews with PIPE instructors and executives. It also follows Yuri and Helen, two youths from Madeiros (and Câmara

students) as they become what I call student-workers (or *young apprentices)* at PIPE. I also carry out group interviews with interns at PIPE waiting rooms.

Instructors, not Teachers; Professionals, not Students

At PIPE, teachers are called instructors, and students are called *profissionais.* This change in nomenclature also signals an expectation for a change in behavior. What PIPE lacks in pedagogical content—students complained about what I call a *pedagogia da enrolação* (wasting time)—it delivered in tacit "techniques of the body" (Mauss 1973). While this "hidden curriculum" was enforced strictly—most visibly through the notoriously draconian punctuality policy—what was not accounted for were the physical realities of young bodies chronically sleep-deprived, or the territorial realities of the city, located beyond the purview of PIPE. Stuck in disruptions due to two kinds of traffic—that of cars, and that of organized crime—young interns struggled to adapt to their new busy routines. With policies like their punctuality rule and others, PIPE demonstrated to them in more than one way that the only sure way towards a professional occupation—a way out of their favela neighborhoods and into a middle class—was corporeal self-denial and sleep deprivation. I came to see how the body's metabolic cycles are the main points of resistance to the common-sense form of "social inclusion." A besieged body means a body that needs one thing but gets another. Before it has been trained or adapted, the metabolism hereby thwarts these imperatives of occupation by dozing off during class, or *cochilando na sala.*

When I began my research, I was interested in learning what made PIPE and other forms of *Jovem Aprendiz* programs desirable. I wondered what made such programs, also known as *cursos profissionalizantes,* so widely publicized and alluring. As I began my

research on time-management interventions in Madeiros, I soon heard mention and saw traces of PIPE in many of my sites, such as Câmara, as well as the public library and youth center. I also witnessed PIPE recruiters pitching the program to local youths at the Casa do Trabalhador, the employment office on the park at Madeiros, across from Câmara School. I would later learn that this recruitment happened in parallel at companies. The companies wanted to fulfil their quota of internship positions as required by labor law, and PIPE, in turn, wanted to expand its programs. PIPE's incentive, I would soon find out, far from placing students in secure employment, was to fill company's internship slots in order for them to be compliant with the law.



Figure 19: PIPE advertising internship program. Photo by author, 2017.

While internships are capped at six hours per day, they submerge youths who study and work into a routine of fourteen-hour days. In this way, they contribute to the imaginary of securing the youth's futures and preparing them to be productive citizens. What they also did, unwittingly, was contribute to a habit of sleeplessness and rushing. What caught my attention was the way in which this behavior was eventually normalized and understood

as a required side effect for securing professional occupation. Eventually, either bodies buckled under the weight of persistent neglect, or they adapted to an under-slept and overbusied routine. Far from securing a job that would ensure, according to PIPE's mission "social mobility", these youths soon found themselves pursuing exhausting routines that translated to little more than constant busyness with no guarantee of continued employment.

The Rise of the Center for School-Company Integration

This educational/professionalizing phenomenon is the product of a very specific context and history. In Brazil, the legal age to work is sixteen. There are two exceptions, however. The first is in the situation that the youth work in the informal labor market, or as a "*bico*", in local vocabulary. These workers, which make up a large percentage of Brazilian workers, receive no labor protections from the state. The second is a category of work contract in which he or she works as a young apprentice (*Jovem Aprendiz*, a sort of formally recognized, paid intern*)* starting age fourteen. This category of *Jovem Aprendiz* laborer means that he or she can be hired by a company on the condition that the company provide them with vocational training, while requiring the worker to continue attending high school, and providing rights afforded to that category of worker as outlined by the labor laws regarding the *carteira assinada* (formally registered worker). With a maximum two-year contract and six-hour work-day, *Aprendizes* are required to work as interns *and* attend weekly educational workshops, intended as the way of providing *formação tecnica-profissional*. Under what is known as the Law of Learning (Lei de Aprendizagem*)* of

2000,[50] companies are required to hire a percentage (5 percent) of *Jovem Aprendizes* based on the total number of employees. In return, companies are protected from fines, garner a new category of flexible labor, and benefit from tax incentives. Because companies are unable to provide the educational component (or "capacitation") required by the law, a third type of educational organizations emerged to fill the gap. This process was known as the "tercerização do aprendiz" (outsourcing of internship coordination).

One of the largest organizations filling that gap is PIPE. Their stated mission is to combine "theoretical and practical formation," giving youths "the opportunity for social inclusion with their first job and to develop skills for the workplace." Meanwhile, companies that partner with PIPE to meet their required percentage of interns receive financial incentives (including tax breaks), a category of temporary work contracts that make flexible labor protections, as well as the "opportunity to contribute to the formation of future professionals of the country, spreading the values and culture of your company."[51]

When the Brazilian economy began to grow during the early 2000s, companies in Brazil lacked skilled service sector workers. In 2000, the Lei de Aprendizagem was passed. PIPE rapidly emerged as one of the main providers of *Jovem Aprendiz* internships in the country. Its business model entailed attracting middle to low income youths from public schools with the prospect of entrance into a large multinational company. It attracted companies by offering to provide the "formation" component. The main problem is that

[50]According to the Consolidation of Labor Laws and Decree No. 5,598/05 (which regulates the hiring of apprentices), the contract may be established with workers between fourteen and twenty-four years of age. Its validity presupposes an annotation in the Work and Social Security Card (CTPS), in addition to enrollment and attendance of the worker in school (if they have not finished high school) or in a learning program (if they have). In addition, the employment contract may not exceed a maximum period of two years, except in the case of an apprentice with a disability, for which the law has not established a maximum term of validity.

[51] Empresas – Lei da Aprendizagem, accessed April 23, 2019, https://portal.CIEE.org.br/empresas/lei-da-aprendizagem/ .

PIPE's bottom line is not to give jobs, but to perform the function of filling the quotas for companies. When Brazil's recession hit in 2014, PIPE and other *Jovem Aprendiz* programs became the target of criticism by groups that argued that it had become another form of *tercerizado* precarious labor. PIPE works with both *estagios* (a more traditional form of internship) and *Jovem Aprendiz*. When the crisis hit, PIPE employees reported seeing a spike in the latter. The reasoning is that companies prefer *Jovem Aprendiz* because they are cheaper and made of terminal contracts and short-term contracts. By outsourcing professionalization and increasing labor flexibility, PIPE was a win-win for companies. In light of this, I became interested in understanding how PIPE impacted the lives of my interlocutors, many of whom were Câmara students who took up internship positions there. I would find that, like Rodrigo, PIPE was less concerned with job market insertion, and in the end, contributed more to the goal of keeping youth extremely busy.

My ethnographic fieldwork followed interlocutors from Madeiros like Helen and Yuri, whom I met at the Câmara high school, into the high-rise downtown where they attended the "technical-vocational" course, but extended out into the daily commutes of youth between home, internship and school. Throughout six months of ethnographic fieldwork at PIPE, I began to uncover the way in which PIPE leverages the possibility of entrance into a professional occupation while occupying the free time of youth, in the name of *profissionalização* (professionalization) and *formação* (formation). After meeting students who were part of the program and seeing posters and business cards of PIPE on multiple occasions while researching in Madeiros—in the spaces surrounding the park such as the school, library and youth center, I decided to go to the PIPE headquarters, where I began my research, introducing myself to the superintendent, Pedro.

From Raw Youth to Fully Formed Professional

Youths enrolled in the course work for four days a week and attend the obligatory "professionalizing course" once a week. PIPE screens, interviews and prepares young Brazilians—the vast majority seeking upward mobility from favelas—for their first private sector minimum-salary internship. To research PIPE, I organized my participant observation and interviews around PIPE's organizational structure, which is divided into three areas. The first is the professionalizing school. Located on the top floors of a high-rise otherwise used for a private university, it is where all interns spend one day per week, and where I carried out most of my research. The second part is the company, or workplace, scattered throughout the Zona Sul's commercial, retail, and managerial spaces; this is where interns spend four days per week. Before stepping foot in these first two sites, they register, apply, and interview at a third site. Pedro and my first conversation cut to the core of my research interest on the way the occupation of free time was entangled with ideas about professional occupation and social mobility.

Pedro told the story of two businessmen back in 1964, the year the military overthrew the democratic government, "One of them said, my kid, all the vacation days—because back then vacation lasted two months—all vacation my kid sits around without doing anything. I'm going to call my friend, who is also a business man, and I'm going to send my kid over there to be there, working with him during the holidays. By coincidence, the other side also had kids, so he said, wait a minute, then I'm also gonna send mine over too, so that we don't end up with kids in the house—send him over. And that's how it started."

What began as an effort for businessmen to keep their youths busy during summer vacation was eventually transposed onto middle and working class youth who attended school but whose second half of the day was perceived to be "empty," leaving them in a situation of perceived risk and vulnerability. When the Lei da Aprendizagem was passed, PIPE re-engineered its business model into a "social business" funded by the Fundação Roberto Marinho (linked to Brazil's most influential media corporation), with the purported goal of expanding "social inclusion," for low-income youth seeking private sector jobs, and soon became one of the primary institutions in Brazil that serves as a

middle-man between youths looking for internships and jobs and businesses that need trained workers.



Figure 20: Interns during activity. Photo by author, 2017.

Pedro continued, describing how the program takes *cru* (raw) youths who are upwardly aspiring from favelas and prepares them for the labor market. It was this "raw"

subjectivity, in his own words, that made the "behavioral" educational intervention necessary for youths to prevail within their corporate cubicles and part-time internships. It was also this "raw" subjectivity, he added, that added an element of "prevention" to the program.

After asking me if I was familiar with the slogan, "an empty mind is the devil's workshop," he voiced the common discourse that "leisure" was lacking in neighborhoods controlled by drug traffickers, who put on a "marketing play" and become the "idols" of the young, who lined up to join their ranks. Reminiscent of the NGO and foundation work with youth that I studied in Madeiros, he mentioned a philanthropic project organized by Brahma (one of Brazil's biggest beer companies) that built soccer courts in favelas for youths to have access to leisure.

> P: These are measures that are being taken to remove people from that locality and place them in another moment.[52]
>
> B: Are there more [projects like that] now?
>
> P: Skateboarding, rollerblading, put everybody for a basketball game, for people to leave that place [the favela], [to leave] the moment that is being lived over there, traffickers passing by, *bandido*. . .

Speaking about free time as a simultaneously spatial ("leave that place") and temporal ("the moment that is being lived over there"), Pedro used sports as an example of leisure that would insulate youths from danger.

> B: That they have something to do during the second half of the day . . . is a preventative measure?

[52] Recall the mother I chatted with while on a bus to Nobre Shopping, telling me about the importance of keeping her son busy, or, in her words, of "occupying the space" of her son.

P: It's preventative, exactly, for that you have to, it's that, it's exactly that, the intention is that, not leaving him *solto* (loose), because loose he can *arranjar* (find) something that, even any kind of foolishness . . . he goes I don't know to the corners to do who knows what, drink . . .

This state of being "loose" was what he understood as the problem. To solve this problem involved occupying him.

B: And what about opportunities for work?

P: The school is indispensable, gotta go to school, and on the other half, of school, on the other half [of the school day], gotta arrange something, something to do.

Here Pedro voiced the problem of countertime, pointing to the unstructured second half of the school day as the crux of the problem.

B: What are the best [things to do]?

P: Well! Do PIPE, these *cursos,* be an intern, look for an institution that presents to him/her how to do craft, or anything that will verify what he in fact wants to do...

Here Pedro was reiterating the common-sense preventative logic of proffering *cursos,* or the after-school "courses" that keep young people busy during the second half of the day that we discussed in earlier chapters. Suddenly, his voice changed as if recalling an important point: "But all of a sudden, now with that full time that they're talking about, a group of schools are doing full time, that's very good." Full time schooling, in his estimation, was the way to go. But there was a caveat: "But only if the school also prepares the youth for work, it is not only giving Portuguese and math, that will not solve, the student

will have a good knowledge but how will he/she apply that? There is no practice." He alluded to the importance of full-time schooling as a solution, only to point out how his program filled the lacuna that any schooling (even full-time) failed to provide. PIPE keeps them busy *and* "prepares the youth for work." What good is knowledge without "applying it" without the "practical", he asked.

He then added an important point, taking the conversation beyond previous ones about prevention:

> P: Even when at school, if they form a *grupinho*, who knows what plans they might make for later that evening.

Even when busy, Pedro added, youths can still conspire to get in trouble. In his understanding of so-called "raw" youths, being busy did not necessarily reduce or prevent risk (as they could be busy and scheming at the same time). He set his program aside, arguing that they provide "encaminhamento" (follow-through) and the company "molds" them to the culture of company. What was needed was an intervention at the level of subjectivity itself, of intervening pedagogically at the level of behavior and lifestyle.

This emphasis on "molding" or "forming" stuck with me from this conversation. As I began research at the internship course high-rise, I found that PIPE *cursos* were not framed as educational; to the contrary, they were framed as a professional space, a sort of extension of the workplace. Teachers were considered "instructors," classrooms "rooms," and students "professionals". The local director of the course component described to me how the goal was to provide them with an environment that recreated the workplace, while instilling in them the knowledge, habits, practices and ideas that help them assimilate more readily. The most jarring and readily visible point of contact between youth trajectories

and the environment created by PIPE was their punctuality policy. I came to understand how the outcome of this approach was a rather jarring adjustment to corporate intern life that entailed a dramatic lifestyle and routine change.



Figure 21: "Every second is time to change everything for good," next to biometric time clock. Photo by author, 2017.

Beating the Traffic

While it does not translate to Portuguese, this expression "beating the traffic" helps me keep two English definitions of "traffic" within the same frame. The first is car traffic: buses that don't stop, trains that get stuck in train congestion, traffic flow, and accidents. The second, relatedly, is traffic, in the sense of drug trafficking. When shootouts occur, not only are lives at risk, but so are livelihoods. Bus routes shift, trains stop running, traffic jams are exasperated, street pedestrian mobility can be lethal. Both notions of traffic entail commutes requiring an elaborate calculation of risk, timing, guessing, and luck. Above all, they entail getting up very, very early in the morning.

I recalled a refrain that a student once told me: “chegar cedo, ou não chegar” (to arrive early, or not to arrive). It paints the picture of a daily predicament. Or, you “beat the traffic,” by getting up very early, or you arrive very late due to rush hour traffic. With PIPE’s aggressive punctuality policy, it took on another layer of meaning. It meant, or arrive early, or be impeded to enter upon your eventual arrival. Gonçalo, the front desk man in charge of enforcing the punctuality policy was from a distant favela himself. We spoke at length about the policy, which he disagreed with. He elaborated upon the predicament of students, and his way of alleviating the situation in the mornings

> G: They leave the house at dawn, then many that arrive there, then I leave the room to them, then they enter the room, [where] I let some sleep, I leave them resting, because, they arrive very [early], they leave very early from home and they live far away, many live far away, then they arrive there [to the classroom], sometimes I'll set the speakers in the classrooms and I do not even turn on the light, I leave them with the light off, so that they can rest there, take a rest. When the educator arrives, that it is, right, then one has to turn on the light, you have to . . .
>
> B: You have to arrive early, or not arrive.
>
> G: Yes, the traffic in Brazil is complicated, the later you leave home, Brazil is complicated, they take Brazil Avenue, most of them. And most also take, as Valentina said, the train, and with the train something always happens. . . . So, they leave early from home, early not to be late. Even so, there are some who arrive late.
>
> B: Too early.

G: Too early.

B: I imagine that many do not sleep enough.

G: There's one that comes from Itaguí, that takes more or less 4 to commute, imagine, he said he gets 3 connections in the commute, then you imagine, he arrives late, he goes back home . . . [when] he leaves home it's still dark. Three transports [transfers] to get here right now, we even joke with him, [*impersonating a joke*] man, you'll get home and you're not even going to sleep, you'll change clothes for [*signals motion of leaving again*] . . . Then he'll arrive there, I'll open the room, he will rest there, you have to be aware that the guy is coming from far away.

Having been born and raised in a favela that is distant from his workplace, Gonçalo believed that the punctuality policy showed a lack of respect for students, whose daily commutes took them through and around violent shootouts, gargantuan traffic jams, faulty public transportation systems, and across long distances, packing their days in such a way that their exhaustion was unavoidable.

The race to get to the internship course would be more rewarding if, once there, the course itself was held in high esteem by students. The reality was that PIPE did not prioritize its pedagogical content. Rather, it focused its energy on the fundamentals of training them and their bodies to learn to make it to work punctually and learn the ways of a salaried managerial worker. The problem, as my interlocutors pointed out, was that PIPE did not respect students in return.

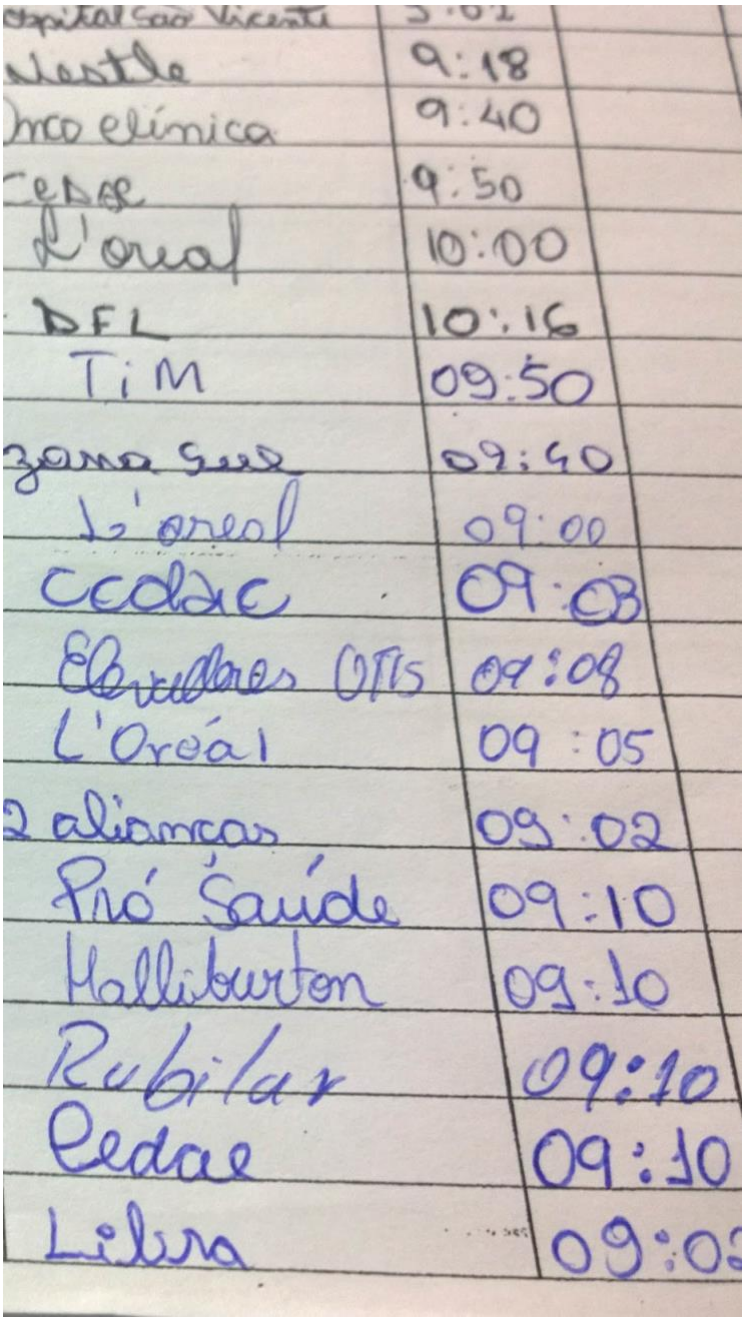

Figure 22: Tally of delayed interns who are turned away.

In its draconian punctuality policy, in an effort to set a strict example, PIPE had overlooked the conditions of possibility for punctuality to exist. Interns, as Gonçalo pointed out, often get caught in the *violência*, a term used to describe the shootouts between police, militias and traffickers. If not, they would face Rio's notorious bottleneck traffic when

entering the south zone and center zone (where most work) from the north zone (where most live).

ii. Student Critics: *Pedagogia da Enrolação*

What bothered student critics of the program the most was the punctuality policy itself. Rather, it was the fact that after making an inhumane effort to arrive on time, class-time had little to no value to her and to her peers. The results of PIPE were far from desirable for its students. While it demanded the world from them, it promised little if no return besides from its modest salary. PIPE was not positioned to place students in jobs, it never was. Rather, it was there to keep them busy with jobs that are not only precarious (hires are rare) but many times exploitative.

After meeting Dandara, an instructor at PIPE, she invited me to observe her class. She staged a debate over abortion with her class. Students were deeply engaged and participated eagerly. It was an unusual sight that troubled some of my narratives about PIPE. I had been observing numerous instructors, and until then, I had observed workshops with other instructors that were geared towards improving students' professional skills—on language for the workplace (including accent reduction), time management, projects of life, name your price, and drug prevention. I spoke to her one day after work, and she admitted that though her topics were engaging, they would get her fired if the administration found out. Begrudgingly, she admitted to me that her approach to pedagogy—highlighting pressing social issues, debates and critical thinking—ran against the grain of PIPE's approach. What's more, she added, it was less out of an interest in giving teachers autonomy and more due to indifference that she was allowed to teach the

way she did. Then she clued me into a fact that I had neglected. PIPE, she said, is characterized by a *pedagogia da enrolação.*

Enrolação translates to rolling-up, but in contexts of conversation, means to go in circles in order to deceive, to bullshit in order to take up time. She cited seeing other teachers perform group activities that took up an hour and a half of class. The goal being to *preencher* (fill up) class time, with little to show about an intentional pedagogical project. "The students travel far to get here on time, stressed out, tired, and what do they come do here? Learn? *Enrolar, enrolar, enrolar.*" She connected this to her pedagogy, lamenting the missed opportunity to teach important lessons at this important juncture in their lives. This motivates her to teach in the way she does. She added that as it currently was, a more technical or vocational course—as opposed to a managerial self-help professionalizing approach—would benefit students more. Racing to get to work, students were often received with lackluster lessons that they believed had no application to their real lives and to their internship.

I was given the opportunity to be a guest at one of PIPE's courses, on the tenth floor of the high rise. I was with a group of about twenty youths wearing their green polo shirts. On the back of the shirt was the organization's slogan, "aprendiz legal" (cool intern). I asked them about the *geração nem nem*. Initially everyone could identify someone or other who met the two criteria: not working nor studying. Then as we delved deeper, students began poking holes in the seemingly airtight demographic category. One pointed out, "I think it's also important to pay attention to the flip-side, those who are in school and not studying, or at work and not working." A girl chimed in, reminding us of the origin point of the expression in Brazil.

> G: "[It is in] Generation Brazil, where this topic arose, it was part of this soap opera that had a young *patricinha* (preppy young woman) . . . who only thought about buying . . . . this actress represented this *geração nem nem* . . . "

She continued, pointing out the way the category had been generalized to an entire generation, elaborating: "because things are very difficult here, so, if we don't start to *correr atras* (run after) our future from very early, the only thing that falls from the sky is rain . . . it is very hard. So our life is like that, we cannot say that is the totality of youth."

By highlighting the way challenges faced by many young people, she pointed out how the category of *geração nem nem* is misleading, as youths, in fact, lead very busy lives, and the category must be for a small minority. In addition, she pointed out how the name was popularized by a soap opera that was representing a middle class *patricinha*, or in her words consumerist woman, and was then transposed upon youths like her and her generational cohort (many of which come from different backgrounds). She pointed out that for her and the people she knows, *correr atrás,* is not much of an option, but more of a requirement for many. "The only thing that falls from the sky is rain," she said, using an expression aptly captures the way "things are difficult" for youth, who are not entitled to any social, economic, or familial guarantees.

To the contrary, their social and familial world begins to unravel if they do not engage in the *correria*, even on weekends. What seemed to insult students was not the fact that they had to live under sleep deprivation, or that it would likely stunt their physical development if endured for long periods. Rather, what bothered them, like Helen, was that,

even when arriving at PIPE on time, they were often taught according to *pedagogia da enrolação*. This, to them, represented a lack of respect.

Helen: Mão de Obra Barata

When I asked Helen, a student-workers who came to be my closest interlocutor among the students at PIPE, what message she wanted me to relay to the superintendent, she said, "the program would be way better if it prepared real people rather than workers." She paused, and added, "he will have to admit it, because it's true." Helen stood out to me from the beginning. She introduced herself after class, and we soon developed a friendship.

Helen lives in the favela of Complexo da Penha, a two-and-a-half-hour bus ride from downtown. When she manages to get enough sleep, she reads in the bus. Otherwise she naps so as to not fall asleep at her internship, at a water utilities company. I carried out a series of long interviews with her after work at a café, where she gave me her view of her experience inside PIPE. Along the lines of what Dandara expressed, she believed that PIPE was a missed opportunity. She said that it was a wasted opportunity, since the student-workers could be learning about the real world, about real lives, which would make them better thinkers, better workers, and better people in general. In her view, neither does PIPE teach how to be a good worker, or how to be a full human being, but instead do both things with mediocrity. For her, to create a "real human being," rather than a worker, would be better off for the company, the student, and PIPE in the long run, rather than making "mão de obra barata" (cheap labor). I asked her to expand, asking her whether she believed that it was possible to separate professional life from personal life, and she arrived at the conclusion that professional life is impossible to disentangle from personal life. "This is

something very basic . . . that line is ridiculous," she said. If you come home exhausted, or thinking about work, it obviously is part of your private life.

What Helen identified was an aspect of PIPE that had been on my mind. She put words to it. If work (and PIPE) is considered part of life at large, then the *pedagogia da enrolação* that Dandara lamented was, in the eyes of Helen, an insult that degraded her and treated her like a "cheap source of labor" rather than a wholesome person.

An added insult, she reasoned, was the fact that the bottom line of PIPE did not match that of the interns: i.e. getting a job. This was due to various reasons: The first was the fact that since internships are year-long contracts, there is no incentive to invest in them as workers, train them, give them skills and responsibilities. They are also ideal sources of menial labor, and represent flexible laborers who are temporary. The second is that PIPE's incentive is not to place interns in jobs that hire. Rather, it is to generate as many contracts as possible with companies such that they take more interns. When companies do hire, they are very likely to hire someone they know. The third is that they are cheap. Since they work part-time, they receive less than a minimum salary, and work for a total of 4 reais per hour (which is close to one US dollar).

iii. *Geração Tudo Tudo* (Generation Everything Everything)

Similarly to the prior section, which turns to youths and their critiques of PIPE, this section focuses on the critics who identify some of the bodily impacts of the expectations they face, who sacrifice not just free time but also sleep in order to attend occupational training courses and internships.

I took advantage of groups of student-workers who waited at the PIPE headquarter waiting rooms for bureaucratic procedures. These waiting rooms consisted of ideal spaces where, after an initial conversation and introductions, I received consent to record a group conversation while they waited. Commute times figured prominently in the challenges faced by student-workers.

I inquired about commute times at my group interviews, and the average commute time of student-workers ranged between two hours, with outliers dipping below the two-hour mark, and yet others rising up past four. Moving into the city in the mornings and evenings via train and bus entailed traversing one of Brazil's most brutal bottlenecks, with millions of commuters cramming through the limited means of public transit and roads that connect the south zone with the north zone. During one exchange with three interns, I delved deeper:

B: Where do you live?

Intern 1 (I1): I live in Baixada.

Intern 2 (I2): I live in the West zone.

Intern 3 (I3): I live in the South zone, in Vidigal.

B: How long do you spend in traffic?

I2: Depending on the day, if it's a normal day, by train, one hour and a half.

I1: Wow, I spend two to two and a half.

I2: On my way back, I spend about three hours and twenty.

B: And with traffic?

I1: Four, even five hours on the bus.

B: Do you guys do other stuff beyond work?

I3: In my case I don't do anything else, because of the schedule, because, we have to give up other stuff.

B: The work is six hours, but plus transit, it ends up equaling full-time work.

I3: Yeah, about eight hours.

. . .

I1: I'm gonna come to work after school, so I have school from 7:20 to 12:30, then in an hour I have to come here, to work, and then I get out at 7 p.m. And I come home—by 9 p.m. I'm home.

I2: I come home, yeah, it's the same schedule, because I leave at 7 and I get home night.

I3: In my case I get out of work at 8, and I get home, more than two hours, after 10 p.m.

Daily Routines and Sleep Deprivation

These commute times to get to their internships contributed directly to their sleep deprivation. At another group interview, I asked more about the ways in which being a *Jovem Aprendiz* contributed to their sleeping patterns. In this conversation, three interns compared notes with one another over their sleeping schedules, revealing to me (but also to each other) the way everyone participating in the interview was chronically sleep deprived due to the demands of studying and working.

B: And how many hours do you sleep on average?

Guy: I arrive sleeping.

Girl: It depends, during the week of exams, I don't sleep, but I sleep some

five, six hours. Eight hours, not even dreaming.

Guy: I don't believe you.

Guy 2: It’s impossible to sleep eight hours.

Guy: You sleep all of that time? Man, I sleep three hours, other times, seriously, sometimes I put my cellphone to wake up in three hours, three hours and twenty, three hours and forty, its very little.

. . .

I’m serious, I sleep three , four, sometimes I put four hours and a half.

Guy 2: I sleep five it’s already horrendous.

Girl: Do you sleep in the afternoon at least?

Guy 2: No.

Guy: Sometimes, very rarely I sleep in the afternoon.

Girl: You’re crazy. How do you stay standing? I couldn’t...

Guy: You guys sleep six hours a day, that’s a lot.

Girl: Six hours, max.

Guy 2: Max.

Girl: Normally I would need eight.

Guy 1: You guys don’t wake up throughout the night?

Girl: I do.

Guy 2: Sometimes.

Guy: You stay up what an hour at night?

Girl: No. I just take my dog out to go pee.

Guy: People, I sleep very little then.

. . .

Girl: Do you know what the ideal is for you to sleep when you're twenty, twenty-five years old? Six and a half hours. But the ideal for an adult is eight hours.

(laughter)

Girl: I never sleep eight hours.

At another group interview, this time in the classroom space at the PIPE professionalizing course, I noted in my fieldnotes that the interns to my left and right nodding off. I became very concerned about the most impactful outcome of the program's effort to "mold" students: chronic sleep deprivation. While I never spoke to the girl who broke down when being barred from entering after arriving four minutes late, at my group interviews I asked interns about their sleeping habits and routines.

B: I don't know if it's possible in your lives, but the advice of doctors is for you to sleep at least eight hours.

The room erupted in laughter and chatter, until a girl's voice emerged:

Guy: Just the weekend.

Girl: Not even the weekend. Not even the weekend.

B: Are you guys tired at school, during class?

Girl: A lot, it's impossible to describe...

(Group laughter)

Girl: In my case, I wake up every day at 5 a.m., and sleep at two in the morning, because I have college, I have work, I have my sister who works as cook and sleeps out, and I still have the truffles that I make to help with

> my income, because I don't want to ask for money from my mother, and I need to supplement my salary, so that's my routine, and even so, and to get the bus, I stand near the bus driver without going through the turn stall, because there's not enough space to even stand . . . yes, because if I remain standing, it's a bunch of men, then, it's better to remain standing.
>
> Girl: I get home at 7 p.m., then, I have to see if everything is set for the next day. . . . When I get home I have homework to do, and many times I take work from work back home, because I'm the only *Jovem Aprendiz* in my company so I sometimes have to work on things from home, and I end up helping my mom to make food, do a little cleaning on the house, clean my room, I'm the only daughter in home at the time.

This young woman's weekly routine entailed household caregiving, supplemental income generation, school, internship, commutes and the menace of harassment in public transportation. These young professionals adhered to busy schedules, reaching, time and again, their physiological limits. Model citizens, in the eyes of figures of authority that understood occupation as necessary to foster character, professionalism and stave off *desocupação*. Considering the realities of the urban commute, however, these routines are revealed as unsustainable and unhealthy. Being too busy impacts the body, as the will to do everything they are expected to do does not allow enough time to sleep, eat and do what's necessary to physically survive.

Naps on the Bus

While Gonçalo allowed youths to sleep upon early arrival to the course, this didn't solve

the problem of sleep deprivation. During one of my first interviews with Yuri, a student who connected my two sites, being a student at Câmara and a *Jovem Aprendiz*. Speaking to him, I discovered the creative ways youths devise to give their bodies what they need: on his way in, he skips traffic, on his way home, he is standing. "I already learned how to sleep standing," Yuri laughed, while striking a pose. He imitates the posture, with his elbow at a 90 degree angle holding the bar, and his head on his bicep. "Just that sometimes it [his hand] lets go." He laughs again, as I interject in jest:

B: Then you hit the person sitting next to you.

Y: That's happened in the past... One time, a guy gave me his place, because I was really, I was really, I was like this, eh.

He poses to demonstrate a flaccid body.

Y: And he felt sorry for me so he gave me his seat. When people stare, I don't pay attention.

B: Your routine is crazy.

Y: I don't know if it's the routine, or if it's just me, it's just that I like to sleep (laughs). But I think I'm accustomed to this routine.

B: At what time do you get up?

Y: 6 a.m...

B: and you stay up talking to your girlfriend.

Y: Man, I get home more or less at midnight, sometimes. Because I get out of work here at 6 p.m., then I go to church... I get home more or less at midnight...

Then I get on my phone to talk with my girlfriend or mess around, when I see its already 1 a.m., 2 a.m. (laughs).

B: Then you have to get up at 6 a.m.

Y: Yeah... for example last night, last night I didn't sleep until 2:30.

Yuri found time to smuggle his relationship into his life late at night after going to church. As a result, he sleeps around three to three and a half hours a night on weekdays.



Figure 23: Rio de Janeiro bus. Photo by author, 2017.

At one of the waiting room interviews, I learned that Yuri was not alone in sleeping in public transportation. I was also struck by their surprise to learn how little sleep they each got:

B: Do you guys sleep enough?

Group: (Subdued laughter and chatter). We sleep in the commute.

Girl: Actually not even in the commute we can sleep, we just doze, because all the time you have to open your eyes to see if you won't be robbed.

The conversation that ensued discussed the ways in which the youth find ways to sleep in public transit. Each shared their stories:

> B: If you don't find a seat?
>
> Guy: I can manage to sleep standing.
>
> Guy: You wake up with your knee asleep.
>
> Guy: Suddenly you are standing on the bus and then you are tired, then the bus stops at a stop and you look...
>
> B: There are strategies for you to be able to.
>
> Girl: You're in the metro leaning on the door and the door opens.
>
> Girl: You wake up with a dry mouth.
>
> Guy: You can also [sleep] in the subway, you sleep, then you pass the station, then you have to take the subway back again, then you sleep again and pass again.

Expressing discontent with their routines in a language of humor, the youth pointed out the trials and tribulations they face when learning to navigate the city as a newly working commuter. I was struck by their resilience. They pointed out the two kinds of traffic—drug trafficking and urban traffic—that renders it impossible for them to be punctual, and contributes to their sleep deprivation.

From Rolê to Correria

After examining the aims of PIPE's professional training, and the ways it sets out to form students into temporally-disciplined professional subjects, the chapter's section 2 and 3 turns to student-workers and their critiques of PIPE. These include the institution's

incentive structure—which does not prioritize giving long-term employment or professions to the interns—but also the fact that the expectations they face—of being occupied constantly—lead to chronic sleep deprivation.

About a year after having gotten to know him and gone on the *rolê* with him atop the *casarão* in Madeiros, I re-met Yuri at the food court of the shopping mall where he worked at a retail store. I wanted to know what had changed since he began this routine. I asked, "Would you spend more time in Madeiros last year?"

> Y: Yeah, I'd spend time *zuando* (messing around) there, *sacaneando para caramba* (fooling around like hell) there. Sometimes we'd invent to go out, on the weekends, or we *metia calote* (hop the bus turn stall) or I'd go by foot.
>
> B: Where would you go?
>
> Y: Oh there was a time that we went, to the Praça Lopes, in Bonsucesso, there's a rap circle there, it's cool... We walked a ton, to Quinta de Boa Vista... we'd roam the whole favela. One time Felipe and I were in Madureira, and the police took us to the station in Jacaré, *uma doidera* (it was crazy).

Yuri recounted stories about his *bonde* (friend group) being taken into the police station on unsubstantiated charges of drug possession. He recalled strolling his favela (Madeiros) by foot after work and school, and being criminalized by police. To him, the biggest risk—and part of his rationale for ceasing to circulate in such ways—came from the escalation of violence during the police occupation of Madeiros. He recalled how shootouts became

much more frequent between 2015 and 2016. “Last year it was more chill. This year it’s more tense,” he added:

> Y: I don’t spend much time in the favela. Last year I would study in the afternoon, and would stay afterwards *de bobeira* (hanging out) in the favela, or in the surrounding favelas. *Ano passado fazia muita besteira* (last year I messed around a lot).

Yuri draws out a contrast from the year before (when we first met), when, under the supervision, albeit temporary, of figures like Rodrigo and Soldier, Yuri still had time to *fazer besteira* (mess around). 2016, in distinction, was a year of arduous commutes and sleeplessness. The time he spent last year circulating his favela with friend groups, this year he spent commuting and working. As I returned to Câmara for research in 2016, his Câmara friends noted that he “was disappeared.” His disappearance was less a matter of choice, and more due to the fact that he was becoming part of the circuitry of professional occupation. As a result, his friend group became restricted to his church, as he lost ties to Madeiros, and the *roda cultural* (cultural circle) he was once part of. He spent his evening hours instead pushing retail credit cards at a clothing shop in a shopping mall, commuting home, going to church and speaking with his girlfriend (who lived in another neighborhood). I noticed that students who were employed as interns while studying maintained ever-tenuous ties to Madeiros, the park and the school community. Rather, like Yuri and Helen, they were shuffled back and forth from the city center, where they worked, and their homes. This routine was so demanding that they slept less than five hours per day. Despite his over-occupied—and had devised ways of sleeping while standing in public transportation. “I like to sleep,” Yuri confessed. His body needed those hours of sleep,

which he rarely managed to provide it after packing his love life, family, friends, work and school into his daily routine. Yuri, I came to see, was a member of the *geração tudo tudo*.

What seemed like a part-time internship was, in practice, a full-time routine that entailed particular social and pedagogical implications. Although internships are a maximum of six hours per day, in practice, they "integrate" youth—in the name of social inclusion—into a routine that takes up twelve to fourteen hours per day. While, on the one hand, programs like PIPE contribute to the imaginary of securing youth's status as productive citizens, they also unwittingly contribute to habits of sleeplessness and rushing. These side-effects are normalized in the name of securing a professional occupation. Some of the program's biggest critics were the students themselves, who either broke down in exhaustion, or adapted to under-sleeping and perpetual exhaustion. Unfortunately, PIPE internships guarantee little more than perpetual busyness, offering no guarantee of continued employment.

Chapter 4: Come Live Here

i. Reconfiguring the Edges of the City

"Vamos pegar calote!" Marcos exclaimed to his cousins Welington and Paulo as we neared the bus stop. To *pegar calote* means to hop into the bus from the rear entrance, skipping the turnstile—in effect, making public transportation free. On their way to the North Zone from the South Zone, buses run through the massive favela Complexo de Madeiros, long controlled by the Comando Vermelho drug-trafficking organization. Bus drivers turn a blind eye to the widespread practice in this gray zone of sovereignty. In this context, *calote* is employed as a means of tampering with a public transportation system designed to exclude working class youth. Reminiscent of practices of informal power tapping (drawing free electricity from private power grids) known as *gato*, *calote* is a form of "guerilla mobility" that helped spark the massive popular uprising known as the *jornadas de Junho 2013*, featuring the slogan "pula catraca" (jump the turnstile) in protest of privatization and price hikes in urban public transportation.

Despite city legislation guaranteeing the right to mobility via public transportation for public school students, these rights were often ignored (especially on weekends), or buried behind bureaucratic walls and red tape, limiting access to the Riocard—a monthly pass for students, infamous among my interlocutors for failing to work consistently. To *pegar calote* meant to make a claim on a right to geographic mobility ordinarily reserved for commuters employed in the South Zone. In spite of the bureaucratic hurdles, many youth had no trouble creatively inventing other means of transportation—such as walking, skateboarding, train-hopping, and *calote*. And that day, they planned to use the 19 reais they saved on transportation on ice-cream at their destination: Nobre Shopping.



Figure 24: Public bus near Madeiros. Photo by author, 2017.

Indeed, the act of moving through the city while reconfiguring the edges of the licit and the illicit is commonplace in daily life. For my informants, day-to-day living required employing improvised (and often well-trodden) ways of securing the means for sustenance, leisure, safety, and mobility in Madeiros. It was through countless conversations that youth laughingly described to me the "jeitinho Brasileiro." A local term written about and further popularized by the anthropologist Roberto da Matta, the *jeitinho* implies a sneaky, tentative, or even playful subversion of official rules in order to make things work provisionally (Matta 1985).

Straddling that licit/illicit line to make claims on urban mobility comes with its downside: in particular, the constant threat of being derided or detained by public authorities and police. To make up for that, Marcos and his cousins often refashioned urban

mobility to serve their own ends, tethering claims on a public transportation system to claims on access to the market, strolling through nearby shopping malls like Nobre Shopping "bem arrumadinhos" (dressed in their best). It also meant particular means of self-fashioning, or performing and dressing in ways such that one's outward appearance is not associated with negative stereotypes or even targeted by police officers. While *calote* represents a way to make claims on rights, as described in James Holston's *Insurgent Citizenship* (2008), on this day my interlocutors made claims on the market. By coupling claims to urban mobility to claims to social mobility, they embarked upon a *rolê* (stroll) in privatized space. Spending time in this space mitigated accusations about *desocupação*, turning our venture instead into an acceptable form of *lazer*. When they hopped off the bus and walked into Nobre Shopping's Lifestyle Plaza, they were socially and ontologically recast as members of a salaried middle class with spare time and cash. While these invisible lines that divide the city spatially have been well documented (Caldeira 2000), less has been written on the way considerations of space *and* time impact urban mobility. Underlying the immediate preoccupation with *lazer* (as opposed to *desocupação*) at the mall was a larger preoccupation with lifestyle and identity. Marcos and Paulo didn't merely want to stroll through the mall as a temporary exception to the norms of everyday life. Rather, they wanted to be able to live a lifestyle that afforded them permanence in those ontologically distinguished spaces and times.

Like Chapter 3, this chapter is concerned with the connections between physical mobility (getting around the city, *pegando calote*) and social mobility ("new middle class" aspirations). Here, though, I focus on a different temporal aspect of mobility. Whereas in Chapter 3, I was working at the scale of the single day, and the hours of schooling,

interning, and transit that were packed into it, here I work at a larger temporal scale. My concern is with the long arc of social mobility, the years-long process of attaining a permanent place in the moneyed classes. What this chapter demonstrates is that gaining temporary access to middle-class spaces like Nobre Shopping is relatively easy, but the long-term goal of attaining the whole *lifestyle* (a key term in the chapter) that Nobre Shopping stands for is not only far more desirable but also far more difficult.

Rolezinhos

When economist Marcelo Neri published his study, *The New Middle Class: The Bright Side of the Poor* (2011), claiming that 32 million people had been lifted out of poverty during Brazil's period of economic growth (2000–2013), many business, media, and government authorities began using the term "new middle class" to refer to the population that benefitted from relaxed barriers to accessing credit, social welfare policies, and a solid minimum salary. In demographic terms, the "new middle class" was referred to as the "Classe C," or C Class (two rungs below the elite A Class, but two rungs above the destitute E Class). One of Neri's main critics was the sociologist Jessé Souza, who retagged the "new middle class" "a nova classe batalhadora" (the new struggling/fighting class) in a study entitled *Os batalhadores brasileiros* (2010). Souza argued that premature celebrations of the success of the Lula government's policies of social inclusion (and his effort to create a win-win situation between workers and the market) belied deeper historical and structural contradictions that did not guarantee class mobility (ibid.). Above all, he cited the larger cultural barriers, such as a light-skinned middle and upper class that would resist change. The "new middle class," then, while widely cited, has rightly been

debunked as invention: it was an aspirational category, rather than an evidence-based description of an already existing phenomenon. In 2012, what was known as the *rolezinhos* movement exposed Neri's overestimation of the degree to which social mobility had increased, and his underestimation of the resistance that aspiring members of the "new middle class" would face from the "old," light-skinned bourgeoisie.



Figure 25: Nobre Shopping "Lifestyle Plaza." Photo by author, 2017.

The origins of this movement are as follows: Working-class youth in São Paulo like to go to shopping malls. During 2012, they did so en masse. This frightened mall-goers and shop-keepers, who saw these young people not as "new middle class" citizens, but as a threat. And so they called the police to discipline the youth and even bar them from entrance. During 2012 and 2013, youth used social media to organize *rolezinhos* (little strolls) to mid- and upscale malls in groups of hundreds of young men and women, in some of the nation's most notable shopping centers. While I was never part of one myself, what seemed to me a harmless form of leisure—exploring a new place in a rowdy group of new

friends—struck the moral sensibilities of traditional mall-goers and shop-owners as reprehensible. Apparently, to stroll for the sake of strolling, without a predetermined direction or reason, is a privilege reserved for the moneyed. For middle-class observers, such practices are called *passeios*. For working-class youth, the same thing is called *vadiagem*. Conservative detractors of the movement published op-eds in which they argued that these *rolezinhos* were not about *cidadãos do bem* (good citizens) spending their leisure and money in a consumption venue. Rather, they were idle youth from the periphery representing a risk to private property and to public order. Without provocation, police and security were mobilized to stop them, an effort that culminated in viral photographs of police searching dozens of black young men without shirts. The most striking was a photograph of black youth with their hands on their downward-facing heads sitting in rows in the middle of a shopping mall eating court. Progressive voices mobilized to frame such photographs and the *rolezinho* crackdown as a key example of a racist, classist bourgeoisie incapable of recognizing black youth who aspired to consumption and mobility as full citizens and who were empowered to claim and occupy those spaces regardless of the responses or risks. It is only during the last couple of generations that youths from the same demographic background as Marcos, Welington, and Paulo have begun to occupy spaces previously reserved for the fair-skinned and the moneyed. More importantly, the ability, intention, and means to occupy these spaces are now part of the imaginative horizon of such individuals, becoming expectations, even needs.

The anthropologist Ritty Lukose has noted that notions of inclusion and exclusion are far too simplistic to apprehend phenomena such as the *rolezinhos.* She notes that youth are at the margin of dominant articulations of globalization and liberalization, yet fully

formed by its structures of aspiration and opportunity (Lukose 2009). Discourses of generational shifts that simply focus on consumerism are therefore misleading. As evinced by the *rolezinhos,* consumer practices and discourses emerge as important axes for identity-making practices and for negotiating citizenship. In the context of the liberalization of the market in India, she calls the articulation of citizenship through the notion of the right to consume "consumer citizenship" (ibid.).

After Brazil's liberalization of the economy during the 2000s and opening up of credit lines and cheap consumer goods in the 2010s (coinciding with the popularization of Neri's term "the new middle class"), horizons of aspiration and need were expanded, bringing about an entirely new relationship between youth and consumption spaces and practices. The *rolezinhos* offered scholars the opportunity to explore notions of consumer citizenship in Brazil. Teresa Caldeira has explored the spatial implications of the *rolezinhos* (2014). Yet to be addressed is the way that youth aspiration figures into social mobility. In particular, the role of discourses and practices surrounding a politics of time—idle/busy, leisure/vagrancy, occupation/disoccupation—are yet to be addressed within the larger conversation about social and urban mobility.



Figure 26: Rio de Janeiro street shops. Photo by author, 2017.

To Becmoe Profissionais

If the mass *rolezinhos* of 2012 were a case of large groups of racialized, working-class young people asserting their presence in spaces understood as belonging to the light-skinned middle classes, the trips that Marcos and his friends took were something slightly different. Unlike the participants in the 2012 *rolezinhos*, Marcos's aim was not to stand out but to fit in: he and his friends were "bem arrumadinhos," looking like aspiring members of the "new middle class." Their trips spoke not only to their desire to spend time in aspirational spaces, but also to put on a whole new aspirational identity, and even, eventually, to *become* a salaried *profissional*—the sort of person for whom going to Nobre

Shopping was not just a special trip, requiring strategic forms of improvisation in order to get to the mall and in order to look like the kind of person who belonged there.

In what follows, I focus on the ways in which Nobre Shopping sells not just the fleeting pleasures of consumption, but the longer-term fantasy of a middle-class lifestyle, replete with leisure activities, a family, and security. What the corporate interests behind Nobre Shopping and its associated businesses ultimately bank upon has relatively little to do with simple consumption, but everything to do with what consumption stands for: a stable middle-class identity. The final section of the chapter demonstrates how difficult to attain such an identity is for young people in Rio's working-class neighborhoods, and how this difficulty plays out across generations. Focusing in particular on Marcos, his aspirations, and the aspirations of his mother and grandmother, I trace the way families negotiate the difficult process of building a middle-class life—a life with disposable income, security, and an occupation.

While we were on the bus ride, Marcos and his cousins described to me what they believed to be the difference between youth who spent their time in the *praça* (plaza)—the *maconheiros* (potheads) —and those who spent their time in the shopping mall. I elaborate upon their account, adding details collected through ethnography in order to paint "ideal types" that get to the crux of the difference they were attempting to describe to me. Youth in the park are "maconheiros" (potheads). Youth in the mall are "trabalhadores" (workers). Youth who use the public cinema at the park are "carentes" (needy). Youth who use the mall cinema are "namorando" (dating). Youth who spend time in the park are "ociosos" (idle). Youth who spend time in the mall are enjoying "lazer" (leisure). Youth who stroll in the park are "vadiando" (idle). Youth who stroll in the mall are "passeando" (strolling).

Youth who dress up in the plaza may be confused with "traficantes" traffickers. Youth who dress up in the mall are "ostentando" (strutting/showing off).

A look at *ocupação* grounds understandings of consumer citizenship in local spatial and temporal ideas and practices and politics. For example, being in the mall is associated with upright citizenship, whereas being in public spaces such as plazas and streets, referred to as the *rua*, is associated with criminality. Similarly, *maconheiros* (potheads), *ociosos* (idle) when in the street can become a marker of social distinction when *bem arrumadinho* on a *rolê* for *leisure.* When I understood these associations, I began to understand how notions of free time and leisure are reconstituted within a moral economy that recognizes some youths in Rio's favelas as vulnerable and others as dangerous; some forms of consumption and pleasure as citizenship and life-giving, others as deviant and life-threatening. These moral evaluations are made on the basis of spatial and temporal considerations (street vs. mall, idle vs. busy). My interest in occupation led me to observe closely the temporal practices of my informants. However, observing with Welington, Paulo, and Marcos jump the bus's turn stall during our *rolezinho* on our way to the mall that day reminded me of the entanglement of both spatial and temporal movement and meanings invoked by *ocupação* as an analytic. Our stroll pushed me to understand the draw not only of the mall space but also of the forms of self-fashioning and identity-making that went on within—and beyond—its walls. The boundaries of our destination that day, Nobre Shopping, were about more than inside versus outside, inclusion versus exclusion. Rather, Nobre Shopping was a lifestyle that was used as a tool for self-fashioning in and beyond the space proper.

ii. Two CEO's and the Rediscovery of the Zona Norte

This story focuses on two CEOs who rediscovered the North Zone. The first is the owner of BR Malls, who found a niche in targeting the newly consuming North Zone working class. His Nobre Shopping mall is booming as it initiates its fourth expansion to become one of the largest and most profitable of the company's forty-eight shopping malls. The second is the owner of Levita, the umbrella company (the brains) behind Sistema Tropa, a network of college-prep high schools. One of the Tropa school units, called Tropa Nobre Shopping, is located inside the mall. Like other Tropa schools, this unit enjoys waitlisted demand and rapid expansion into "classe C"—a demographic designating lower-middle class citizens, also known as "new middle class"—markets, growing by two schools per year across Rio's North Zone. What these CEOs have in common is their foresight of targeting "classe C" consumers. They both market a lifestyle of social mobility and distinction. They both enjoy considerable profits from it. While Ana, Nobre Shopping's marketers pitched "more than a mall, it's a world" and its slogan beckons, "Vem Viver Aqui" (come live here), its shoppers come from their favela residences for leisure and return home at night. Tropa, on the other hand, beckons the lifestyle permanently, beckoning to join the "Tropa do Elite" (Elite Police Squad) of standardized testing, in order to live, work, and spend leisure time in Nobre Shopping.



Figure 27: "North Zone rediscovered." Photo by author, 2016.

Borrowing its name from the Zona Norte, Nobre Shopping is one of the largest shopping malls in Brazil, and Rio's fourth largest, with 110,000 shoppers during the week and 130,000 shoppers on the weekend. From the Madeiros park, we rode four kilometers north on Rua Dom Helder Camara, passing the Cidade da Policia and the Assembly of God megachurch to arrive at Nobre Shopping. Paulo joked that the Civil Police headquarters were built to protect the megachurch and megamall from the Madeiros favela residents.

Indeed, invisible boundaries often demarcate the neighborhoods where my interlocutors can or can't go, such as the territorial divisions between trafficking organizations and state police forces. The "City of Police" seemed to mark an invisible boundary between the favelas of Madeiros and a commercial and residential zone due north, leading to two big shopping malls. Nobre Shopping is itself a major reference point in Rio's sprawling flatland metropolis: a highway, subway, and bus line run through it, making it part of a large swath of commuters' routines. Between the two, a large megachurch that I first assumed was a stadium butts up against Nobre Shopping's residential tower expansion project.

Having been expanded four times in the past twenty years, the transnational umbrella company BR Malls touted the "rediscovery of the North Zone," its most recent residential development, which is integrated into the more than four hundred stores in the mall. Characterizing an entire swath of Rio's largely working class metropolis as "forgotten and devalued," the BR Malls website continues: "In January 2007, it had its second major expansion: Pátio Nobre Shopping, an area with 30,000m² of leisure and entertainment, which has a different shopping concept in Brazil, called 'Lifestyle Center,' an American trend that values open spaces, with outstanding landscaping, incorporating the lifestyle of the region's residents."[53]

With the "lifestyle center" (plaza) conceivably belonging to the residential Nobre Norte, the final phase of expansion, residents and shoppers are invited to fashion their lifestyles within the 30,000 square meters (4.7 acres) of leisure within Nobre Shopping.

If the original discovery of the North Zone had been a poor population that

[53] Nobre Shopping, accessed April 18, 2019, https://www.norteshopping.com.br.

represented a cheap source of labor for BR Malls' investments in the South Zone, the rediscovery was the gradual recognition throughout the 2000s of those same parts of the city, now being targeted as potential consumer markets by large investors. Nobre Norte, a multi-million-real residential construction project draws its appeal from the leisure offered inside the shopping mall. Lifestyle Center is taken quite literally as the place where one lives, making literal the shopping mall's marketing slogan, "Vem Viver Aqui."

I was fascinated by this slogan. I was also fascinated by BR Malls' effort to rebrand the region, positioning itself to capture the imaginations and aspirational horizons of new consumers like Marcos, Welington, and Paulo. I returned repeatedly to Nobre Shopping to learn more about how it fits within the larger urban and human geography of the region. On one of those visits I observed Ana as she was conducting fieldwork. She was standing outside an impromptu playhouse plopped in the center of a mall hall. While parents signed up for a fidelity program, their children took turns crawling through a playhouse that featured rolling hills specked with colorful mushrooms and a gnome house. Ana turned out to be an Analyst for BR Malls, researching the efficacy of their fidelity program. I soon found myself sitting in a Starbucks with Ana, chatting about Nobre Shopping.



Figure 28: Nobre Norte's expansion. Photo by author, 2016.

Ana framed the shopping mall as a resource to society, comparing the North Zone, devoid of entertainment, parks and "culture in the sense of art" with the South Zone's cinemas, theatres, and plazas: "Public entertainment in the North Zone is summed up in coming to the Shopping, and what the Shopping offers, so it turns out that the Shopping has a much more important role than for the upper classes." Ana's analysis is reminiscent of the "Cidade Partida," a paradigmatic urban sociology argument (Ventura 1994) that parses Rio into two "divided cities" with the poor in the favelas and the North Zone, and the wealthy in the South Zone.

In light of the lack of "culture" and "leisure" that exits in the South Zone, North Zone shopping centers are "the big option that they have, the big one, that's why we play such an important role, and for the educational question we also play an important role." Ana described the educational and awareness initiatives—recycling programs, water saving—that sets Nobre Shopping apart from other malls. These cater to South Zone

audiences, whereas "we are in a niche for being in Nobre Shopping, where our customers are B and C [class]."

The centrality to North Zone life that Ana reads into the shopping center is disputed, yet its target of middle- and lower-middle-class publics means that its more than 110,000 visitors per week sometimes spend large portions of their day in the mall for entertainment, leisure, shopping, and work. Ana explains:

> Because we have clients who have studied here and nowadays work here, the Nobre Shopping is much more than just a mall, it is in fact and practically a whole world, because as it has many options. The client, he comes here and he does an English course here, he does the school here, swimming here, the gym here, so he spends the whole day here so we have a lot more of an impact on his life, as a citizen, as a person—larger than the other malls.

She positions the shopping as the central hub of the life of its visitors. Someone could enter the shopping center at 10 a.m. and leave at 10 p.m., carrying out the majority of their daily routine within the shopping center walls. I noted the name "Lifestyle Center" given to the open-air plaza within the shopping center. Indeed, having been trained in Branding and Lifestyle Marketing, she elaborated on how the imbrication in nearly every aspect of life—from the most intimate and public, everyday and occasional, individual and social—was part of a larger design.

> . . . which says a lot about the branding, and that you are providing more than just a service, you are involving that customer as a whole, with all the contacts, so you create more than a brand, and that branding that involves

> everything that has to do with contact with the customer. You sell a lot more than a product, you sell a lifestyle, and everything that involves that lifestyle.

Beyond representing the ultimate fantasy of millennial capitalism, there are empirical signs of this vision coming to fruition. Lifestyle marketing has always gone hand in hand with corporate mergers, allowing corporations to diversify and make money from broader aspects of the public's life. In Nobre Shopping for example, a handful of investors own the majority of the businesses within, as well as the very items consumed within them. The CEO of Levita, Jorge Paulo Leman, owns Unilever, InBev, Kraft Heinz, Restaurant Brands, some of the largest consumer goods corporations in the world, giving Leman a net worth of US$30 billion. Alongside Warren Buffett, Leman happens to be one of the architects of some of the biggest mergers of household names in food and drink in recent memory.

The creation and sale of "more than a brand" is central here. The main idea is the ability to profit from an elaborate constellation of manufactured needs: where anybody—whether they are going shopping, getting a beer or eating a burger after work, going to school, or buying a washing machine—is contributing to your coffers. What's more, the same individual may also work for one of your conglomerates during the day. Not only shopping, but also leisure, education, health, entertainment. Not only consumption, but also work and leisure. From 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Come live here.

In a zone where perceived insecurity dovetails with actual insecurity (mainly due to shootouts between police and traffickers), the lifestyle proffered by Nobre Shopping grows in appeal.

24-hour Security

Selling a lifestyle in a zone afflicted by the war on drugs presents its own challenges, but these are framed more as opportunities. Ana described it as "an entertainment complex where he [the customer] finds everything that he needs... mainly with children and youth, understand, because it [the mall] brings some form of security." The mall meets needs and wants—and above all, it does so in a securitized space. I cited the shootouts of the week and asked about whether that violence ever spills over into the mall. She replied, "and there's security around the clock, twenty-four hours per day, well situated, everything is thought through strategically, around the shopping center we have positions so yeah..." I asked her what she thought about the idea that free time is dangerous, not expecting much detail, but she proceeded to outline the same argument that I had heard from numerous other sources, from Rodrigo to the parents of students at Câmara—namely that too much free time can invite deviance.

When I asked Ana about the mall's surroundings, she described her own commute, explaining that Nobre Shopping was an "island" surrounded by violent and dangerous favelas, boosting its commercial and residential appeal. Drawing from market research that identified shopping, church, and the beach as the top three leisurely activities of low- and middle-income Rio de Janeiro residents (their target audience), Ana was charged with making shopping their number one. She approached this by developing a loyalty program that targeted whole families. Her program, the Reino (Kingdom), consisted of shopping perks and exclusive access to the colorful gnome and fairy playground installations speckling the interior of the mall hallways. These were designed to complement the

"rational" decision-making of the head of the family with the "emotional" side of the rest of the family, drawn to the mall as a space of enchantment, "family," and "happiness." In fact, Nobre Shopping's lifestyle-marketing strategies were careful to craft an image of an enchanted refuge from the grit of the urban hustle: air conditioning, hygiene, security, parking, playgrounds, deals, drinking, eating. What struck me above all was that of all its selling points, leisure figured most prominently in its marketing campaigns. Much more than a place to shop, advertising foregrounded leisure activities like ice-skating, cinemas, arcades, park-like food courts. Leisure, evinced by Reino, was about far more than strolling through one's fantasies; it was about consuming them as a family. In this way, Nobre Shopping's marketing foregrounded not only the desire to be "happy" with loved ones, but also the necessary time and space to be with loved ones: leisure. Before arriving by bus, large outdoor signs announced "30,000 square feet of leisure." Struck by Ana's streamlined strategy to turn free time fantasies into market value, I came to understand how Nobre Shopping is emblematic of the fantasy of socio-economic mobility and the lifestyles associated with it.

To tell the story of Nobre Shopping is to tell a story of middle-class lifestyle fantasies beckoning, even tantalizing those who aspire to be part of these global imaginaries of distinction, status, and consumption (Lukose 2009; Heiman, Freeman, and Liechty 2012). Indeed, like other youths from Câmara, Welington and Marcos much preferred going to Nobre Shopping over spending time in the Community Cinema and park in front of their school (as one summed it up, "we're in a favela here, this cinema is for the needy"). Rediscovering the North Zone entailed creating new markets (and debtors[54]) out

[54] I expand on the function of debt in the next chapter.

of formerly poor favela-residing populations like Marcos and Welington, whom policy-makers and marketers once called Brazil's "New Middle Class." Above all, it entailed generating desirable lifestyles of consumption and status.

iii. Dreams of Becoming a *Profissional*

Nobre Shopping (and its well-marketed invitation to "come live here") is separated from Madeiros by a stretch of three kilometers of road. Though the mall can be easily accessed on daily *rolês*, that three-kilometer distance, in practice, is an abyss that multiple generations have struggled, and failed, to bridge. The following section details how, while to interlocutors like Marcos and his cousins the leap seemed closer (and more desirable) than ever, such social mobility was experienced more as a fleeting daylong adventure than as a long-term way of life. Nevertheless, multiple generations devised plans, developed ideas and nurtured aspirations to secure mobility and quality of life that would endure.

The *sonho* (dream) has been described by as a pillar of the imaginary of youth aspiration in Brazil and beyond (Stambach and Hall 2017). When I asked my young interlocutors about their *sonhos,* they often referenced ideal professions, property ownership, kin ties, and the ability to travel. Marcos's *sonhos* echoed well-trod tropes of "success" in the Rio de Janeiro imagination, such as becoming a gospel musician (as well as becoming a professional soccer player). When pushed a little, his *sonhos* spoke to a particular quality of life that he, and the generations of his mother and grandmother had strived for. Above all was the ability to be a *trabalhador,* a trope that has a long history of its own, but for our purposes here is a widely valued social identity that entails steady employment, ideally in the formal economy. Conscription in the army (a process that

occurs at the discretion of military officials only after mandatory enlistment) brought with it, in the eyes of Marcos, the security of being a *trabalhador,* with the added social distinction of also being a *militar.*

In neighborhoods with a murky sense of sovereignty (traffickers or police), being a *militar* represented the antithesis of being a *traficante* or *bandido* involved in the drug market, setting young men like him apart and above the social identities that have come to be associated with criminality and violence. He once explained to me the rationale after telling me stories of police harassment he had suffered: "as a *militar* nobody messes with you." Part of his *sonho* meant attaining a social identity that, within his favela, set him on the path to, in his own words, "ser alguém na vida" (to be someone in life).

His enthusiasm for becoming a *militar* stemmed from his grandmother's *sonho* of knowing her grandchildren were secure in the army. His mother Paula, on the other hand, had a different perspective. In 2018, the federal government put the army in charge of public security, doing away with an already increasingly blurred distinction between police and military forces operative in favelas. To Paula, this drew a large target on Marcos's head, and she told him to never walk home in his uniform, hiding it from sight. Having had access to higher education herself through a scholarship, she envisioned her son's horizons extending beyond being a *trabalhador* like her, or a *militar*, as per his grandmother's wishes. She wanted him to be a *profissional.* To be able to afford this, he would have to first become a *universitario.*

Dreams are collective. And each subsequent generation dreams for its young what it once dared to dream for itself. Like Marcos, his caregivers also placed their dreams in him. They dreamed for him, through him. Dreams of what should come to be were propped

up with what could not be. Paula's worries contrasted with those of her mother Dona Tati (Marcos's grandmother). While Dona Tati was more concerned with preventing *vadiagem* through *ocupação* (in the old refrain's sense of "an empty head is the devil's workshop"), Paula was more concerned with social mobility through securing a professional occupation. Paula wanted him not only to *ser alguém*, but also to be able to afford to live outside of the favela where all three generations were born. In stark contrast to his views, she saw partaking in the masculinized social hierarchy of *desocupação*, *traficantes*, *trabalhadores*, and *militares* as limiting his horizons and putting him at risk. Whereas her mother's dream was in security and status, her dream was in education and lifestyle. Although she had difficulty admitting it openly, part of her dream was for Marcos to have the means to leave his favela and *morar bem* (roughly, to live well, but also meaning to reside well, in a "good" neighborhood).

The spatial politics of the desire for urban mobility through professional occupation have implications for the temporal analytic of occupation.

Rolê to Nobre Shopping: Come Live Here

Marcos was drawn to the army. He was also drawn to Nobre Shopping. We sat at the Starbucks drinking frappuccinos, down the hall from the Burger King and downstairs from the bowling alley. Nobre Shopping marketed happiness and endless leisure. The difficulty was not going there; the problem, he made evident to me over our interviews, was to *ser alguém* (be someone) who could afford to go there repeatedly, and one day, even live there, or *morar bem*. The aspirational ideal of *ser alguém* and *morar bem* is deeply present in Nobre Shopping: one can feel it in the cool air, one can touch it in the Nike and Adidas

stores, one can taste it in the Starbucks coffee, and one can see it in the Sunday-best attire. The problem, as soon became apparent to Welington and Marcos, is that the "Kingdom" is short-lived, fleeting. They could get there. The more challenging part was to stay there.

Months later, fate had it that I would return to Nobre Shopping with Paula to inquire into the price and feasibility of a Tropa test-prep course for Marcos. Having reluctantly accepted his choice to join the army, she wanted him to take seriously the possibility of going back to school—whether in a military academy or public university. In the face of Marcos's obstinate near-obsession with joining the military, Paula eventually tried to strike a deal with him. He could join the army, for now, but he would have to enroll in a *cursinho* (test-prep) school to study for a standardized test. Doing well in this test would entail two things. First, he would "test-up" in the hierarchy, granting him a higher salary and prestige. In her eyes, this would get him closer to a path to university (through a military academy). Second, this would also keep him out of harm's way, preventing him from becoming a foot soldier who one day, she feared, would be sent to patrol his own neighborhood.

She wanted him to test-up in the army by enrolling in a practice-test school. Having learned to dislike all things academic in school, Marcos didn't want to wait any longer: he wanted to be in the army as fast as possible, counting down the days until his next appointment with the recruitment office. Marcos didn't want to study for tests. He thought he had enough in high school, and was ready for something grand.

She made clear to him that she was willing to pay for his test-prep, even if it meant budgeting other household consumption. While she was clearly ready to make a compromise, she harbored the hope that by attending the *cursinho,* what she saw as a good private school, he might get interested in attending one of the free public universities also

accessible through a test known as the *vestibular* (vestibule), also offered at *cursinhos.*

Marcos, on the other hand, had developed a deep loathing for academic pedagogy, especially tests, and resisted the idea from the beginning, so much that on this day he did not join us. While Marcos never ended up enrolling in Tropa, he maintained aspirations for social mobility. What is significant to the research project is the intersection of these two storylines—the story of Tropa and the story of Marcos.

Two CEOs ask: How to capture working-class aspirations, and position oneself to profit from them? Both of the two—the owner of BR Malls, and the owner of Tropa—hit on similar answers to this question. Both ventures—Nobre Shopping and Sistema Tropa—were premised upon the assumption that working-class youth from the Zona Norte wanted access to the middle-class world represented by the Shopping. More importantly, though, both CEOs realized that what the aspiring "new middle class" citizens *really* wanted was not just the ability to go on a *rolezinho* through the mall once in a while. What they really wanted was the kind of life in which visiting (and consuming at) the mall was a permanent possibility, not one dependent on *calote*, Sunday-best attire, and other improvised strategies of physical and social mobility. It was the lifestyle that both CEOs were ultimately selling. And their ways of selling that *sonho* were conveniently complementary. A young person from the Zona Norte would go the mall, buy a coffee or a pair of sneakers (in the hope of looking and feeling like a member of the "new middle class"), and the CEO of BR Malls profits. And in the same trip, they might attend a *cursinho* (in the hope of getting into a university, becoming a *profissional*, and permanently joining the mall-going middle class), and the CEO of Levita profits. You pay one to come and consume at the mall; you pay the other to stay there.

The previous chapter told the story of how my interlocutors circulate beyond Madeiros and Câmara in search of professional occupations. It explored how a professionalizing internship program turns my interlocutors into the *geração tudo tudo* (generation everything everything): flexible (and exhausted) young professionals in constant circulation with little prospect of job security. This chapter explored the profitability of the longer-term fantasy of a middle-class lifestyle as it is embodied in aspirational *rolês* through megamalls. The following chapter, in turn, remains within privatized space, and turns towards private test-prep education that occurs *within* the megamall. These *cursinho* schools market the *sonho* of long-term mobility via entrance into prestigious public universities, and the access to middle-class occupations a degree would confer. The method they promote to their students is one that by now is a familiar one: continuous studying, and the occupation of time.

Chapter 5: Tropa do Elite

"One! Two! Three!" A group of fifty high-school-aged students dressed in camouflage t-shirts assemble outside their Tropa school in the middle of a busy city avenue to do push-ups, a ritualistic practice before standardized tests known as *flexões*. Rush-hour traffic comes to a halt. On their palms and feet, they chant loudly, counting from one to twenty, before disbanding and heading into the school to take a *simulado,* which I would later learn was one of the dozens of weekly standardized practice tests they took as part of their "training" for the real test. Later that day, I speak to Thompson, who had begun at Tropa as a PIPE intern and soon began to pay for test-prep courses at his employer. We meet on a Sunday at his school, Tropa Nobre Shopping. He lamented having Sunday off: a day known by his peers as *dia do lixo*, or "trash day," for low amounts of studying. His days are organized around what Tropa refers to as a "rhythm of continuous study." After class, he spends hours on end, alone in a *sala de monitoria,* studying all by himself. Tropa's highest scorers are featured wearing camouflage on the school's marketing billboards across the North Zone, targeting "C Class" youth like him. Like the uniforms, these ads invite youth to become part of the "tropa" (troop). They feature the test-prep school's tagline "Tropa do Elite" (Elite Troop), a reference to the 2007 film of the same title about Rio's Special Police Operations Battalion (BOPE), notorious for brutal executions and torture of youth who live in Madeiros. Madeiros is where Thompson lives. A resident of a favela like the majority of my informants, he was the racial, gender and age demographic squarely in the crosshairs of Rio's deadly and highly militarized BOPE police. His effort to attain social mobility at Tropa was not merely about "victory," economic mobility, or social distinction. It was about the difference between being socially recognized as "that

drug dealer in the park," and being seen instead as "that professional in the Lifestyle Plaza." If he could just withstand the grueling study routines and pass his test, he tells me, he would be "victorious." Tropa, as he puts it, gives him the opportunity to test up and get out.

Beyond the cinematic antics of the flash push-up roadblock, this encounter with Thompson left me thinking about Tropa's distinctive temporal imaginaries. On the one hand, the school seemed to foster a hyper-structured militaristic relationship to time. On the other hand, it also left students like Thompson entirely to their own devices, told simply to "study all the time" in order to pass; rather than working to a strictly organized timetable, the reality seemed to be that, outside of bursts of highly formalized activity like the push-up spectacle, time at Tropa was mostly an amorphous mass.

i. The Marriage of Militarism and the Market

This chapter focuses on the complex relationship between militarism and neoliberalism in Sistema Tropa (also known simply as Tropa). Tropa is a private *cursinho* school offering preparation for the ENEM (the standardized test that determines who is offered a place at any of Brazil's prestigious public universities). I argue that Tropa relies on a potent mixture of (on the one hand) militaristic rhetoric and aesthetics and (on the other) neoliberal cost-cutting measures. These measures have the function of shifting responsibility on to the individual (in this case, students from Rio's Zona de Norte), and foreclosing critique of larger systemic issues (specifically, the fact that the odds of rising up from the working poor to become a *profissional formado* such as a doctor or lawyer are stacked against my interlocutors).

I focus on the temporal imaginaries that inform Tropa, both in the way that it markets itself and in the actual pedagogy it enacts. What distinguishes Tropa from other test-prep schools is how heavily it leans into an image of *militarismo.* Other test-prep schools—as well as different educational institutions such as PIPE's professionalizing internships, analyzed in chapter 3—certainly present themselves as valuing rigor, discipline, order, and success. But Tropa stands out in its dedication to military rhetoric and aesthetics as a short-hand for these values, from its camouflage uniforms to its deliberate invocation of the movie *Tropa do Elite*. I argue that the *militarismo* of Tropa takes a temporal form: the school markets itself as a setting in which students are subject to strictly organized working rhythms. These forms of temporal organization have several specific manifestations. They include the synchronized chanting of *gritos de guerra* (war cries), public displays of coordinated exercise routines (groups of students doing twenty push-ups in the middle of a major city street), and what Tropa refers to as "*um ritmo de estudo contínuo*" (a rhythm of constant studying), in which students are encouraged to study, eat, and study more in marathon, day-long sessions.

But just as important to the operation (and success) of Tropa as these highly visible displays of militaristic temporal discipline are the school's neoliberal underpinnings. It is vital to understand the important ways in which the realities of being a student at Tropa differ from the glossy sheen of military rigor and meticulous time-management that the school projects. In practice, the majority of students' time is actually unstructured in the extreme: the idea is not to micromanage every single hour of a student's day, because doing so would require enormous amounts of supervision and resources on the part of Tropa (costs which would be passed on to the parents of students, who are already going into debt

in order to afford the school's fees). Instead, time becomes an amorphous mass, structured only by the imperative to always be working—in essence, outside of the war cries and push-up routines, students are mostly left to their own devices; they are told to study all the time, given a room in which to do so, and little more.



Figure 29: Tropa publicity material, "graduate a winner." Photo by author, 2017.

This is because the logic that governs Tropa's pedagogy is not the micromanaged scheduling of military time. Rather, Tropa is successful at keeping costs low and revenue streams in motion because its core governing principle is a profoundly neoliberal one: the transfer of responsibility onto the student. Via a rhetoric of meritocracy (which manifests itself via military and sporting metaphors, and by the emphasis on the importance of *foco*—roughly, focus or grit), Tropa convinces its students that the only way to pass the ENEM and achieve a middle-class life as a *profissional formado* is take complete responsibility, and to dedicate the full extent of one's time to study and preparation. Thus, despite its flashy trappings of *militarismo*, Tropa is in fact engaged in a similar pedagogical project to the high schools and vocational training initiatives I discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3: the total occupation of youths' time. The result is that students feel enormous pressure to be "always on": to dedicate all their time to work, and to understand any time spent on other pursuits as a shirking of their duty, upping the possibility that they will fail their entrance exam and have to go through the whole process all over again the following year. In this fashion, Tropa gets to have their cake and eat it too: if a student passes the entrance exam, they get to use that student as proof of the success of the school's rigorous and militaristic approach, thus making them a more attractive prospect to ambitious students and parents. And if a student does not pass, then they can fudge the statistics so as to hide how few actually do pass, and invite the student back for another year of fee-paying. The few students who pass are Tropa's advertising; the rest who have not yet passed are their customers.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Following this introductory section, the remainder of section 1 covers the context and historical background that led to the

emergence of Tropa as one of the most prominent and fastest-growing *cursinho* test-prep schools in Brazil. Section 2 engages three of the practices, rituals, and ideas that contribute to Tropa's militaristic ethos and aesthetic. With all the trappings of a highly organized, disciplined, and rigorous school, these practices and ideas give the impression that studying at Tropa entails a strictly controlled militaristic study schedule. Section 3 complicates this idea, pointing out how, underneath the military "hooah" lies an underlying putatively merit-based individualism (discussed as an articulation of neoliberal thought). Through an analysis of the logic underpinning the various ways Tropa incites its students to be "always on" and "study all the time," section 3 points out how the school's *militarismo* serves the function less of instilling a militaristic temporal order, and more of convincing them of the need to study continuously—while cutting costs by providing them with little pedagogical or institutional structure. Rather than micro-manage them, it turns out that Tropa leaves every man to himself, in an individualized (and somewhat frantic) scramble to prepare non-stop—most often on their own—for a test.

The conclusion goes on to describe the business model behind this design, premised on the idea that if students fail, they return for more test-prep, and if students pass, they add value to the school's brand. The focus on individual merit here leads those who fail to direct blame inward while enrolling in another year of test-prep, while the very small minority who pass are paraded throughout the city in marketing campaigns that stretch, distort, and mislead through their use of statistics. Their depiction as meritorious soldiers who fought, fought, and fought until they beat the test occludes the larger story to be told about the pain and alienation experienced by everyday students.

True to my methodology of *occupation trajectories*, I followed my interlocutors between and beyond my specific sites, immersing myself in their imagined and enacted daily schedules. By following my interlocutors beyond Câmara, I discovered students who participate in PIPE and Tropa, two sites that I dedicate a chapter to. Câmara students, it turned out, circulate through both PIPE and Tropa. Similarly, PIPE interns circulate through Tropa as interns who are also studying for test-prep.

Context: The Two Tracks

Recall the previous chapter, in which youth like Marcos and his cousins who want something more than mere temporary "strolls" through the mall, and seek instead a permanent lifestyle change, often seek to become *profissionais*. They seek to do so through education. Scholars have pointed out the evidence and ideas that connect social mobility with educational attainment in Brazil (C. Ribeiro 2017). A general picture of the "tracks" or "pipelines" that my interlocutors encounter along their educational trajectories—while striving to become *profissionais*—is necessary.

In broad strokes, Chapter 3 and the current chapter are about the two educational paths (or tracks) available for working-class Brazilians who graduate from public high schools. The first, as we have seen in Chapter 3, does not involve enrollment in higher education, but rather entails vocational or professionalizing training during and after high school in an after-school capacity—training that, at times, translates to a low-paying job in local industry or service sector. As we have seen, this "track" is desirable to families insomuch as it represents a means to higher chances of attaining a job (albeit temporary) and formal economy employment and social recognition as a *profissional* (legalized

through Carteira Assinada, the Brazilian formal economy labor protections document). To enter this track, youths will often enroll in a wide variety of courses and institutions (such as PIPE), each intended to specialize and train youth to, according to their explicit goals, increase their odds of getting and retaining a blue-collar job.



Figure 30: Tropa School publicity material. Photo by author, 2017.

The second "track" trajectories are desirable as they also connote social mobility, but this time through higher education—whether through a military academy or through a public university. While the first track aims at creating *profissionais*, these paths do not guarantee a career or an income for longer than one- or two-year contracts. The second track, which aims at creating *profissinais formados* (or "formed" professionals with college degrees), seeks to generate permanent social mobility and entry into an occupation traditionally reserved for the middle classes. This "track" stems from Brazil's free public higher education system that has historically served as a marker of distinction for the upper classes, due to its exclusivity and social prestige. While assumed to be very exclusive, during the last decade testing into the university system has increasingly become part of

the imaginary of working-class youth due to various social, economic, and political factors that have been well documented (Paiva 2015). To enter this "track," for either the public or military universities, students study for standardized tests during and after high school in order to raise their test scores to meet the cut-off point for admission.

In contrast to the SAT in the United States, which is one factor among many during admission reviews, in Brazil admission caps are set to specific score cut-off minimums. Scoring high enough is the sole determinant of acceptance into often free and prestigious public universities. The tests therefore have high stakes, and the skills necessary to excel on them are consequently valuable. The costs involved in preparing for and excelling in those entrance exams is borne before ever stepping foot in a university, making public universities technically free, but practically costly. If a family wants a "first-generation" youth in a university, they must front-end their investment to hedge their bets for free university. They must pay *cursinho* companies like Levita.

The second "track" of social mobility through education is the one that is most relevant to the story of Tropa. The following section draws on the story of Adri and Thompson, two interlocutors who had their sights on getting beyond the first "track," and onto the second "track" (to become *profissionais formados*). They worked as interns at Tropa *while* paying for test-prep pedagogy there. This link proved fruitful for the research, allowing me to tack between both field sites. But before telling their stories, we must learn more about the way the rise of *cursinhos* are tied to a rather specific history.

Historical Background: From Universal Public to Exclusive Test-Prep

Leading up to the military dictatorship that started in 1964, public high schools were largely reserved for middle- and upper-class individuals. As access to schooling became democratized to the lower classes, quality suffered. By the end of the military dictatorship in 1988, public high schools were solidifying a reputation of being overcrowded and underfunded, leading to the proliferation of private high schools during the 1990s and 2000s. While many of these became infamous for their low quality and profit motives, others remained prestigious by catering to middle- and upper-class populations. Known as "Colégios Tradicionais," these institutions—often of a religious order—syphoned off middle- and upper-class students, providing them with elite educations and membership in elite networks, and access to the resources, knowledge, and horizons to secure entrance into public universities. Up until the 2000s, working-class youth from public high schools were largely channeled towards working-class jobs, without prospects of higher education or significant social mobility.

That began to change due to various social and political processes. First, social horizons were recast, in part due to a range of public policies geared towards social inclusion, including affirmative action in universities, the creation of new universities, and a federal financial aid system (*prouni*). Meanwhile, the elementary and secondary public education systems continued to decline in quality, creating a growing demand for private school alternatives that were more accessible than the "Colégios Tradicionais," and better quality than low-cost private schools. Families whose spending power grew during the 2000s and 2010s increasingly saw public high school as inadequate, and private high school as a good investment to increase the likelihood of being able to test into free public universities.

Rising to meet this demand were the "Colégios Curso," also known as *cursinhos.* In this model, students paid to attend test-prep classes after school or after graduating from high school, hoping to raise their test scores. Before university entrance exams were standardized and unified into one test, known as the ENEM, *cursinhos* specialized in preparing students for specific tests for specific universities. Garnering their reputations based on marketing campaigns flaunting successful students, a student who wanted to study chemistry at the reputable local university was the target customer for a *cursinho* specialized in that test. After the ENEM was instituted—allowing one test score to serve as a benchmark for all Brazilian federal public universities and disciplines—the *cursinho* industry suffered a major crisis. In the ashes of this setback, *cursinhos* gradually adapted to preparing students for the ENEM, for state universities, and for military universities.

During the 2010s, venture capitalists from southeastern Brazil (Rio and São Paulo, mainly) seized on what they perceived as an unforeseen business opportunity, and began to purchase networks of *cursinho* schools. Concomitantly, *cursinho* schools, which had previously served students as an extra-curricular resource after school or after graduating high school, transformed into high school degree–granting institutions that prepared students for entrance exams that *also* offered non-degree test prep *cursos*.

This business model made the potential customer base grow dramatically, as literally anybody seeking to score high enough to enter a federal, state, or military university or academy, during or after high school, could be targeted as the prime audience for *cursinhos*. It is no wonder that Tropa's stated mission calls for "anyone with extraordinary aspirations"[55]. In addition, companies like Tropa also began offering

[55] "Quem Somos," Elite Rede de Ensino, accessed February 16, 2019, https://ensinoelite.com.br/quem-somos.

elementary and middle school early test prep for kids. These transformations meant that *cursinhos* were now extending the market of private education beyond that of the *colégios tradicionais*, offering a wide range of services to a wider public at often cheaper prices. Homing in on "results" and "victory" on billboards and marketing campaigns, and operating as nimble, cost-cutting franchises with low overhead costs (drawing from reproducible educational platforms), *cursinhos* were rapidly positioned to expand the market of private education (and at times gain a competitive edge on *colégios tradicionais*). By keeping prices low for education while marketing two products in one (a high school degree and a test-prep course for students or non-students, during and after school), these schools also attempted to become a viable alternative for growing "C Class" families, historically tethered to the public school system.

The new business model was that these schools would offer both test-prep *and* high-school diplomas simultaneously. Families with the means could now save by only paying for one school, and lower-income families with kids in public schools could now afford a course specifically on test-prep, growing their clientele. This history lends itself to school networks whose organizing principle through and through has always been test-prep, leading to a specific institutional culture and to the output of a specific kind of student. While the ENEM began as a national evaluation for high school education aptitude, in 2009, it replaced many individual university entrance exams. By then, the *colégio cursinho* had already established itself across the metropolitan area, and continued to market its test-prep services while rebranding as a school.

Sistema Tropa is one of the fastest growing and most visible *cursinho* schools in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil, with over twenty (and growing) schools (or "units") in Rio de

Janeiro. Targeting its services to a "C Class" public, it shared clientele with Nobre Shopping. Not surprisingly, there is a Tropa inside Nobre Shopping. While Chapter 3 analyzed the "track" that sought temporary employment through professionalizing and vocational programs, this chapter homes in on the "track" that seeks to secure long-term occupations through access to higher education, as a *professional formado* (with a college degree).

ii. *Militarismo* and Push-Ups

I began to understand how Tropa generated its appeal to families like Marcos's. Part of what generated Tropa's appeal was how it somehow reconciled Marcos (and his juvenile obsession with the discipline of the military and professional success) with his mother Dona Anita (and her aspirations for expanded social and economic horizons) with his grandmother Dona Tati (and her fear of Macos being a "desocupado").

It turns out that for Thompson, like Marcos, Tropa was not the only kind of "troop" in his neighborhood. There were two others: the Military Police's Special Operations division (BOPE; nicknamed "Tropa do Elite"), and the "meninos do movimento" or *trafico* (drug-trafficking organization). Though pitched against each other in a drawn-out war over sovereignty in Rio's North Zone, each these "troops" sought to "win hearts and minds" of the youth, and each were within Thompson's aspirational horizons at different points of his life. Tropa provided Thompson with the means to envelop himself within the first of the two "troops": the Testing Tropa and by extension—through a specific performance of discipline and aesthetics—the BOPE Tropa. Tropa's designer banners, posters and logos

begged the question to all youth who caught glimpses as they circulated the city on the back of buses and in billboards: Which *Tropa* are *you*?



Figure 31: Push-ups block city avenue outside Tropa school. Photo by author, 2015.

This military aesthetic, origin story, and marketing provided Tropa with a significant appeal and reputation. From the inside, though, the daily humdrum of preparing for *simulado* after *simulado* administered every Saturday was as mundane as it was repetitive. The view from the inside contrasted with the *flexões*, or the public display of masculinist bravado, where *simulado* results were posted on the school's corkboards for all to see. Each leafed through to find their ranking among hundreds of other students at their school and within the wider network. This rather anti-climactic repetitiveness, it seemed, prompted the administration to encourage rituals such as the pre-test *flexões*. During these public bouts of low-pitched energized theatrics, the image and aesthetic of a rigorous militaristic temporal discipline and rhythm—One! Two! Three!—was reinforced and projected outward.

Gritos de Guerra (War Cries)

War Cry 1: On BOPE Assassination

É o BOPE preparando a incursão	It's BOPE preparing the incursion
E na incursão	And in the incursion
Não tem negociação	There is no negotiation
O tiro é na cabeça	The shot is to the head.
E o agressor no chão.	It's the aggressor on the floor.
E volta pro quartel	And then back to the barracks,
pra comemoração.	for the celebration.

Another way in which militaristic temporal discipline was performed and projected was through another ritual, the *grito de guerra* (war cry).

I sat down with Adri, an intern who, like Thompson, also worked part-time at Tropa Nobre Shopping's administration (as a PIPE intern, recall Chapter 3) and studied for a university entrance exam at Tropa. She sat with me during work hours at the Tropa Nobre Shopping meeting room, where, our conversation eventually centered on the military ethos of Tropa. I asked her to expand on what she described as a "military culture." She detailed to me the "military language" used every day: "When you go deliver a message to the classroom, they don't raise their hand, they do this [*clenching her fist*], everyone in the military track. . . . at first, I didn't understand." Rather than raise hands, they raised fists. I was puzzled by this. She clarified, explaining:

> J: ...you see that the school focuses a lot in the military, have you seen them chanting? Did you get here at the time when they were singing?

B: No.

J: They keep singing something like the army chants, like soldiers, they make up songs and sing.

B: Outside here?

J: There inside the classroom, before the teacher enters.

B: Is it bothersome?

J: It's weird.

B: That they chant.

J: I do not know the songs I only know that they sound like war chants, something crazy.

J: You see this in the army, you still see a lot of this in the army. It belongs to the military world indeed, it's weird I think, they live in this universe, but I think, in my point of view, that this disturbs them, because in their heads it's like they're already there [in the military academy].

B: No, they are kids in high school.

J: You got it…

B: So they don't see themselves as being in a school?

J: (interjecting)... it is the methodology of the school that's like that. With a focus on the military [test] result.

B: That, and nothing else.

J: No, you also have the university [test] results, for entrance exams. But the school gets caught up in the militarism.

Adri was referring to the great divide that exists between students at Tropa—between students who wanted to enter a military academy, and students who wanted to enter a public university. Everyone enrolled in Tropa for high school would eventually pick a track, and there was a specific tension between the two. Nevertheless, as my experience and that of Adri attested to, the school is largely enveloped in a military ethos. If the *flexões* were the public performance of a highly disciplined temporal and social organization, the *gritos de guerra* were the internal iterations of such acts, consolidating the "methodology" of a military focus. These chants in unison project a highly disciplined temporality and regimented social hierarchy and organization.

Screamed by teenaged boys at the top of their lungs in unison, these chants punctuated my interview audio files, echoed during recess in school halls and before tests. At their hyper masculine effervescent crescendos, the chants held a performative force that was a tremendous service to Tropa's bottom line. If momentarily, they collapsed business with school, war with learning, student with soldier. By conflating Berretas with books, Tropa deploys *gritos de guerra* as marketing but also business strategy. Tropa's dedication to military rhetoric and aesthetics positions them to present themselves (to their customers, paying students and parents) as valuing rigor, discipline, order and success.

War Cry 2: On Desire to Kill

Se sua moral é fraca e fácil de corromper,	Your morale is weak and easy to corrupt
o seu olhar de pavor me enche de prazer.	your fearful gaze fills me with pleasure.
eu sinto gosto de sangue, vontade de matar,	I can taste the blood, desire to kill.
são os cães de guerra que acabam de chegar,	it's the war dogs who just arrived,

Cães, Cães, malditos Cães de guerra!	Dogs, Dogs, damned War dogs!

War Cry 3: On Perseverance

Uniforme camuflado pouca água no cantil,	Camouflaged uniform, low on canteen
a mochila bem pesada e em guarda alta o meu	water, a heavy backpack and my rifle on
fuzil.	guard. Few want to do what I'm doing!
O que eu estou fazendo pouca gente quer fazer!	The hunger and the cold are serious, and
A fome e o frio e grande e o cansaço e pra	exhaustion the real deal...
valer…	

War Cry 4: On Torture

Carro choque, em posição	Armored vehicle, in position
Pra dispersar a multidão	To disperse the crowd
Interrogatório	Interrogation
É muito bom de se fazer	It's very good to do
Agente pega o animal	We catch the animal,
E bate nele até dizer.	And beat them until they speak.

War Cry 5: On Exhaustion

Por isso quando eu vejo	That's why when I see
A faca na caveira	The knife in the skull (BOPE's slogan)
Eu sei que vou ralar	I know I'll work hard
A minha vida inteira.	My whole life.

Corridinha michuruca	The steady run,
Que não dá nem pra cansar	For which you can't even tire,
Eu aqui nesse passinho	I here in this little step
Vou até o sol raiar.	I'm going until the sun comes up.

Adri compared the military ethos of Tropa with the evangelical (Adventist) school that she previously attended. The alignment Adri points out drawing from her own experience, lies in the "culture of the school," with students "entering a universe that is completely different from a normal school." She then brought up the students who believe that the military dictatorship should return to Brazil, and expanded:

> A: I don't understand people doing this ... dictate and obey, dictate and obey ... I really think it's a *viagem* (a "trip," slang for outrageous) when people ask for the return of the dictatorship, I could now bear that, [take for example] this workplace, you receive orders, you are subordinate, but only to the work, okay. But to be subordinate in your entire life, in everything, in all the areas of your life? Who wants to live like this? If you do not do what they want, you will become insubordinate and will pay for it.
>
> B: with your life sometimes.
>
> A: Who wants to live like that?

Adri was referring to the students who are supporters of the return of the military regime, most recently captured in the political movement that brought Jair Bolsonaro and his military allies to power.

> B: People lack critical thinking.

A: Not everybody, man, not everybody has reasoning, not everybody has a critical sense, I don't know, that's what they are taught.

Suddenly, we were interrupted by Adri's boss, cutting short this brief pocket of time that enabled a conversation that had given a larger criticism of the institution's military ethos. "Excuse me, Adri, I need you here." The boss turned to me, "Sorry, but I need her now."

During our conversation, Adri illustrated how Tropa's *grito de guerra* ritual propagates a "military culture." Beyond bringing about a widespread acceptance and glorification of *militarismo,* these rituals, she contended, obstruct student's critical thought (reminiscent of an Adventist church), and position them in a position of obedience. The synchronized chanting, she understood, created too much synchrony, leading to homogeny. While good for Tropa and its bottom line of profiting from student's desires to pass the test while instilling them with great fervor and dedication to studying, it was not good, she

reasoned, for their ability to develop moral and ethical reasoning through critical thinking.



Figure 32: Tropa advertisement on public bus. Photo by author, 2017.

Foco Na Vitória (Focus on Victory)

When I met Thompson, he believed that Tropa's success would translate to his own success. He was working part-time as an administrative intern while also taking a test-prep course after work, splitting his day half and half. Throughout my conversations with Thompson, he made it clear that he sought to continue working at Tropa until he could carry out enough test-prep courses to get a high enough score to enter a military academy. Until then, he was to sacrifice himself, spending every hour of his life either working or studying. He knew quite well what *Tropa* he was part of. I was left wondering what it was about Tropa that lead to his apparent fervor for studying. During my first conversation with him and others, I heard extensively about *foco*, a key concept used by youth to organize their experience navigating the different tracks of higher education and careers. It translates

roughly to a steadfast dedication to one's goals. This concept had been seized upon by the Director of Marketing, and turned into one of the yearly slogans, *Foco Na Vitória* (Focus on Victory). And so, it emerged as one of the key organizing principles of the institution: *Foco*.

My interest in *foco* would illuminate Adri's views of students' staunch militarism. Once enrolled at Tropa, the *Tropa*'s training was organized around a very simple objective: to learn how to take tests. Such a pedagogy of testing would structure the academic calendar of Tropa, which was organized in function of official state test days, when students traveled to a state administered testing-site. Any curricular content that does not get tested on those dates, therefore, is highly unpopular to students, and teachers strained to keep student's attention. For example, military entrance exams do not test sociology or philosophy. While teachers are required to cover their content, students, who know they won't be tested on it, are reluctant to participate in class. In addition, after the official test day, teachers complained that students behaved as if the academic year was over. The military ethos of the institution placed so much emphasis on excelling on the tests, that students would lose interest in any curricular content that exceeded the scope of the test they were 'training' for. This was deeply troubling to teachers who I interviewed, and represented a constant struggle. After the official test day passed, teachers complained that students behaved as if the academic year was over. The military ethos, reinforced by the rituals that rehearsed a militarized temporal imaginary, effectively upended the traditional (ministry of education) academic high school curriculum and calendar, reshaping it according to the imperatives of standardized tests and the institutions to which they provide the gateway.

I wanted to understand how this academic culture was forged, sustained and could be transformed. Throughout the next few months, Thompson proved to be my inside guide about how Tropa operates. When I asked Thompson how he organized his time, he repeatedly referenced *foco*. *Foco na Vitória,* I would come to learn, is intended to stimulate an emotion. If the ends, or the "what" of Tropa became easily graspable in the logic I've identified as "defeat the test and be victorious," *foco na vitória* provided the means, or the "how" to carry out that "victory." Stating the methodology for success in one, intuitive, exciting and graspable word for teenagers, the mantra proved to be one of the guiding epistemological principles of the school. However I soon found a catch. The phrase did work in two ways. Not only did it provide an emotional appeal of the imagined euphoria of success, of returns on self-sacrifice and deprivation. It also backgrounded the conversation about student's empirical stories and their statistical odds and structural limitations, individual agency in light of larger these preconditions, actual time studying needed to pass actual tests, and other cost-benefit calculations such as mental health and social sacrifices. In this way, the phrase set the stage for a steadfast belief (at times almost a faith), like that I encountered with Thompson, of a tight, undisputable narrative of *foco* as the means to *victory.* Through my conversations with Thompson, *foco,* which means focus in English, emerged as the organizing principle of life at Tropa. Above all, it entailed giving oneself up entirely, and doubling down with a near-compulsive drive to study. Uttered repeatedly, the phrase "estudar o tempo inteiro" (study all the time) began to feel banal.

As I revisited my fieldnotes, this emphasis reminded me of Mary Douglas's argument in *Purity and Danger* (1966). She outlines the moral underbelly of claims of

purity and contamination. Her reading cast new light on my analysis of the local uses of *foco*. In particular, the idea of purity entails an oscillation between "all or nothing," providing the moral bedrock to claims of purity versus contamination. Similarly, *foco*, entails an "all or nothing" oscillation. Either one has it or one does not. This runs parallel with the binary embedded in the concept of winning: either one wins or one loses. In the classroom context, this translates to a student either having *foco* or being someone that *não quer nada* (doesn't want anything). Not surprisingly, this gloss maps on directly to the binary embedded in the technology of testing: either one passes or one fails. Either one wins or one loses. Either one has *foco* or one does not. Either one profits or one perishes.

The reducibility of pedagogical and epistemological considerations to a number (namely, a test score) is imperative in order to arrive at this binary formulation of the value of education. Scholars of education have long argued that the prominence of testing in private education has not come about by coincidence. They have argued that once the outcomes of education can be measured by numbers, they can be traded on the market like any other commodity. Institutional, legal, epistemological and sociocultural practices can be shaped by and for those commodities, which come to circulate within a larger political economy. Moreover, pedagogy is fundamentally shaped, as the standards for what counts as "quality" education, as well as the larger primordial question of what education is for and whom it serves can now be answered. Quality education means high scores. Education is to ensure high scores, to serve those who meritoriously attain high scores. In the market logic of what authors have called neoliberal education, pedagogy and learning can now be measured, standardized, reproduced en mass, and, most importantly, given a price tag. One of Tropa's pillars, merit-based education, hereby systematically justifies the exclusion of

large swaths of the population from access to education (which in Brazil is considered a fundamental human and constitutional right). The basic common-sense premise of demand in a market logic, that "if you can't afford it, you can't buy it" is transposed to education, becoming "if you can't attain the score, you're not entitled to education." This logic soon becomes an important "common sense" discursive formulation that, once embedded bureaucratic apparatuses, generates what Michael Herzfeld has called "the social production of indifference" (Herzfeld 1992). Scholars have pointed out the moral inversions necessary to sustain an exclusion-based education system, where exclusivity is a condition required to generate distinction and market value.

iii. Meritocracy and Neoliberalism

As I would find out, just as central to the operation (and success) of Tropa as the highly visible displays of militaristic temporal discipline (*flexões, gritos de guerra, and foco*) are the school's neoliberal underpinnings. Of central importance is to understand the way the realities of being a student at Tropa differ from the appealing aesthetic and appearance of Tropa's military rigor (that connoting order, discipline, intensity and success) and meticulous time-management that the school projects. As I came to observe through interactions inside classrooms, in practice, the majority of students time was actually highly unstructured. Rather than individualize attention and micromanage very single hour (a practice that is costly and requires lots of supervision and resources) as the military ethos might have you believe, time becomes an amorphous mass, structured only by the imperative to always be working. Beyond the spectacular war cries, push-ups, and emphasis on focus, they are given little more than the imperative to study all the time and

a room to do so. The main reason for this is that Tropa's underlying logic is not a military rationalization and control of every minute. Rather, Tropa is successful at keeping costs low because its governing principle is a profoundly neoliberal one, which transfers all responsibility for studying, but also for passing or failing, onto the student.

The Ideology of Meritocracy: "It's the student's effort that will make him grow"

The above slogan, prominent in Tropa's pedagogical materials and in its employee's discourse, gives us a preview of the neoliberal logic underpinning the school's operations. I first heard it as I sat on one of the few benches next to the small cafeteria chatting with a mid-level administrator and geography professor named Vinicious, who gave me a clearer picture of Tropa's mode of operating. The cafeteria was, fittingly, called "Hora do Lanche" (Snack Time), and its sign featured a large clock-man. Like clockwork, the bell rang and students shuffled out of their classrooms, filling the hall and creating a line. I noticed that many of them were walking up in groups to glance at sheets of paper pinned up on a corkboard. The most recent *simulado* test had been posted in an excel sheet printout with each student (from left to right) by rank, name and institution. Students jockeyed to be the next to flip through the white sheets looking to locate their name in relation to the name of all of their classmates, but also within the larger network of Tropa schools. Like public rankings of "most calls" that have call center workers competing over bonuses at call centers, this sheet made clear that not only were they competing against their peers, but also against other school units.

Vinicious and I sat outside of his school unit, in a neighborhood about a thirty-minute drive north from Madeiros. He started his interview by citing the academic slogan

of Tropa, “it’s the student’s effort that will make him/her grow." This seemingly common-sense proposition concealed the erasure of any factor in a student’s education beyond the effort of the individual. Indeed, his view of *foco* involved a transcendent faith in the individual: “We’re all capable of anything, all you have to do is believe that.” He later expanded, when I asked him about the reason they post practice test scores on the hallway corkboard for all to see, acknowledging the way the individual is not alone. Rather, he or she is constantly being compared to the scores of others. He added, “through comparison, they get stimulated to study more and more."

As we chatted informally in the hall, he suddenly stopped a student who was walking by. Like an inquisitive drill sergeant, he quipped. “I want novelty.” Unsure about how to respond, the student hesitated. “I want to know everything,” Vinicius continued. “De prova, quero prova.” He was asking as student to give him an update on his test scores, and whether or not they had improved. The student struggled to respond, looking visibly caught off guard. These encounters were routine, contributing to a tense air in the room, where a fraternal jockeying gave way to semi-amicable interrogation. Such interactions with students in the hall were routine. Their goal was less to follow-up on a pedagogical process or methodology in place. Rather, they were intended to place pressure on his students to study more.

Vinicius later entered a philosophical mood, elaborating to me in ways that reminded me of a sports coach, "the mind is our worst enemy.” Why? I asked. He expanded, "We are what we think," concluding, "you are the size of your dream.” Drawing from a mix of pop self-help psychology and business ideas about merit-based success, his view positioned the rugged individual in command of reality, choosing whether or not to

accomplish his dreams, or whether or not to be successful. In this view, at the helm of reality, one's thoughts carry the potential to make or break one's dreams, rather than any external circumstances. These views reminded me of the views of the CEO of the umbrella company that had recently acquired Tropa. One of the wealthiest men in the world (and by far the wealthiest Brazilian), Jorge Paulo Lemann is a staunch proponent of neoliberal economics (through which he built his empire). Cristiane Correa's behind-the-scenes account of Lemann's rise, *Sonho Grande* (Dream Big) (2013), highlights his unyielding

belief in the individual as the sole guarantor of his own merit-based success through the values of hard work and austerity.

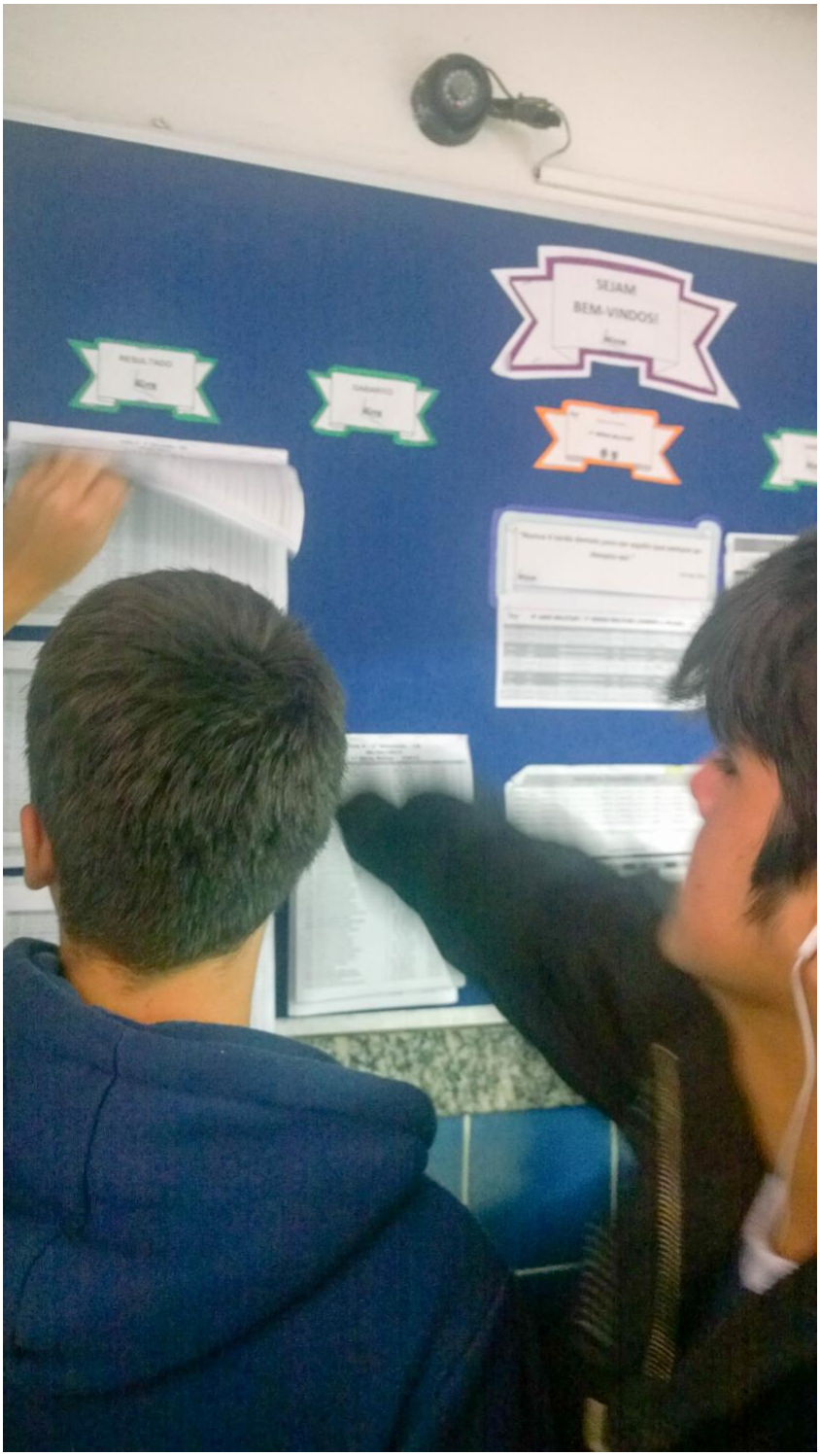

Figure 33: Test scores on display. Photo by author, 2017.

I would later ask about Vinicious's view of Tropa within the context of Brazilian education at large, and the conversation took a turn towards sporting metaphors, as it often did when talking with Tropa administrators. It so happens that sporting metaphors—that combine the militarized athleticism and rigor of the army with the individual responsibility and competition of neoliberalism—best captured the pedagogical ethos of Tropa:

> V: I believe that, the company believes that . . . if we approve 200, we will want to approve 400 the following year. . . . It's like the marathon runner: he does a run in a given time, what does he do in training? Try to reduce that time. That's where we come in—particularly the professionals who are engaged with the goals of the company, understand?

Likening schooling to athletic "training," undergirded by a logic of a progression towards increased productivity over time, Vinicious could have been speaking about the *metas* or "incentive" structure that undergirded Tropa. In the same way school administrators in his administrative sector were concerned with increasing the unit's profit, so were professors in his pedagogical sector (many of whom were the same individuals, such as him, who teaches and works as an administrator) concerned with increasing the unit's test scores. These higher test scores (and admissions), in turn, translated to financial bonuses (or incentives) to administrators of the unit. The hazing Vinicious performed in the hall and classroom, I came to learn, was more than his own effort to place pressure on his students. Rather, it was built into the organizational design of the institution. Vinicious pressured his team of teachers, who pressured students, like Vinicious, to perform more. In Vinicious's eyes, if Thompson performs well, his unit grows in rankings, and his salary grows in

quantity, in a mix of honor, competitiveness and profit. In the same way that these two measures—profit and scores—became indistinguishable in his discourse, so did they merge together in the administrative and organizational structure of the school unit and company at large. Key to this pressure, however, was not that students followed some sort of regimented and highly detailed study schedule and curriculum as they would in a military barrack and as Tropa's army aesthetic would have one believe. Rather, this pressure was the opposite of regimented – it was an amorphous mass that was organized around one simple imperative: study harder.

Vinicious took the sporting metaphor further, to an Olympic swimmer.

> V: The swimmer, he does... 50 meters in *x* minutes. He has to do his best to do that same trajectory in *x* minus 5. So he will be constantly increasing his performance, that is what the teachers try to make happen.

Rather than frame learning as a co-production shared by learner and teacher, this metaphor frames learning as a benchmark and incentive structure set-up by the educator, where it is then the student's responsibility to reach it. According to this logic, no matter how fast the swimmer (or student) goes, he will always be behind the coach's (professor's) arbitrarily set benchmark. The swimmer trains to close that gap. I would later come to see how built into this incentive structure is a status of perpetual temporal delay. That delay (*x* minus 5) in Vinicious's words, is what the swimmer owes to the coach.



Figure 34: Megamall advertisement. Photo by author, 2017.

Marketing Victory and the "Herd Mentality"

To better understand the way time (and pedagogy) was organized in Tropa, I spoke with Andrea, the marketing director. She elaborated on findings from a recent research project she carried out for marketing, "For Tropa, we discovered that the idea of superiority, that's the main idea, that discourse of "*Venha Vencer"* (come be victorious), of the number of students approved (to colleges), of victories, we can't seem to distance ourselves too much from that idea." The slogan *Venha Vencer* was preceeded by the similar slogan, "Foco na Vitória, Do Primeiro ao Ultimo Dia" (Focus on Victory, From the First to the Last Day). The emphasis on superiority and winning in their marketing campaigns was not a coincidence. Invoking the tropes of heroism, superiority and greatness typical of sports teams and corporate executives, Tropa's marketing, Andrea concluded, was more about a feeling than about a pedagogical methodology. One would think that there would be an elaborate methodology—a meticulous set of procedures, guidelines and objectives—put in place by the institution that would guide Tropa students towards all the "victory," "focus" and "superiority." In fact, beyond class-time, when teachers lectured on the course content, there was nothing more than that same open-ended imperative voiced by Vinicious's sporting metaphors: Study harder, longer, faster. I asked:

> B: From what I've seen, students think they have to study all the time.
>
> A: It's a way we could find to do for them, we have to put all in, we have to create a certain "herd mentality" (spoken in English) there, because there are a lot of people, so it is difficult to give individualized attention to each of the students considering the amount of students we have. If you do not install such a culture, yeah, it's difficult to achieve that level of academic impact that we have today.

Despite the school's explicit selling point of "atendimento individual" (individualized teaching), what took primacy in the context of an avalanche of testing was a "herd mentality." The sheer scale of the Tropa operation, classroom sizes, and narrow focus on testing, makes its professed dedication to the individual learner mere lip service in comparison to the underlying effort of generating, in her words, a "herd mentality." A herd, she reasoned, will "study all the time" on its own.

Always On

> "it's only possible to face these difficult tests if the student is adapted to a rhythm of continuous study."
>
> —"Methodology," Tropa Website[56]

"Treine enquanto eles dormem,	"Train while they sleep,
estude enquanto eles se divertem,	Study while they have fun,
persiste enquanto eles descansam,	Persist when they rest,
e entao, viva o que eles sonham."	And then, live what they dream."

I first came across this phrase from a viral meme. An interlocutor at Câmara who had studied at Tropa had it as his facebook profile background photo, but I later learned that it had been used as a motivating phrase by professors. The meme drew its appeal by playing with the physical impossibility of studying every moment of the day and juxtaposing it to a warlike dedication to doing so, deriving a sort of returns on sacrifice or

[56] "Quem Somos," Elite Rede de Ensino, accessed February 16, 2019, https://ensinoelite.com.br/quem-somos.

recipe for success, "and then, live what they dream." The meme suck with me, as it captured in many ways the marriage of a logic of chronicity with a military ethos implied by "Foco Na Vitória." Indeed, I soon began hearing the same discourses as I sat in on Tropa classrooms, and later interviewed professors.

I decided I would dig deeper into this logic of pedagogical chronicity in order to understand what, in fact, people meant by it. I would soon find that, to my dismay, the school's stated pedagogical methodology of a "rhythm of constant studying," and the casual phrase students and teachers uttered, to "study all the time" were not merely metaphorical forms of speech, but literal imperatives. Far from realistic (due simply to the biological fact of sleep, nourishment, transportation, etc.), it became a constantly receding horizon, an ideal that would hold students captive mentally, emotionally and physically in and beyond the classroom.

While intentionally vague, it turned out that such chronicity was attached to numbers: clock time and test scores. I talked to Lucas, a geography professor who also worked in Tropa's regional administration, who explained to me:

> The majority of the entrance tests are national, so the guy competes with the a guy from the Ceará [*a distant northern Brazilian state*], the guy from the south, the guy from the northeast, and we show this to them, you're competing with a guy from Acre, right now he is studying. We joke that in Acre there is a time difference. [That guy] is awake and studying, man. Are you? You're going to have to wake up earlier, to compete with the guy from Acre. He sleeps earlier, so if you sleep later, you gain more hours.

Lucas paints a picture of time, where an acute awareness of how universal time (twenty-four hours) bears down on local time (present time). Though couched in an affect of an "incentivizing joke," its effects on students' perception of time and self-fashioning is significant. In Lucas's framing, bodily and social time is collapsed under clock time. The cycles of the earth around the sun (and ecological and biological synchrony around that) that once organized what Evans-Pritchard (1969) called "oecological time" are uprooted and placed as a grid of endless chronic cycles upon the "social time" of students. Both "social" and "oecological" time here, Lucas might say, are obstacles to the logic of what I the school calls "a rhythm of continuous studying." David Harvey has called this phenomena "space-time compression" in his book *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989), where he describes how under neoliberal market regimes, workers are pressed to accept precarious working conditions with flexible hours in order to be "always on" for the needs of the employer.

"Ritmo de Estudo Contínuo" (Rhythm of Constant Studying)

> We help our students plan to accomplish their dreams through the program *Learning how to Study*. In this project, together with the student we build a plan that helps him/her develop study habits.
>
> —*Learning How to Study* program description, Tropa Website

When I first began my research at Tropa, I thought that I would find youths who had elaborate, rigid and packed study schedules. I sought to document this when I sat in on the meetings where school principals developed the *Learning How to Study* work plans, as outlined in Tropa's Methodology. To my surprise, while prominently advertised on the

website, in practice, the program consisted of a faded hand-folded photocopy handout that was largely in disuse. As part of the program, the principal met once a year with individual students to "build" their daily schedules. I sat in on a number of meetings where youths struggled to recall their daily schedules, leaving the meeting with a piece of paper with the majority of the waking hours of their lives blocked off for a range of course material studies topped off by a sliver of "leisure" time on Sundays. Whether or not they in fact followed that schedule didn't matter. The message they took home was not how or when to study, but rather that they should study as much time as they could. Local time reckoning gave way from a quantitative measurement to a qualitative state of delay.

I found that the stakes behind the imperative to "study all the time," was less a measurable schedule of time spent studying versus time spent doing other things (dimensional time[57]), but rather the reduction of quantitative, dimensional time (time as divided into units of equal length) to two kinds of qualitative time: *before* the test, and *after* the test. Whether or not students had or followed their individual study schedules outlined in the manual *Learning How to Study,* did not matter. What mattered was time *before* the test, or a chronic dedication to the task of studying. This may be why when talking about studying, students and professors rarely referenced individualized and specific timetables for studying, with measurable, realistic goals for learning content in time to reach a particular level of knowledge before the test. Rather, they spoke of *foco* and "studying all the time." They less frequently, they spoke of time *after* the test. This time was distant, idealized and overly optimistic (considering the odds of passing). Students rarely

[57] In his essay "The Consciousness of Time," Anthony Wallace elaborates upon the "dimensionality" of physical time: "clock time is a dimension that can be divided into units of equal length, like space, and time and space are commonly alluded to in the same vocabulary (in Portuguese, at least), as in the use of the words "short" and "long" to describe both time and distance" (Wallace 2005: 2).

elaborated upon the very real possibility of not passing. Rather, they spoke of it as time *after* having passed, when their lives would be returned to them, and they would regain their leisure and time with others and the possibility of becoming *profissionais formados*. The *possibility* of passing made the means worth the ends. The inhumane and self-denying devotion *before*, would prove to be worthwhile in the bountiful successes *after*, the logic went. "It's a few years of dedication now for decades of enjoyment later," as one student put it. When I learned that the student whom Vinicious had hazed in the hallway was going to take his test in October (which was three and a half months in the future), I noted that there was "still time." He laughed at my comment, saying "no, there's not much time. It's very little time." Time *before* the test was, regardless of the units of time until the test day, always in scarcity.

In many respects, this logic and expectation of "continuous studying" has various implications. Firstly, it helps create the illusion that students choose whether or not to pass the test, just like they would choose whether or not to default on a loan, or show up on time. Secondly, it directs blame for failure onto the shoulders of individual students, directing it away from factors that have to do with the pedagogical framework and infrastructure for learning. Failing to pass is on you—and all the time you spent on things other than studying, the reasoning goes. This occludes any responsibility on behalf of the institution. Somehow it's all on the student. And finally, it sets up a situation where the entire waking life of a test-taker is considered necessary for studying, and in this way guaranteeing one's success. Any time spent elsewhere—tending to familial, emotional or social domains—is by default time that could have been spent studying, and thereby time

wasted. Youths respond to this situation by becoming perpetually occupied by test-prep: in their own words, "studying all the time."

Salas de Monitoria (Tutoring Rooms)

As we have seen, Tropa's outward appearance of military discipline and meticulous structuring of schedules combined with individualized mentorship (which contributes to its reputation and adds value to its brand) belies the 'every-man-for-himself' arrangement where students are given very little structure beyond formal classes while told to be "always on," and "study continuously" I argue that this logic directs blame for failure towards the individual test-taker and relieves Tropa of any of the responsibility for the students who fail year-after-year.



Figure 35: Tropa bullboards in Nobre Shopping. Photo by author, 2015.

Speaking to Andrea, she pointed out that what local *colégios tradicionais* still have over Tropa is infrastructure and installations for after-school "full time" education. Parents

can drop off their kids and return to pick them up after work, knowing that their child spent the afternoon swimming, practicing martial arts, making music or learning a language. In this way, a part-time education turns into a full-time education. What Tropa lacks in facilities and pedagogical range, it makes up for in occupying the free time of its students. As we have seen, it does so by intentionally crafting a "herd mentality," in the words of Andrea, that makes students feel compelled to study all the time. To make-up for their lack of a second half-day of programming, Tropa provides after-school salas de *monitoria* (tutoring classrooms). In practice, this means close to nothing to Tropa, beyond making a classroom that is already empty available for students to study. For students, on the other hand, it means that they have the option to stay as long as they want studying for their test after-school. Dropping the price by saving the school money on teachers and making use of idle classrooms while giving parents time to make it back from ever-longer commutes, *monitoria* has a subtle but widely significant value. In the words of Andrea, "That's why today it is an attractive thing to Tropa, because we let the kid stay there, in the *monitoria*, which is also a softer cost for us, it is not a teacher..." Meanwhile, parents can quell their fears of a loose adolescent in the "rua" while they are at work, knowing that he/she is at school studying for a test, while Tropa can fill otherwise empty classrooms with students who manage themselves.

When speaking with Andrés, a regional pedagogical coordinator about *monitoria*, he elaborated, "it's an option, and also the possibility of the guy not going home, he can stay here at school, bring food, because we have microwave here, he can bring the food from home, have lunch here, stay in the study room until the time the family comes back home... they have this option, they can stay in school studying all day,

understand." *Monitoria*, in practice, costs Tropa nothing. In public, it is paraded as infrastructure provision and a distinctive feature by marketers and members of the staff. Andrés elaborated:

> this is a differentiator, because in certain places, if the person wants to stay in school pays a fee, not here, it allows the student to stay all day, he pays for one shift, he pays to take a shift , we get people to provide a room there so that he can have lunch, and have a study room, often with a monitor in the living room for answering questions.

I regularly encountered situations where shootouts disrupted public transportation and made getting home between shootouts a guessing game. Combined with parent's long commutes and workdays, students often spent the majority of their waking life at Tropa, eating, socializing, and studying while spending their mornings or afternoons barricaded up in *salas de monitoria*, studying for tests.

Where other places charge to provide such a lifestyle, Tropa does it for free. Indeed, he was referring to *colégios tradicionais,* that built their business model around parent's drive to occupy, and charged a premium for after-school activities. Tropa, like other *colégios cursinhos,* replaced after-school activities or academic programming with a space and a stove to heat food.

If I pass, Tropa earns. If I fail, Tropa earns again

Under the veneer of military-grade organization and rigor, the economic interests, and larger predatory framework of Tropa's business model are occluded, making room for the military imagery and affects: "focus," push-ups, war cries, "victory." While this outward

projected image of structure and rigor increases the value of the brand, it belies an inner lack of structure, and an underlying logic in which responsibility for failure is transferred on to individual students. While for the company the solution is simple—"try harder next time" by enrolling in another year of fee-paying—for the students, who suffer serious psychological distress and whose families go into debt, the story is more complicated. I soon learned that in the "defeat and win" world of Tropa, there was no room made to account for all that failure. This lack of ways to account for failure would come full circle and double down on students. Meanwhile, as mentioned in the previous Chapter, Tropa's CEO profits. Not only does he profit from the fraction of students who pass (who then are featured in their marketing campaigns as poster-children), but he profits from majority of students who fail (who return the year after). The widely-recognized practice of manipulating statistics for marketing campaigns is not unknown to Tropa, which distorts their approvals in ways that make passing seem within arm's reach. Those who fail are left wondering why they failed to dedicate the amount of time necessary to studying that was necessary to pass.

As I would learn, in a twist, this dread of ultimate failure is Tropa's most valuable resource. It is the widespread affect that compels students to keep their heads down continuously and keep coming back to Tropa's pedagogical model of "continuous study." It is also the affect that convinces students that failure is a choice borne of individual frailty and indulgence. Such deeply felt affect, kept all but a few students from ascertaining and questioning the true bedrock of their institution: If I pass, Tropa earns. If I fail, Tropa earns again.

The predicament of students, it turns out, is the continuous profit for CEOs. When speaking to Adri, I asked her about this: "because it's a small percentage that gets in, and the big majority will be left out". Adri replied:

> ...that's way there are students here that are taking the course for the third time... You see, how hard it is, things are very hard, I believe. Even more that, in our country, there isn't much opportunity, opportunity is preached... it's talked of when you see electoral campaigns, there's even a slogan, 'Brazil, country of opportunity'—[it's] just that it's not true.

What Adri describes as this stark "lack of opportunities" for youth like her runs counter to the claims of "meritocracy," espoused by Tropa.

The reducibility of pedagogical and epistemological considerations to a number (namely, a test score) is imperative in order to arrive at this binary formulation of the value of education: passing or failing standardized tests. Scholars of education have long argued that the prominence of testing in private education has not come about by coincidence. They have argued that once the outcomes of education can be measured by numbers (and students can be declared as either passing or failing), they can be traded on the market like any other commodity. Institutional, legal, epistemological and sociocultural considerations can now be reduced to (and shaped by) the value of education as commodity. In the market logic of what scholars have called neoliberal education (Urciuoli 2018), pedagogy and learning can now be measured, standardized, reproduced *en masse*—and, most importantly, given a price tag.

Order and Progress[58]

[58] Brazil's national motto, *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress) is featured on the country's flag.

In many ways, Tropa's commercial success can be understood as running parallel to current president Jair Bolsonaro's electoral success. Bolsonaro's far-right Partido Social Liberal (PSL) took power in Brazil's 2018 presidential election, driven by an appeal to a mythical past of military authoritarianism combined with support for free market capitalism. Like Bolsonaro, Tropa relies on a potent mixture of (on the one hand) militaristic rhetoric and aesthetics and (on the other) neoliberal cost-cutting measures.

Bolsonaro's cabinet is composed largely of members of the military, including vice president Hamilton Mourão (an army general). However, key members of his team, including his powerful "superminister" of the economy Paulo Guedes, are aligned with the Chicago School laissez-faire tradition of economics; Guedes is currently pushing for neoliberal reforms—privatization, deregulation, structural adjustment. This chapter has demonstrated that, in the case of test-prep schools like Tropa, what might seem intuitively like a major difference between rigid, military authoritarianism and free-flowing, laissez-faire neoliberal capitalism, turns out to be more of a marriage than a contradiction. What the electoral success of Jair Bolsonaro's PSL in 2018 demonstrates is that the same is true at the level of Brazil's federal government.

PART III: Protest Occupation

Chapter 6: From *Desocupados* to *Ocupa Tudo*

Before Câmara was occupied, the principal—Rodrigo—often walked the grounds with tools in his hands. He was known as the "fireman" by his superiors in the Ministry of Education, as he often extended his responsibilities to entail a patchwork effort at troubleshooting malfunctioning school infrastructure: air conditioning, projectors, the water pump, drinking water fountains, an abandoned pool filed with rotting water. Often, he bore chicken fence wire while doing his rounds. He used it to seal breaches in the school fence made by students attempting to get out. Throughout 2015, in the period leading up to the occupation that took place in April 2016, I witnessed the accumulation of grievances on behalf of students and teachers about the progressively degraded condition of the school. During that period, there were two major protests, one which took the adjacent avenue, Dom Helder Camara—attempting to raise the visibility of the school's condition of disrepair. Rodrigo, the self-proclaimed fireman principal became principal in late 2015. His military background served him well in the ministry of education. It also made such an occupation unthinkable to him.

The evening of April 8, 2016, Câmara students inscribed a new kind of occupation into the neighborhood's history: they staged a protest occupation of their school. The principal and his staff were ordered out, ceding control of the gargantuan school building to a group of about fifty students. The students rallied from within the gates, announcing that the school had been occupied. Colégio Estadual Dom Hélder Câmara (Câmara) was the seventeenth public high school in Rio de Janeiro (of an eventual eighty) to form part of

a national high school student protest movement known as "Ocupa Tudo" (occupy everything) and popularized as "the high school spring."

Throughout late 2015 and 2016, the horizontal movement garnered national and international media attention when it turned an estimated total of 1,500 public high schools into occupations throughout Brazil and four neighboring countries. The movement's critics—who tagged occupiers as idle vandals—were unable to overshadow its highly visible disruptions of unprecedented political significance that drew important victories, exposing a generation of favela-residing "at risk" youth to a new form of claiming rights and political practice.

"Posso Tirar Fotos com sua Câmara?" (May I Take Photos with your Camera?)

The evening of the occupation, I started photographing and filming with a Canon Mark II camera. The next morning, as I photographed, a student named Luan asked to borrow my camera. With some hesitation, I let the camera circulate. Months later, I revisited the photos from the first twenty-four hours of the occupation—folders titled *20160408* and *20160409*—to prepare for a presentation in Brazil on the student occupations. The first photographs—when the camera was in my hands—depicted the student meeting outside the school gates, the moment of hopping the gate, and the first horizontal assembly once the school was occupied. My photographs attempted to show an organized horizontal student movement with radical political stakes. Then, I noticed a dramatic shift in the content and subject matter of the photographs. This second set of images depicted a storage room, swimming pool pumps, a caved-in roof. The camera was in the hands of Luan, who borrowed my camera and left to photograph the school building in the middle of the first

assembly. His photos tell a very different story. Initially, I wondered why he chose to skip the meeting and whether there were better uses for the camera at that crucial moment.



Figure 36: "Come occupy with us. The school is ours," banner held by students during rally inside Câmara atrium. Photo by author, 2016.

By analyzing eight photos from the photo-ethnographic archive of the first twenty-four hours of the occupation, this chapter dwells in the difference between my photos and those taken by the students[59] to reveal novel political practices of a new generation of young citizens often misunderstood by commentators and observers like myself.[60] It is, then, a chapter located in a gap: not just a gap between my photos and theirs, but also a gap between my theoretical framework and their political practices. In this sense, the gap is an epistemic one: what observers like me saw in the dilapidated school building and what the

[59] I seek to toggle back and forth within another gap—that of an ethnographic past and its emergent present—taking a cue from the same play with time enacted by occupiers, as we will see.
[60] These twenty-four hours are contextualized with the prior twelve months of ethnographic research I had conducted in the school and neighborhood, two months in the occupation (at times dwelling there), and six months following the occupation (when I lived in the Madeiros neighborhood).

occupiers as a collective were doing with it (locally and nationally) were vastly different. What I therefore seek to demonstrate, first of all, is the failure of the set of analytical and theoretical ideas through which I sought to understand the phenomenon of Ocupa Câmara. From my own position, I observed the occupation via a frame of reference that included North American protest movements such as Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter, as well as the history of leftist and anarchist political thinking that has informed these and other movements. My attention was trained on the forms of improvised collective organization emerging within the occupied school, on the potential for alliances with other activist movements, and on the possibility of a radical refusal of state control. These proved to be the wrong questions to ask.

Rather than understanding Ocupa Câmara from above, with reference to protest movements and political thought from the Global North, this chapter instead seeks to meet the occupation on its own terms, paying particular attention to the photographic archive that occupiers (like Luan) themselves produced. Attending to the way that students used photographic media as a political technology provides a much more generative and a much more accurate set of insights into the particular political project in which the students were engaged.

The student's photos reveal two things. The first is a political demand: what the occupiers wanted above all was a functional school building. Luan's images packed visual arguments within them and could be used as political weapons when they were circulated. They were point-blank, unaestheticized photos of ruined public infrastructure. In some sense, the occupation and the photographs the occupiers took entailed a rejection of the state: by taking over the school, the students were ejecting the state's agents from the

pedagogical space, photographing their justifications for doing so, and occupying that space for themselves. But Ocupa Câmara was ultimately oriented towards a relatively simple demand, one that could hardly be characterized as radical or anarchist: the demand that the state do its job. Ocupa Câmara said to the state, "you have failed to keep your promises, you have let this public infrastructure rot; we are now taking action and doing the job you said you would do, but this shouldn't ultimately be our responsibility." In that sense, their demand functioned to expose a broken promise and a larger broken system of political representation at a moment of political turmoil and economic downturn.

Underlying this demand is the second revelation of the students' photographs: a dual temporal imaginary. What was especially noticeable about the photographs the occupiers took was that they fell into two categories. The first were of the type mentioned above: raw, documentary evidence of ruined infrastructure, demonstrating the ways in which promises of social investment made by the Lula administration in the early 2000s had been left unfulfilled. These photographs were oriented toward the past: they document the difference between a present state of disrepair and *that which could have been*, and mobilize affects ranging from melancholia to anger in order to perform political work. The second type of photographs, however, reside in a different affective register, a more reparative, hopeful, and future-oriented one. These *aspirational* photos depict occupiers fixing broken objects, and cleaning dirty rooms. They gesture towards the future: towards *what could still be*. These are temporal stakes of Ocupa Tudo—anger and lamentation towards a past of broken promises, contrasted with a future-oriented vision that points aspirationally toward a future in which ruined public infrastructure is repaired, restored, and put to work.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 gives background on the disintegration of promises of social investment. Section 2 analyzes my initial attempt to understand Ocupa Câmara through comparative and theoretical frameworks. Section 3 delves into what we can learn from the images taken by the occupying students about their political demands, and their temporal imaginary.



Figure 37: Members of Ocupa Câmara negotiating with Ministry of Education. Photo by author, 2016.

i. Layers of Occupation

Let me contextualize. I first scratched the surface of the region's recent history with Rodrigo,[61] the ostracized principal who I first met as a history teacher and who later became

[61] The land under modern-day Madeiros has undergone a series of occupations: from being controlled by indigenous groups, to colonial settler agriculturalists, to industrialists, to military industrialists, to migrant laborers to drug trafficking organizations to military police.

director. As director, he voluntarily adopted the nickname "the fireman." Strangely enough, his main tasks consisted of dealing with dysfunctional water systems. Between 2010 and 2016, the maintenance budget for the school plummeted, leading to chronic water shortages, electrical issues, and air conditioning failures. The pool was among the victims of this neglect. His solution to the problem of dangerous water in the pool was to hire dump trucks to have it buried; this response caused outrage, and was stopped.

He had originally become one of my central interlocutors in Câmara School, as his life trajectory was an allegory for the recent history of Brazil and of the neighborhood. Once a military barracks in the heart of Rio's industrial zone, the complex upon which the school today stands was abandoned in the 1980s, he explained to me. When it was renovated in the late 2000s, its name was changed from the Quartel de Benfica, to Madeiros.[62] Having served in the military for nearly two decades, Rodrigo was a man of hierarchy, bureaucracy, discipline, and obedience. He began his career in the ministry of education after the downfall of the military dictatorship and the implementation of the 1988 constitution that guaranteed democratization, social welfare, and civil rights. Retaining the qualities of his previous career and flaunting his self-titled role of "fire extinguisher" (that is, crisis resolver), he was consistently posted in some of the most socially and materially neglected schools in the city, where layer upon layer of occupation lead to a murky sense of sovereignty, and my interlocutors straddle the line between recognition as rights bearing citizens through state services and illicit markets and informal economies. Since the 1990's, this took the form of a bloody dispute between drug-trafficking organizations and

[62] The renovations included the Câmara model school and other social welfare services brought about by the Lula government.

state forces, with young people caught in the crossfire. Madeiros was one of those neighborhoods.

Projeto de Aceleração ao Crescimento (PAC)

During our interviews, the principal reminded me that Câmara sat within a former military barracks, describing in nostalgic detail the superior quality of the architecture, and the way that the building's integrity was compromised when investments from then President Lula da Silva widened the windows and removed the wall. These reforms were part of the federal government's *Projeto de Aceleração do Crescimento* (PAC), a capital investment project aimed at creating civic center hubs for social inclusion services for citizens newly minted "new middle class" residents of Rio's post-industrial, historically poor and violent North Zone favelas.[63] Far from a middle-class civic center, residents of the cluster of neighborhoods surrounding the PAC development projects now occupied by the Pacifying Police—saw a dramatic spike in violence as a longstanding brutal dispute over control of the territory—claiming scores of young innocent lives and leading to the psychological traumas associated with warfare—broke out once more. Meanwhile, the surge in money coming into the neighborhood for social welfare and NGO programming slowly fizzled out between 2010 and 2016[64], drying up most programs, leaving only their empty shells as reminders of the broken promises of the state. As the state budget floundered, so did the

[63] He was referring to an urban development project spearheaded by the government that had two arms: The first was the Pacification Police Units (hereby UPP), a heavily armed military occupation that temporarily displaced para-state forces followed by "hearts and minds" programming to win over local residents. The second was the integration of the population into the formal economy and state welfare services through the Projeto de Aceleracao ao Crescimento (hereby PAC).

[64] While I was there between 2014 and 2016, the Casa da Mulher, Casa do Trabalhador, Centro de Referencia da Juventude, Biblioteca parque closed their doors, while the centro de servico social and kiosques were already closed when I arrived. The only new funding in the region came in the form of a CAPS, intended to treat drug users, which opened late 2016.

maintenance budgets for the school and for public housing units; social programs all but disappeared.

By 2016, the UPP was beginning to resemble more of a military base within enemy territory that controlled the main arteries of the neighborhood than a sovereign state force, much less a police station. This occurred to the backdrop of investments in megaprojects for the Olympic Games and World Cup. As oil prices dipped lower than ever before, the entire city's budget was cast into the red, leading to crippling cuts to social services and even more pronounced austerity measures. Nationally, a corruption scandal and economic recession had turned the population against the ruling Workers Party, with the president Dilma Rousseff at historically low approval ratings. These woes at the federal level contributed to a palpable sense of disappointment with the political establishment and a sense that the social and economic horizons promised by the government were thrown into uncertainty.

ii. An Ethnographer Tells the Story of Ocupa Câmara

As I found myself swept up into this movement that I had watched mushroom from São Paulo in November 2015 to Rio in early 2016, I attempted to bear witness as anthropologist, activist, and photographer, and document the inside story of the growth of public school student activism, especially the movements centered in Brazil's favelas. I was fascinated by this movement's resonance with Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, and other horizontal organizing inspired in anarchist methodologies I had studied in North America. As I would promptly learn, occupiers had little immediate use for my images—which were

determined by my activist and anthropologist lenses.[65] Rather, my photographs allowed me to parse my analysis of the occupation retroactively. I parsed it into four main pillars.



Figure 38: Ocupa Câmara student inside occupation of Rio State Ministry of Education headquarters. Photo by author, 2016.

Occupy Wall Street and Anarchist Horizontality

I originally read the movement through the lens of my experiences with Occupy Wall Street: encampments organized around horizontal working groups (or committees) inspired in anarchist methodologies that spread through underground, spontaneous rhizomes. In fact, while these watermarks of organizing were upheld for various strategic purposes (including legitimacy and recognition by leftist circles), they soon broke down as the

[65] In practice, the photos I took had little use to the students themselves—who were struggling to gain parental permission, dealing with vulture media outlets, welcoming visitors, coordinating donations, staying safe, clean, fed and entertained while supporting the rhizomic network of occupations that was blossoming city-wide.

encampment wore on in the everyday intensity and material realities of the occupation.

The strategies of political organizing and action inspired by horizontal anarchist methodologies (such as Occupy Wall Street) did figure prominently during the first week of the occupation, when students divided up into commissions to allocate responsibilities and tasks equally and coordinate the ongoings inside and outside the occupation. However, as time wore on, I witnessed an internal struggle to maintain that organization that generated interpersonal tensions and arguments, especially when students came together at assemblies. Over time, some students (predominantly young and male) became complacent and entitled, failing to participate in the collective organization (which was largely pushed forth by the women). Some of the same social and gender roles prominent outside the occupation (such as male entitlement, machismo, etc.) started to become more visible within the occupation as time wore on. At the same time, in place of these working groups, I witnessed other forms of social organization prominent in favelas like Madeiros emerge within the occupation, the best example being events where the whole group comes together around one objective, such as cleaning, called *multirão* (collective work). Meanwhile, outside pressures on the occupiers was significant: negative media, fearful parents, police surveilling, financial difficulties, outside social responsibilities and work. The semblance of horizontal commissions was maintained as ideals that organized roles and allocated tasks, however in practice, the roles collapsed in on one another, and the tasks were allocated through social pressure and upon necessity. Whether or not this proves or disproves the efficacy of horizontal organizing methodologies is a topic of much debate that exceeds the scope of this chapter.

As an ethnographer, I struggled with representing the messiness and wear-and-tear

of social relations within the occupation, as well as the way pre-existing social configurations were articulated to the inside of the occupation, blurring the inside-outside division. When asked "what is the biggest lesson you take with you from the experience at the occupation," their answers were not related to political organizing methodologies. Rather, they had to do with, having learned to co-habitate, to negotiate the everyday highs and lows of living with others.



Figure 39: Ocupa Câmara participants drawing up members of working commissions. Photo by author, 2016.

Institutionalized Youth Movements and the Favela Vanguard

I originally applauded outside youth movement representatives, often associated with political parties: União Nacional dos Estudantes, União da Juventude Socialista. Members came to assemblies to urge Câmara occupiers to adopt their group's demands. I saw them as helping generate a political movement with unified demands. Eventually, group propaganda was banned (never the individuals) by occupiers, which I originally did not

understand the purpose of. I read it as political in-fighting. I later learned this was done in order to prevent cooptation and to defend against accusations of being "brainwashed" by the left. It also served to remain autonomous and as radical as necessary: unnamed and unpredictable to the sovereign. As attested by a banner posted at the front entrance, they were *apartidario* (nonpartisan), not *apolitico* apolitical). This stance dovetailed with the deep resentment spreading nationally towards the corruption of elected representatives. The occupiers managed to turn this anger at all political representatives into claims on rights to infrastructure (while pointing out the crisis in political representation). This was a radical stance in light of the growing trend nationally to support right wing-politicians coopting popular anger against the state to further political projects of privatization, deregulation, cuts to social welfare, and austerity.



Figure 40: Hopping the fence of Câmara School. Photo by author, 2016.

The Local, State and Federal Implications

I wanted to perceive these movements as responding to state and federal political developments. In fact, their claims were very localized. However, this didn't mean that

they were not invoking state and federal politics and scales in order to frame their local demands. Occupiers made claims on state and federal government by citing their entitlements as tax-payers and constitutionally guaranteed rights as citizens. Meanwhile, they framed their local school as a case-and-point that served to substantiate and prove the state's generalized negligence towards demographics and neighborhoods like their own. Students made references to state and federal politics, but only as a way to highlight their local situation: they vindicated their rights through reference to specific dissatisfactions over infrastructure. Given the broader political context, where a right-wing coalition was politicizing an economic crisis and corruption scandal in order to drive forth an impeachment process against a democratically elected center-left government and implement a right-wing political project, I was reading for explicit signs of solidarity with the center-left party at the federal level or the local leftist party (PSOL). Like other observers, collaborators and activists present, I saw in the occupations a locally rooted response by young people to the slow death of the post-dictatorship movement for democratic inclusion that congealed in the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT), which was receiving its final blow with the impeachment proceedings. As the possibility of a right-wing power-grab concretized, many wanted to read into these youths an effervescent rebuttal. The occupiers, however, were not interested in defending any particular politician or political party. What they wanted was a functioning school building. They took the derelict structure as an insult to them. They had higher ideals for their school and were attempting to find a way to bring them about on their own.

While I sought in the occupiers discourse the tracing of a direct link between the different scales of politics, I learned that their organizing was a localized response to local effects of

state and federal politics.



Figure 41: Student assembly outside Câmara School. Photo by author, 2016.

I also brought to the occupation a series of theoretical lenses that I imported from training as a social scientist in the United States. I wanted to see the movement as a push against forms of control by the state through the school as a mechanism of social control and reproduction: Their irruption into the school premises and removal of the dictatorial principal and creation of an autonomous encampment as a radical counter-hegemonic rupture. In fact, they ejected the state, only to clamor for its return to provide them with quality education as promised by elected representatives and as a constitutional right. They demanded that a renewed state return, modeled after their self-generated standards of practice—enacted in the encampment. While moderate at face value, the time before the eventual return of the state was inhabited as a space of radical possibility and freedom.

iii. Occupiers Tell the Story of Ocupa Câmara

When revisiting the photo folder over a year later, I noticed a dramatic change from IMG_*7793* (my photograph of three teachers who were collaborating with the occupation) to IMG_*7794* (Luan's photograph of the occupation banner). The change wasn't just a change in aesthetics or composition. It was a change in a way of knowing. Luan's photographic eye was not singular; rather, it was repeated across the country. His intention can be appreciated in variegated forms in the digital archive of over 1,400 occupation Facebook pages that are still active. Only in retrospect, I was made aware of the work that these images were doing. Additionally, despite having taken them originally on my camera, in the time it took me to load the photos and have them to distribute, they had already taken them on their phones and posted them directly to the page.

Rediscovery, Repurposing, and Reformas (maintenance)

I clearly recall Luan's enthusiasm. He was too pumped up to sit around at the assembly. Students had discussed at length their visions for the occupation. Many harped on the point that they were going to begin by showing the outside world the school's abandoned state and care for their school building, to clean it and carry out "reformas." When Luan asked to borrow my camera and left mid-assembly I recall questioning his motivations. I wanted the meeting to come to a clear closure before dispersing.



Figure 42: A close-up of the school's silver letters with the occupation's banner. Photo by occupying student, 2016.



Figure 43: Abandoned swimming pool ladder. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

We are inside hidden entrails of the school building. Image *7802* depicts a long rooftop panel in a dark backroom that has collapsed. As if positioned to ascend into the abandoned room is an abandoned swimming pool ladder. They were point blank images taken from standing position, with their objects squarely in the center of the frame as if collecting clues or documentation to tell a larger story. This photograph also captures signs posted by the principal that remind students of the laws and legal ramifications of using their phones within the classroom, of insulting or attacking a teacher.

These images are especially potent to students, who had never been inside or heard of the existence of these back rooms, under lock by the administration. These occult spaces raised suspicion and clamored for explanation: connecting the dots to narrativize their larger meaning within the story of the school in order to explain it to themselves and the social worlds—like parents, non-participating students, administrators, neighbors, media outlets, and spectators—outside the occupation. Occupiers marveled at the student union room, chemistry room, math room, or computer room, all items advertised as part of the "model" school, yet spaces students may have entered once or twice, which were now being rediscovered, cleaned, and used under the occupation. While the school building lacked running water, drinking water, and air conditioning, the flooded chemistry lab floor reminded students of the abandoned swimming pool. The rediscovered space that figured most prominently in the occupier's imaginaries was the abandoned swimming pool.



Figure 44: The flooded "model" chemistry lab. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

The Swimming Pool

Truncated pipes emerging from their metallic structure—in another dark storage room that nobody knew existed until now. An unstylized shot taken while standing, its object is at the center of the frame. The lopsided pipes emerging from it were once connected to the plumbing framework that kept the school swimming pool water circulating. I have lingered on this image because I believe it helps tell the story of Câmara as part of a larger story about Rio de Janeiro's north zone and its place within the recent history of Brazil at large. Since its inauguration, the Olympic pool had been in and out of order, until one day the pump disappeared. Posted on social media, members of the communications committee

wrote a caption: "we found the pool pumps that they told students had been stolen #OcupaCâmara."[66]

In the next chapter, I explore how the pool became a living metaphor for mobility, and for the good life. Animating the waters were the aspirations of three generations of Madeiros residents. The pump, meant to keep these waters circulating, pure, alive, sat in the back room under lock.



Figure 45: The abandoned swimming pool. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

Cleaning Ruined Infrastructure

After photographing the swimming pumps, Luan looked back outside of the building as he strolled the corridors. He captured a shot of the abandoned military storage facility that

[66] Four laptop computers next to a stash of whiteboard markers and erasers, like interdicted drugs displayed on a table after a raid. The computers were donated for student use. Nobody knew they existed. Teachers bought their own whiteboard markers. But there is in fact plenty here in the principals office. An entire classroom being filled with textbooks towering to the ceiling. Textbooks students rarely saw.

could be seen from the school. Then, Fabio stopped him to get a selfie, posing on the stairwell to the second story. Luan then took shots of classrooms, portraying the dirty state of the walls. Similarly, he shot the bathrooms. Suddenly, Marcos appears in one of the shots. The assembly has ended and they have gotten to work. He is hunched over, holding a broom, mopping the bathrooms, alongside Anne.



Figure 46: Cleaning *multirão*. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

IMG_7822 is an image of students cleaning the floors and bathrooms. Garden hoses were watering the halls. Cleaning detergent foamed as mops scrubbed the floors. The *multirão* had brought more people together to clean than there were mops and brooms. As I participated, I wondered why so much time and energy was being spent on cleaning the school building and the pool when there were so many other things to do. On Day 1, rather than being asked to bring food, blankets, and batteries, I was asked to bring a gallon of

chlorine, cleaning detergent, disinfectant, and soap. The main cleaning items weren't for personal use. Rather, they were to clean the school building.



Figure 47: Painting classroom walls. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

Organizing, however, to the students, included spending the majority of the first two weeks of the occupation cleaning and repairing the school building. The occupation revealed the state's dirty linens to the world, and, quite literally, set out to clean them too.

Their near literal understanding of organizing contrasted significantly with that of leftist activists, including myself, who encouraged them to immediately begin negotiating

with the ministry of education. Another point of contrast was anarchism-oriented leftists. They weren't asking for less or no state, teachers or education. Rather, they set out to repair the state's infrastructure with their own hands, to build it up to inhabit it themselves. This dual move spoke loudly about the urgency and legitimacy of the movement while making claims about the state and its responsibilities. It also countered detractors of the movement who labeled participants as *desocupados.* The occupiers responded with the slogan, "A Escola e Nossa! Venha Ocupar Voce Também" (Come Occupy with us! The School is Ours!). The photographic images served as thesis with which they could disarm accusations with powerful responses in the form of images: The accusation of "invaders" was turned into one of "occupiers!" The accusation that students were cutting class was turned into the proposition to "Come occupy with us!" The accusation of vandalism was turned into the statement "We're cleaning *our* school, doing the work the state should!" At the heart of the occupation was a struggle over meaning that was fought with deeply material means—the photographs providing a bridge between the material and the epistemic.



Figure 48: Repurposed piano and textbooks. Photo by occupying student from Ocupa Câmara facebook page, 2016.

A Hidden Piano that Nobody Knew About

In the above photograph, posted on #OcupaCâmara, an occupier with a Kitchen Commission hairnet takes a break from cooking to play on a previously hidden school piano to the backdrop of stacked unopened hidden school textbooks. During the first two days, students had reopened the *sala do estudante* (student union room), its official placket was later covered to rename the room the *Occupation Classroom*, replacing the sign by the a poster with one of the movement's mantras, "*Ocupar é Resistir, Lutar para Garantir*" (To Occupy is to Resist, Fight to Guarantee). It had been locked shut for so long that nobody knew (including myself) that the school had a grand piano on the premises. This

great surprise was added to the discovery of stacks of unopened textbooks in a storage room: sociology, Portuguese, mathematics, physics textbooks withering in inertia. Occupiers got together to put both discoveries together in their classroom, curating a display of the contradictions brought about by bad public administration. The knowledge and music is here within our reach, this photo suggests, and the occupation is going to put it to use. The *Occupation Classroom,* after being cleaned meticulously, was soon filled with arts materials and musical instruments. Some of my photographs were printed and displayed on the walls, along with stencil art. Days later, the textbooks were moved to the kitchen. Two weeks later, they were moved again and displayed stacked in islands in another more visible installation in a classroom.

In this way, the photographs highlighted the neglect of public servants and elected officials while revealing, repurposing and re-signifying the school's equipment and infrastructure. In this way, their re-fitting of the school in order to make demands served to expose a broken promise of a "model" school, and a larger broken system of political representation.

Dual Temporal Imaginaries: Lamenting the Ruin of the Past to Gesture Towards the Future

The images produced by occupiers can be parsed into two types that built upon one-another over time. Visible in the photographs of Luan, this division can also be seen in the photographs produced by the occupiers (and posted to social media) at large. The first type is evidential, depicting objects without people. The photographs dwelled in the past to garner affect in the ruined present. They are denunciatory and raw—as if recovered from

peeking into a previously cordoned off crime scene—inviting anger and lamentation. The second type is aspirational, depicting occupiers *fixing* those objects. This type takes the affect garnered in the first type and gestures towards a radical future. Together, the temporal imaginary put forth by the photographs is significant: they dwell in the ruins produced by the past, in order to collapse the future—*what still could be*—into the present.

The evidential photos were visual evidence devoid of people, consisting of point-blank, unaestheticized photos of ruined infrastructure: Hidden musical instruments, shuttered back rooms, and rusted swimming pool pumps were among the subjects. Once posted on their Twitter account and Facebook page, #Ocupa Câmara, these photographs counter-posed past and present, mobilizing the affect generated in the gap between the ruined infrastructure before them and what was promised by elected state representatives: that which could have been.

The youth movement, however, far exceeded the melancholic mood of chronic suffering provoked by "wounds that haven't, and perhaps may never, heal" (Garcia 2008: 740). Moving beyond the subjunctive mood, the second type of photos, or what I call aspirational photos, depicted youths repairing, maintaining, or cleaning infrastructure. They captured the everyday work in the occupation where ruined infrastructure was being transformed by occupiers: the swimming pool emptied and cleaned, classroom walls being painted, school gardens groomed, bathrooms and kitchens disinfected. In the occupied space of rupture and possibility, youths garnered vital strength from the gap between *what was* and *what still could be*. As the image-making took place during everyday life, the constant labor of maintaining the occupation functional organically generated photo-opportunities, inspiring, in turn, more collective action, creating a positive feedback loop.

These images served as powerful tools that contradicted the representations of the movement's detractors (identified most often as the mainstream media), which circulated images of the occupations being lead by anti-democratic idlers who threatened to vandalize the school. The following three photographs capture what I mean by aspirational photos: Youths painting the walls, cleaning the bathrooms, and emptying out the rotting pool water. Together, they helped youths build powerful photographic arguments. The photos, in a sense, short-circuit the present: By collapsing past and future, the present reveals itself as rupture and possibility (Biehl and Locke 2010). The building's infrastructure becomes a stage upon which the affects of deferred dreams are counter-posed with the dramatization of the world otherwise.

Gathered together around the clock within the building that was once their school, the material reality of otherwise ruined infrastructure was animated by a collective affective effervescence that reconstituted the bounds of the imaginable, the thinkable, and the possible. This affect emerged from the gap between what was, what was promised, and what could have been. From the space of radical rupture where students gathered, time in the school building was theirs to shape creatively: they could playfully rediscover the once hostile space, dwell in it, repair it, and reimagine it as their home.

By paying attention to the photographic archive that occupiers (like Luan) themselves produced, I was able to engage the occupation on (or closer to) its own terms. My view from above (and through my literal and theoretical lenses) was tempered by my interlocutor's use of photography, providing me with a more generative and accurate set of insights into the particular political project students were building. The first major insight was that despite its radical semblance, it turned out that Ocupa Câmara was oriented around

a relatively simple demand: that the state do its job. Underlying this demand was a second insight brought about by the student's photographs. Namely, that the photographs were operating at two temporal registers. On the one hand, the evidential photos documented raw evidence of ruined infrastructure, demonstrating how promises of the past had been unfulfilled and mobilizing anger and melancholia. On the other hand, the aspirational photos depict a more reparative, hopeful and future-oriented occupation that gesture towards a future of *what could still be*. The temporal stakes of Ocupa Câmara can be located in, on the one hand, anger about the past contrasted with a future-oriented vision that points towards the future. Under this light, the occupiers' way of theorizing the political took place at the seam of visual media (photography) and ruined infrastructure. By taking a cue from João Biehl, I have sought to take seriously the "counter-knowledges" that my informants fashion in order to bring into relief alternative figures of thought, and in this way, animate their political critique and theorizing (Biehl 2013a: 574). My ethnography, in turn, reveals the way youth at Ocupa Câmara theorize the political in and through photographic media.

Chapter 7: Occupied Infrastructure

Students once hopped over the fence at Câmara to get *out* of school, but on April 8, 2016, dozens jumped the fence to get *into* school. Fifty-five young Brazilians between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one set up camp, vowing to run the public school autonomously until the government met their demands. It was a defiant move, but as Brazil entered an unprecedented corruption scandal and economic crisis, favela residents had understandably lost faith in the viability of state services. And so students ordered the principal and his staff out of the building while flying banners from the top of the school. One read, "the school is ours, come occupy with us!" Another, in large hand-painted letters, enumerated their demands. At the top of this list, their number one request was *infraestrutura*: infrastructure. Why was this the case? Why did the occupation organize itself around a specific, material demand for working infrastructure, rather than presenting itself as, say, an expression of a demand for rights, or for liberation—or even (like Occupy Wall Street) presenting itself as untethered to any one particular demand? This was an active question amongst the occupiers: One young activist wondered aloud why the students were "doing the work of the state rather than destroying it." But he had obviously misread the movement: rather than destroy the state, these young students occupied its infrastructure.

This chapter focuses on the student occupiers' decision to occupy educational infrastructure and to do the state's work of repairing and maintaining it. Via an analysis of the particular material practices in which students engaged—cleaning floors, painting over graffiti, finding and displaying unused classroom materials—I demonstrate the ways in

which students resignified the space and the contents of the school in order to make a clear list of political demands: above all, the demand for functional infrastructure.

Yet the political stakes of this demand are complex, and by no means reducible to any single, recognizable political position. The occupations engaged in a radical form of action, conclusively refusing state forms of control, yet they also made a demand that the state (having been ejected) ought to return, so as to fulfill the promises (of working infrastructure) it had made. And though, like labor actions by education workers,[67] Ocupa Câmara entailed the cessation of normal pedagogy. However, the withdrawal of educational labor was not its primary aspect: rather, the students took on for themselves the educational *and* maintenance work that the state (as constitutional rights) ought to have been providing. In this sense, the occupation worked like the obverse of a strike: rather than *withdrawing* their labor, students *took on* labor (and drew attention to themselves doing so) so as to expose the fact that the state had in a sense *already* withdrawn *its* labor, by failing to adequately maintain educational infrastructure. Finally, although at a tactical level Ocupa Câmara shared a number of features with recent Occupy movements from the global North—not just the mass occupation of a symbolically important space, but also the use of assemblies, for example—it also differed from Occupy Wall Street and its offshoots by being specifically oriented toward a specific demand for functioning educational buildings.

[67] The Rio de Janeiro teacher's union was on strike during 2014, 2015, and 2016.



Figure 49: Occupying student flies banner from former military sentinel tower. Photo by author, 2016.

Ocupa Câmara therefore does not fit easily into the analytical frameworks that scholars have employed in order to talk about occupations since Occupy Wall Street, whether via a focus on encampments (Graeber and Houtman 2012), workplaces (Denning 2014), or organizing strategies (Pickerill et al. 2015). The occupation has been largely studied as mode of political organizing and has been identified as relevant for understanding social movements in Latin America and beyond in the aftermath of the Great Recession of 2008 and rise of new forms of communication. Occupations are understood as place-based, decentered "rhizomatic" nodes (Funke 2014) of mobilized people organized horizontally, which is why they have been associated with anarchist organizing by the anthropologist David Graeber (2011). Work on this practice has emphasized leftist dissent and its disruption of institutions that represent the status quo. The study of labor union strikes and walk-outs has been complemented by studying occupations of workplaces, such as factories. These bring forth inversions of labor divisions, of work and daily life, and the recasting of solidarity, leaving an indelible impact on the labor movement (Denning 2014). In the last few decades, the occupation has been re-popularized as the primary organizing strategy among student organizing in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Europe, and the United States (Pickerill and Krinsky 2012). Scholars have figured occupation as the reclaiming of public space (Hannon 2014), as formative of movement imagination (Denning 2014), and, analytically, as an opportunity to critically re-examine and question what we think we know about the processes of collective action (Graeber 2011; Van Gelder 2011). This chapter builds on the contributions of all of these scholars, but maintains that Ocupa Câmara cannot be understood simply as another manifestation of this kind of post-

recession occupation—because, above all, Ocupa Câmara was an occupation of *infrastructure.*

Yet neither does Ocupa Câmara fit easily with scholarly work on infrastructure and its degeneration, in the global South and elsewhere. Under this category, scholars of ruined infrastructure have focused on postcolonial "ruination" (Stoler 2013), the interface between the built environment and political imagination (Hoffman 2017), as well as imagined ruins as a form of nation-building and governance (Masco 2008). This chapter seeks to bridge these two bodies of scholarship, suggesting that, as infrastructure crumbles the world over, social movements and scholars alike might take a cue from this youth movement to devise new ways of conceiving the relationship within political movements between symbolic actions (such as the occupation of key public spaces) and material labor (such as the cleaning, repair, and maintenance of degenerated public infrastructure). Following such youth movements, a turn to occupied infrastructure reveals the ways ruins can foment a political imagination and inspire local regeneration, casting new light on forms of political claim-making at a moment when a disenchantment with the state has never been more pronounced—both in Latin America and beyond.

At the center of my argument in this chapter is an analysis of the political stakes of the maintenance labor in which students engaged during the occupation. The occupiers did not just demand functioning infrastructure—they actually sought to bring about the fulfillment of that demand directly by doing the work of repairs themselves. In this sense, scholars of infrastructure such as Alice Street (2014), Alex Wafer (2012), Leo Coleman (2014), and Christina Schwenkel (2015) are helpful. What all these scholars document are the socio-political consequences of the deterioration of state infrastructure on the people

who inhabit it. These consequences are complex and ambivalent: they include a range of positive and negative affects (Street 2012), changes in "social consciousness, and the ordering of political collectivities" (Coleman 2014: 459), revelations regarding "state accountability and politics in the making" (Biehl 2016a), and the establishment of improvised systems of upkeep (Schwenkel 2015). Schwenkel analyzes the breakdown of infrastructure in socialist Vietnam, and the way in which the state, by abrogating its maintenance responsibilities, "transferred the onus of upkeep (of pipes, pumps, mains, tanks, and lines) to residents, who then deflected responsibility back at the state" (ibid., 522). Something similar occurred in the case of Câmara: a socialist (or at least welfare-oriented) government invested in public infrastructure, only to shrink its role in maintaining the infrastructure, thus—in an echo of the neoliberal logic of Sistema Tropa discussed in Chapter 5—shifting responsibility on to the individual residents of the neighborhood. In response, the residents demanded that the state fulfill its promises and take back responsibility.



Figure 50: Occupying student in school atrium. Photo by author, 2016.

What is unique in the case of Ocupa Câmara is *how* the residents—the occupying students—demanded that the state fulfill its infrastructural promises (Biehl 2016). They did so precisely by doing that work themselves, whilst simultaneously making two arguments about the nature of the work they were doing. First, the repair efforts functioned as a way for students to prove to skeptical onlookers that what they were doing was far from engaging in idle *desocupação*: they were not disrupting class time, but rather doing the working of education themselves, *and* the work of maintenance and repair. They were doing something worthwhile in the ruins. Second, the repair efforts—and their careful documentation, via photographs that the occupiers shared quickly and widely—functioned as a spectacle, drawing attention to the state's failure and embarrassing the Ministry of Education. Look how badly you are failing, the students said, if it's reached the stage where we—the young people you are supposed to be educating, the young people who are not yet

even recognized as valid political actors—have to do the work of teaching, cleaning, repair, and maintenance ourselves. Both of these arguments specifically marshaled the occupiers' *youth*, and specifically their status as racialized, poor, favela-dwelling youth. They demonstrated an astute awareness of the expectations that onlookers would have of them—the same expectations of laziness and immorality that formed the foundation of the pedagogies of prohibition discussed in chapter 1—and reversed them. The occupying students were not *desocupados*. In fact, they claimed, it was the state that was *desocupado*; it was the state that was acting lazily, idling about and engaging in vice and corruption rather than keeping busy and fulfilling its responsibilities. As I argue in the third part of this chapter, by taking on the pedagogical and maintenance labor for themselves, the students rejected the label of *desocupados*, and enacted a new form of pedagogy and a new form of occupation. This is the occupation of infrastructure.



Figure 51: Ocupa Câmara street rally. Photo by author, 2016.

i. Deferred Dreams: Come Occupy with Us! The School is Ours!

Public school occupations take control of gates, make classrooms into bedrooms, and turn students into educators. As they throw the world on its head, everything previously taken for granted reveals itself to be up for dispute. This disruption of the previously established order means that, once in full control of the school's space, students can use their imaginations to subvert spaces that were previously rigidly codified, such as the principal's office, the cafeteria, and the classrooms. This practice of resignifying material objects so as to make political claims is the subject of the chapter's second part. As occupying students make the dilapidated building into a temporary home and an organizing hub, they also remake school facilities that were previously regarded as ruined infrastructure: they paint over graffiti, re-inhabit shuttered classrooms, and restore and sanitize the abandoned swimming pool, as well as cleaning the floors and bathrooms. They set out to quite literally rebuild their school according to their self-generated ideals and utopias. Part of a multimodal ethnographic method, a look through photographic images of specific restorations and rebuilding produced by the occupiers themselves can reveal the ways in which students resignified the space and its contents in order to make a clear list of demands.

Historical Context

Just a few years ago, Rio de Janeiro was represented as being on the cusp of a golden era. As it prepared for the 2016 Olympics, the culmination of a series of mega events that took

place in the Rio de Janeiro,[68] the city was infused with multibillion-dollar investments. In the Zona Sul, real estate prices soared, the city was flooded with visitors, and cranes towered over megaprojects. It was supposed to be Brazil's shining moment on the world stage. Instead, unprecedented housing removals and violent police occupation in favelas were harbingers of a vast corruption scandal that tarred many political figures.[69] Combining with and amplifying a devastating recession, a perfect storm set in motion a period of political instability. Soon, those dreams seemed little more than a mirage. For the urban "Generation Z" (born between 1994 and 2010)—a demographic of Brazilians who came of age after the implementation of the post-dictatorship 1988 democratic constitution—policies of poverty-reduction and access to consumer goods had engendered new horizons of aspiration and need. Their aspirations were abruptly cast into uncertainty, leading to an increasingly politicized youth in the face of a public administration increasingly compromised by private interests and entrenched corruption.

[68] The Paralympic Pan American Games and the Pan American Games in 2007, World Youth Day (the international Catholic youth meeting) in 2013, the World Cup in 2014 and finally the Olympic Games in 2016.

[69] The Mega-Events and Human Rights Violations in Rio de Janeiro Dossier (2015), denounces the fact that that up to 2015, a total of 22,059 families were removed due to interventions related to the World Cup and Olympic Games.



Figure 52: Cracked wall. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

Meanwhile, the physical infrastructure of the country's education system has been left to wither. Leading up to the school protest occupations, budgetary mismanagement meant that money to pay for basic facilities and maintenance just stopped flowing, along with teachers' wages for months on end. The evening of the occupation of Câmara School, students took turns at the mic, voicing their motivations to occupy: they cited, and later photographed, the interdicted stairway to the second floor, a growing crack from the ceiling to the floor, air conditioners that sputter hot air, and a rotting Olympic swimming pool. Students vented, pointing out the contradiction between multimillion-Real expenses on Olympics megaprojects in some neighborhoods coupled with daily (often lethal) police incursions, while authorities were unable to maintain running water and air conditioning in their schools. From cracked walls to abandoned books, the *ocupas*, as they would come to be known, centered their indignation on the most conspicuous of objects from day one: an abandoned Olympic swimming pool.

But how did the pool take on such significance? The roots of the demand for a pool

have a history of their own, revealing the political and social stakes at play in the pool. In 2007, then-president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva visited Madeiros to announce plans for massive investments in a poverty alleviation development program named Projeto de Aceleração ao Crecimento (PAC). Lula returned a second time to inaugurate the Model School, as part of the social spending package which came alongside announcements of Brazil as the host of the Olympics and World Cup, and the country's "emergence" on the world stage, in 2010. The stage had been set for the massive integration of what the government called a "new middle class" (Souza 2010), formed by Brazilians pulled out of poverty by social inclusion efforts.[70]

To gain a deeper understanding of the history of the region, I cross-referenced archival materials with extensive interviews with elders, including Dona Tati (Marcos's grandmother). Tati grew up in a wooden shack in a neighboring favela, and once waited in line for food during a famine at what would become the school building, which was formerly a military barracks later converted into a public school. She witnessed the end of the military dictatorship and the rise and fall of the ex-president Lula da Silva's PT government, which promised investments in social infrastructure—including her grandson's pool and her house—that were backed up by dubious political alliances which came tumbling down at the outset of Brazil's corruption scandals and economic recession. These crises unleashed waves of violence as the police occupation were readily contested by local criminal organizations. Marcos would witness the dark underside of this flurry of investment, optimism, and inaugurations, as larger political and economic forces

[70] Best known is the cash transfer program, Bolsa Família. Housing programs like "Minha Casa Minha Vida" and policies aimed to address the hunger issues faced by the country organized under the Fome Zero program are also milestones of the social inclusion efforts of the Lula administration.

lead to ruined infrastructure and began to unravel the nascent dreams of a generation. Originally Tamoio indigenous territory, the neighborhood was once embedded within large factories, which, in Dona Tati's lifetime, shuttered and left, replaced by informal settlements. Cycles of occupation, formalization, and removal ensued, until 2016, when high schoolers inscribed a new kind of occupation in the neighborhood's history



Figure 53 - Student photograph of pool multirão posted on Facebook page. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

ii. Fix the Rotting Pool

"We're fed up! Enough waiting for the State! At this moment, students of C.E. Câmara are carrying out a *multirão* [*collective cleaning flash mob*] of emptying and cleaning the pool. #Câmarastruggle [black fist emoji] #OccupyCâmara", the post read. Occupiers and a collaborating striking teacher gathered in the ruined installations of the "Olympic Villa" (locker rooms, restrooms, multipurpose sporting courts, and bleachers). Filling up during

the rainy season, in April, the pool remains partially filled with rotting stagnant water. The lofty goal was to fix and reinstate the pool. A more modest goal was to eliminate it as a potential source of disease. Students photographed the creation of a human chain to empty the pool, with donated buckets, hoses, and cleaning materials. In fact, as Brazil made headlines for outbreaks in Zica, Chicungunya and Dengue diseases, stagnant water, from an epidemiological standpoint, was a public health threat. By publicizing photographs of the larvae collected from inside the pool, students linked the material and symbolic purging of an existential threat to the broader goals of their movement. In what follows, this section demonstrates how student occupying practices focus on the material, resignifying infrastructure like the pool (but also musical instruments and textbooks) in order to make political demands.



Figure 54: Occupying students clean the pool. Photo by occupying student, 2016.

Inaugurated and abandoned in the span of two years, "fixing the pool" became one of the students' primary talking points for visitors, journalists, and the community at large.

Empty in its shallow end, and full of disease-bearing mosquito larvae in its rotting deep end, the pool became a potent symbol, a tangible case in point of the nefariousness of contemporary statecraft: how broken promises to the electorate take on a life of their own, festering, until the health of local residents was revealed to be at stake. Iconic of upward mobility in Brazil (into Brazil's *Classe C*), the pool also connoted the possibility of full citizenship in middle-class life revealed in Olympic grandeur. As the 2016 Rio Olympics approached, rumor had it that this public pool would serve as training and recruiting grounds for Olympic athletes to represent Brazil on the global stage. "And that pool, we ask for your support, as we the students . . . want to reactivate that pool in the occupation," Jamille, one of my primary interlocutors, stated at an event they hosted with supporters. I soon learned that their emphasis on the pool was not by chance. A large hand-painted list of *pautas* (demands) was posted on an outside wall in view of the city avenue. At the very top was "infrastructure," and nearly half of the demands explicitly referenced the school building and its infrastructure.

While I took notes, conducted interviews, and collected photographs in ten occupied schools for a period of four months, I originally sought to read the occupation as an organized social movement. I focused on the social life within the occupied space that enabled new forms of political subjectivity.



Figure 55: Occupying student drumming and list of demands. Photo by author, 2016.

As discussed in chapter 6, while comparing the photographs I had taken at Câmara with those of the student who borrowed my camera, I realized that students had taken the social life or what they call *zueira* (fooling around) for granted, and instead focused on

ruined infrastructure. I here dwell deeper in to the way in which youths mobilized ruined infrastructure to make claims on the state. To do so, students began to mobilize photographs as potent political technologies in order to make claims on the authorities. In addition to revealing the dilapidated installations via photography and social media, they lead tours for media representatives, visitors and parents. The pool was recurrent in their effort to remake the school according to their ideals, and featured prominently in their demands. They received a donated pump to empty the rotting water, got together in *multirões* to scrub and chlorinate the pool, and built a campaign around restoring the pool to its original functioning state. The sight of its massive shell with mosquito bearing brown water at its floor was the culmination of walking tours that students took visitors on. While on these guided walks, students rehearsed, developed and fine-tuned their political talking points and demands. Like in the photographs, they drew on the point-in-case material objects abandoned before them, such as the pool. In this way, the students resignified the abandoned pool in order to make potent political demands for infrastructure.

Day 4, or the Pool as Allegory for a Life Foreclosed

Turning the school on its head meant revealing and resignifying objects, but also people, who were understood to be dead and gone. It was day four of the occupation, and students were searching through the school's shuttered classrooms and someone dug up a framed photograph. In it, then-president Lula Inacio Da Silva embraced Cristiano before he took his first swim in the pool. The framed photograph was from Lula's visit to inaugurate the pool.



Figure 56: Found framed photo of then-president Lula hugging Cristiano (in black). Photo by unknown, 2010.

The photo of Lula with Cristiano marked a moment in Brazilian history. It was the economic and political peak of what would total sixteen years of center-left rule by Brazil's Workers Party (PT). Lula was the figurehead and representative of post-dictatorship leftist politics. When I arrived to the Zona Norte in 2015, residents had high hopes for the long-deferred arrival of full citizenship and social inclusion to neighborhoods like Madeiros. The signs were present at the state (with the glamor of Rio becoming an Olympic City) and federal levels. The photograph was a vestige of a series of promises made to residents of the Zona Norte during the first decade of the twenty-first century. They would slowly turn out to be broken promises, as the political project sustaining them unraveled during the early and mid-2010s. Cristiano's swims in the pool were short-lived: soon after President Lula left, public money was siphoned off by public and private stakeholders, and what was

paraded as a “community pool” fell under the jurisdiction of the Rio de Janeiro Ministry of Education in a district historically neglected. Soon thereafter, access to the pool was restricted to Câmara school students, and only during their PE class.



Figure 57: Children and youth swimming in pool after its abandonment. Photo reproduced with permission by student photographer Apuã Cacique, 2018.

During the occupation, the pool came to stand as an allegory for the life of Cristiano, who was later found to have died from drug abuse. His story came to tell a larger story about the twists and turns of statecraft and the collapse of Brazil’s dream of a welfare state. The imagery was everywhere. Those left behind were left with bodies of festering water, the ruins of a life. By referencing Cristiano´s death and renaming the school atrium in his honor, students in the occupation honored his life through the materiality of the pool and building, giving symbolic life to Cristiano’s remains. Moreover, rather than reject the

pool as a failure so as to humiliate public authorities, occupiers sought to pressure the Ministry of Education to restore the pool to the way Cristiano once knew it.

The principal in office in 2015 told me that the open-air pool was "invaded" by residents of the local favela youths who vandalized the space and stole the pumps, delivering a deathblow to the already underfunded pool. A local resident and community organizer gave me a different version of this story. In hers, local residents were angered over what they had interpreted as a promise of a public pool for all that was suddenly revealed to be exclusively for local high school students.

When the pool broke down for the second and final time in 2013, Rodrigo, the principal who had been nicknamed the "fireman" for public school crises by the Ministry of Education, attempted to resolve the watery health hazard brewing in the school's rotting pool by hiring a tractor to fill it with dirt. But the citizenry of Madeiros had become more politically mobilized since the start of Brazil's massive street protests against public transportation fare hikes in 2013. Like they had since 2013, shortly before the occupation movement began, students and neighbors got together to stop the "fireman" and demand basic maintenance for the school.

Day 12, or the Cleaning Commission's Rediscovery of School Infrastructure

These materially grounded resignifications took place beyond the school's pool, and often involved cleaning. Similar posts to those referencing the swimming pool circulated. They consisted of other cleaning *multirões,* including individual photos with captions depicting the cleaning of the bathrooms, the multi-purpose sporting court, the kitchen, and the school hallways (on the first and second floors). When the student named Luan (see chapter 6)

wandered off to photograph the school building with my camera, he took a shot of members of the maintenance commission at work. Posted on social media profiles, its caption later announced, "A hidden piano that nobody knew about."

The Occupation Classroom, cleaned meticulously, was soon filled with arts materials and musical instruments. Some of my photographs were printed and displayed on the walls, along with stencil art. Days later, the textbooks were moved to the kitchen. Two weeks later, they were moved again and displayed stacked in islands in another more visible installation. The repurposing and resignification of these objects invigorated the occupiers, allowing them to reveal the administration's dirty linens through case-in-point arguments, while also rebuilding the school as a way of making demands.

iii. Occupy Everything (*Ocupa Tudo!)*

This story would be incomplete without mention of what the principal called the original "invasion" of the school pool. Before the school fell into ruin, and before the occupation mobilized to resuscitate it, children, who took seriously the promise of a "community pool," occupied it to claim it. Whatever the origin of the demise of the pool may be, the origins of social resistance to it go back to its earliest days, in 2010. Tantalized by the prohibited yet visible presence of the glistening pool during non-school hours, middle-school children like Cristiano were the first to experience and resist its demise.



Figure 58: Vertical ladder to climb over pool wall. Photo reproduced with permission, by Apuã Cacique, 2018.

These children began to hop the fence to cool down under the hundred-plus-degree summer sun outside of class-time. Fully armed police were called to remove those who were not enrolled in P.E. class. After the pool broke down due to the theft of one of the pumps, the Ministry of Education had a cinderblock wall erected, removing it from eyesight. Soon, ascending staggered holes were poked through the blocks in the wall. They served simultaneously as peek-holes and as a vertical ladder. They were repaired with mortar. They appeared down the wall, again, weeks later. In this way, a dialogue of visibility and invisibility, insult and retribution, was inscribed amidst concrete and mortar. While state actors engineered the pool in the name of security, youths re-engineered the pool to their own ends: plunging into it during high noon. Their "weapons of the weak"

flash occupations, similarly to the school occupation, were subversions of the official schedules and sanctioned uses of the pool (namely, that it would be used only during school hours by students in P.E. class).

In this final part of the chapter, I analyze the particular ways in which students reimagined how they could occupy their time. In many ways, the occupation enabled a spectacular rupture with the state's previous way of organizing time and space. This rupture, in turn, opened up the possibility to reimagine how they could use the space, and their time within it. Suddenly, in the same way that fixing the pool became possible, so did restoring the student government and student union room, refitting classrooms into social living spaces, and making claims based on constitutionally guaranteed rights. Gathered together around the clock within the building that was once their school, the material reality of otherwise ruined facilities was animated by a collective excitement, or effervescence, that reconstituted the bounds of the imaginable, the thinkable, and the possible.

Having converged in the school, time was no longer measured by the Ministry of Education and its school buzzer. Rather, it was shaped by the "social time" (Evans-Pritchard 1969) of students. Spending their days immersed in *zueira* (banter), *brincadeira* (games), *apelidos* (nicknames), *sarau* (open mic), *multirão* (group work) and *união* (unity), youths negotiated conflict within and commitments without converging in the occupation. Students went from spending four hours at school to spending upward of twenty hours a day cleaning, repairing, organizing and restoring the school infrastructure. While they conducted cleaning efforts and essential repairs in order to inhabit the school building, they took and posted photographs.

The school buzzer was repurposed. Rather than mark the beginning and ending of class, it marked collective meal times, *aulões* (teach-ins) and wake-up hours—signaling a reorientation of schedules according to new rhythms determined by the youths who occupied. As otherwise overbusied youths converged in the space of the occupation, they began to dedicate their time to creatively reimagining their school and their lives—past, present, and future—within it.



Figure 59: Occupying students host party in Câmara hallway. Photo by author, 2016.

Otherwise ruined infrastructure was animated by a collective imagination of *that which could still be* (as previously discussed in chapter 6). Out of a larvae-infested

swimming pool emerged a visceral indignation spurred by the imagination of swimming in a refreshing community pool. Politicized remixes reverberated from found marching band instruments and a grand piano reported stolen by the administration. Out of a cordoned-off model mathematics classroom surged a collective bedroom with bunk-beds and forts.

As the word spread that youths were taking autonomous control of hundreds of public schools, visitors began to circulate, bringing donations and offering workshops and teach-ins. Visitors often hosted teach-ins on topics as disparate as blues music, constitutional law, yoga, university test-prep, English, and ecology. As was common at other occupations, at Câmara, occupiers took visitors on guided tours of the building. As students explored their schools and revealed them to the outside world, their imaginations flourished in a non-codified canvas of transgression and possibility. A host of previously forbidden spaces were reimagined and collective cleaning and repairs were set in motion.

Similar to the peek-holes that appeared to guarantee the public's use of what was promised as a public pool, what the case of the occupations captures are students attempting to restore the ruinous present to resemble a recent past and, in parallel, a future aspired to. This double move of invoking the past—what once was—to gesture towards the future—what could be—positions the present as rupture and possibility. In situations of occupation, ruined infrastructure becomes a stage, and upon that stage, the affects of deferred dreams are counter-posed to the dramatization of the world otherwise.



Figure 60: Occupying student overlooks Câmara from abandoned granary. Photo by author, 2016.

Ethnography can help us "people" (Biehl 2013a) our analysis with the granular, enhancing our understanding of the ways in which high-stakes political struggles are shaped by the tension between, in this example, sagging buildings and young heads held high. A new look at infrastructure may help us get beyond the bind of structure versus agency, in order to look anew at what Elyachar (2014) has called "social infrastructure", or what Berlant (2016) has called the "lifeworld of structure".

At a time of political upheaval largely led by young demographics, understanding the political dynamics at play in youth and material cultures can offer clues to deciphering how struggles for democratic rights display, in the words of Ralph (2014) the "renegade dreams" of a generation. The *Ocupas* remind us that regardless of an outward appearance of widespread disillusionment with democracy giving rise to authoritarianism, young

people mobilize to make claims on rights, reinvigorating the democratic public sphere. The voices that discount these movements for failing to deliver electoral "victories" or "policy reform" are in danger of, like the movement detractors, dismissing the fine-tuned political work latent in youth who beg to differ.

During a short-lived period of a government premised on social inclusion, hope and aspirations found an embodiment in new infrastructure—infrastructure that was then left to ruin shortly thereafter. Yet the mosquito larvae that breed, today, in the swimming pool, somehow, anchor the aspirations of a generation. Its rotting waters fuel a visceral imaginary of life horizons foreclosed: *that which could have been*. These, it appears, cannot be buried.

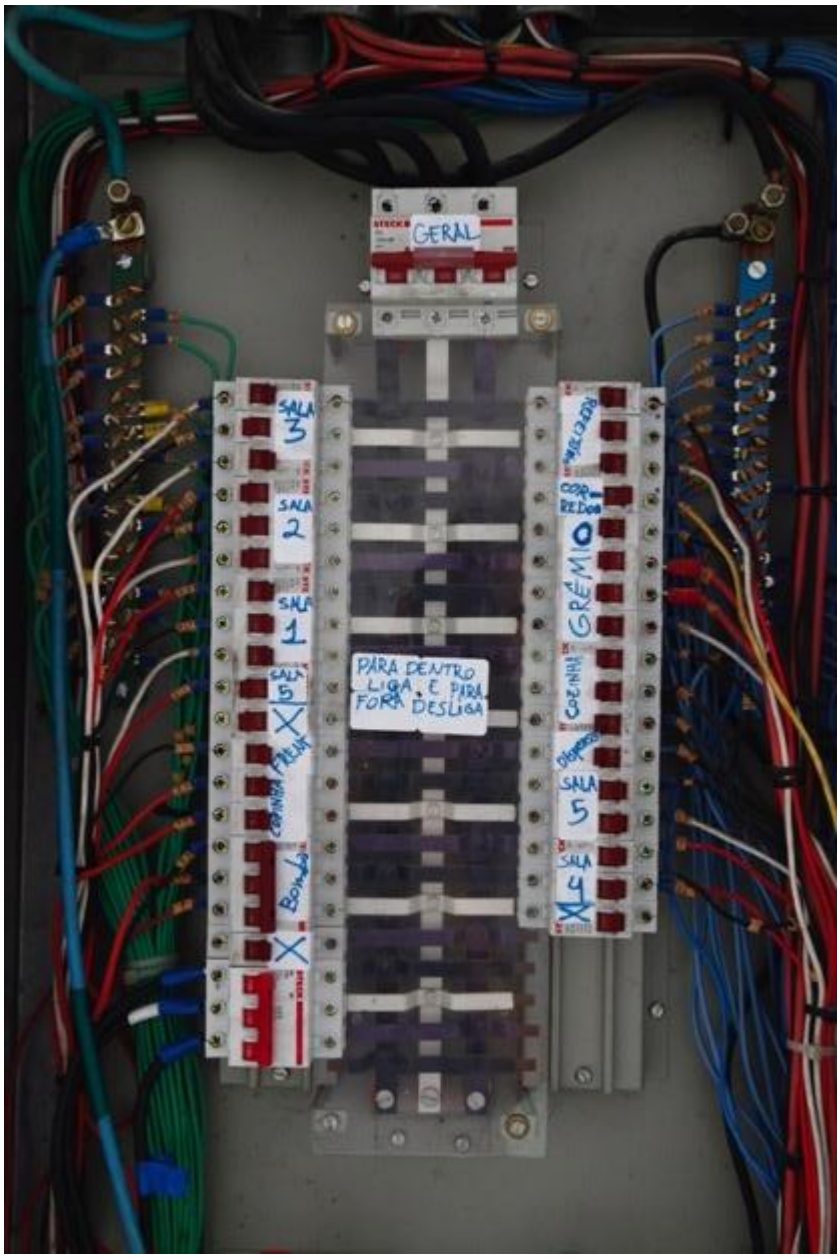

Figure 61: Ocupa Câmara's electrical switchbox. Photo by author, 2016.

Who's Desocupado Now?

As dusk set in, the halls and kitchen were dark. It was the first night of the occupation, and students were yet to figure out how to operate the power switchboard. We dined together by candlelight. The next day, the maintenance commission had the entire school building lit up. Similarly to the school buzzer, students now controlled the distribution of power and

lighting from the central switchboard, shutting down or turning on the various spaces in the school according to the rhythms of the occupation and its educational activities. Members of the maintenance commission labeled each switch according to the part of the building it powered. The nomenclature they chose for each room diverged subtly from the official nomenclature of the Ministry of Education. Most tellingly, the "student room" was labeled with the new name students had given it through use: *grêmio* (student union room). They cleaned this room meticulously; it had previously been used as a storage room. After opening its large window overlooking a tree outside, they introduced the piano and percussion instruments they found (which were also hidden in a storage room). After carrying in a red couch, a floor carpet, and table, they also set up shelves with paint and poster-paper (for making protest signs and crafts), and board games and artwork found throughout the school. On the walls, they placed the photographs I had taken and printed for them from the first week of the occupation. The room rapidly became the primary hangout spot and meeting location.



Figure 62: 'Occupation Room' with Bili, the adopted dog. Photo by author, 2016.

Eventually, it hosted representatives of the Ministry of Education, who had agreed to negotiate with them. During that meeting, students gathered around, articulating each of their grievances and demands. They had developed these by drawing from their own experience as students, but also through the teach-ins and practices within the occupation. They centered on functional infrastructure. The room in which they chose to host the representatives had been resignified through and through, and it now provided them with a space that, aside from hosting the debates and negotiations, was a case in point of the integrity and successes of their movement. It bore the traces of the educational and maintenance work that, in the absence of the state, they had provided. The negotiations in that setting, in turn, demonstrated that the youths were not the lazy idlers that detractors had been calling them. Before, the room was a dirty, messy storage room. Now, it was the "Occupation Room." This reversal bore the question: Who is the *desocupado* here?

Conclusion: *Vagabundos* in the Bolsonaro Presidency

This dissertation is a study of a series of competing visions of how young people in contemporary Brazil ought to occupy their time. It has analyzed several of these competing visions—or *temporal imaginaries*—including those espoused and enacted by state educational workers such as Câmara's principal Rodrigo (chapter 1 on pedagogies of prohibition), by private test-prep companies (chapter 5 on the military trappings and neoliberal underpinnings of *Sistema Tropa*), and by protesting students (chapters 6 and 7 on *Ocupa Câmara* and the occupiers' demands that infrastructure must be restored).

Throughout, I have argued that these temporal imaginaries are responses to a specific historical context: a moment in Brazil characterized by the increasing dominance of neoliberalism, and widespread disillusionment in response to socio-economic rights, empty promises of well-funded infrastructure, social mobility and a "new middle class." At the same time, I have also sought to understand these forms of soft temporal control—these *pedagogies of occupation*—as part of a much longer history of temporal control in Brazil, a history that dates back at least to the late eighteenth century, a period that saw both the abolition of slavery (amongst other things, a form of hard temporal control) and the establishment of vagrancy laws (a form of softer and more narrowly targeted temporal control). Rodrigo's pedagogies of prohibition and Tropa's emphasis on *militarismo* and *foco*, then, are best understood both as symptoms of a specific moment in Brazilian history in which concerns over *desocupação* are linked in particular to ideas of social mobility and the underfunding of public infrastructure, *and* as contemporary instantiations of a longer and broader antagonism between state forces (and their allies) and particular populations (determined along lines of race, class, gender, and age) concerning the politics of time.

In what follows, I assess how these politico-temporal conflicts are evolving right now, in 2019, and offer a provisional analysis of newly emergent forms of temporal control—specifically, forms of control enacted by the administration of the far-right President Jair Bolsonaro. I suggest that Bolsonaro's habitual use of the term *vagabundo* (vagabond) in order to characterize poor and black Brazilian youth as a threat to the upright *cidadão do bem* (good citizen)—a threat because of their supposed refusal to participate in work and education—ramps up the rhetoric of *desocupação*. It represents a continuation and an intensification of a long history of attempts to criminalize the status of *desocupação*, to justify the ways in which young, black bodies are marked as expendable if they are not (and even if they are) firmly enmeshed in the operations of capital (via vocationally oriented forms of education, including internships, professionalization, and test-prep). Labelling these youth as *vagabundos* functions as a justification not so much for forms of soft power (pedagogies of occupation—the subject of the preceding chapters) but rather for forms of hard power: state violence against poor, black, and young populations—a violently enforced form of state, military, and paramilitary occupation. In this sense, Bolsonaro's tactics are descended more directly from the legacy of hard forms of politico-temporal power (such as military dictatorship–era *esquadrões da morte*,death squads, or the jailing of vagrants during the Estado Novo) as they are from soft forms (such as neoliberal internship and professionalization programs and the NGO and state actors' attempts to solve the supposed problem of *desocupação*).

I close by offering a brief analysis of potential forms of resistance to this oppressive form of far-right temporal power, via a final consideration of the students involved in Ocupa Câmara. Specifically, I focus on their call to *ocupe sua mente*—occupy your mind—

as opposed to your time. Crucially, what Bolsonaro and his ilk imagine to be a valid form of occupation is extremely narrow. What the students in the occupation argue, on the other hand, is that occupying yourself (occupying your mind) can mean a lot more—that occupation is a form of temporal and intellectual activity that is not reducible to what the institutions of education, the state, and capital require of you, that it can create new social bonds, and new temporal imaginaries.

Status Criminality

In *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, cultural critic Saidiya Hartman (2019) analyzes the racialized history of vagrancy statutes in the post-Emancipation United States. She argues that vagrancy laws and related charges (such as disorderly conduct and prostitution) were a key tool by which poor and black populations were criminalized for not participating in (or being perceived as not participating in) the state's economic life (2019: 229–56). For Hartman, vagrancy laws and the temporal imaginaries they set to work—the spectre of the lazy, dangerous poor black person, wandering around without a valid occupation, prone to criminality and immorality—were a key aspect of what she refers to as "the afterlife of slavery" (2007: 6): though legally and historically distinct from slavery, vagrancy laws nevertheless enact a form of unfreedom on supposedly free populations, conscripting them into various forms of labor and enclosure, thereby muddying the distinction between slavery and freedom. Especially salient in Hartman's work is her analysis of vagrancy laws as forms of racialized *status criminality*: a form of criminality in which the crime is not an act, but rather a state of being, in which populations are charged,

and rendered suspect, for being who they are, at the time they are, and in the place they are—and crucially, for *not* doing something: for not working (and not studying).[71]

Like these vagrancy laws, the history of pedagogies of occupation in Brazil is a history of the enactment of forms of racialized status criminality, one which has its roots in the attempt to compel black populations into work after the abolition of slavery. The charge of *desocupação* is intimately tied to Brazil's *Lei da Vadiagem* (Vagrancy Law), and to a long history of the criminalization (along the lines of race, as well as gender, class, and age) of perceived non-participation in the economic sphere. *Desocupação* is a status: it is a state of being, and of perceived *not doing*, and a way of *occupying one's time*, rather than an act. And under the administration of Jair Bolsonaro, it is increasingly (or perhaps once more) becoming a criminalized status—a criminal occupation.

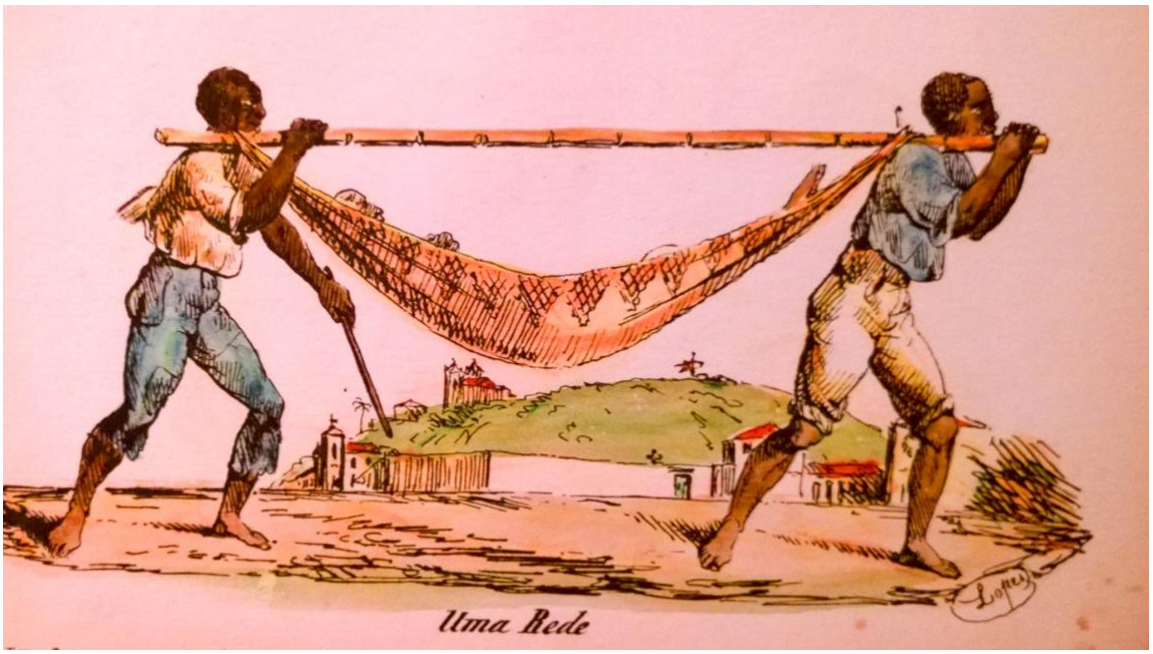

Figure 63: Colonial-era slaves carrying master. Photo by author, 2015.

[71] For more on status offenses, see Godsoe 2014.

During the late eighteenth century, Brazil was one of the last countries to abolish slavery. As the Republic established its legitimacy, the freed slave became one of the primary demographics it sought to manage. As discussed in Chapter 1, Brazil's nineteenth-century criminal law instructed judges to oblige individuals accused of "vagrancy," or others who "offend the good customs, tranquility or the peace of families" to sign *Termos de Bem Viver* (Terms of Good Living).[72] These *Termos* were an instrument of control that established, through a sort of contract, norms of behavior and corresponding punishments for deviance (Martins 2003). The 1890s penal code defines vagrancy and establishes it as a punishable offence.[73] Later, during the military dictatorship years known as the Estado Novo (1937–45), the *Lei da Vadiagem* turned idleness into a misdemeanor, targeting anyone who was not working or did not have a state ID, and sending them to jail for three months. In Rio in 1975, *vadiagem* was the second most common infraction according to police records.[74] Historian Eduardo Martins describes the Lei da Vadiagem as one of the main instruments through which low-income favela residents were criminalized and policed (Martins 2011).

During the 1960s and 1970s, the persecution of idleness (conceived of as the root of criminality) contributed to the rise of *esquadrões da morte* (death squads), infamous in Brazilian history for having taken control over large swaths of territory in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The *esquadrões* were composed of police officers with a moralist tack and with a free pass to kill (which intensified during the dictatorship that started in 1964).[75]

[72] Criminal Code of 1832, Chapter II, Article 2
[73] Penal code of 1890, Article 399 and 400, respectively. Quoted in Chazkel 2011.
[74] Gustavo Villela, "Lei de 1941 considera ociosidade crime e pune 'vadiagem' com prisão de 3 meses," *Globo*, updated September 30, 2016, https://acervo.oglobo.globo.com/em-destaque/lei-de-1941-considera-ociosidade-crime-pune-vadiagem-com-prisao-de-3-meses-14738298.
[75] Felipe Betim, "Planos de Bolsonaro elevam risco de expansão de milícias e grupos de extermínio," *El País*, November 13, 2018, https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/11/07/politica/1541621514_210694.html.

These were the precursors to the paramilitary gangs, or *militias*, also made up of off-duty members of law enforcement organizations. Today, two million people of the metropolitan region, or a quarter of the city of Rio live under the influence of these militias.[76] Numerous news sources point to significant ties between the current Brazilian president (and his sons) and high-ranking members of the militia in Rio de Janeiro.

With the end of the military dictatorship and the establishment of the 1988 democratic constitution and political system, leisure was enshrined as a constitutional right. Claims on leisure served as a potential buttress against accusations of idleness, indolence, and inferiority, yet still upheld the stark divide between the worker (who has a right to leisure) and the *desocupado* (conceived of as having too much leisure). During the late 2000s, the demographic category of the *geração nem nem* (the generation that neither works nor studies) and the *problema do contratempo* (problem of countertime) positioned youth squarely within the discourse about *desocupação,* which became legible and actionable to state, NGO, and private actors. These actors devised a range of interventions, often geared towards "at risk youth," which aimed at providing youth with things to do after school.

This is the historical context that leads up to the series of pedagogies of occupation I have analyzed in this dissertation. But since the end of my fieldwork, Brazil has undergone a significant political shift, with the coming to power of Jair Bolsonaro and his far-right Partido Social Liberal (PSL) government. In the next section, I discuss how Bolsonaro has weaponized the charge of *desocupação*, using the term *vagabundo* as a way

[76] Felipe Grandin, Henrique Coelho, Marco Antônio Martins, and Nicolás Satriano, "Franquia do crime: 2 milhões de pessoas no RJ estão em áreas sob influência de milícias," *Globo*, March 14, 2018, https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/franquia-do-crime-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-no-rj-estao-em-areas-sob-influencia-de-milicias.ghtml.

to escalate fear of the generation referred to as *geração nem nem* and to justify state violence against poor, black youth.

Vagabundos

Leading up to his election victory in 2018, and continuing into 2019, Bolsonaro identified *vagabundos* as the anti-citizens, and positioned them squarely within the crosshairs of his anti-crime policies.[77] The anthropologist Rosana Pinheiro-Machado (2019) describes the way in which Bolsonaro's far-right ideology has revived and expanded the term *vagabundo* to encompass any imagined "other" who can be framed as a threat the upright citizen. Bolsonaro is well-known in Brazil for describing rural afro-Brazilians from *quilombos* (settlements originally established by runaway slaves) as weighing "seven tons," "not being good for anything, even procreation," and "not doing anything."[78] Pinheiro-Machado points out the racial connotations of this statement and its historical roots: "our history," she writes, "was always divided between a white and 'developed' part, and another part that's to be swept under the carpet: the poor and/or black, considered behind and beyond economic development" (2019). The *desocupado*—accused of being a sort of deadweight, holding hard-working individuals and the nation back from progress—therefore fits well within the all-encompassing tag of *vagabundo*.

[77] The anti-crime bill (*pacote anticrime*) was introduced in April 2019 (and at the time of writing is being debated) by Minister of Justice and Public Security Sergio Moro. Among other measures, its "legitimate defense" item gives police lesser punishments and increased lenience in which a civilian is killed by gunfire. Human rights advocates are warning of a spike in police killings (which are already abnormally high) should the bill be passed. For more information, see André Shalders, "'Pacote anticrime' de Sérgio Moro: por que alguns advogados e juristas questionam a proposta," *BBC News*, February 4, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-47125522.

[78] "Bolsonaro critica Dodge e diz que quilombolas não fazem nada," *Folha de S.Paulo*, April 22, 2018, https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/04/bolsonaro-critica-dodge-e-diz-que-quilombolas-nao-fazem-nada.shtml.

Part of Bolsonaro's political success has consisted in identifying particular bodies as impure or deviant, and generating a political community around the idea of eliminating those bodies, so as to restore the racial and moral purity to the country—an ideological move commonly associated with fascist regimes. This discourse took on significant political salience at a moment of a concern over corruption and high urban crime rates, helping to propel him to receive 55 percent of the national vote. What's vital to note, though, is the particular method he has employed in order to identify target populations and generate hostility towards them. In practice, those whom Bolsonaro labels *vagabundos* are poor and black youth from favelas, figured as being involved in petty street crime or drug distribution. But by referring to these populations as *vagabundos*, he gives himself plausible deniability against charges of explicit racism whilst simultaneously evoking the long history of racialized status criminality just discussed. It is the charge of idleness that the president employs, and which he uses to justify the kinds of violence that state and para-state forces have, since the rise of Bolsonaro and his allies, meted out on poor and racialized populations in Brazil's favelas.

In light of the 2018 election and the sweeping victory of the far right, the stakes are higher. Bolsonaro's political surge operates not only by way of pedagogy (soft power)[79] but also by the enactment of state violence (hard power). Bolsonaro's use of the term *vagabundo* is an extension of the history of racialized status criminality. However, beyond targeting and scapegoating vulnerable youth in neighborhoods like Madeiros, his scapegoating of favela youth goes further, setting up the political and moral terrain for

[79] On his second day as president of Brazil, Bolsonaro put forth a bill named "Escola Sem Partido" (School Without Party) that—under a pretense of non-ideological neutrality—seeks to rewrite the Brazilian curriculum according to far-right conservative values.

military occupation. Put another way, in addition to being a question of softer forms of control, like pedagogies of occupation, Bolsonaro's strategic focus on *vagabundos* is also, importantly, a question of hard power—of the military occupation of streets and favelas. These initiatives are couched in a language of public security, one of the defining campaign issues of the last election. During his inaugural speech, Bolsonaro received a standing ovation when he spoke about public security, stating:

> It's urgent to end the ideology that defends bandits and criminalizes police, that led Brazil to a rise in the violence indexes, and to the power of organized crime, that takes innocent lives, destroys families and contributes to insecurity. Our priority will be the security of the *pessoas do bem* (upright citizens), the guarantee of the right to property and legitimate defense. Our promise is to value the work of the security forces.[80]

In this manner, Bolsonaro appeals to *pessoas do bem* (upright citizens), evoking the conservative values of family, heavy-handed approaches to crime, private property, and gun advocacy. After framing human rights workers as defenders of the "bandits" that are at the root of the crime rates in Brazil, he alludes to the need to give the police and military more power, including the power to kill without fear of prosecution, and for trials to be carried out by non-civil courts. His rhetoric contrasts a glorious, orderly, moral past with a disorderly, immoral, and ruined present, offering up the return of discipline, order, and progress through the prospect of occupying the streets with military and police. Like during the dictatorship days, when the *esquadrões da morte* took to vigilante justice and the

[80] For other quotes from Bolsonaro's January 1, 2019 inaugural speech, see "Cinco pontos que marcaram os discursos de posse de Bolsonaro," BBC News, January 1, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-46730648.

persecution of political dissent,[81] Bolsonaro's government, today, is attempting to legalize and institutionalize a new kind of organized crime in the form of authoritarian—and deadly—state power.

Ocupe Sua Mente

This return to a mythic orderly, disciplinary, militarized past sets the stage for the return of the imagined opposite of the *vagabundo*: the "good citizens" who want, in the popular expression, *subir na vida* (to climb in life) through meritocracy and hard work, in the classic free market formulation of the "self-made man." Merit, the logic goes, comes only if one occupies one's mind through a consistent dedication to work, thereby becoming a member of the moral, hardworking citizenry, whose lives are being held back by the freeloading, lazy *desocupados* and the *vagabundos.* Youth, Bolsonaro believes, should occupy their minds through a combination of conservative values on the one hand (the "traditional family," ordered according to "hierarchy," motivated by hard work, "free of drugs" or "premature eroticization," and protected by the "right to self-defence"), and the "values of work and free enterprise" on the other hand.[82] In short, for Bolsonaro, the

[81] On the campaign trail, Bolsonaro also extended this name-calling to his political opponents. In the run-up to the 2018 presidential election, Bolsonaro crafted a narrative that extended the tag *vagabundo* to his political opponents, calling the *Nordestino* populations of northern Brazil that have historically voted for the left "lazy" (due to social programs). He also called both Lula and Fernando Haddad—candidates from the main opposition party, the Workers Party (PT) in 2018—"vagabundos." For more on the name-calling of political adversaries, see Marcos Lavezo, "Bolsonaro critica inclusão de Lula em pesquisas eleitorais e chama ex-presidente de 'vagabundo', 'malandro' e 'bandido'," *Globo*, August 24, 2018, https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-jose-do-rio-preto-aracatuba/noticia/2018/08/24/em-terceiro-dia-de-campanha-pelo-interior-de-sp-bolsonaro-faz-carreata-e-caminhada-pelas-ruas-de-sao-jose-do-rio-preto.ghtml; Mirthyani Bezerra, "Bolsonaro chama Haddad de 'canalha' e 'vagabundo,'" *UOL*, September 18, 2018, https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/eleicoes/2018/noticias/2018/10/18/bolsonaro-chama-haddad-de-canalha-e-vagabundo.htm.

[82] For a detailed analysis of the discourse of the Bolsonaro campaign, see Alex L. B. Vargas, Jorge O. Romano, Annagesse de Carvalho Feitosa, Paulo A. A. Balthazar Thais P. Bittencourt, and Yamira R. de Souza Barbosa, "O discurso político de Bolsonaro: Cidadãos de bem, segurança e moral," *Le Monde*

occupied mind means a mind that obeys hierarchy and adopts conservative values with respect to gender, sexuality, and mind-altering substances. This new breed of occupied minds would be wholly occupied with work, thereby staying away from crime, *and* pursuing professional occupations enabled by "free enterprise." In this sense, this set of values and discourses imagine regimes of intervention that will occupy time (via hard work), provide professional occupations (via free enterprise), and occupy politically (via territorial occupation of the military).



Figure 64: Image of Donald Trump receives ovation at MBL annual meeting in São Paulo. Photo by author, 2016.

Diplomatique Brasil, September 10, 2018, https://diplomatique.org.br/o-discurso-politico-de-bolsonaro-cidadaos-de-bem-seguranca-e-moral.

Not surprisingly, the occupation of theCâmara high school was slandered by a counter-movement that later came to be known as *desocupa tudo* (de-occupy everything) which also called the movement's protagonists *vagabundos*. To the movement's detractors, the occupation represented an anarchic space where morality and social organization was upended, generating a *zona* (mess) of drug use, vandalism, and unprotected sex. Drawing its ranks from members of the right wing student movement Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL), the *desocupa tudo* counter-movement lobbied for police removals of occupiers and staged counter-protests outside school gates (Rossi 2016). The MBL played a role in overthrowing leftist President Dilma Rouseff in 2016, helping to set the stage for the rise of right wing parties including Jair Bolsonaro's PSL party (Osborn 2016).

The occupiers, in contrast, had a very different conception of occupying one's mind. At the main entrance to the occupation, somebody wrote by hand the words "#Ocupe sua mente" (occupy your mind). The text remained there throughout the duration of the occupation, serving as a sort of motto, or invitation. On the second floor, similarly, supporters had pinned up a poster near an area designated for reading that read "silêncio, mentes ocupadas" (be quiet, occupied minds). At first, I interpreted the signs with a critical eye. They reminded me of the oft-cited individualizing and depoliticizing common-sense refrain ("an empty head is the devil's workshop") at the core of *pedagogies of prohibition* (discussed in Part I), where youth are seen as the source of their problems, the victims, *and*, the ones charged with an easy and intuitive solution: keep very busy. However, in light of the rise of right-wing ideology about the right ways of occupying one's mind, revisiting the occupiers' provocation anew illuminates the high stakes political differences between the occupiers and the far right. What new valence is taken on by their call to "occupy your

mind" when the call is made from within an occupied school, and by the youths themselves?

In their book, *The Undercommons*, Stefano Harney and Fred Moten use the word "study" as a way of reconceptualizing intellectual work. While on the one hand their goal is to broaden understandings of who (and what institutions) are authorized for such an activity, they also highlight how much "common intellectual practice" (Harney and Moten 2013: 110) occurs beyond the walls of educational institutions (such as universities). Study, to them, is incompatible with the rigid hierarchical structures inherent in the teacher-student dynamic. In a place of study, people "take turns doing things for each other or for the others" rather than deferring to one person's authority (ibid.: 109). This is what Jack Halberstam gets at, in the book's preface, when he describes study as "a mode of thinking with others separate from the thinking that the institution requires of you" (ibid.: 11).

This broader understanding of intellectual activity makes it easier to see why members of the *Ocupa Tudo* movement went to great lengths to let observers know that of which they themselves were deeply convinced: that they had not simply shut down the school, but rather, that learning—and study—were going on constantly within the walls of the occupation. Hence the flying of the banner that read, "come occupy with us, the school is ours!"



Figure 65: '#Ocupe Sua Mente' sign behind Jamille. Photo by author, 2016.

The "#occupy your mind" banner on the wall of Câmara takes on a vastly different meaning when located inside Ocupa Câmara than it would inside the former principal Rodrigo's school. In Rodrigo's school, the notion of occupying one's mind would read as synonymous with the kind of pedagogy of prohibition that aims simply at filling up empty time. In the context of Ocupa Câmara, however, to occupy one's mind is a prospect with far more radically generative potential. If we look at the everyday activities that the occupiers were engaged in from the vantage point of Moten and Harney's idea of "study," to "occupy your mind," takes on a new meaning.



Figure 66: Students embrace atop granary with Ocupa Câmara in background. Photo by author, 2016.

And occupy their minds they did. After receiving visitors for teach-ins or movement strategizing, occupiers dedicated much time to play. Study occurred during play. Dance parties and skateboarding in the halls as well as kite flying competitions gave the group a

tight-knit sense of cohesion that they speak of as the motivation to keep occupying. Study occurred while caring for an adoptive guard dog named Bili (who replaced the formerly assigned police) and a litter of newborn kittens. Study also occurred while circulating the city by foot or by bus while on their way to other occupations, to university speaking events, and to street protests. It also happened while organizing teach-ins on topics as disparate as constitutional law, the environment, blues music, feminism and gender.



Figure 67: Street rally outside Ocupa Câmara. Photo by author, 2016.

To occupy one's mind in a space of radical possibility recasts the horizons of the thinkable and the desirable. This expansion also enables new ways of being. It makes the narrow moralism based on fear that has taken grip in Brazil seem brittle and even absurd. The occupation fostered pedagogy, occupation and time that, in turn, reoriented their relationship to previously overbearing temporal imaginaries. What's more, it enabled the

creation of new social bonds and new temporal imaginaries. My interlocutors saw the event they were part of as reconfiguring the timeline of their life (in the everyday but also in the long term), but also the history of their country. In this way, it prompted students to generate their own answers to the question of how young people in contemporary Brazil ought to occupy their time. Students were imagining a form of temporal occupation that was neither empty (*desocupado*), nor over-busied (like the *geração tudo tudo*, getting three hours of sleep per night). Their repurposing of the school buzzer to reorganize their days collectively is proof that. They were showing that there's intellectual value in being *de bobeira* (messing around), as well as doing things that are more recognizable forms of study.

There is an expression in Brazil used to flippantly deride the young generation. It is said that the youth "*não quer nada"* (don't want anything), implying a spoiled and entitled generation. It turns out that the opposite is true. When pedagogy turns into occupation, these young men and women don't want impossible schedules of schooling or professionalizing: they want to occupy everything.

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