PIXAÇÃO: THE CRIMINALIZATION AND COMMODIFICATION OF SUBCULTURAL STRUGGLE IN URBAN BRAZIL

By
Paula Gil Larruscahim

Word Count: 83023
Date of Submission: 07 March 2018

Thesis submitted to the University of Kent and Utrecht University in partial fulfillment for requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy after following the Erasmus Mundus Doctoral Programme in Cultural and Global Criminology.

University of Kent, School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Research
Utrecht University, Willem Pompe Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology

Statement of Supervision

This research was co-supervised by Prof. Dr. Dina Siegel and Dr. Damián Zaitch (Utrecht School of Law, Utrecht University) and Dr. Johnathan Ilan (City University of London).

Acknowledgments

Even though the writing process that made this body of work come on paper was a very lonely one, the accomplishment of this work was only possible thanks collective work. This work involved people since the very early stage of the Phd – or even a pre PhD moment. It was years of research and personal commitment with the subject around street culture, pixação and graffiti that certainly are not ending here.

First and foremost, I want to acknowledge my profound gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Damián Zaitch and Dr. Johnathan Ilan, who since the very beginning of this research supported and encouraged me to undergo an ethnographic journey with pixadores in São Paulo. Thank you both for sharing your thoughts and knowledge. For for always reading and analysing my writings thoroughly and carefully, continuously encouraging me to be critical and to persevere.

I also would like to acknowledge the support from the EU Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate Fellowship, which provided me with outstanding material conditions to conduct this research.

My profound respect and appreciation to all those who willingly and even enthusiastically participated in this research and who trusted me to share their ideas, feelings and life experiences. Especially to all pixadoras and pixadores who gave me the opportunity to acknowledge 'a Brazil within Brazil.' Your openness and trust made the time that I spent in São Paulo a deep life experience that certainly goes beyond the limits of this research.

To 'cousin' Brian J. Frederick for all the proofreading and inputs, but foremost for your invaluable and sincere friendship.

To all my DCGC fellows, but especially for Veronica Nagy and Cornelis Mol. You helped me feel at home in Amsterdam. I cannot forget to thank Julia, Nilai, Roos, Camille, Claudio, Aice, Clara, Dennis and Vitor, who are more than PhD colleagues. You have become true friends, and I treasure you.

In Brazil, to all my friends and companheiros, who despite the great distance were always encouraging me, but especially to Salo de Carvalho. Besides being largely responsible for having awakened in me the critical thought in the criminological field, you were the principal supporter for me to venture into the entire path of this research. Thank you.

My sincere thanks to psychoanalysis, to Vera Ruschel and her attentive and impeccable listening over these years.

To David Stuligross, for the careful and accurate proof reading but especially for helping me to keep my chin up in the last and hardest period of the writing.

For Paul, who became part of this journey and was always there for me.

To my family and relatives in Brazil and Germany. To my borther Márcio, who in the very beginning helped me with the project research and encouraged me to apply for the program. To my father, who taught me how important it is to dream and who has always supported me unconditionally in all my choices in life. And finally, and most of all, to my mother, Elinora Gil, and to my daughter, Rosa Gil, to whom this book is dedicated.

Declaration Upon Oath

I declare that the research embodied in this thesis is my own work and has not been previously been submitted for a degree at any other university. No commercial doctoral advisory services were used in conjunction with this research. Neither have any sources or aids – other than those listed in the thesis – been used.

Abstract

In July 2014, two pixadores were murdered by military police officers in São Paulo, Brazil, while they were trying to perform pixação in a residential building. The doorman trapped Ailton and Alex on the top of the building and called police, saying that he suspected a robbery. Police officers came in, and Alex and Ailton were dead a few minutes later. At the end of the same year, the film Pixadores was launched at European film festivals. It won the award for best film at the One World film festival in Romania and the best direction award at the Aubagne Film Festival in France.

Pixação emerged as a subculture during the mid-1980s in São Paulo. Most pixadores are men who come from the peripheries of this megalopolis. They paint their signatures (pixos) and the name of their crews using an unintelligible Arabic-gothic calligraphy, in black latex ink or with spraypaint cans, across the São Paulo cityscape. Pixação has never had a comfortable relationship with the authorities and activities related to it have been increasingly criminalized over the decades.

While pixadores have been drawing increasing attention from both the market and international media, including being portrayed in the movie mentioned above, pixadores continue to be criminalized, prosecuted and even tortured and murdered by the police. In Brazil, the criminalization of pixação is based on its opposition with graffiti, whick a criminal law considers as art.

The novelty and relevance of this study lies in its criminological examination of pixação subculture. It explores how pixadores experience and perceive the relationship between the criminalization of pixação and the specific issues that they confront within their social and cultural context, to examine the extent to which these perceptions and experiences are transformed into practices of resistance against these problems. Ethnographic fieldwork took place mainly in São Paulo between September 2013 and July 2014. This study analyzes pixação primarily through the lenses of critical and cultural criminology, and also makes connections with urban studies and social movement theory.

Contributing to the current state of knowledge on pixação, one of the key findings of this research is that the that the primary criminalization of pixação, that is, being framed as crime in opposition to graffiti in a specific legal act, has actually helped to legitimate an extant and already disruptive police practice, secondary criminalization, as well as extrajudicial punishments completely outside of legal parameters and even frameworks of basic human rights. This research also suggests that socio-spatial segregation in São Paulo plays an important role in the rise of pixação, and that pixadores also engage in pixação as a way to overcome this segregation. Another key finding is that pixadores have recently started to transform their subcultural dynamics into political action. Finally, this research suggests that criminalization and commodification should be considered as interwoven processes, especially in the neoliberal era. For that matter, the research presented here demonstrates that commodification does not necessarily lead to the neutralization of the transgressive elements of resistant subcultures.

Key words: pixação subculture, graffiti, criminalization, socio-spatial segregation, police violence, Brazil, resistance, commodification of transgression

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Charpter 01

INTRODUCTION

> Every day there are more researchers and people interested on pixação, but not everyone is interested in helping us. You know, pixação is becoming commodified; the aesthetics of pixação are selling. A lot of people want to get close, just to appropriate it: photographers, journalists, writers, plastic artists...But the thing is that every time we go out to perform pixação, we don't know if we will come back, if we won't be killed... [P]eople want to come and steal our culture from ourselves, just like that? (Rudi, São Paulo, November 2013).

In the past 10 years a great deal of attention has been drawn to pixação and pixadores. International media has reported pixação as being 'at war with São Paulo's establishment' (The New York Times, Jan 28, 2012), and, it has described pixação as 'risky writing' (El País, Mat, 27, 2013), as an 'alphabet of anger' (The Zeit, Dec 5, 2015) and more recently, as São Paulo's 'angry alternative to graffiti' (The Guardian, Jan 6, 2016). As described in the above extract, Rudi, a young pixador from São Paulo, perceives that media attention to pixação has been driving the co-optation and commodification of the pixação subculture. Even though pixação has been exhibited in numerous art galleries and a few pixadores even recently participated in 'Biennales of Fine Arts', repression, social exclusion supported by police violence is still a part of their daily existence.

1.1 Context and terminology employed in this research

Pixação is a unique caligraphic form of visual intervention in the urban space (VIUS) that emerged in São Paulo, Brazil during the 1980s. Most pixadores are Brazilian men who come from the peripheries of São Paulo; they write their signatures (pixos) and the names of their crews (families and groups) using an unintelligible Arabic-gothic calligraphy, painted in black latex ink or with spray paint cans, across the São Paulo cityscape. Pixadores differentiate themselves from graffiti writers and taggers; for this reason, the words pixação, pixo and pixadores are not translated to English in this study.

In order to contextualize the terminology used in the present study, I will show how the literature evolved from the concept of pichação to what is now known as pixação. Pichação, spelled with "ch" and thus corresponding to formal Brazilian orthography, served to designate all VIUS in Brazil until the late 1980s. A "tag", in the argot of European and North American graffiti subculture, generally refers to the (nick)name chosen by a graffiti writer and is usually written using a marker pen. Even though tagging can be similar with pixação – as both correspond to the writing of a signature – in São Paulo, there is also a specific subculture of tagging, most of pixadores do not consider themselves as part of.

Figure 1: Tags in São Paulo. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

By At the time the first pixadores started to perform pixação on the walls of São Paulo, there was not a clear distinction between pixação and graffiti. Commentators attribute this fact to a succession of Brazilian military dictators, which had the effect of isolating Brazilians from the global community (bearing in mind that the internet was not yet a global phenomenon). In fact, 'Little Mouse' (June, 2014) and 'Gitahy' (January, 2014), two graffiti artists who emerged during the 1980s, claimed that the first time they had heard the word graffiti was in the late 1980s.

Figure 2: Brazilian graffiti from the 1980's. Photo credit: Celso Gitahy

1.2 Criminology's neglect and the pertinence of the present study

As shown in Chapter Two of this work, numerous studies have focused on the pixação phenomenon; from a criminological perspective, however, nothing has been written to date. The first reason to study pixação from a criminological perspective is that, contrary to findings in the classic literature on deviant subcultures, pixadores do engage in pixação not because it is a criminal subculture, but despite this condition; Pixação existed long before it became criminalized. Understanding the criminalization of pixação can help to explain the so-called "selectiveness of the penal system", which is continually denounced by Latin American critical criminologists (V. R. P. de Andrade, 2012; Baratta, 2004; Carvalho, 2010a; J. C. dos Santos, 2008; Eugenio Raul Zaffaroni & Batista, 2011). From a Marxist perspective, these criminologists denounce how the Brazilian penal system historically served to support the implementation of liberal policies and the capitalist mode of production, particularly in Latin America in its early republican period. To make this argument, they begin with the hypothesis that criminalization is a process that first legally defines crimes and penalties (primary criminalization) for the purpose of protecting structural and institutional values of the hegemonic social classes. This is why most conduct that is criminalized represents a threat to the relations of production, circulation of goods and private property. A second phase of criminalization is the selection of the subjects of the subaltern classes or who are in a precarious position in the labor market (secondary criminalization).

Another important reason to investigate pixação from a criminological perspective is the fact that, at the same time that pixadores are criminalized and perceived as a class of people who are disposable (see Harvey, 1988), unworthy (Zacconi, 2015) or undesirable (Casara, 2017), the aesthetics of pixação have been culturally appropriated and commodified by graffiti artists, the fashion industry and the broader cultural industry. Once the value of this commodity is enhanced by its criminal reputation, these powerful actors prefer to guide its future development by themselves – and they prefer not to share their profits with the pixadores.

In order to understand the various aspects related to the criminalization of pixação (as contrasted with graffiti), the present study combines theoretical tenets found in both cultural criminology and urban studies. Such a grouping provides a good foundation for understanding certain aspects of the pixação subculture, as well as how some subcultural dynamics are related to such broader issues as socio-spatial segregation, police violence, political action and the commodification of transgression. Three tenets of cultural criminology – the study of subcultures, resistance and the commodification of transgression (Ferrell, Hayward, & Young, 2015a) – will help to generate insight into four specific features of pixador subculture: mechanisms of sociability, risk taking, identity and cultural memory. Furthermore, throughout this work, criminological analyzes will interact with those founded in urban studies, the study of Latin American social movements and academic explorations of street art.

Beyond a unified analysis of two concomitant processes – criminalization and commodification of pixação – this research aims to explain how pixadores position themselves in relation to these processes. By analyzing the quality of pixadores resistance against the appropriation of pixação, as well pixadore's overt political actions, this research also brings light to broader sociological and criminological debates on agency, power and resistance.

1.3 Research question and overview of the chapters

Taking into account the main criminological aspects discussed above, the present study seeks to understand the extent to which pixação can be considered a subcultural form of commodified apolitical leisure, and the extent to which it can be considered a subcultural political expression of opposition to social-spatial segregation and structural violence. In order to fully engage with this broad research question, five sub questions have been formulated:

1. If pixadores are to be considered the class of people who are a main target of a selective penal system, to what extent has their social-spatial condition contributed to the emergence of pixação and its subsequent criminalization?
2. How do pixadores experience criminalization and consequent police violence?
3. To what extent can pixadores overt political actions also be perceived as subcultural resistance?
4. To what extent has commodification neutralized pixadores transgressiveness?
5. To what extent are the criminalization and commodification of pixação interwoven?

In order to address the main research question, which is unfolded into the five sub questions above, this thesis is outlined in nine chapters and the structure of this thesis is as follows.

Chapter Two provides a literature review on pixação and its relationship with Brazilian graffiti. Following a chronological logic, this literature review shows the ways in which pichação, graffiti and pixação evolved as distinct visual interventions in Brazilian urban space.. As the words pixação and pichação are presented untranslated, a review of the literature's interpretations of these visual interventions is essential to conduct the reader throughout this study, especially in Chapter Five, where the main features of pixação subculture are presented. It is important to notice that the difference between pichação and pixação goes beyond the spelling with 'ch' or 'x'. As pixação spelled with 'x' is the way in which pixadores call themselves and it is not already recognized in the official Brazilian orthography, I present the first studies from scholars who started to recognize pixação as a specific subculture or as an urban movement distinct from pichação and graffiti. After reviewing the literature on the roots of pichação, Brazilian graffiti and pixação, I show five different approaches found in

the literature about pixação: 1) pixação as a distinctive calligraphy; 2) pixação as a subversive action in capitalist metropolises; 3) pixação as art; 4) perception and reception of pixação in the public discourse; 5) pixação and illegality. Finally, the chapter introduces the literature that treats pixação and graffiti as oppositional categories. By legal definition, graffiti is created with the permission of the owner of the 'wall'. Pixadores do not seek permission before beginning their work.'

Chapter Three introduces the theoretical framework and the sensitizing concepts that are instrumental in answering the main research question and each of the sub-questions. I start by exploring the concept of subcultural resistance in the graffiti-writer subculture and then interconnect this concept with the notion of socio-spatial segregation in São Paulo, which is the theoretical foundation for understanding pixadore's 'shared problems' from a subcultural theoretical perspective. Then I move to explore the concepts of criminalization and structural violence in Brazil, which are necessary for understanding how pixadores became criminalized and have been one of the preferred targets of police violence in São Paulo. The last two sections of this chapter introduce my theoretical framework on resistance, political action and commodification of transgression.

Chapter Four explains how and why ethnography was chosen as the methodology for the present study, as well as this method's limitations and the inherent ethical dilemmas that arose during fieldwork.

Chapter Five presents pixadores, pixação and the main features of the subculture as well its relationship with socio-spatial segregation. The concepts of verticalization and fragmentation (Caldeira, 2001; Koonings & Kruijt, 2007; M. Santos, 1990a; Somekh & Gagliotti, 2013) are useful first for explaining the socio-spatial segregation of São Paulo's urban space, and are then combined with cultural criminological concepts related to criminal subcultures (Ferrell, Hayward, & Young, 2015b), street culture(s) (Ilan, 2015) and edgework (Ferrell et al., 2015b; Lyng, 2004a) in order to describe and explain the specific ways this subculture became criminalized, and the social and political effects of that particular criminalization path.

Chapter Six describes and analyzes police violence against pixadores and discusses their perceptions of it. By focusing on the narratives of pixadores on their experiences with police violence, the chapter aims to discuss in what extent the criminalization of pixação serves to widen and legitimate illegal and disruptive acts of violence that were already practiced by the military police in São Paulo, independently of pixação.

Chapter Seven examines how pixadores use their subcultural expertise to claim rights and protest against broad political issues. The chapter thus problematizes the extent to which pixação might also be considered a form of political action. In order to answer this sub-question, I rely on data that gives an account of pixação's evolution from an apolitical subculture into one that is more overt and politically orientated. For this, I analyze four political manifestations of pixadores that took place between 2013 and 2014.

Finally, Chapter Eight discusses the classic accounts on art versus crime through the analysis of the incipient process of co-optation and commodification of pixação. I problematize the extent to which criminalization and commodification are interwoven processes. The chapter is organized in three parts. In the first part, I demonstrate the processes by which graffiti was assimilated as art in Brazil and argue that one of the reasons for this is the fact that the first generation of graffiti artists was comprised mainly of artists, intellectuals and students. The second part of the chapter discusses the relationship between pixação, art and transgression. The final section problematizes the ways in which pixação are becoming commodified.

Ultimately, this research seeks to contribute to the criminological debate on subcultural resistance, consumerism and capitalism by taking into account that pixação arose in a metropolis of the Global South. In this context, special features like socio-spatial segregation and structural violence are essential to the analysis of the pixadores' capacity to resist. Considering this very context might help to explain why Anglo-Saxon criminological debates on subcultures, resistance and capitalism by themselves are incapable of identifying, much less explaining, pixador subcultural forms of resistance and the overt forms of political action this resistance takes. For instance, when Hall, Winlow, & Ancrum (2008) suggest that resistance by what they call the graffiti subculture is far from effective, they focus on resistance against capitalism and share the idea that any subculture that is driven by 'consumerist infantilism" (2008, p. 157) must necessary be apolitical. Even cultural criminologist Heitor Alvelos (2004) announced the death of graffiti due to its commodification. Following this tendency, Hayward (2016) has also recently criticized the inclination of some works on cultural criminology to romanticize resistance. That it is not the case of the present study.

Of course, this does not mean to say that pixadores are resisting the neoliberal capitalist values of the society within they are embedded and that there are no contradictions in the subculture value. On the contrary, my field notes and interview transcripts show that the pixadores also want their 'slice of the cake'. However, the postulation that guides this research is that for an accurate criminological analysis on subcultural resistance in the Global South, the lens must be turned towards issues such as structural violence and socio- spatial segregation, which have been shown to foster genocidal selectivity (Carvalho, 2014) of a Brazilian penal system that chooses its clients according to gender, race and class. In short, even though pixadores may be also 'contaminated' by the infantilized consumerism of the capitalist societies, they are in a daily war for survival in which their only weapon is a spray can, as they used to say.

Neither the general topic nor my treatment of it focus on fleeting historical moments. As early as 1981, Rosa del Olmo, in her seminal book América Latina y su Criminologia (1981), had already drawn attention to the fact that the very emergence of criminology as a discipline in Latin America in the early twentieth century essentially served capitalist regimes in peripheral countries, since it was necessary to create a paradigm of universal norms to solve the problem of

crime and delinquency. In that sense, the criminologist has already denounced the fundamental role of criminology as a discipline focused on the control of the "resistant subjects" (Olmo, 1981, p. 248) against this regime. Against this backdrop, the four years that have passed between the completion of my fieldwork and the final preparation of this thesis are like the blink of an eye. Further, when one considers the current political scenario of Brazil – post-democracy, as recently described by Casara (2017) – this study's discussion of the criminalization of a specific class of subjects and their means to resist to it continues to be a part of the social landscape, and understanding the processes that underlie this empirical fact continue to be desperately needed.

Charpter
02

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE VISUAL INTERVENTIONS IN BRAZILIAN URBAN SPACE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: VISUAL INTERVENTIONS IN BRAZILIAN URBAN SPACE

A wide range of scientific literature of distinct disciplines engages with visual interventions in urban space in cities around the world. Beyond all differences in their approaches and intent, there is one issue that few commentators avoid addressing implicit or explicitly: the categorization of the discussed practice or phenomenon as legitimate or not. This categorization may be built on criteria of conformity with legal order, artistic value, aesthetics, social implications or even rebellious potential. Alison Young (2014) shows how public discourses – and, in fact, considerable shares of academic publications – apply a dichotomic understanding of legitimate / illicit interventions. Young illustrates how, in recent years and in different contexts worldwide, this dichotomy, has condensed around the (supposedly) oppositional categories of graffiti / street art – whereby graffiti is understood as criminal, vandalism or filth, while street art stands for valorization, art and sophisticated form and content. While Young's work is insightful for most contexts, further study of specific literature is necessary to understand how the dichotomy is most usefully constructed in the Brazilian context. Here, the terms under which the discursive opposition is built are not graffiti / street art, but pixação / graffiti – whereby pixação is illicit and graffiti legitimate. In fact, the spectrum of visual interventions practiced in Brazilian cities and their interrelatedness with further social and cultural conditions differs widely from the contexts referred to in the international academic literature. This makes an elaboration of the relevant terminology, with reference to specific literature on Brazilian visual interventions in urban space, indispensable.

Critical examination shows conclusively that the art/crime dichotomy and similar attempts to make sharp distinctions between the various forms of visual interventions in urban space is not useful to those who wish to understand the deeper issues that lie behind this dichotomy. Indeed, aesthetics do not play a role in understanding either pole of this dichotomy, which has much more to do with underlying social and cultural dynamics and how the law is deployed than with art, however defined. Thus, it can be difficult to distinguish between the political and the purely stylistic. Looking at the emergence of Brazilian forms of VIUS, we can see the rise and fall of a number of different movements, all of which call into question the analytic relevance of the distinctions scholars tend to use. What can be seen through the accounts below is how the treatments of different forms of VIUS tend to say much more about the identity of those who practice them and the attitude of state and municipal authorities (as well as wider cultural aspirations) than about the aesthetics of the practices themselves.

During the last decades, a great variety of visual interventions have shaped and actually created the urban landscape in Brazilian cities. They vary according to style, intention, and a wide variety of aspects related to the practitioners, and certainly to issues of legality and permission as well. I focus on one specific practice, named pixação, which was first practiced in São Paulo during the late 1980s and can be differentiated from other VIUS both aesthetically, by its unique calligraphy, and socially, as measured by the background of its practitioners, the social dynamics and forms of organization these practitioners construct, as well as its argots and its purpose.

Most of the studies reviewed in this chapter do not focus on pixação. Nevertheless, the overview of other forms of VIUS given in this chapter is fundamental to this study, since it lays the foundation for the understanding of how the dichotomy pixação / graffiti is embedded in wider social processes.

In Brazil, the radical opposition between graffiti and pixação seems to have been constructed in two distinctive spheres. The first is the media and penal control, more specifically the Environmental Crimes Law 9605/98, which defines certain activities as crimes against the environment. This law distinguishes between graffiti and pixação – in one hand graffiti is legal since it would be allowed by the owner of the support, and on the other hand, consider it as a crime whenever the tagging, writings or draws are not authorized by the owner, and in that case it is called pixação. The second aspect, involves the subcultural elements, which mark ordinary features that might differentiate pixadores from graffiti artists, such as style, techniques and motivations on their practice. Even though the lines that differentiate graffiti from pixação are not always clear, it is possible to draw some distinctions that operate in at least two contexts: the legal aspect and the aesthetic aspect. The legal aspect is defined by the criminal law that criminalizes pixação, while considers graffiti as art when allowed by the owner of the property. The aesthetic aspect, has to do more with the differences of the style of pixação and graffiti in Brasil. In that sense pixação is aesthetically more close to the calligraphy, while Brazilian graffiti has a figurative approach, with draws of characters, scenes and thus, more close to muralism.

In this thesis, as will be explained in detail in the following chapter, I ask several research questions in order to understand how pixadores experience and perceive the relationship between the criminalization of pixação and the specific issues they are confronted within their social and cultural contexts, in order to examine the extent to which these perceptions and experiences are transformed into practices of resistance.

In order to better articulate my approach to addressing these questions, I review the literature on the variety of Brazilian VIUS and introduce the categories that will be applied to three types of intervention – pichação, graffiti, and pixação – and show how the general use of these terms developed since the 1960s, and how each is applied in public and academic discourse today. The construction of these categories should not suggest that the designated practices are rigid, internally homogenous unities. Rather, the categories help to distinguish the visual aesthetics of state of the art of pichação, pixação and Brazilian graffiti, as well as introducing the terminology necessary for analysis of the complex interplay of these heterogeneous practices, social attributions and criminological aspects.

2.1 In the beginning it was all pichação: A genealogy of visual interventions in Brazilian urban space

When the 'spray can revolution' arose as a subversive subculture in the United States in the late 1960s, Brazil was still under the political repression and censorship imposed by the military regime that had imposed itself in a 1964 coup

d'état. This single historical fact is essential to understand not only the issue of structural violence as explored in Chapter Three, but also to comprehend why the term 'graffiti' and its associated subculture (pixação) only became known in Brazil in the mid-1980s.

Knauss (2008, p. 340), in his research on the history of media coverage of Brazilian graffiti, indicates that it was actually to be expected that the first Brazilian newspaper report on graffiti, published in the 1970s, was on New York's war against graffiti. At that time, the term used in Brazil to describe any kind of urban graffiti was not 'graffiti', but 'pichação'. Knauss elaborates on the term pichação, which refers to a technique of painting with 'pitch', or tar, and had been applied before the use of spray cans became commonplace. While pichação made using tar was restricted to wide black patches, because large paint brushes were used and the material was thick, spray cans enabled the application of delicate forms and nuanced tones, and thus opened the practice to new fields of artistic expression (Knauss, 2008, p. 340).

During the 1970s, the singular label 'pichação' enhanced a public perception that the works were essentially similar, and thus failed to capture the diversity and variety of VIUS that ranged widely, from political phrases against the dictatorship to humorous graffiti. Knauss indicates that, as a consequence of this homogenizing process, American-inspired graffiti in Brazil did not become an autonomous form of urban expression during the late 1970s and early 1980s, as it did in most European countries; the lack of a locally meaningful term for the practice prevented it from being perceived as such (Knauss, 2001, p. 342). According to Schlecht (1995) despite sporadic media coverage of the late 1970s and early 1980s, graffiti/pichação was labeled as a deviant, outsider practice.

Looking back to the history of VIUS in Brazil, what now appears as a clear division has been, for long periods, a terrain whose borders are marked by shadowy and porous lines. Nevertheless, informed commentators and researchers on the subject have established terms to differentiate and delineate different phases in the development of Brazilian VIUS during the period before the graffiti / pixação dichotomy was established.

2.1.1 Pichação Phrases

In general, commentators agree that in Brazil, the first visual interventions in the urban setting ranged from political messages inspired by the countercultural movement of the 1960s, like 'Down the dictatorship" to also nonsense, random, humorous and commercial messages, as for example, 'Kiss me', or just a signature as the famous characters 'Juneca e Pessoinha" (Borba, Davids, & Simões, 2012; C. Fonseca, 1981; Gitahy, 1999; Manco & Neelon, 2005; Medeiros, 2013). These interventions generally consisted of simple-lettered, single-colored words or phrases, written with brushes or spray paint. They may thus be identified as content-based pichação phrases. Lara (cited by Sérgio Franco, 2009, p. 33) distinguishes three categories of intervenors who acted at that time in São Paulo, according to the propagated contends: the students who

wrote 'Down the dictatorship'; youngsters from wealthy neighborhoods who wrote phrases like 'Cannabis Patrol" (Patrulha Canábica) and traders who used the urban space to publicize their goods without having to hire an advertising

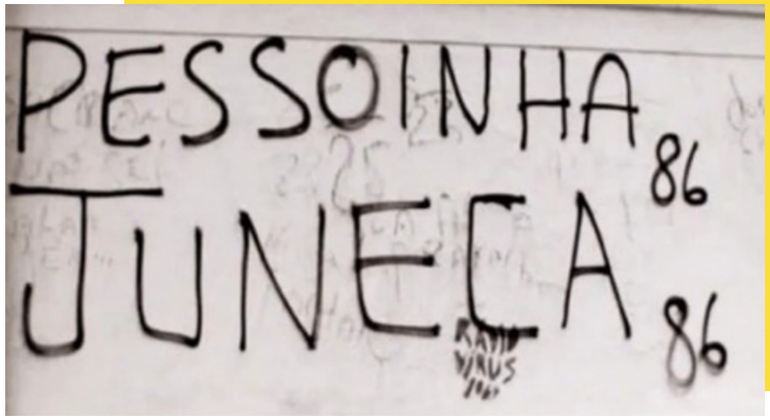


Figure 3: Famous characters from São Paulo, Pessoinha e Juneca. Retrieved from: http://www.webdocgraffiti.com.br/vontade-de-liberdade/juneca-em-breve-em-seu-muro

Figure 4: Advertisement of the Dog Fila. Retrieved from: https://mauriciomorgado. com.br/2011/04/01/cao-fila-km-26/

agency, as for example, 'Dog Fila Km 26" (to designate a the Brazilian dog breed Fila). Douglas (2002, p. 151) has observed the subversive power of humor as a tool used by this generation to 'invert' and play by using double meaning like the structure of a joke. Some commentators (Leminski, 1985; Medeiros, 2013) strove to identify subliminal messages in famous phrases such as 'Celacanto causes a seaquake" (Celacanto provoca Maremoto). This latter inscription became so famous that, as de Carvalho Oliveira & Marques (2015) recall, advertisement agencies used it in media campaigns. This was probably one of the first attempts at commodification of Brazilian urban interventions in urban space. Despite

the recognition and political mystery, the author of this phrase himself recently revealed that it was just a cacophonic joke without any special meaning (Coelho de Oliveira, 2009).

Figure 5: Celacanto provokes earthquake. Retrieved from: http://www.museudememes.com.br/sermons/celacanto-provoca-maremoto/

One possible reason for visual interventions in Brazilian urban space having mainly a poetic and not explicitly subversive approach in its early years, is the fact that the bodies of disobedient subjects were directly threatened by the violent repression imposed by the military regime at that time (Medeiros, 2013; Rolnik, 2007). In 1968, three years after the installation of the second dictatorship of the Republican period, Institutional Act Number Five (AI-5) authorized the arrest of anyone suspected of subversive actions, without any right to appeal. According to Rolnik (2007) the effect of this 'state terrorism' was not only the self-exile of several artists, but also the dampening of critical political discourse that continued until democracy was reestablished in the early 1980s.

Besides leftist political pichação against the dictatorship, some commentators remember that in this same period, some pichação in support of the authoritarian regime and its violent repression of oppositional movements appeared in the streets of Brazilian cities. Historian Clarissa Brasil, in a research

study about the hunt for communists in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, identified documented pichações like "'Communists Out" and 'No More Subversion" (Brasil, 2008, p. 4). In this thesis, these types of content-based phrases will be categorized as pichação, written with 'ch' Thus, VIUS with content that undermines the pixação subculture or its political agenda broadly speaking, will be categorized as pichação.

2.1.2 Marginal Poets

According to Medeiros (2013, p. 32), while the first visual interventions by what came to be known as the marginal poets generation Gitahy (1999) were words of contestation against dictatorship in the 1970s, these VIUS subsequently took new shapes and sounds, and engaged in new dialogues. This second generation of visual intervenors, who started to act in urban space during the 1970s and early 1980s, is referred to as "The Pioneers" (Franco, 2009) or "Marginal Poets" (Fonseca, 1981). Borba et al. (2012) describe this movement as "the stencil generation of Brazilian graffiti writers", which highlights the new techniques and formats used by this generation. The dissemination of spray cans, the application of techniques like stencils and the realization of multicolored motives promoted an aesthetics that differed significantly from that of pichação phrases commonly seen in São Paulo's public space until that time. The emphasis on explicit content and lettering gave way to an enhanced focus on the artistic form and figurative elements. This period is also called the 'spray action' phase (Medeiros, 2013), as poets, artists, actors and singers began to organize themselves into artistic collectives. Consequently, the period was characterized by countercultural actions and performances, rather than subcultural dynamics. This literature review on the history of Marginal Poets shows commentators' efforts to ascribe a political dimension to the content of the messages, whereas the authors themselves subsequently claimed that their critique actually targeted the conservative system of art, rather than the political

Figure 6: Mural from Rui Amaral, painted in the 1980s in Paulista Avenue and refurbished in 2014. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

regime. Instead of an explicit political critique, they focused on criticizing the system of art through and engaging in a dialogue with urban spaces (Medeiros, 2013, p. 30).

2.1.3 From pichação to gaffiti / pixação opposition

Medeiros (2013) recognizes that around the late 1970s, the practices of graffiti and pichação started to become differentiated according to aesthetical identities and techniques. While graffiti in European and North American contexts was continuously identified with written phrases or stylized lettering, the very term graffiti only started to be commonly used in the Brazilian context, after the marginal poets generation had established their practice based on figurative elements. Instead, the term pichação was used to describe written phrases, words or names. Gitahy (1999) , who was a Marginal Poet and is also the author of one of the first books about graffiti and pichação in Brazil, points

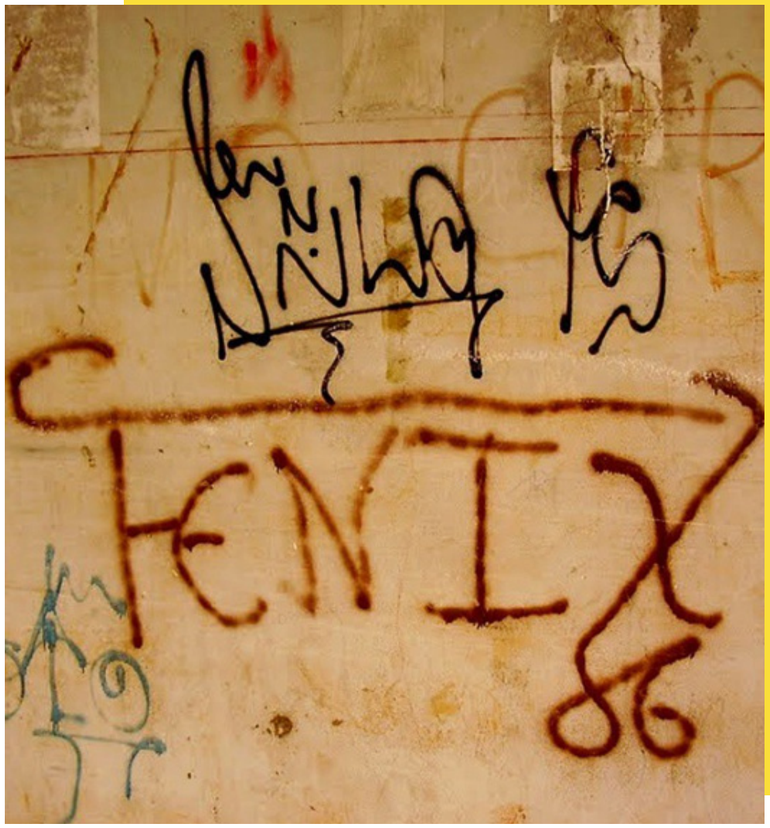


Figure 7: Pixações from the middle 1980s. Photo credit: personal collection of Crazy Ink

out that an elementary difference between graffiti, pichação and pixação, is that the former originates from fine arts and uses figurative images, while the latter derives from and uses words and letters. Still, the two share transgression as a constitutive element.

Medeiros (2013, p. 39) asserts that phrases of protest, which were referred to as graffiti during the French students uprisings in May 1968, in Brazil were called pichação. Nevertheless, pichação and graffiti in Brazil went in separate ways and, in fact, were paralleled by a third form of visual intervention in public space: pixação. In Brazil, the term graffiti is associated with the production of figures and images, whereas pixação (written with 'X') developed a specific type of identity and its inscriptions, similar to hieroglyphs, became almost indecipherable to the untrained eye. Although Gitahy does not identify pixação as a specific subculture, when he identifies four different phases of what he recalls as pichação, it is possible to infer from the features of the last three (from the 1980s to the 2000s) that he is actually referring to pixação subculture.

Figure 8: How pixação looks nowadays: the straight tag as defined by Lassala. Photo credit: André Souza

He explains that the second phase features a competition for space and the creation of the groups; the third is characterized by performance and risk, in order to achieve the highest and most visible spots in urban space; and the

fourth begins when the work is recognized by and thorough the media (Gitahy, 1999, pp. 28–29).

Following Lassala (2010), pichação – written with 'ch'' – is conceived in this research as a form of VIUS that is random, non-authorized, as is pixação – written with 'x' – but is distinct from pixação because it does not follow a proper pattern or style and could vary from phrases of political protest, to poetic messages, to simple signatures. In terms of surface and place, pichação can be done on schools, toilets, busses or other public areas (see Lassala, 2010). These kind of inscriptions are more like the European 'tags', that is, the signature of a graffiti writer and "which can be done with marker pens, aerosol cans, paint rollers and even fire extinguishers" (Young, 2014, p. 15). Lassala (2010), however, points out that 'tags' by pixadores in São Paulo have several very specific, stylized characteristics that together are subsumed by the label 'straight tag' or, to use Chastanet (2007) word, the São Paulo Signature. Scientific literature on this specific phenomenon will be revisited in section 2.2.1.

Figure 9: How pichação look nowadays: "Turn off the TV and turn your mind."
Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

2.2 Pixação: The Emergence of a subculture

Back in 1993, Massimo Canevacci, an Italian anthropologist, was probably the first scholar to mention the presence of pixação on the walls of São Paulo. Albeit he employed the spelling 'pichação'' – the only one recognized by the official Portuguese orthography – the phenomenon he describes correspond not to the various types of pichação discussed in the section above, but rather to what is hereafter labeled 'pixação'.'. He describes what he saw as a type of

incomprehensible Arabic-gothic calligraphy and suggests that its practitioners decided to anonymize themselves through their indecipherable calligraphy so that they could arbitrarily mark their presence whenever and wherever they wanted, attesting in this way their anonymous existence (Canevacci, 1993).

2.2.1 Beyond the subversion of the orthography: the calligraphy of a segregated city

The first scholars to recognize and use the word pixação, written with 'x'' instead of 'ch',', were François Chastanet in the seminal book, Pixação: São Paulo Signature (2007a), Coelho de Oliveira in his video ethnography of pixadores from Rio de Janeiro, entitled piXação: art and pedagogy as crime (2009), Franco (2009), in his study of pixação as a form of contemporary art, Pereira (2010) also with the ethnographic work on São Paulo's pixadores, and Lassala (2010), who refers to the orthography issue in the very title his classic book, Pichação is not Pixação. The fact that scholars were silent for almost 20 years after pixação had become viral as a clearly distinct practice, before accepting and transmitting a distinct term to refer to it, speaks volumes about the relation between this subculture and the academic sphere. Even today, there are few comprehensive scientific works on pixação, although an increased interest can be observed very recently.

Pereira (2010) justifies the use of the spelling of the word pixação, with 'x'' and not with 'ch'' in order to respect the way in which pixadores write the term that designates their practice. According to the anthropologist, 'pixar'' would be different from 'pichar'' "because the latter term would designate any written intervention in the urban landscape, while the first would refer to the practices of those young people who leave written inscriptions of a stylized writing in urban space" (Pereira, 2010a, p. 143). On the same lines, Soares (2014a), in her research with pixadores from Brasília, Distrito Federal, claims that the use of the spelling of pixação with 'x'' is a political decision that supports the recognition of the subjects and their standpoint. They themselves choose this spelling to identify their specific form of intervention in urban space.

A considerable share of social science and art-related literature on pixação engages in interpretations of the nature of pixação's stylistic features. Most of these scholars imply that the main stylistic inspiration for this unique form of urban calligraphy can be found on the covers of punk and heavy metal records from the 1980s (Boleta, 2006; Chastanet & Heller, 2007a; Lewisohn, 2008; Manco & Neelon, 2005; Mello, 2006; Mittmann, 2012; Spinelli, 2007). In his seminal book on pixação, French architect François Chastanet saw originality and uniqueness in the creative process of the pixadores' typographic style: "the process usually observed in type design consists of freezing manual writing practices (calligraphy or lettering) in set typographic forms" (2007a, p. 247). In the pixadores' case, Chastanet stresses, the opposite happens: because pixador calligraphy arose from a desire to reproduce these fixed typological shapes while using everyday tools like a paint roller or a spray can, the result

gave movement and motion to a handwriting practice that is commonly static (Chastanet & Heller, 2007a).

2.2.2 Pixação as subversive action in capitalist metropolises

Countless ambitious designations and comparisons were given to pixação and pixadores: these were the new urban flâneur (Caldeira, 2012a; Paixão, 2011), who wrote poetically against the State (Costa, 2015, p. 6) as they engaged in visual occupation (Engasser, 2014) and wreaked aesthetic violence (Tiburi, 2011a); as a part of everyday life (Mittmann, 2012). These marginal calligraphers and anti-heroes (Pennachin, 2011) were guerrillas of the sensitive (de Carvalho Oliveira & Marques, 2015) and practiced the politics of the poor (Franco, Silva, Pixobomb, & Warsza, 2012) while writing alphabet of class struggle (Warsza, 2012) for the visual right to the city (Tiburi, 2011b), to name just a few.

Against the argument that pixadores could be compared with the figure of the flâneur, Franco (2015, p. 176; 2009, p. 55) contends that, different from the contemplative attitude of the flâneur, the pixador is someone who interacts, intervenes and changes the urban space. Along the same lines, Pereira (2013a,

p. 90) points out that while the flâneur contemplates a time that has already passed, the pixador focuses on keeping a memory for a future time.

Social scientists have shown particular interest in pixação's implications as a practice that challenges capitalist society and its guiding principles, namely private property and state control within public space. As pixadores occupy public space without any kind of authorization, several scholars see pixação as a challenge to the logic of capital in big metropolises. Mittmann suggests that pixação could be understood as an action of "theft of advertising space" (2012,

p. 107). Similarly, French scholar Engasser (2014, p. 49) points out that one of pixação's transgressive aspects is defined by its confrontation with one of the pillars of capitalism – laws of private property – since the majority of the pixações are made on private buildings, houses or commercial buildings.

For Tiburi (2011b), pixadores directly hit private property and what she designates as the "ideology of façade" (2011b, p. 43). For this philosopher, the white wall is a classic trope of the aesthetic form of private property, and also corresponds to an aesthetic that uses the color white (or, in São Paulo, grey) to paint over not only pixação, but also deeper issues such as social inequality, violence and poverty. For Tiburi, pixação is the end of the "aesthetics of the façade". By contrast, pixação represents an "aesthetic of sincerity [...] and [...] the end of the society of appearance by right to the city as a right to appear" (2011b, p. 43).

However, other commentators point out the contradictory relationship between pixação's subcultural rules and its aim to challenge private property. Caldeira (2012) who has extensively researched socio-spatial segregation in São Paulo, draws attention to a paradox: pixadores "affirm rights to the city while fracturing the public; expose discrimination but refuse integration" (Caldeira, 2012a, p. 385).

The contradictions between the use of public space within the same logic and rules of private property amongst pixadores was also analyzed by Silva (2015), who conducted ethnographic research among pixadores in Salvador, Bahia. For the anthropologist, the pixador uses the concept of public space in the sphere of society, but this use is based on a private logic, insofar as it starts from the principle that that his piece cannot be painted by anyone else. In a comparison with the guidelines of graffiti subculture, the same contradiction appears in the graffiti writer's universal principle of not painting over another piece of graffiti (see Ferrell, 1993; Macdonald, 2001; Snyder, 2011).[1]

Against the argument that pixação causes damage to private property Costa (2015), who conducted ethnographic research about pixação in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, claims that pixação cannot be classified as damage, since it does not deprive the relative object of its use. Rather, it adds a layer of paint, reveals covert identities, exposes differences and reveals the pixadore's desire for another way to use property. (2015, p. 16).

In a study carried out between 2009 and 2011, Caldeira argues that pixação has no political dimension, and suggests that, unlike some examples of graffiti that promote social inclusion and have become icons of urban art, "pixação has no intention of emphasizing dignity, citizenship, law, or rights, as was the case with the urban social movements" (Caldeira, 2012a, p. 415).

Yet others see pixação's political dimension precisely in its negation of promoting explicit political content – remember Baudrillard's essay on the Insurrection of Signs (Baudrillard, 1993 [1978]). Ramos defines pixação "as an anarchic process of creation, where what matter is transgression and even aggression, provocation and surprise" (2007, p. 305). By analyzing pixação from a psychological standpoint, Scandiucci (2017) suggests that the pixador has some similitudes with the Greek god Pan, who "invades and rapes the virginal consciousness of an untouched center" (Scandiucci, 2017, p. 46). For Manco & Neelon (2005), "pixação is a vehicle for the youth of the city to assert their existence and self-worth, and to do it loudly. [...] Pixação exists on the very surface of the contested wealth, and promises to keep on punishing the fortunate until they produce a world less punishing to begin with" (2005, p. 29).

These commentators outbid each other in attributing ambitious subversive aspirations to pixação, in accordance with a respective theory or a larger argument. Yet, they share a profound – implicit or explicit – understanding of pixação as deeply embedded and engaged with the social condition of its practitioners. Accordingly, this study seeks to understand the phenomenon of pixação in relation to certain conditions inherent to the society in which it emerges, taking its contradictions and heterogeneity into account.

2.2.3 Pixação in the fine arts circuit

Curator and sociologist Sérgio Franco (2010) proposes that in the field of art there is nothing more conceptual than pixação. He compares pixação with

1. For an extensive discussion of the contradictory nature of criminalized graffiti subculture's

the concept of social sculpture of Joseph Beuys (2014), who understood art as a means of communicating one's doubts about the dominant culture and thus transforming society. Franco understands that the artist should harass society to be committed to it. For him, the relationship between Beuys' concept of social sculpture and pixação is the shared emphasis on communication, which is always manifested by the artist as the transmitter of a message, but, even so, his audience should not pass unscathed, as mere receiver within a banal language; the audience is always challenged to understand what art consists of. Schacter analyzes graffiti and street art under Javier Abarca's concept of Independent Public Art, "an umbrella label which incorporates all forms of autonomously produced aesthetic production in the public sphere" (quoted by Schacter, 2016, p. xix) and he has identified pixação as "insurgent ornamentation" (Schacter, 2016, p. 125). For this anthropologist and curator, who briefly analyzed an episode of pixadores attack at the Gallery Choque Cultural (broadly analyzed in Chapter Eight herein), pixação is a practice that "[...] might have attempted to negotiate and access the public sphere [...] through disorder and disruption" (2016, p. 125).

Gupta insinuates that the countless studies, documentaries and journalistic articles on pixação have more effectively exposed pixação to market co- optation than they have properly revealed and problematized the real condition of its practitioners. Supported by his brief analysis of the participation of pixadores in the Berlin Biennale 2013, he suggests that the recent attempts to introduce pixação into the international art circuit have done little more than highlight limitations on both sides: outside São Paulo, pixação appeared to be unassailable and untranslatable, extrinsic to Brazil, to global art audiences and to the pixadores themselves (2015, p. 41).

Lassala recently used Bourdieu's concept of art work to problematize the reception of pixação in the field of art, and identified three inhibiting factors. First, pixação is a closed code. Only its practitioners are able to understand it; an audience that cannot decipher and find meaning in pixação probably will not receive it as art. Second, even if pixação is recognized as art by the market, as commonly happens with the commodification of popular culture, the commodified version generally does not recognize – much less, credit – its origins. Finally, illegality: if pixadores continue performing without authorization in order to maintain the essence of the subculture, then they continue to be criminals (Lassala, 2014, pp. 61–62).

For her part, Diógenes draws attention to the fact that, independently of the art / not-art question, pixação brings attention to

> other aesthetic references, to plural forms of appreciation and circulation of images in the city. Pixação seems to escape therefore from the representational, iconic regime, and alludes to singular forms of appreciation and perception of a kind of art marked by a mantle of the indiscernible, of difficult categorization, of what produces noise and disagreements. (2017, p. 115)

Nevertheless, Kaplan (2012) believes the rejection of pixação as art "is due more to its transgressing character, in the way it is performed – because it

is fundamentally an invasive intervention – than for its aesthetics" (2012, p. 56).

2.2.4 Perception and reception in public discourse

Some scholars have analyzed the ways in which pixação is perceived and discussed in the media and political discourses.

López, who conducted comprehensive study on media discourses about graffiti and pixação in São Paulo, stresses that while graffiti is perceived as a youthful, rebellious form of art, it is widely agreed to be not harming, or even a positive contribution, to São Paulo's society (López, 2015, p. 146). Pixação, on the other hand, is framed as pollution or even as a massive threat to society. López points out that newspaper articles even use medical metaphors to emphasize the character of pixação and its practitioners:

> Pichação is described as an epidemic (outbreak), related to the ideas of dirt and pollution. The producers are considered as illiterate, sometimes are even described as uncivilized and non-human. The social costs of pichação/pixação are also emphasized, not only its economic impact on the real estate business, but also in terms of notions of heritage, identity and morals. (2015, p. 123)

By analyzing people's reactions on pixação, graffiti artist Caleb Neelon concludes that pixadores are understood to be "unsavory characters" (2006, p. 30). He recalls that in São Paulo, "pixação not only has its target audience but also a larger captive audience that hates it and wishes it would go away" (2006, p. 30). Similarly, Juarez (2016, p. 43), sees "pixação as a force that produces strong reactions/moods on practitioners and public alike." What these scholarly works do not provide is a profound analysis of the complex interactions between public discourse, policy responses and the very subjects involved in pixação subculture. This study aims to close this significant gap in academic work on the subject.

2.2.5 Illegality

Little discussion has been had regarding pixação's relationship to law enforcement and state institutions in general. For Spinelli (2007) it is "illegality that forces the pixador to a differentiated relation with the public power, which affirms the subversive character of the practice and establishes an impasse between individual and State" (2007, p. 115). Besides observing the transgressive aspect of pixação by the challenge of the laws of private property, Engasser (2014) also observes that the transgression takes place by the violation of the law that criminalizes the pixação (2014, p. 49).

In a case study on police operations against pixadores in Santa Maria/RS, Weber, Kessler, & Carvalho (2015) suggest from the perspective of labeling theory that, with the criminalization of pixação, "the pixador starts to carry with him the stigma created around his outsider image, having in his attitudes the social representation of the deviation" (2015, p. 72).

Soares" analysis of penal court files of pixadores in Belo Horizonte

concludes that

> the judgment of the act committed by a single pixador gives place to the exercise of criticism to the aesthetics and to the culture of pixação as a whole. By this logic, a pixador must be held responsible for all pixações in the city. (2016, p. 59)

2.3 Graffiti versus pixação

As already begins to appear in the literary review on pixação, commentators rarely discuss pixação without referring to graffiti, and vice-versa. At the same time that there is an opposition, the two types of interventions are amalgamated and as it is intrinsic to dichotomic discourses, one pole does not exist without the other. This section reviews the literature on Brazilian Graffiti, focusing on how commentators describe its relation to pixação.

Many authors strive to emphasize the common origin and common features between the two practices. Pennachin (2011) for instance, refers to pixação and graffiti as "all together and mixed up", but sustains the argument that in Brazil, graffiti and pixação took different paths, and currently are "distinct movements, and this distinction occurred precisely because of the history of each one of them" (2011, p. 201). In the same sense, Franco (2009) argues that the dichotomization of graffiti and pixação takes place on a formal level rather than in the practice. The sociologist suggests that both pixadores and graffiti artists circulate in both subcultures, and the same individuals sometimes perform pixação and graffiti concomitantly. To illustrate his argument he uses the example of Zezão, a world-famous graffiti artist who back in the 1990s was also a pixador. Other researchers also found out that it is common to see graffiti artists who also perform pixação or at least do illegal tagging (Furtado & Zanella, 2009). Regarding the argument that both pixadores and graffiti artists transit in both subcultures and often perform the two kind of interventions, Juarez (2014) uses the example of Sliks, a Brazilian graffiti artist who claims to have been a pixador in the past and became world-famous for the aesthetics of the tag in his artworks. In "The World Atlas of Street Art and Graffiti," Schacter directs

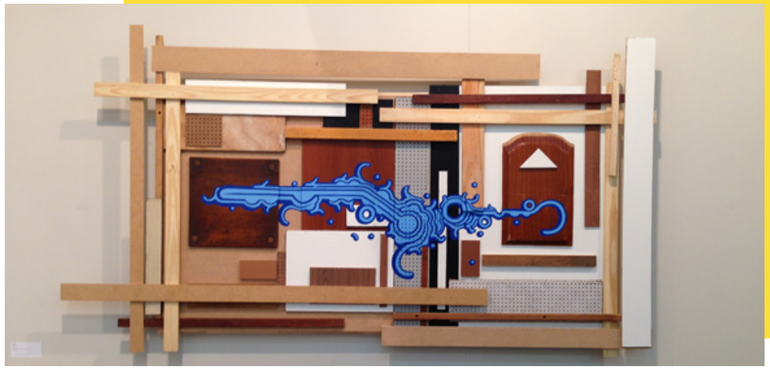


Figure 10: Artwork of Zezão, exhibited in the São Paulo International Festival in 2014. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

attention to the fact that even famous graffiti artists like Os Gemeos, "recall their debt to pixação" (2013, p. 112).

Juarez (2014) points out that some Brazilian urban artists emphasize and one might say advertise their pixadores past because that shows how active they are in the street. From a cultural criminological standpoint, Ilan (2015) in his book on street culture, mentions "'street cred' (or street credibility) in reference to being associated with what is authentic or fashionable with young people" (2015, p. 18). Similarly, street credibility has been discussed in cultural analyzes of African American Hip Hop music (Lena 2006), branding strategies and cultural gatekeepers (Balaji 2012). Quinn (1996, p. 82) concluded that "street credibility also serves to sell". Juarez' conclusions on the way that graffiti artists profit from the street credibility gained as a pixador offers some glimpses on how oppositional discourses on pixação and graffiti are not sufficient to comprehend the extent of interconnectivity of pixação and graffiti, or the lines and boundaries that separate them. I turn to these issues in Chapter Eight.

Regarding the shuddering lines that divide the subcultures, Neelon points out another aspect of their varied interrelations. He stresses that the presence of pixação in São Paulo's landscape makes graffiti artists' lives easier, insomuch as "[i]n a city streaked with monochromatic paint, colorful graffiti is far more

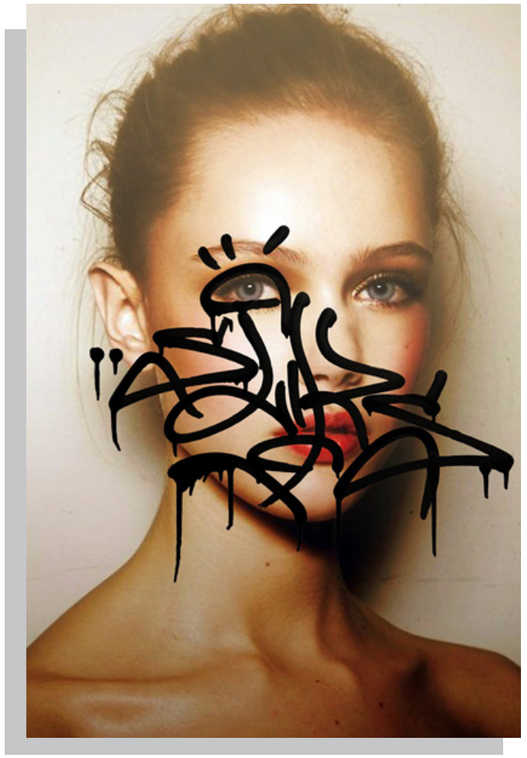


Figure 11: Print commercialized by Slicks. Retrieved from: http://rafaelsliks.com

welcome, and can be painted by daylight rather than under cover of darkness (Neelon, 2006, p. 31).

In the oppositional discourses between graffiti and pixação, São Paulo's city scenery plays a very important role. The metropolis is known for its visual pollution, chaos, grisliness and even sadness, as famous Brazilian singer Criolo describes it in "There is no love in SP" (Não existe amor em SP):

> There is no love in SP A mystical labyrinth
> Where the graffiti screams It's impossible to describe
> In a beautiful phrase on a sweet postcard ...

Criolo refers to graffiti as something that contrasts and almost takes off from the gray surface of São Paulo. In this sense, graffiti serves to soften the city and, according to Moriyama and Lopez, has always been perceived as something that "re-humanizes the brutalized relationships that exist in the hard metropolitan lives" (Moriyama & Lopez, 2010, p. 15). Czapski & Riberio (2013) also share the idea that Brazilian graffiti artists are different from the rest of the world because of instead of defacing the city, they are actually celebrating the it "not only through the beauty and color of their drawings and graphic representations, but, most of all, because of their humanity and the refreshing manner in which they celebrate their city" (2013, p. 9).

Thus, conclude Moriyama and Lopez, the grisliness and the harshness of the São Paulo landscape plays an important role in the way the inhabitants see and perceive graffiti and pixação as completely opposite interventions:

> The visual impact of urban art, added to the act of colouring the grey background, breaks the city's functional pattern, at the same time that it stimulates the passersby. (Moriyama & Lopez, 2010, p. 15)

Nevertheless other commentators see in pixação an important dimension of resistance against the aim of making up the grey reality of São Paulo in colorful ink. Thus, for Mondardo and Goettert (2008) pixação is the uncomfortable presence, the anti-formal logic, the counter-form of the generally colored graffiti. For the authors, this aesthetic resistance is marked in black ink on São Paulo's white or gray surfaces (2008, p. 296).

Following this line of understanding the opposition between graffiti and pixação, Tiburi (2011b, p. 39), contends that "graffiti, a phenomenon comparatively better behaved than pixação, illustrates the city and, in a way, refers to beauty as the character of art," while the "phenomenon of pixação is both aesthetic and political and what the pixadores put on the scene is a radical questioning of urban space, a questioning that is theoretical and practical, artistic and rhetorical" (2011b, p. 39).

Finally, a restricted number of scholars discuss the ways in which Brazilian graffiti was co-opted and assimilated by the market, and how graffiti artists are taking advantage of the pixação aesthetic to sell their artwork, while pixadores continue to be criminalized and considered as vandals.

Back in 2009, Furtado & Zanella elaborated on the incipient process of

co- optation and commodification of Brazilian graffiti in the context of their a study of psychology and art, aesthetic relations and urban interventions. They show how graffiti is valorized, either as urban art and aesthetic expression, as a tool to transform the social reality, or as a pedagogic means to take youngsters from the street, and how it is promoted by agencies and owners of commercial establishments, and exposed in museums and galleries. They then emphasize that pixação, on the other hand, is continuously understood as the "filth of cities", practiced by "mere marginals in search of adrenaline" (Furtado & Zanella, 2009, p. 140).

Controversially, de Carvalho Oliveira & Marques recently analyzed two cases in which graffiti artists were hired by Nike and Chili Beans (de Carvalho Oliveira & Marques, 2015). They claim that the aesthetics used to advertise the products was actually the aesthetics of pixação, but the work was executed by

Figure 12: Clothing collection from Nike using the aesthetics of pixação's calligraphy. Image retrieved from: http://www.theworldsbestever.com/2010/03/03/nike-gets-all-pixacao- with-this-brasil-pack/

graffiti artists. Hence, they argue, market forces and their agents – graffiti artists in these cases – are appropriating pixação.

Nevertheless, for de Carvalho Oliveira & Marques (2015) the cultural appropriation of pixação does not affect its political dimension because, even when pixação is displaced from its common habitat (the street) and displayed in an art gallery for example, the image can still invested with street power. According to these scholars, "it is the illegibility of pixação that gives its political

dimension and its way of resistance and contestation to the dominant codes, independently from the surface or context it is applied in" (2015, p. 134).

2.4 Conclusion

This literature review has examined the developments in the state of pixação as an art form, and its relation with Brazilian graffiti. It is clear from the literature reviewed that there is a lack attention to the criminological aspects of pixação. Even though there are studies that relate pixação to the fields of urban studies and art, these fail to bring a deeper analysis of the relationships with criminalization and commodification.

The next chapter describes the theoretical framework used to conceptualize the main issues that this research seeks to analyze. It introduces pixação to criminological debates on resistance, subculture, and presents the theoretical means to explore the social, cultural and political matters that pixadores are confronted with.

Charpter
03

FRAMING PIXAÇÃO: THEORIZING CRIMINALIZATION, SUBCULTURAL RESISTANCE AND COMMODIFICATION OF TRANSGRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA

FRAMING PIXAÇÃO: THEORIZING CRIMINALIZATION, SUBCULTURAL RESISTANCE AND COMMODIFICATION OF TRANSGRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA

The premise of this work is to discuss pixação in the light of critical and cultural criminology debates on crime, transgression, space, commodification and resistance. As the social and spatial conditions within which pixação develops are manifold, and in order to complement existing cultural criminological debates on space, this chapter introduces a specific theoretical approach to São Paulo's socio-spatial segregation. Also, in order to contribute to broader theoretical discussions, I aim to interrelate the concepts of crime, transgression and its commodification from the cultural criminology perspective and, with special regard to commodification, from particular Marxist accounts. Even though this chapter does not focus deeply on Marxist insights on commodification, I find it important to go back to the debris of Marxist debates in order to better locate my overall argument: commodification does not necessarily neuter or extinguish the transgressive element of a criminalized subculture. The case of pixação, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, strongly supports this claim.

Following Hayward and Young (2004, p. 259), cultural criminology approaches issues of crime and social control from a cultural studies perspective, understanding these issues as creatively produced and interrelated constructions. Thus, in opposition to uniform theoretical models, cultural criminology calls for a cultural perspective on deviant behavior and social control (Ferrell, 2008, p. 210). Therefore, pixação is appropriately understood as a heterogeneous set of actors and practices (see Chapter Two), and can only be analyzed while considering its embeddedness in and engagement with its concrete social and cultural contexts, or, as Ferrell, Hayward and Young state, as a search for "meaningful solution[s] to some shared problems" (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015, p. 51). Thus, this chapter also briefly outlines cultural criminological debates on graffiti subcultures, with a focus on conceptual outcomes that will be relevant for the analysis from Chapters Five through Eight.

Reconciling the gaps in existing literature on pixação (see Chapter Two) with these issues, which became conspicuous during fieldwork, this chapter bridges the broad theoretical concepts of criminalization, urban violence, social spatial segregation and commodification of transgression with the specific "shared problems" pixadores share and which lead to the analysis of pixação as a criminalized form of subcultural resistance. These theoretical aspects will be analyzed in detail in the present chapter, and further interrelated with ethnographic material in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

3.1 Criminalization and police violence in Brazil

The first shared problem is significantly underrepresented in scientific literature on pixação (see Chapter Two), but my empirical data quickly demonstrated that it is of vital importance: criminalization and structural violence. Structural violence heavily affects pixadores and their ways to act in and upon São Paulo's society. This section thus reviews the existing literature on the interconnections between criminalization of the specific (sub)cultures of popular classes and structural violence in Brazil. Pixação is here understood as a criminalized subculture and not a criminal subculture. To make sense of

this condition, cultural criminology literature, which is focused largely on youth cultures in the Global North (see Section 3.4), has to be complemented with accounts that are sensitive to the specific conditions and issues encountered in Latin America. For this reason, reference to Latin American and Brazilian theory provides crucial theoretical tools for the analyzes of pixação in its social context.

3.1.1 Urban violence in São Paulo

Violence and its disruptions have been standard subjects of concern among Brazilian sociologists since the early 1980's, when the study group NEV (Núcleo de Estudos da Violência of the University of São Paulo) was founded in order to promote research about human rights and criminality. Its studies focused on the increasing attention given to public safety and urban violence in the context of organized crime, violent crime, democracy and social exclusion (S. Adorno, 2002; Pinheiro, 2002; J. V. T. dos Santos, 2002; Zaluar & Alvito, 1998).

Adorno (2002, p. 88) problematized the association – and implied causality – between violence and poverty, by identifying four dimensions of violence in Brazilian society during the transition from the authoritarian regime to democracy: a) a rise of urban criminality (especially homicides and crimes against property); b) the emergence of organized crime; c) human rights violations; and d) interpersonal conflicts. These dimensions framed the perspective that informed early sociological work, notably on the hypothesis that social inequality, and not poverty per se, contributes to urban violence. Accordingly, urban violence as a valid category of analysis has been criticized among Brazilian sociologists due to its heavy othering significance: usually associated with assumptions that poverty would be the main cause of crime and other urban violence, and thus the poor its perpetrators – because they are poor.

Drawing on a competing hypothesis – that urban violence was a primarily result of a violence against the poor – Caldeira demonstrates that while violent crime had increased in São Paulo during the 1990's, so had the institutional violence executed by the agencies supposedly responsible for protecting citizens and preventing violence. Recent numbers on homicide rates, and the police authorities' contribution to these numbers, support this assertion. As the Brazilian Forum for Public Security emphasizes, the war in Syria, between March 2011 and November 2015 recorded 256,124 deaths, while in Brazil, from January 2011 to December 2015, 279,567 people were killed (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2016). More troubling still, according to the report, between 2009 and 2015, the police murdered 17,688 people. In 2015 alone, a typical year in the period, police interventions led to 3320 deaths, of which 54 percent of the victims were young males between 15 and 24 years, and 73 percent were black (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2016). What is of key importance is that these numbers are limited to those recorded in the official statistics. The so-called 'unrecorded crime rate', the percentage or number of offences that are not notified, especially regarding police violence, is arguably much higher. Nevertheless, despite the high number of violent deaths in Brazil,

according to the Atlas of Violence (2017), elaborated by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) and the Brazilian Forum of Public Security, based on data from the mortality information system of the Ministry of Health, São Paulo has registered decreases in its homicide rate since 2005.

The theoretical review on urban violence is here structured on a macro and meso level analyzes. The macro theoretical analysis is employed by authors who work with urban violence in the broad perspective of Latin America and Brazil, while the meso analysis brings recent theoretical approaches that explore urban violence in the specific context of São Paulo. These two dimensions of theoretical analysis will provide a foundation for the microanalysis of police violence against pixadores in São Paulo in Chapter Six of this thesis.

From a macro-analytical perspective, urban violence in Latin America and Brazil has been explored by traditional approaches that take into account broad issues such as historical context, social policies and the idea that urban violence occurs because of an absence of state control. According to Feltran (2014, p. 301), the representation of urban violence arbitrarily associates and reifies heterogeneous concepts and phenomena such as criminality, illegal drugs, illicit markets, firearms, organized crime, gangs, issues related to race, urban space and poverty. Historical markers, including Brazil's colonial heritage and two dictatorships during the first hundred years of the Republican period, still influence criminal policies towards an 'underclass' that often is framed as the 'dangerous classes'. Specific historical elements such as 'patrimonialism' and 'clientelism', which were fundamental features of Brazil's oligarchical regime during the colonial period (1822–1889), continue to shape the political, social and cultural dynamics of Brazilian society. (R. Snyder, 1992)

Latin American criminologist Rosa del Olmo (2000, p. 75) points out that the history of Latin America is broadly related to the presence of violence as a constant phenomenon that includes four distinctive types: structural, institutional, revolutionary and individual. This Latin American criminologist puts forward the ideas that there is a prevalence of structural and institutional violence, and that a full understanding of these dimensions is a vital prerequisite to comprehending revolutionary and individual violence. However, Del Olmo calls for a too-broad spectrum of circumstances to be taken into account for an understanding of the phenomenon of urban violence in Latin America:

> When examining the configuration of most cities, one cannot ignore a series of events at the global, national and local levels, which have occurred especially since the 1980s, which have precipitated the current situation, such as international fiscal crisis, the dismantling of the welfare state, the change of concepts of fiscal spending and state regulation, adjustment policies, growing unemployment, internal migration in Latin America, the increase in the informal economy, the growing deterioration of public services, corruption, drug trafficking and impunity. (Del Olmo, 2000, p. 78)

Building on the argument that the issue of urban violence in Brazil derives from the continuing absence or abandonment of the state and to the deficit of a legitimate monopoly of violence, even with the arrival of Republican period in Brazil, Zaluar (2004) refers to the coronelismo as one of the main factors

contributing to this lack of state control of violence:

> The usual violence of landowners, with their private armies, which have earned them the title of 'coroneis', later with their henchmen and gunmen, also acting in the cities to kill their enemies, prevented the fruition the monopoly of state violence by the State, even in the twentieth century. Today, the facility to informally or illegally obtain firearms has greatly increased. [...] With the increase in crime and fear, the situation worsened further with the proliferation of death squads and vigilantes, private security companies, which made this State absence even more clear and persistent than a few decades ago. (Zaluar, 2014, p. 43)

Gago, an Argentinian sociologist, when analyzing neoliberalism in Latin America, reminds how important was the role played by the dictatorships during the 1970s for the implementation of structural reforms in tune with neoliberal global trends. This sociologist describes state violence as "a massacre of the popular insurgency" (2015, p. 21). Those historical signposts are essential for understanding the roots of police violence, which is analyzed in the context of pixação in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Certainly, as Koonings & Kruijt (2007) suggest, the problem of urban violence in Latin America is way too complex and requires a careful and accurate analysis that includes these macro issues.

Nevertheless, it is this very complexity that demands a more precise meso- analysis of violence in São Paulo, which is the field of the present research and the micro-analytical details of which directly influence how pixadores experience urban violence. In a recent analysis on the decline of homicides in São Paulo (since 2005, the homicide rates decreased more than 44%), Willis questions theories that seek support in 'almost everything' to explain the dramatic declines of homicidal violence in São Paulo: demographic changes, disarmament, reduction of desegregation, police reinforcement in critical areas. Together with Dias (2011) and (Manso & Dias, 2017), Willis (2015) puts forward the 'PCC thesis', which suggests that the rise of the Primeiro Comando da Capital (First Command of the Capital, PCC)[2], the syndicate of organized crime in São Paulo, plays an important role in the control of violence in São Paulo.

In that sense, theoretical accounts like those of which understand the problem of urban violence in Latin America as a problem derived from the absence or the failure of the state in the realms of public security, might be reviewed:

> The widening of so-called governance voids and the unrule of law is now acknowledged as an important element in the relationship between urban exclusion, insecurity and violence. In many cases, the police and the judiciary are ineffective in dealing with crime and violence, or worse, are among the active protagonists. This failure is partial or selective, however, roughly following a class/colour divide; hence 'state abandonment' might be a more appropriate term. (Koonings & Kruijt, 2007, p. 3)

Effectively, as Latin American critical criminologists have already denounced, is that in fact, the state is heavily intervening in the field of urban violence by criminalizing the popular classes and the more socially vulnerable, and, as Casara (2017) shows, justifying their actions by painting these people as 'undesirable. He argues that

> neoliberal reason leads to a complex regime that is liberal in relation to the holders of political and economic power, the public for which laissez-faire operates, and at the same time seeks to anesthetize a large part of the population with promises of consumption. Meanwhile, for the undesirables, individuals or groups which 'are not worthy' according to the neoliberal reason, [the state] reserves penal measures of control and exclusion, in a kind of punitive paternalism. (2017, p. 16)

Following Casara, this research shows that structural violence in Brazilian cities is not a result of a relative absence of state interventions, but rather is a condition that is actively reproduced by public security policies. In this sense, the so-called 'progressive' government's strategy can be seen as a historical continuation of repressive governing of Brazilian popular classes that began in the colonial period. Recent developments in Latin America and Brazil, beginning with the 2016 impeachment of President Dilma Roussef (Workers Party), support the idea that urban violence in Brazil – and in the specific case of this research, police violence – does not follow from a lack of state interventions on public security, but rather the opposite: it certainly heralds a new phase of neoliberal reason in Latin America, and the reformulation of security policies thus need further observation and research. In that sense, also taking into consideration the 'PCC thesis' and its influence on the decrease of urban violence in São Paulo, the interwoven processes of criminalization and urban violence are crucial elements of the analysis of pixação and police violence and will be elaborated in Chapter Six.

In short, for a criminological analysis of pixação, the subculture must be analyzed not only as a group of individuals who commit crime, but also how the members of this group, indeed one of the group's defining characteristics, act in response to the ways they are affected by urban violence. These dynamics necessarily extend to questions of ethnicity, gender, social class and spatial segregation influence, especially in the context of victimization at the hands of the police.

3.1.2 Criminalization of popular classes

The current debate concerning the struggles over the production of urban space, the culture of the periphery, urban violence and social exclusion is straightforwardly connected to criminal and social policies that historically have been produced and maintained social segregation through the criminalization of vulnerable classes and the censorship of popular culture. This is what Latin American critical criminologists, influenced by labeling theory (V. R. P. de Andrade, 2012; de Carvalho, 2014; Eugenio Raúl Zaffaroni, 1988; Eugenio Raul Zaffaroni & Batista, 2011) describe as the 'selectivity of the criminal system', including high levels of social exclusion, towards vulnerable

2. According to Manso & Dias (2017), "Since its emergence in August 1993, the First Command of the Capital (PCC) has been challenging public security authorities and researchers on the causes of its birth, its strengthening and its role in the world of crime and society in general. During the 1990s and 2000s there was a process of spreading the PCC within the prison system of São Paulo and out of prisons. This process allowed the establishment of a connection between the prison and the 'world of crime', which, from 2006 on, began to cover other states of the federation. In this sense, the massacres that took place in prisons in the North and Northeast in 2016 and in the early days of 2017 were only one of the most visible consequences of the joints and movement that have been taking place in Brazilian prisons, on the borders of the country with the neighbors producing illicit drugs and in the outskirts of urban centers of small, medium and large cities" (2017, p. 29).

classes. This selectivity operates on two levels: the first is through criminal law (primary criminalization), which focuses on protecting the interests and needs of hegemonic classes; the second is the selectivity of the criminal justice system and law enforcement practices (secondary criminalization), which focuses on the suppression and oppression of the socially weak and the excluded masses (J. C. dos Santos, 2008). Zaffaroni and Oliveira assert that there is a purposeful contradiction between the declared principles and the real functioning of the penal system: "it serves to assure, reproduce and even legitimate relations of inequality that characterize our society" (2013). Or, as Baratta (2004, p. 180) puts it: "It is within the lowest social classes that selective function of the criminal system becomes a marginalizing function", creating what can be denoted as the 'criminal population'.

Referring to Wacquant's (2009) account of criminalization of the marginal classes, Monteiro (2017, p. 247) points out that in Brazil a political strategy of imprisonment is been enacted that affects predominantly the urban poor, young males of Afro-Brazilian descent. The socio-economic and ethnic profile of Brazil's prison population clearly is consistent with this assertion (see Justiça Global, 2009b, p. 45ff). Similarly, Lins et al. (2015, p. 32) affirm that the "racial issue is used to maintain a social order based on vengeance" and normalize criminalization by using the media and other actors to convey the impression that "the poor and black are born with the characteristic of being criminals". Even the recent UN Human Rights Council's report on minority issues highlights the "criminalization of Afro-Brazilians" and shows that members of this population are more likely to be stopped by police, to be imprisoned and to receive harsher punishment when convicted (UN-Human Rights Council, 2016, p. 11). Historically, in the story of the creation of this 'criminal population', the transition from the imperial to the Republican period – from a slave economy to a modern (slavelike) labor economy – was a milestone in a continuous process of criminalization and repression of popular culture in Brazil. The Republican period began with the persecution and subsequent appropriation of early cultural manifestations derived from the original African cultures, such as capoeira[3] and samba.

> In Brazilian history the criminalization of popular culture has always been present as a major form of criminalization of the poor. For a long time Capoeira, Brazilian culture produced by slaves from Africa, was a criminal act, defined in the Penal Code. This criminal policy lasted until the early twentieth century. Similarly, the samba, musical genre created by black Brazilians from the synthesis of African musical traditions with influences of Brazilian reality, was permanently haunted by the criminal policy of our country. (Justiça Global, 2009a, p. 9).

Recently, this same type of oppression could be observed against the culture of the urban peripheries' youth, as it is for example the criminalization of (sub)cultural practices like the rolezinho (Soares de Oliveira Sobrinho, 2014), Brazilian funk and, as I will argue in this work, pixação.

3. As Azeredo and Serafim state: "Capoeira was more than just a game, it was a form developed by blacks to defend themselves culturally and physically against the atrocities committed by their owners, given that the only weapon used by them was their body, as opposed to the various devices used by master and slave owners" (Goulart Serafim & Luiz de Azeredo, 2011, p. 9).

At the same time, this process of oppression and criminalization towards the popular black culture was and continues to be a dual one: the demonization of its practices on one hand and, on the other, its glorification as a product of the national cultural heritage (Reis, 1993). Arguably, this historical double process of demonization and glorification of Brazilian popular culture corresponds to the dual process of the criminalization of everyday life and the commodification of transgressions described by Presdee (2000).

According to Reis (1993) the peak of this process was reached in the 1930s and 1940s, when Brazilian intellectual elites started to feel the need to create a national identity based on the appropriation of some black cultural manifestations, but with de-Africanization (desafricanização) of these elements, or through so-called symbolic whitening or the "whitening ideology" (Domingues, 2002).

3.1.3 'Genocidal selectivity': police violence in Brazil's urban peripheries

The way in which this criminalization realizes itself in the second level (secondary criminalization) leads Carvalho to speak of "genocidal selectivity" (Carvalho, 2014, p. 139) of the Brazilian penal system, referring of course to widespread violent and, indeed, lethal police practices: "At the two sides of the penal justice system [police practices and execution of penalties], the black youth suffers from the genocidal selectivity of Brazilian penal institutions" (2014, p. 143).

Recent reports of major human rights organizations like Human Rights Watch (2009) and Amnesty International (2015) have accused Brazilian police authorities to regularly commit human rights violations like torture and extra juridical executions. The reports' titles leave no doubt about the severity of the issue: "Lethal force: police violence and public security in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo"; "You Killed My Son: Homicides by military police in the city of Rio de Janeiro". Concordantly, the UN Human Rights Council states:

> The Special Rapporteur was shocked to learn about the levels of violence in Brazil. Regrettably this violence has a clear racial dimension. Of the 56,000 homicides that occur each year, 30,000 victims are between 15 and 29 years old, of which 77 per cent are Afro-Brazilian male youth. What is disconcerting is that a significant number are perpetrated by the State, often through the apparatus of the military police. Research reveals that the number of Afro-Brazilians who have died as the result of police actions in the state of São Paulo is three times greater than that registered for the white population. In Rio de Janeiro, in 2013, nearly 80 per cent of the victims of homicides resulting from police interventions were Afro-Brazilian, of whom 75 per cent were youth between 15 and 29 years of age. In addition to the killings committed by police on duty, it is believed that a large number of deaths are also caused by so-called death squads and militias made up primarily of civil and military police and other agents of the State. (UN-Human Rights Council, 2016, p. 10)

Alves (2014), who conducted an ethnography in the peripheries of São Paulo's Southern Zone and in local detention centers, strikingly conflates the spatialized-racialized character of violent police practices, when calling São Paulo a "black necropolis", where "[...] the persistence of police killing as part of

racialized urban governance [...] makes it clear that the disciplinary regime finds its limits in blackened geographies and in black bodies. Here the necropolitical comes into play as a signifier of the juridical order that renders blacks as outlawed subjects" (2014, p. 326).

Those who have been involved in criminalized activities have often been affected by structural violence; in Brazil, these individuals have also often been impacted by the selectivity of the Brazilian penal system. Thus, I argue, police violence and criminalization have to be considered as preconditions that exist independently from pixação, but to which pixador activities almost constantly refer and to which pixadores position themselves through their practice of pixação. In Chapter Six of this thesis, I will thoroughly analyze this interplay, and argue that the concept of subcultural resistance in Latin America requires incorporation of these issues.

Following Young's (1999a) general proposition that a subculture exists as a dispositive to solve problems shared by a certain group of people, the next section explores theoretical accounts of socio-spatial segregation in São Paulo. This condition is arguably one of the main shared problems of pixadores.

3.2 São Paulo's urban space: Segregation generalized

Another fundamental issue that must be taken into account for the analysis of pixação refers to its relation with power, space and exclusion. In 'Five Spaces of Criminology', Hayward points out the importance of spatial enquiry in criminology and criticizes how reductionist the conceptual analysis of space has been within the criminological field:

> Criminology has all too often taken space for granted, proceeding with an implicit notion of spatiality that approaches the environment simply as a geographic site and not as a product of power relations, cultural and social dynamics, or everyday values and meanings. (2012, p. 441; see also 2004)

The empirical landscape of this work demands particular consideration of urban space as a category of analysis. As shown in Chapter Two, studies on pixação, including the ethnography conducted by Pereira (2010a, 2013a), have stressed the relevance of urban segregation to pixador practices. Following Hayward's critique of the limited notion of the urban space as a pure geometrical set, this section draws on urban geographers' work on the spatial condition of contemporary São Paulo, to lay the foundation for thoroughgoing analysis in Chapter Five.

Urban theorists have provided a body of theory that conceptualizes specific issues as they arise in specific contexts. I will hereafter examine literature that refers explicitly to the specific Paulistan context, focusing on relevant aspects to provide the theoretical means for analysis of pixadores in this very context. A wide range of literature examines the segregated condition of São Paulo's urban space. This section largely builds on work related to the São Paulo School of urban studies. The São Paulo Study Group at São Paulo University has grown to be a reference in the field of critical urban studies, since Milton Santos, widely considered Latin America's most influential urban geographer, published his pioneering study, "Spatial dialectics", on urban economy in cities in the Global South (M. Santos, 1985), for which São Paulo – later framed by Santos (1990b) as the "fragmented corporative metropolis" – can be said to be the main empirical inspiration. While my research does not elaborate further on the spatial condition of São Paulo, it does build on this extensive body of work as it analyzes how fragmentation, verticalization and "generalized segregation" (Ribeiro, 2015, p. 175) manifest themselves in the city's social life. By considering these urban scholars' works on the concrete context of this study, I seek to address cultural criminology's lack of attentiveness to spatial issues as assessed by Hayward (2012).

3.2.1 Verticalization

The urban landscape of São Paulo as we experience it today is, in large part, the result of its rapid expansion during the 20th century, notably from the 1950s to the 1980s, when industrial jobs lured more than three million people to the metropolis (São Paulo Council Hall, 2007). According to the most recent census[4], São Paulo's central area reached a population of approximately 11.9 million inhabitants in 2014. When its metropolitan region is included, the number of inhabitants almost doubles to 19.6 million, making São Paulo the third biggest city in the world (de Souza, 2004).

Urban theorists understand the phenomenon of verticalization – the fast growth of inner city apartment high-rise buildings that shapes the Paulistan experience today – as revealing the ways in which capital interests produce and reproduce urban space (de Souza, 2004). To illustrate the dimensions and the velocity of São Paulo's verticalization, Ramires writes that Oscar Niemeyer's "Copan Building, built in the 50s, appears in the Guinness Book as the largest residential building of Latin America, with 32 stories, 1160 apartments and more the 5 thousand inhabitants" (Ramires, 1998, p. 97). Today, the Copan in São Paulo's city center seems small in comparison with the buildings surrounding it.

According to qualitative and quantitative research conducted by de Souza on the verticalization of São Paulo from 1920 to 2011, currently there are around 27,000 verticalized buildings. Different from other cities in the world, the phenomenon of verticalization in Brazil, and more specifically in São Paulo, is related to housing, not to services. Ninety percent of São Paulo's verticalized buildings are dedicated to housing (de Souza, 2004, p. 30).

Furthermore, de Souza states that a considerable and growing proportion of São Paulo's verticalized buildings are integrated in gated community complexes (see also Caldeira, 2001). Although São Paulo's verticalization commenced in the first decades of the 20th century, it boosted only in the late 1960s; according to Caldeira, a combination of federal financing policies for the construction of apartments for the middle classes and the proliferation of the big

4. Data available at IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) official website: https://www.ibge.gov.br. http://cidades.ibge.gov.br/xtras/perfil.php?lang=&codmun=3550308

real estate market since the 1970s underlie this building boom (Caldeira, 2001, p. 225). From 1990 to 2000, the number of apartments grew 35 per cent, from 750,000 to more than one million. Following de Souza (2004, p. 44), the early stage of verticalization in São Paulo, especially in the central area, was directly connected with the cleansing of this area through the expulsion of the working class from the center to the peripheries. Therefore, the process of São Paulo's verticalization had at least two functions: by expelling the working class from the center to outlying areas, it helped to increase real estate speculation and also to attract private investment for the construction of new housing areas. At the same time, it created empty spaces in the center, which enhanced the value of this land and enabled verticalization to take place within the confines of existing infrastructure. (Blay, 1985; de Souza, 2004, p. 45). Hence, this moment gave birth to the urban landscape that has become the canvas of pixação. As I will argue, the expulsion of the popular classes from the city's center by urbanistic enclosure projects since the 1990s became crucial to the development of pixação.

As for the everyday experience of the city's verticalized landscape for Paulistans excluded from these parts of town, it is worth remembering Henri Lefebvre's reflections:

> The arrogant verticality of skyscrapers, and especially of public and state buildings, introduces a phallic or more precisely a phallocratic element into the visual realm; the purpose of this display, of this need to impress, is to convey an impression of authority to each spectator. Verticality and height have ever been the spatial expression of potentially violent power. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 98)

This is the case for São Paulo's verticalization, especially as it is combined with extreme measures of securitized architecture and urban development: electric or barbed wired fences, private security patrols, access-controlled streets and ever more gated communities. Plausibly, pixação spread also as a way to contrast what Lefebvre denotes as a "spatial expression of potentially violent power" (1991, p. 98). As this research discusses pixação in the context of urban violence, it is important to draw attention to urban violence in its entirety and not only to aspects traditionally addressed by criminologists, like street crimes and 'public' fear of crime.

This notion of verticality as an expression of a violent power is arguably part of a set of urban and criminal policies that resulted in the criminalization of the subculture and the very bodies of its practitioners, which also are subjected to urban violence. As the pixação subculture shall be analyzed in detail, it is crucial for this study to consider the ways in which these exclusionary dynamics express themselves in urban policies and how they affect pixadores. For analytic purposes, this question can be separated, at least for the moment, from the question of when, why and how pixadores oppose these exclusionary dynamics or even reproduce them. For this reason, the next section examines spatial segregation and social exclusion in São Paulo.

3.2.2 Spatial segregation and social exclusion

Another important facet of São Paulo to be considered in relation to pixação is its fragmentation. The conception of São Paulo as a "fragmented metropolis" (coined by Santos, 1990b) has been used to explain the struggles in São Paulo's urban space due to issues of poverty, housing and transport, and how these struggles, and the government's response to them, started to affect the mobility of the population in the 1980s, when São Paulo experienced its greatest expansion: "[a]s the poor are taken practically isolated from where they live, we can speak of the existence of a truly fragmented metropolis" (M. Santos, 1990b, p. 89).

When the sociologists of the Chicago School first studied 'the city' in 1925, they believed that spatial segregation was a natural feature of any city. Decades later, influenced by urban ecology, other Chicago scholars understood the city "as a body of customs and traditions" (Park & Burgess, 1968, p. 1) in which segregation of heterogeneous groups into specific urban fragments was understood as a privilege of minorities of the same race, ethnicity or nationality, but also an element of amalgamation of racial rivalries and class differences.

By contrast, since David Harvey published "Social justice and the city," (1988) radical geographers have studied socio-spatial segregation as an intrinsic feature of capitalist urbanization . This label would soon be replaced by 'neoliberal urbanization'. These scholars draw on early historical materialist literature like Engels' seminal "The Condition of the Working Class in England" (1987 [1845]) and "The Housing Question" (Engels, 2016 [1872]), as well as on Henri Lefebvre's works on urban space (2003a) and the "the right to the city" (1996). Urban scholars who succeeded Milton Santos at the University of São Paulo have applied and elaborated these neo-Marxist approaches to the Paulistan context. I will also do so, in Chapter Six.

Vasconcelos et al. (2013) provide a detailed analysis of diverse aspects of socio-spatial segregation in São Paulo. Sposito (2013) discusses center-periphery relations in São Paulo, building on Lefebvre's (2003a) concept of centrality as an essential quality of the urban, she explains how the expulsion of popular classes and especially black youth from central areas (see G. Alves, 2015, p. 148) promoted the creation of alternative (peripheral) centralities and spaces of encounter.

For Vasconcelos, the center-periphery duality does not reflect the complexity of the city's segregated condition. He argues that from capital's perspective, the population living in the peripheries is not segregated, but rather occupies areas that are currently not valuable for the real estate markets (2013, p. 31). Observing that considerable inequality exists not only between but also within neighborhoods, he opposes a metric understanding of center-periphery relation as an 'equality' issue (Ibid., p. 19). Pointing out the "convenient proximity" between the wealthy Morumbi neighborhood and the Paraisópolis favela, Vasconcelos illustrates how this closeness is fundamental to what appears to be a "symbiotic class relationship" where the poor have the facility to reach the wealthy and provide them with services like babysitting, housecleaning or

doormen. Concordantly, Caldeira (2001) identifies three patterns of urban segregation in São Paulo urban space during the twentieth century. First, the "condensed city" describes conditions during the early industrialization period, when "different social groups were packed into a small urban area" and segregation was by housing type. Second, the "center- periphery model" describes conditions from the 1940's to the 1980's, when segregation came to be enforced by the increasingly great distances between communities, with the middle and the upper classes concentrated in the central neighborhoods and the poor were exiled into the most distant peripheries. When the third model, "fortified enclaves", is juxtaposed with the center- periphery pattern, the final form of socio-spatial segregation is understood to be a response to fears of violent crime (generally against property but including violence against persons): "spaces in which different social groups are again closer one to another but are separated by walls and technologies of security, and they tend to not circulate or interact in common areas" (Caldeira, 2001, p. 213). Thus, Caldeira stresses, São Paulo's social reality today resembles perfectly Mike Davis' famous description of Los Angeles:

> We live in 'fortress cities' brutally divided between 'fortified enclaves' of affluent society and places of terror where police battle the criminalized poor. (Davis, 1992, p. 224)

As scholars like Caldeira and Davis have shown, this urbanism is based on 'fear of crime' discourses. Another important perspective – slightly different from Caldeira's understanding of the enclosure model as one in which people are separated only through the walls – is Stavrides' reflection that in such an "archipelago of enclosures" social life is experienced exclusively within these fortified enclaves (Stavrides, 2016, p. 19). Construction of identity and, paradoxically, of privatized "common spaces" happens within enclosed communities, "through the othering of those outside" (Stavrides, 2016, p. 31).

While these studies point out how the language of 'crime' and 'othering' is used to design urban space, there is little work on how the resulting space is perceived and used by criminalized subcultures, or how subcultural practitioners attribute meaning to their spatial practices. By combining cultural criminology's theoretical accounts with the work of urban scholars, I aim to close this circle. During this process, it is essential to refer to Hayward's accounts on cultural criminology and Nikos Papastergiadis' concept of "parafunctional spaces":

> all those corners which lurk at the edge of activity, or in the passages where activity occurs but the relationship between use and place remains unnamed. These are places in which names do not matter because the need for communication or the passage of time spent is already deemed to be insignificant, minimal, empty. (quoted by K. Hayward, 2004, p. 157)

Nevertheless, Hayward's approach to spatial exclusion arguably is way too connected with criminological issues that are experienced more commonly in the context of Northern American and European metropolises, where the urbanization process was strongly influenced by architectonic modernism. In the specific case of São Paulo, the places in which "names do not matter and

are deemed to be insignificant, minimal and empty" (2004, p. 157) are generally those occupied by the poor and coincide with those places most pixadores come from. In that sense, the concept of parafunctional spaces, as a way to subvert or resist to spatial segregation within pixação, would only enhance our explanation if it is applied in the opposite way: pixadores, instead of looking for hidden, forgotten places, favor the use of spaces with greater visibility.

Building on the young Marx', Lefebvre and the Situationists'[5] writings, the São Paulo school of urban studies has also investigated the alienating effect of what, with reference to Henri Lefebvre, they framed as "generalized segregation" (Ribeiro, 2015, p. 175; Vasconcelos et al., 2013). They stress that segregation and social exclusion in urban contexts does not manifest itself merely as material separation and a lack of physical access to certain spaces. Carlos states that São Paulo's urban space is experienced by its inhabitants as a "space of constraints, interdictions, rules and norms" (Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, 2013, p. 95) in which activity is limited to functions of labor and consumption, while Paulistans function merely as workers and consumers who are deprived of "creative activity, which is constitutive for the human condition"[6] (Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, 2013, p. 96). Following Lefebvre, generalized segregation can be understood as the negation of the "socialization of society" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 157), "generalized segregation: the segregation of all moments of life and activities", this condition turns the city "a social environment of sophisticated exploitation and carefully controlled passivity" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 140).

These theoretical approaches are crucial to this study, as they propose a path toward understanding the complex interplay of inequality, social and spatial exclusion, and the effect that these have on the way a city's inhabitants relate to their city, which in the historic materialist tradition is understood as product of human social activity. Moving towards a theoretical discussion on the relationship between transgression, criminalization and commodification, the next section aims to build a conceptual framework for the discussion of the research sub-question that problematizes the extent to which criminalization and commodification are interwoven processes in the case of pixação.

3.3 Transgressions: From criminalization to commodification

Early cultural criminological accounts on 'crime' and 'transgression' (see Ferrell, Hayward, Morrison, & Presdee, 2004; K. Hayward, 2002; Presdee, 2000) drove its attention to the proximity between these two concepts in order to make a statement against a more orthodox administrative criminology that focused its crime discussions more on aseptic numbers and is more inclined to incorporate positivism and rational choice theory into explanations of the causes of crime.

The idea behind those early interpretations of crime and transgression was first of all to change the lens through which crime and crime control are

5. Situationist International was an international organization of social revolutionaries made up of avant-garde artists, intellectuals, and political theorists. It was founded in 1957 and dissolved in 1972.
6. Carlos clearly draws inspiration from Lefebvre, who writes in "Dialectical Materialism" that "[m]an is creative activity: he produces himself through his activity." (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 136)

perceived, or in Ferrell, Hayward and Young's (2015b) words, to invent a new etiology of crime. Arguably, in order to bring the mundane dimension of crime into the criminological debate, Presdee claimed that almost everyone might, at some point, experience the "enjoyment of doing wrong": "it puts us all in some sense 'in touch' with crime, connecting us to it in an emotional way so that we become acquainted with the emotions of criminal life through our own transgressions" (2000, p. 4).

Presdee (2000) accounts of the proximity between crime and transgression were vital to return to the criminological discussion the premise that crime is not an ontological category; instead, the criminalization of certain conduct occurs because this conduct comes to be understood as a challenge to a certain social order, or to the values of a capitalist society. Presdee uses the example of the theft of private property, which he interprets as an act that "itself presupposes the existence of the social and economic organisation of private property along with the cultural practices that support it. As such, theft is an act that challenges both the economic and social organisation of life and its culture, and so must be criminalised" (Presdee, 2000, p. 18).

Thus, by exploring this interplay between crime, culture, power and transgression, Presdee (2000), together with Ferrell (1995), Hayward (2002), and later J. Young (2007), return the criminological debate to the relationship between crime, transgression and resistance – an approach initiated by Stuart Hall & Jefferson (1976) in their account of subcultural resistance in postwar Great Britain. Presdee (2000) distinguishes transgressive crime from resistant crime, stating that "[...] transgression is an act that breaks through boundaries in order to shock and stand outside of the existing rules, regulations and rhythms of the social world. To resist is both to challenge yet change from within the existing boundaries" (2000, pp. 18–19).

Shortly after Presdee's account of the criminalization of everyday life, transgression and resistance was published, Hayward (2004) directed attention to the contradictory process in which images and imageries of crime and violence becomes commodified and "transgression becomes a desirable consumer choice" in late modernity (2004, p. 169). These early conceptualizations of commodification, transgression and criminalization of everyday life, as well as resistance to these phenomena, are brought into this research in order to help comprehend the extent to which co-optation and domestication of pixação empties or withdraws its transgressive and subversive nature.

This thesis proposes to conceptualize pixação as a subculture that has been and continues to be demonized, criminalized and 'othered' through the media's moral panic discourse in opposition to 'mainstream graffiti' (as conceptualized in Chapter Two). I submit that, on the one hand, a vertical power relationship combines media discourses with criminal and social policies in a way that creates or reinforces a subcultural opposition between graffiti writers and pixadores. On the other hand, I argue, the actual subcultural interrelation between graffiti writers and pixadores is a complex system of conflict and power. Young hints at this argument as he analyzes subculture and diversity in late modernity:

> the emphasis on subculture allows us to note the fashion in which, through relationships of ageism, sexism, racism and classism, some subcultures exert power over others, indeed create problems for others in which the evolving subculture is an attempted solution. (J. Young, 2007, p. 90).

This conceptual approach will be the basis for the analysis and critique of the actual subcultural dynamics of these groups in Chapters Five and Seven, but also gives a direction for the broader theoretical analysis of subcultural resistance in Latin America. The core issue, around which pixação and graffiti subcultures are implicated and actually exert power over each other, is the commodification of street art, graffiti and, more recently, pixação. Hence, this section offers selected conceptual tools that will be used to analyze the complex dynamics between the subcultures and their selective integration in the art market.

3.3.1 Capitalism and the commodification of everything

After having explored the concept of transgression in relation to crime in the light of the cultural criminology theory, I now briefly discuss the theoretical roots of the concept of commodification in order to establish its theoretical relationship with the concepts of crime and transgression, and more specifically with pixação and graffiti.

While analyzing the commodification of violence and the marketing of transgression, Ferrell et al. (2015b) focus their attention on the close relationship between criminality and consumer life, as well as on the potential for capitalism to turn everything into commodities.

Conceptual accounts of commodification and capitalism date back to Rosa Luxemburg's discussion on the contradiction of enlarged reproduction, in which she revealed that the fundamental quality and very basis of the persistence of capitalist mode of production is the need of the market to constantly be expanded into (formerly) non-capitalist spheres, and to be fed by cheap resources created through non-capitalist production (Luxemburg, Hudis, & Anderson, 2004, p. 32). Luxemburg's analysis – written in 1913, one year before the first world war – has to be understood in the context of contemporaneous European imperialism, which aimed to extract cheap primary products and labor. Later neo-Marxist theorists have broadened her argument on the complex ways in which capital appropriates non-capitalist spheres of (immaterial or cultural) production within the society they are based in. 'New imperialism' may include the commodification of the material or creative commons, or of formerly state-administered spheres of economic and social life. In the realm of popular culture, there are still elements that function largely without the mediation of the market mechanism. Harvey stresses that capital might realize its inherent spur for expansion through the "appropriation and co- optation of pre-existing cultural and social achievements [skills, social relations, knowledges, habits of mind, and beliefs] as well as confrontation and supersession" (Harvey, 2003, p. 146).

Harvey describes how cultural production first became subsumed into

capitalist production in the 19th century, when the principle of concurrence into modernist cultural and artistic production was introduced. At that time, only "auratic" (Benjamin, 2008) works of art could gain high market values, as they were sold at monopoly prices to a specialized audience of cultural consumers – the European bourgeoisie. As a result, cultural producers developed an aristocratic, highly arrogant attitude, especially towards popular culture. Even artists or architects who were keen to make their aesthetic products accessible to the popular classes, such as Le Corbusier or Walter Gropius, did not dare to be sensitive to and integrate existing popular everyday aesthetics into their works; instead, their respective aesthetics tended to be imposed from above (Harvey, 1989, p. 22). With the shift from Fordism to flexible accumulation – now largely referred to as neoliberalism – capitalist cultural production began to open itself up to other, popular aesthetics.

This apparent tolerance is in fact indifference. It is not an aesthetic choice, but a mere symptom of the ongoing expansion of the capitalist market through the appropriation of formerly unexploited fields. As Harvey states: "Postmodernism then signals nothing more than a logical extension of the power of the market over the whole range of cultural production" (Harvey, 1989, p. 62). Almost ten years later, Harvey adds: "The shameless commodification and commercialization of everything is, after all, one of the hallmarks of our times" (2002, p. 107).

Since the highest profits can be achieved by building up monopolies, capital tends to find the last unexploited cultural fields. "[C]apital has ways to appropriate and extract surpluses from local differences, local cultural variations and aesthetic meanings of no matter what origin" (Ibid.). As with the qualities of fine, auratic works of art in the 19th century, it is now, in the beginning 21st century, the uniqueness, authenticity, particularity, originality of a cultural product that may ensure monopoly rents on the capital invested in its appropriation. Unsurprisingly, the richest fields of unexploited cultural production are those that have been most intensively segregated from commercial mainstream culture; these fields might even be stigmatized by or openly opposed to this culture.

> It can even support (though cautiously and often nervously) all manner of 'transgressive' cultural practices precisely because this is one way in which to be original, creative and authentic as well as unique. It is within such spaces that all manner of oppositional movements can form even presupposing, as is often the case, that oppositional movements are not already firmly entrenched there. The problem for capital is to find ways to co-opt, subsume, commodify and monetize such cultural differences [...]. (Harvey, 2002, p. 108)

Looking at the potential of the capitalist system to co-opt and turn immaterial, cultural production into commodities, cultural criminologists have focused their attention on the apparent contradiction of a system in which "crime and transgression are now packaged and promoted as cool, fashionable and cultural symbols, with transgression thus emerging as a desirable consumer decision" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 166).

Taking another direction on the expectation that capitalism commodifies

and neuters everything, Ilan remembers that "[t]he embodiment of street culture and the commodification of transgression aside, rap and wider street styles are intertwined with broader processes of criminalisation" (2012, p. 42).

This idea – that even the aesthetics or symbols of a given subculture are commodified, the subculture's members may continue to be perceived by authorities as criminals – will be a major component of the analysis in Chapter Eight. More generally, that chapter will develop the discussion on the interconnections between the concomitant processes of commodification and criminalization of transgression, specifically in the context of the incipient commodification of pixação. In order to connect the analysis of this new development of pixação with already existing criminological debates on the commodification of graffiti, the next sub-section introduces some current theoretical accounts on the theme.

3.3.3 Commodification of transgression and 'the death of urban graffiti'

Merrill discusses the loss of authenticity – "keepin' it real" – implied in the process of integration of graffiti and street art subcultural practices into formal market structures:

> [C]ommodification of subcultural graffiti and street art within the heritage industry would represent a deepening of these market-orientated pressures and the further erosion of subcultural graffiti's original anti-commercialist remit. The threats of assimilation and 'erasure via misrepresentation' will likely lead to increasing claims of authenticity in order to protect and distinguish the subculture from inauthentic expressions. (Merrill, 2015, p. 383)

Accordingly, McLeod (1999) discusses the politics of authenticity in the commodification process of the African American Hip Hop subculture. Bengtsen goes even further, stressing that engagement with commercial art markets had led street art to completely lose its meaning. "[S]treet art must remain practically separate from the public art machine in order to retain its unsanctioned nature" (Bengtsen, 2013, p. 79). McGaw applies the Situationist notion of recuperation to his conception of the commodification of graffiti subculture as a "counter response by forces of capital to neutralize social revolt" (2008, p. 223). This happens most clearly, she argues, in the appropriation of graffiti and street art aesthetics by the fashion industry. Yet, she notes, while the Situationists were determined to resist recuperation through further acts of détournement[7], the graffiti writers that she interrogates are rather keen to capitalize on the commodification of their subculture.

Regarding private and public actors' engagement in the promotion and protection of (certain pieces of) graffiti, Dovey, Wollan and Woodcock emphasize that this work should be understood as "embodied 'desires', 'pleasures' and 'capacities' of the writers" (2012, p. 23). As such, they stress that "nothing will kill graffiti more effectively than promotion and preservation," as it cannot be

7. For the Situationist conception of "détournement", see the original texts "Détournement as Negation and Prelude" and "A User's Guide to Détournement", published in Knabb's (2007) anthology.

"fully defined or preserved without becoming purified and killed" (2012, p. 40). Alvelos applies the same drastic words when announcing "the death of urban graffiti" (2004, p. 184), which he argues is a result of the massive use of graffiti aesthetics by the advertising industry. He stresses that graffiti aesthetics mediate the desire for resistance through fabricated transgression (2004, p. 191).

These perspectives comprise the 'competing' argument that my work challenges. Their expectation is that commodification reduces the incentive for pixadores to pursue their criminal art will decline. I do not seek to measure this incentive, but evidence presented in Chapters Seven and Eight will show clearly that pixadores continue to practice their art and other criminalized aspects of their subculture. Sometimes this is due to opportunities provided by commodification; other times it is despite this neoliberal trend.

While, as Droney (2010) argues, the commodification of criminalized subcultural practices as street art took place seamlessly due to its aesthetic suitability, it is exactly their nonconformist aesthetics that make other visual interventions interesting for commodification processes. Following this argument, the next section situates the debate on subcultures and resistance – with special focus on graffiti – on a cultural criminological perspective.

3.4 Cultural criminology, subculture and resistance

Most theoretical approaches share the idea that subculture is generally related to the notion of disruption and struggle against a hegemonic or dominating culture (see Hebdige, 1988). The concept of criminal subcultures first arose among American and British scholars who mainly focused on young, white, working-class males whose behavior was perceived to be directed against the hegemonic culture in post-war Fordist societies. With the support of this traditional framework, I retain the conceptualization of subculture as a "culture within a culture, with a set of values, symbols and meanings that is noticeably different from, and often at odds with, that of the rest of society" (O'Brien & Yar, 2008, p. 163). As such, the concept emerged as an attempt to understand the working-class juvenile delinquency not only as an inborn disposition, but rather as something that is learned and created as a reaction against a certain mainstream culture.

The two main influences for cultural criminology studies on criminal subcultures are the American sociology of the Chicago School in the USA and the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham in England. The main differences between these theoretical traditions is the attention given by American scholars to problems related with status, educational achievement and employment, while the British approach on subculture focused more on consumption and lifestyles of working-class youth (Hebdige, 1979; Hall and Jefferson, 1975), including the culture of gangs (Cohen, 1955), the skinheads (Clarke, 1975) and the cultural significance of drug use (Willis, 1975).

From a phenomenological perspective influenced by symbolic

interactionism (see e.g., Jack Katz' account of the sensual dynamics and "Seductions of Crime") cultural criminologists attempt to understand the meanings, values and 'styles' of criminal subcultures as deploying transgressive strategies to cope with the shadowy margins of the Cartesian binary of spatial, social and moral inclusion and exclusion in late modernity . The notion of "subcultural creativity" helps to explain transgressive behavior of the underclass as "not simply a utilitarian affair involving the stealing of money or property for food or drink or drugs", nor as "violence [...] a simple instrument for persuading people to part with their cash" (Young, 2007, p. 54). Coined by Stephen Lyng (2004a, see also 2014) the concepts of "edgework" and "voluntary risk taking" break with the rationalist and modern paradigm of free will or new positivist theories that explain crime and mechanisms of transgression from a simplistic perspective of cause and consequences.

Among the diverse subcultures studied by cultural criminologists, works on graffiti subcultures are of particular interest. Even though pixação subculture has several unique features that clearly distinguish it from graffiti subcultures beyond the Brazilian context (see Chapter Two), it shares other characteristics with other criminalized subcultures. The following section will briefly outline the existing debates on graffiti from a cultural criminological perspective.

3.4.1 Graffiti and subcultural resistance

Several criminological works have examined graffiti subculture. In "Crimes of Style", a milestone ethnographic work on graffiti writing, Ferrell reveals the importance of the "immediate interactional dynamic through which criminals construct crime" (Ferrell, 1996, p. 166). He directs attention particularly to stylistic subcultural elements such as the spray can brand, letter design and collective dynamics. Ferrell's concepts of "aesthetics of authority" and its oppositional idea of "illicit creativity", which can be understood in the frame of an "anarchist criminology" (see Ferrell, 1998), are especially well-suited for the present research.

Another vital study regarding the discussion of graffiti and visual urban interventions in the context of law, images and crime is Alison Young's (2014) analysis on how graffiti writers and street artists generally perceive the function of the urban landscape as a public domain "in which groups of individuals congregate (open squares, piazzas, plazas, malls, train stations) or pass through (streets, laneways, underpasses, train lines, bridges, tunnels)" (2014, p. 129). Moving beyond dominant dichotomic conceptions of public versus private, art versus crime or illegal versus legal, she proposes the notion of a "public city" based on the coexistence of a "commons of the image, an aesthetically driven cityscape, networks of laws, and a landscape that is materially produced through hierarchies of taste and cultural capital" (A. Young, 2014, p. 3). Young's critique of dichotomic conceptions of "good" and "bad" visual interventions in public space is significant for the analysis in this work on the simplistic opposition between graffiti and pixação constructed in Brazil by criminal law, the media and social

policies (see Chapter Eight).

Also of interest for this study is a piece of ethnographic research through a female gaze conducted by Nancy Macdonald, who observed and participated with graffiti writers in London and New York during the 1990s. In terms of subcultural analysis, she understood it to be crucial to move beyond such traditional perspectives as functionalist anomie (Durkheim), strain theory (early Chicago School) or even Marxist class issues that had influenced the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, UK. Following her own advice, Macdonald (2001, p. 48) explored the subject of masculinity in relation to youth identity, as related to possible motivations of male youngsters to engage in the graffiti subculture.

Another relevant study on graffiti as a subcultural career was conducted by Snyder, who worked with graffiti writers in New York City. While exploring the foundations of subcultural graffiti careers, he concludes that "[w]hile membership in the subculture requires proficiency in the form, the subculture career extends beyond expertise in the form itself" (G. J. Snyder, 2011, p. 171). In other words, one path to a successful graffiti career demands the ability of its practitioners to transform their criminal experience into something socially accepted and economically exploitable. Snyder's analysis of graffiti as subcultural career is related to several important issues for this research. These will be carefully analyzed with reference to my ethnographic material in Chapter Eight, where I will examine the commodification of transgression itself (see Alvelos, 2004; Ferrell et al., 2015a), as well as the effects of this process on the subcultural dynamics of graffiti and pixação subcultures will.

Kramer (2010, p. 210) investigates policy reactions to graffiti in New York City in the light of moral panics (see Cohen, 2002; Young, 2009). Correspondingly, Schierz (2015) shows how "governing graffiti, NYC Style" was central to the formation of Broken Window discourses and the emergence of the Zero Tolerance strategies that were exported from New York City to other urban contexts around the globe.

This brief and specific theoretical discussion on graffiti as a subcultural activity helps to build a foundation for a discussion of pixação as a Latin American subculture that goes beyond to its simplistic opposition to Brazilian mainstream graffiti, and even farther beyond the essentialist and reified assumptions that locate the subject matter only in the perspective of legal/illegal, authorized/non-authorized, good/evil, crime/art, dirt/clean.

3.4.2 'Shared Problems': analyzing pixação subculture in its specific social and cultural context

> [G]lobal capitalism must be confronted as the deep dynamic from which spring many of the ugliest examples of contemporary criminality. Tracing a particularly expansionist trajectory these days, late modern capitalism continues to contaminate one community after another, shaping social life into a series of predatory encounters and saturating everyday existence with criminogenic expectations of material convenience. All along this global trajectory, collectivities are converted into markets, people into consumers, and experiences and emotions into products. So steady is this seepage of capitalism into social life, so pervasive are its crimes—both corporate and interpersonal—that they now seem to pervade most every situation. (Ferrell et al., 2015a, p. 14)

Even though the phenomenon here analyzed – pixação – would hardly pass sober examination as one of "the ugliest examples of contemporary criminality", this quote from one of the cultural criminology's standard references reflects perfectly my commitment to analyze pixação in its broader social context. As pixação subculture is to be understood as pixadores search for "meaningful solution[s] to some shared problems" (A. Cohen, 1955, p.39), this chapter outlines academic literature on the four main issues that contemporary pixação in São Paulo interrelates and interacts with: socio-spatial segregation, structural violence, subcultural or political resistance, and the commodification of popular culture and transgressions. Going beyond's Cohen ideas that these shared problems would be collectively solved through abnormal, delinquent or deviant behaviours, I argue that pixadores solutions for these shared problems are instead criminalized.

Thus, the theoretical choice to work with the concept of subculture anticipates what is to be discussed in Chapters Five to Eight: pixadores constitute an hermetic group of people, mainly men from the peripheries of São Paulo, who share moral values, social practices, codes, argots and jargons that could be only comprehended by those who are part of this group. These "subcultural dynamics" (Ferrell, 1996, p. 49) can be identified in the analysis of the "rolês", "meeting points" and "folhinhas" in Chapter Five. In Chapter Seven I go further and show how pixadores have been transforming these subcultural dynamics in subversive political tools to overcome their shared problems. Following Jock Young's (2007, p. 31) notion that "subcultural is a variation in accentuation of core values rather then a deficit or difference in value", pixadores subcultural dynamics are here analysed as creative strategies for the appropriation of the urban space and tools for political action.

Sticking to Hayward and Schuilenburg's (Hayward & Schuilenburg, 2014, p. 23) recognition that prudent criminological debate around the concept of subcultural resistance should consider specific regional and local conditions, the comprehensive examination of these key factors are crucial to develop an understanding of pixação as subcultural resistance to structural violence in São Paulo. To adequately address these issues, I draw on theoretical accounts not only from criminological debates, but also from related disciplines like urban studies and sociology to appropriately approach the complex set of social processes that pixação interrelates with. Considering especially scholars who developed their theories with reference to the Latin American experience, I contribute to an overdue surmounting of Eurocentric perspectives in cultural criminology theory formation.

3.4.3 Resistance as a conceptual variable

The concept of resistance has been passionately debated by cultural criminologists during the last years. Early cultural criminological accounts

on resistance were more oriented toward crime, space and micro-forms of resistance in the everyday life. The great deal of attention given to the culture of everyday life worked as a way to denunciate and criticize the expansion of dministrative/orthodox criminology in the early twentieth century, especially in the Global North. In this vein, Presdee insistently focused attention on the need for criminology to reinvent the theoretical assumptions about resistance through an analysis of culture and the aesthetics of crime, "alongside notions of pleasure, desire and consumption" (Presdee, 2000, p. 162). For Young, analyzing "the grotesquely unequal society" [...], "resistance is always there" (2007, p. 77).

Hayward, as introduced in subsection 3.2.2, drawing on Nikos Papastergiadis' parafunctional spaces and de Certeau's micro-cultural practices of cultural resistance, suggests that "[i]f resistance is always resistance to change, there is no way of understanding our urban futures" (Hayward, 2004, p. 160). Further, Hayward emphasizes how cultural criminology was "already present within these exclusionary/parafunctional spaces", using the very example of graffiti and skateboarding as "triumphant resistance through redeployment" in urban space (Ibid.).

Ten years later, Hayward and Schuilenburg regretted that, while the term resistance seems to be fashionable and applied unhesitatingly in recent academic and public media discourses, it suffers from a "palpable lack of definitional consensus" (Hayward & Schuilenburg, 2014, p. 22). Regarding the criminological debate, they problematize cultural criminological approaches that tend to see resistance everywhere (2014, p. 23).

Another frequent critique regards the assumed "romantization of criminals" and claims to see "authentic resistance" (O'Brien, 2005) in all kinds of moot transgressive behavior (Steve Hall & Winlow, 2007). Campbell, in a more nuanced formulation, suggests the need to take into account the embeddedness of criminological spaces "within a more variegated and heterogeneous political field" (2013, p. 20).

However, even one of the early writings on cultural criminology warned against the risk of normalization of resistance, especially for those who investigate issues related to street and youth culture, as I do. This warning was issued by Ferrell in the context of his analysis of the relationship between graffiti, power and resistance. Ferrell suggests that "we can avoid romanticizing resistance by carefully situating our research on resistance inside the particular experiences of everyday life"(1995, p. 76).

Recently, Hayward recognized a "tendency [within cultural criminology] to over ascribe political resistance to a range of cultural forms" (2016, p. 305). To resolve this grievance, he calls for a more structured and precisely defined application of the term, 'resistance'. So, as Raby (2005) queries: "What is resistance?" and more precisely in the framework of this study, what can be considered resistance within the specific contextual features where pixação arises?

Hollander and Einwohner emphasize the importance of resistance as a sociological concept that involves issues such as "power and control, inequality

and difference and social context and interaction" (2004, p. 551). They propose a typology of resistance that identifies two core elements: opposition and action. Furthermore, they propose to consider the intention of the actor and whether the relevant practice is recognized as resistance by the targets of the acts and by third-party observers. Williams (2013, p. 87ff) recommends a multidimensional typology that facilitates the categorization of resistance along three axes: passive–active; micro–marco; and overt–covert.

Williams stresses that "most researchers agree that resistance's core elements include opposition and action, and yet continuously disagree about whether resistance must be intentional and / or recognized" (2013, p. 93). It is in this sense that I will apply differentiated terms for practices that differ in their positioning on the active–passive and overt–covert axeses. At any rate, I will stick to Hayward and Schuilenburg's appealing proposal to conceive of "resistance as a positive or 'creative force', rather than simply a negative counter-reaction against cultural, social or economical power relations" (2014, p. 22). Or as Heckert (2005, p. 42) puts it: "breaking rules for the sake of breaking rules is merely transgressive. Breaking rules to produce new realities is prefigurative."

3.4.4 Resistance as praxis

In concordance with the theoretical debates introduced above, and to conceptualize issues that will be crucial to the analysis in Chapters Five and Six – "generalized segregation" of urban space; structural violence and "genocidal selectivity" of the Brazilian penal system – this section continues now to discuss some concepts of resistant practices that help to make sense of pixador praxis in and in interaction with the above-delineated contexts. Cultural criminology debates on subcultural resistance offer a variety of conceptual tools apt to analyze pixação subculture, including risk taking, edgework, embodiment, subcultural creativity, phenomenological accounts on style and meaning, and more (see Ferrell, 2008). By combining these with concepts widely discussed in neighboring disciplines, I seek to enrich criminological debates and enrich the theories, which were developed on Global North subcultures' experiences, by drawing on a variety theoretical accounts that also draw on Latin American urban contexts.

Williams affirms that subcultures and social movements around the world share several features in common (2013, p. 165). Political struggles and social movements in Latin America have attracted considerable interest among researchers worldwide, especially since the middle of the 20th century. This attention intensified during the period of so called "re-democratization" in the 1980s, the rise of new social movements and the assumption of power of the "New Left" in many Latin American countries around the turn of the century (see Ellner, 2014; Sader, 2011; Webber & Carr, 2012). For Brazil, the trope of the resistant social movement returned Latin America to a position of global relevance, specifically in June 2013, when up to 2,5 million people joined in huge manifestations on the streets of Brazilian cities. These protests have been

discussed widely within the urban social movements literature (see Avelar, 2017; Pinto, 2017; Singer, 2014). As Uruguayan political theorist Raúl Zibechi states, the strongest Latin American social movements in the early 21st century stem from rban peripheries;as a consequence, controlling the urban poor has become a primal goal of governments and capital interests (Zibechi, 2012, p. 190). As some pixadores have recently made appearances with leaders of organized and explicitly urban social movements, this section brings a brief overview of literature regarding the relevant aspects of this debate.

Mayer (2010) points out that, while social struggles on specifically urban issues have always existed, commentators first identified urban social movements as such in the 1960s. In the following decades, the works of neo-Marxists like Manuel Castells (1977, 1983) and Henri Lefebvre (1996, 2003a) built the theoretical bases for empirical research on urban social movements, which they understood to be collective actors that mobilize to facilitate social and political change concerning the city and its structures and processes. Yet, definitions of urban social movements and criteria regarding relationships to the state, fields of activism, strategic capacities, and so on remain contested.

> The emergence of such new collective actors – out of the lower, indigenous, feminist, and other (post)colonial cultures – is gradually being acknowledged, but still constitutes a significant break both within the world of social movements and that of academic research. One of the reasons for the invisibility of these struggles in research and in the world of social movements arguably lies in the definition of the 'political' underlying activist and research circles. The idea of social movement implies that the state-citizen relationship is inherently 'political in the sense that it is based on competitive and often confrontational claim-making" (Mayer & Boudreau, 2012, p. 283)

Another key question regards the notion of informality, which is partly ignored by urban social movement theory. This is the case especially in postcolonial contexts. Yiftachel regrets a lack of attention paid by critical urban theorists to what he calls the "'gray spaces' of informalities and the emergence of new urban colonial relations [...] recreating subjectivities, which no longer solely orbit the state's central power" (2012, p. 152). These new politics, he argues, are characterized by identities and mobilizations that develop far from the state, thus creating autonomous sources of power that position themselves increasingly as antagonist to the state.

Moreover, Mayer and Boudreau criticize the focus on organized mass mobilization and urge that researchers investigating urban social movements give increased attention to new actors, to "small acts of appropriation and reappropriation of urban space", "forms of self-organization and resistance to the everyday violence" (2012, p. 285). It is through the analysis of these politics of urban daily life, they argue, that we can understand the possibilities and trajectories of an emancipatory urban politics. "[I]ndeed, political action in the city is deeply entrenched into everyday life, which means that it is defined by interdependencies, unpredictability, and nonstrategic actions" and does not necessarily depend on an identified enemy against whom to direct well-defined strategies of resistance. Nor do contemporary urban movements "have a consensual and defined idea of the ideal society for which they are

struggling" (2012, p. 286). "From spontaneous riots to the 'quiet encroachment' and negotiated practices of informality, these struggles are part of the politics of our cities" (2012, p. 288). Thus, resistance, from an urban social movements perspective, can also be conceived as unorganized, diffuse and nonstrategic, which reflects the pixação environment beautifully. Instead of focusing on organized mobilization, they suggest that the very construction of individual and collective political subjectivity should gain special attention in urban social movements research. Urban revolutionary subjectivities, they argue with reference to Toni Negri, (2007, p. 29), are gradually constituted through these collective resistant everyday life practices.

Recently, Motta (2017) emphasized that social movements in Latin America have proven their potential inasmuch as they include subaltern, invisible and other subjects that have been "excluded by capitalist-coloniality" into their new emancipatory subjectivities. "These new political subjects develop social relations which disrupt the power of capital in their everyday lives through practices which reconnect people and communities with their creative capacities and each other" (2017, p. 5).

This approach to understanding the formation of resistant subjects in the Latin American context is strongly influenced by liberation pedagogy theorists like Paulo Freire, who stresses the importance of praxis and the collectively lived experience of the oppressed as a means through which subjects would form what he calls a "critical consciousness" (2000, p. 35, see 2005). Thus, for Freire it is through the creation of emancipative subjects, armed with knowledge rooted in their concrete everyday lived context, that social movements would be able to speak out, act, "create and re-create [...] to transform the world" (2000, p. 48). The telling of 'other' stories, the articulation of 'other' knowledges, ways of life and resistances, Motta (2017, p. 6) suggests, is crucial to this emancipatory process envisaged by Latin American social movements theorists.

As this research investigates the resistant character of subcultural practices profoundly embedded in the specific context of subaltern populations in Latin American cities, these approaches on the formation of emancipatory subjectivities are extremely relevant to a reconceptualization of subcultural resistance in the Latin American context. This becomes even more vital when the special historic context of large-scale protest in Brazilian cities 2013–2014 that coincided with fieldwork. Thus, Chapter Seven of this thesis examines these very "continuities between everyday life and protest action" (Mayer & Boudreau, 2012, p. 283) that pixadores are involved in.

3.6 Conclusion

Building on Chapter Two's review of existing scientific literature on pixação, this chapter engaged with relevant theoretical debates from which this thesis will develop the conceptual means to analyze the subcultural dynamics of pixação. Thus, in order to answer the main research question proposed in this

work and analyze the specificities of pixação subculture, special attention has been paid to concepts of direct relevance to the Paulistan context, including aspects identified as relevant for understanding pixação or that otherwise revealed themselves as crucial during the fieldwork stage.

I have chosen not to consider space as a conceptual variable in this chapter. Nonetheless, the analysis in Chapter Five will include focus on the spatial condition of the pixador context. This can be done adequately, I argue, only with direct reference to the specific theoretical debates and conceptual toolbox developed in and for the urban context of São Paulo, as discussed in Section 3.2 above.

Chapter Six combines Latin American critical criminology's insights and other social sciences' engagement with structural violence to discuss a key issue that pixadores deal with in their everyday lives and subcultural practices. Cultural criminology's theoretical debates alone do not provide the necessary means to adequately discuss the issue. Thus, I argue, cultural criminologists ought to take a rather accepting stance towards theoretical approaches that address issues which correlate with their objects of study. It is through this theoretical adaptability that cultural criminology can do justice to its claim of culturally sensible criminological research in the variety of local contexts in which it may be applied around the globe.

The discussion on commodification developed in Chapter Eight will focus on the question of the extent that practitioners of pixação subculture are capable of appropriating themselves, or allowing themselves to be appropriated, in the process of commodification. As this discussion builds on a specific Brazilian context of extreme inequality, the findings contribute new aspects that will enrich the theoretical canon, as outlined in Section 3.3.

By analyzing the specific case of pixação in São Paulo with reference to these theoretical discussions, this work seeks to fill the blank fields of scholars' engagement with pixação (as identified in Chapter Two) and contribute new perspectives to the scientific analysis the subculture. Furthermore, I hope to enrich the referred theoretical debates, by applying subcultural theory to a specific empirical field that lies outside its traditional focus. It thus envisages the development of a theory of subcultural resistance, suitable to be discussed on Latin American contexts.

Charpter
04

METHODOLOGY: ETHONOGRPAHIC RESEARCH WITHIN PIXADOR SUBCULTURE

> Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript–foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious mediations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour. (Geertz, 1973, p. 10)

The Chicago School first introduced the subcultural ethnographic approach in the 1920s and 1930s as a research method in their study of deviance and the urban landscape. Through ethnography, Ernest Burgess, Robert Park, William Thomas, George Mead, Albion W. Small and others "created a vibrant and flexible theory of everyday life that undergirded the Chicago ethnographic school (Deegan, 2001, p. 19). Later, Chicago School II studies such as Becker's (1963) Outsiders and Cohen's (1955) Delinquent Boys strongly influenced the ethnographic methods used by cultural criminologists, who use this form of participatory criminological fieldwork as a way of better understanding crime's "situational meanings and emotions – its moments of pleasure and pain, its emergent logic and excitement – within the larger process of research", also referred to as criminological verstehen (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998). Hayward suggests that Ferrell's study set the tone not just for CC generally, but for a certain style of edgy criminological ethnography in particular (2016, p. 306). Nevertheless, a series of cultural criminology studies in Dublin (Ilan, 2015), New York City (Brotherton, 2015) and the Dutch school of cultural criminology (represented, for example, in the works of Frank Bovenkerk, Damián Zaitch, Dina Siegel, Tim Boekhout van Solinge and others).

Another important contribution of cultural criminology is the reconfiguration of the notion of the 'field', that is, where research is conducted. Because of its compressed, fragmented and multi-sited characteristics, the field must be reshaped and adapted in response to changes to the liquid patterns (Ferrell et al., 2015b) and instabilities of late modernity, a concept known as 'liquid ethnography':

> Liquid ethnography is the ethnography of populations cut loose from stabilities of time and space through global immigration, short-term employment, and virtual communications; it is ethnography attuned less to durable affiliations than to transitory allegiances. Further, liquid ethnography flows with the shifting interplay of images in media-saturated environments, and with the interplay of ethnographer, ethnographic subjects, and social activism that animates the best of field research (Ferrell, 2009, p. 15)

As the present study focuses on a subculture in the urban landscape – more specifically, on the lives of pixadores and their multidimensional interventions in the urban space – ethnography provided me with a better opportunity to understand the subcultural values of pixadores from a micro perspective that focused for example on their lifestyle, codes of conduct, argots and slangs. In addition, ethnography enabled me to better comprehend relationship between the pixador subculture and broad macro-perspective issues such as socio-spatial segregation, police violence and the concomitant process of the criminalization and commodification of pixação.

4.1 From research problems to research questions

The present study was prompted by an early concern for the criminalization of pixação and the parallel commodification and institutionalization of graffiti in Brazil during the 1990s. In 2012, in the early stage of this study, I focused on the commodification of Brazilian graffiti and the criminalization of pixação. However, I quickly came to understand that Brazilian graffiti's association with notions of art is perhaps unique in the world, as is deeply explored in Chapter Eight of this thesis. And, although pixação remained criminalized in Brazil, it also began to experience rapid co-optation and commodification, both by the market (the art market, fashion industry and advertisement, for example) and by graffiti artists who associated their own 'artwork' with the calligraphy of pixação. Accordingly, the unique relevance of the present study lies in its criminological approach of pixação subculture, inasmuch as it aims to understand how pixadores experience and perceive the relationship between pixação's criminalization and the specific challenges they are confronted with in their social and cultural contexts. More specifically, the present study examines the extent to which these perceptions and experiences are transformed into practices of resistance as a response to these very challenges.

4.2 Research design

As the present study aims to analyze pixação in its social and cultural context, ethnography was chosen as a method, because it enables presentation of "a lived portrait of the most varied aspects of culture" (Ferrell et al., 2015b) as well as a deeper understanding of the differences between pixadores and graffiti artists, that is, how pixadores confront socio-spatial segregation, police violence and the commodification of pixação. The present study is also a liquid ethnography, as it involves numerous sites (Falzon, 2009; Marcus, 1995). Indeed, owing to the mobile nature of the pixação movement and culture, which is found not only in Sao Paolo but across Brazil, the expansion of my field site allowed me to explore different social policy approaches in cities such as Porto Alegre, Curitiba and Belo Horizonte – cities where there were high levels of repression against pixação through institutional programs. I was even able to 'follow' pixadores to countries such as England, Spain and Germany, for example.

In order to gain an understanding of the concomitant commodification and criminalization of graffiti and pixação, I split my fieldwork into two phases (which merged at some points). Because pixação is a hermetic subculture, more time was needed to gain access. I thus started fieldwork with pixadores in September 2013, and began to approach graffiti artists in January 2014. Overall, the fieldwork phase was conducted over a period 10 months, lasting from September 2013 to June 2014. In October 2013 I began my fieldwork in São Paulo, regularly visiting pixadores Meeting Point in the city center. A key informant whom I first began to contact (through emails and Facebook) in late 2012 first took me to this Meeting Point, which turned out to be the principal

place for all of my fieldwork activities, (as described in section 4.4.1 of this chapter).

4.3 Data collection methods

According to Brazilian anthropologist Uriarte (2012), "the field work does not provide [the] data, but [with] information that we usually call data." In other words, the ethnographer does not collect data, but rather, through a reflective process, transforms facts and life experiences into data. This section thus details methodological strategies I employed both to understand the life experiences of pixadores and to transform these experiences into material that could be interpreted in the present study as well as reinterpreted by future scholars.

4.3.1 Preliminary fieldwork: approaching pixadores

Before commencing fieldwork, I engaged in a period of networking with gatekeepers and potential informants, primarily through Facebook private messages. I was always careful to identify myself first as a PhD researcher, after which I explained the aims of my research. During these introductory conversations, I also asked for and was provided with participant consent to engaging in this study. This work took place from the end of 2012 until August 2013. In later research phases as well, Facebook served as a key tool for arranging interviews, meetings and informal chats.

Figure 13: young pixadores signing and trading signatures in their classic leaflets (folhinhas). photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

Figure 14: booklet from the seminar and crafts produced by pixadores, such as t- shirts and DVDs. photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

My first contact with pixadores occurred on the 6th and 7th June 2013 (after a few days, I went back to Amsterdam; fieldwork effectively commenced in September 2013): I flew from Amsterdam to Salvador (Northeast Brazil) to attend the first academic conference wherein scholars and pixadores shared roundtables and gave presentations on pixação. The seminar brought together researchers and pixadores from different regions of Brazil, and provided me with an opportunity to meet and chat with four pixadores who are considered 'kings' (the graffiti argot to designate famous and important graffiti writes) in their hometowns: WasteOm, RiskyRap, Gummy and Grand Father. These kings would become important informants, as well as openers of gates to other pixadores.

The seminar "Derivas e Memórias Contemporâneas na Pixação" was a remarkable inasmuch as it was the first time researchers and pixadores were able to share their experiences of both their art and their culture in an academic setting. The seminar not only enabled me to exchange ideas with others whose research includes pixadores, but also allowed me to become better acquainted with Grand Father and Gum, thus setting the foundation for my fieldwork in São Paulo and Belo Horizonte. On the last day of the seminar, Grand Father and Gummy invited me to a barbecue. Some of the pixadores remained in Salvador, including Grand Father and Gummy, who spent time conveying their stories about how they came to become involved with pixação. We also exchanged some ideas about the convergence of pixação and academia. The next day I returned to Europe; then, in September 2013, I commenced my fieldwork.

One of the greatest benefits of ethnographical research is the possibility to observe the dynamics of social and cultural processes as they take place over time and not only on a limited time frame. Despite the formal dates of filedwork of this research have occurred from September 2013 until June 2014, my study of pixadores subculture have started in 2008, when a young pixadora was jailed for almost two months after the famous pixação attack against the São Paulo Bienal Art (to be detailed discussed in Chapter Eight). Since that time until the begginging of fieldwork in São Paulo I have collected media reports about pixação, the incipent literature review on the subject and informally talked to pixadores and people connected with the subculture. Importantly also to mention is that even with the official end of the fieldwork in 2014, I kept in constant contact with many pixadores and pixadoras.

4.4 Participant observation

4.4.1 Setting and context of the fieldwork

The early stages of participant observation can often be the most difficult (see Becker & Geer, 2004; Katz, 2001); nevertheless, I began to realize that engaging in participant observation would be the most efficient and reliable method for gaining material that would facilitate an assessment of the values, codes and ways of interaction of pixadores. During the initial stage of participant observation, my role was restricted to conversations with pixadores while

attending their meetings, both in São Paulo's city center and on its periphery, for example, Osasco and São Paulo's Eastern Zone.

Despite their hermetic nature, pixadores have a tradition of gathering in public spaces – specifically, on the street. By the time the present study was underway, the main Meeting Point of pixadores was in a narrow alley that intersected São Paulo's famous São João Avenue. This Meeting Point provided a location where pixadores were assembled in order to socialize, to trade signatures and to eventually move through the city to perform pixação. Pixador Meeting Points are generally close to a metro station, which provides easier access, as most of pixadores come from the peripheries of São Paulo. Meeting Points are also often near bars where cheap beer can be purchased.[8]

At pixador Meeting Points ('the Point', as they refer to it[9]), around 300–400 pixadores meet once a week, usually at night. The meeting normally begins around 6:00 pm and lasts until about 1:00 am. After being introduced to the point by a gate keeper/key informant, I began to attend meetings each week on my own. At first, I focused on gathering contacts in order to arrange potential interviews or informal chats away from the point. At the September 2013 Salvador seminar, as well as at my first Meeting Point visit, I observed that pixadores had a practice that consisted of trading signatures on sheets of A4 paper; these were later placed carefully in plastic envelopes in school folders. Based on this observation, I created an A4-sized consent form/research information leaflet which I folded in four; the leaflet provided my name and email address, the names of the universities to which I was connected and a simple statement about the goals of my research. I also included the proviso that, should an individual wish to participate in my research, their participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time. Each time I introduced myself as a researcher to a pixadores, I handed them one of these folded sheets. I found this strategy to be useful for gaining access to several individuals.

Near this Meeting Point were important places, such as the shopping mall Galeria do Rock. The Galeria features stores where spray cans can be purchased; however, according to most of the pixadores I met, these stores were too expensive for their budgets. Across from another Meeting Point was small shopping mall – Galeria Olido – at which a Samba de Gafieira[10] took place every Thursday night. As I arrived in São Paulo in late Springtime of 2013, I would often arrive at a Meeting Point while it was still daytime, which enabled me to observe the changes that occur in the urban scene. As the sun would set, the different shops located in the little alley off of São João Avenue would close their doors for the day; the workers and daytime passers-by of this section of São Paulo would be replaced by Algerian drug dealers, street vendors of stolen goods, and, of course, hundreds of pixadores, who would arrive from work or from their 'hoods.

8. The meeting point is in some way similar to the graffiti 'writers 'bench': a place to gather and to sign their 'black books'. In the pixador subculture, they use these meeting points to trade their signatures and their calligraphies.
9. In the first instance, the pixadores' use the English phrase 'the point' to designate the meeting point; they then typically add the name of location, for example: the point of the center, the point of the Eastern Zone, the point of the Western Zone, etc.
10 Samba de Gafieira (also called Gafieira) is a partner dance to the Brazilian samba musical
rhythms. The word gafieira can also refer to the traditional samba music orchestra, as well as to refer to the dance hall where it is performed. The term gafieira is Brazilian Portuguese slang that means "low dancing resort, gaff, honky-tonk" or "dance festivity frequented by the populace". https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samba_de_Gafieira (Lay out)

When attending meetings at the alley off of São João Avenue, I usually made my way alone from the Republic train station, about a 10-minute walk consisting of four city blocks. This particular area of São Paulo's city center is comprised of a heterogeneous audience: homelessness, workers, street vendors, prostitutes, crack addicts, students, drug dealers, and pixadores. It was rare to see a woman walking alone, even pixadoras always tried to be accompanied. I would thus always attempt to set a time to meet with a pixador just before the official starting time of the meeting. Interestingly, although walking alone at night through the streets of São Paulo caused me to experience some fear, these fears subsided when I arrived at the Meeting Point. For me, the Meeting Point felt like a 'safe' place. There were times when I would arrive there, see a familiar face, and immediately begin to engage with a circle of pixadores. Other times – when no one had yet arrived – I would stay close to the bar, where I could observe the rhythm of the street until someone familiar arrived. The spatial configuration of pixador Meeting Points seems to be haphazard, but, over time, I observed that pixadores often met up in small circles that followed certain implicit patterns related to age, place of residence ('hoods'), and, of course, membership in one of the various crews.

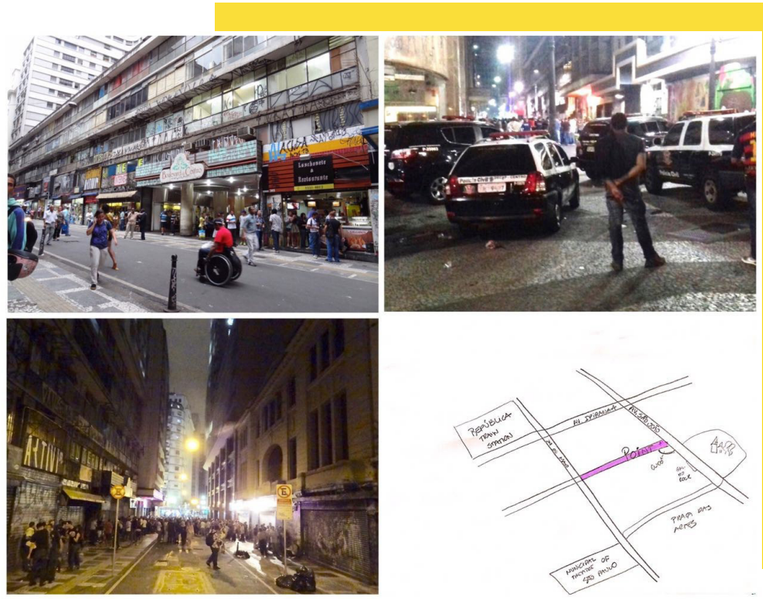


Figure 15: From left to right: the São João Avenue alleyway Meeting Point during the day; the Meeting Point at night (with the alleyway occupied by pixadores; a routine police patrolling. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

At times, there were physical confrontations and conflicts among pixadores. Police street patrols were also frequent; officers sometimes patrolled in their vehicles, forcing the mass of pixadores and other Meeting Point participants up against the sidewalk. The residents of the buildings located on the street of the Meeting Point – especially those closer to the corner where the concentration of pixadores was greater (owing to its proximity to the bar) – would often make it clear that they did not like the massive presence of the pixadores who, by around 9:00 pm, had occupied the entire street and its sidewalks. To show their discontent, residents would sometimes douse pixadores with urine-filled plastic bags thrown from their windows. The atmosphere of the Meeting Point was thus tense, but a certain euphoria also permeated the air.

4.4.2 Gaining access and trust

According to Feldman, Bell, & Berger (2002), research access "is not something that is gained once and for all but a process that can be developed and enriched over time" (2002, p. vii). Thus, research success depends on the capacity of the researcher to develop and preserve relationships with the people who participate in the study. While the main focus of the present study was on the pixador subculture, I was also interested in different perceptions of pixação from the point of view of graffiti artists and policymakers. This was a challenge for me (which I overcame, as I explain below) because I had opted for a completely overt role with pixadores and yet sought also develop and sustain relationships with a range of informants whose view of pixadores sometimes bordered on (or crossed the border of) disdain.

As my priority was to gain access to the pixador subculture, I focused primarily on access to pixadores themselves. To this end, I was a constant presence at the Meeting Points. Again, I always was careful to introduce myself as a researcher. (To avoid any preconceived notions about 'criminology', I usually identified as a sociologist). After about a month of attending meetings at the Meeting Point – all the while employing a 'snowball' method that enabled me to come into contact with more gatekeepers and informants – a few invited me to move around the city with them; this offered me the opportunity to observe several types of activities in addition to their performances of pixação. For example, I attended parties, barbecues, squatting activities and live painting sessions; I also spent time 'hanging out' with pixadores in the city center during the daytime, a time when we would view the 'agendas of pixo'[11]. During these times, I would hear the stories behind each signature. By the end of my first three months I had reached a stage of familiarity and trust with pixadores that some of them began to introduce me (as a researcher) to other pixadores. Snowballing thus seemed to occur organically – helping me to increase my network of informants. There were some limitations, however, which are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

As noted, one of my aims was to understand the views and perceptions

11. 'Agendas of pixo' is an argot that refers to a set of pixação signatures placed on the walls of a specific area of the city.

of authorities and policymakers on pixação and graffiti. Early in my research I began to scope out these potential informants for open interviews: I created a list of authorities responsible for managing social policies related to pixação, including municipal police, military police and municipal youth secretaries; I also created a list of projects that were ongoing at the start of my research, including (among others) '4km Graffiti' and 'Clean City' (both in São Paulo); 'Respect for BH' (Belo Horizonte); 'Anti-Pixação Program' (Curitiba); and a hotline to report pixação (Porto Alegre).

The next section describes the ways in which I made myself present in the field. Also discussed are ethical topics related to the gender and embodiment of the researcher.

4.4.3 Field notes

My constant presence at pixador Meeting Points (and other events) was not the only mechanism for successful access to pixadores, but also the ways I positioned myself in the field. My decision to forego the use any kind of electronic device (e.g., smartphones; video recorders; audio recorders; cameras), allowed me to be entirely attentive and available to engage in conversations, chats and discussions among informants – as well as build trust among them.

Since pixadores always carry paper and pen (to trade signatures), it was not intrusive of me to carry a small notebook in which I regularly jotted brief notes. In fact, there were times when pixadores would ask to sign my notebook, or when I would take the initiative to ask a pixador for his signature. Whenever I felt the need to write more detailed notes, I would excuse myself and go to the toilet of the bar near the Meeting Point. Upon arriving at home after fieldwork, I immediately expounded upon my observations, providing detailed narratives in a Word document on my laptop computer.

4.5 Open interviews

As the present study was my first experience with ethnography (not to mention my first experience conducting research within a male criminalized subculture), I initially planned to conduct semi-structured interviews. My primary reason for wanting to employ this type of data collection rested in my fear of not gaining meaningful access to informants. Thus, during the months prior to commencing fieldwork I created a topic list of sensitizing concepts (Rubin & Rubin, 2012) that would underpin each of my research questions.

In the early stages of fieldwork, I conducted four open interviews with pixadores who were very eager to participate in the research. I realized, though, that these individuals did not speak as openly during the interviews as they had in our informal chats. It was after these four interviews that I began to maintain a constant presence at Meeting Points both in the São Paulo city center, but also at points on the periphery of São Paulo. Such a presence helped me to smoothly and quite effortlessly gain access to pixadores, as well as to build trust with them. In this way, my initial method (that is, open interview) was organically

replaced by participant observation, which, according to Becker and Geer (2004), provided me with

> a situation in which the meanings [of pixadores could] be learned with great precision through [the] study of their use in context, exploration through continuous interviewing of their implications and nuances, and the use of them under the scrutiny of capable speakers of the language. (2004, p. 247).

One remarkable example of this occurred one afternoon in January 2014. I had previously arranged an interview with a pixador named Astronaut at the bar of the São Paulo Meeting Point. The day before the interview, Astronaut asked me if it he could invite some other pixadores; I promptly said "yes." Astronaut was waiting for me when I arrived. A few minutes later, three other pixadores arrived. Astronaut introduced me as a researcher, and the four of them began to engage in a very informal, but detailed discussion on the history and stories of pixação. At that moment, I realized this was not the time and place for a recorder and decided to just take notes.

Becker & Geer also suggest, "participant observation gives us the most complete information about social events and can thus be used as a yardstick to suggest what kinds of data escape us when we use other methods" (2004, p. 251). However, Trow challenges this claim, noting that 'different kinds of

> information about man and society are gathered most fully and economically in different ways, and that the problem under investigation properly dictates the methods of investigation"(2004, p. 250). And so it happened that, while I had planned to conduct open interviews and my initial use of this method helped me to move into the field, once I was welcomed in the field I was able to establish a second method – participant observation – which, I later found to be essential in exposing me to what would become one of the main focuses of this research: police violence against the pixador subculture. Over time, I came to realize that the threat of police violence was omnipresent in the lives of pixadores.

In all, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 pixadores and another four with graffiti artists. I also conducted open interviews with two municipal guards responsible for a program to prevent pixação in Curitiba; with a municipal guard from Porto Alegre; with the coordinator of a municipal program that aims to combat pixadores in Belo Horizonte; and, finally, with the coordinator of the '4km Graffiti' program in São Paulo. In these latter interviews, although I identified myself as a researcher, I placed more emphasis on my legal background and criminology training, thus enabling me to establish trust among these informants on the basis of their preconceived, mistaken notion of what 'criminology' is. Nevertheless, these informants seemed to offer more of officially-prepared responses; for example, they never acknowledge the existence of police violence against pixadores. Each interview was either recorded and transcribed into a Word document, or reconstructed from notes and then transcribed into a Word document.

4.6 Visual methods

Moving away from direct fieldwork with human subjects to mediated symbolic exchange, researchers can also use visual method to understand social relationships discursively through ethnography of images. (David,, 2007). Following the idea that liquid ethnography "flows with the shifting interplay of images in media-saturated environments, and with the interplay of ethnographer, ethnographic subjects" (Ferrell, 2009, p. 15), I developed another important fieldwork method: I would invite a pixador to walk around the city center and then ask him to show and explain 'agendas of pixação' (that is, a wall of pixações signatures) that we encountered. I would eventually bring a camera and ask the pixador to take pictures of these agenda himself, thus enabling him to direct his own gaze at the pixações. It also further enabled me to understand the various life stories that create the foundations of these the images on the walls of the cityscape.

4.7. Data organization and analysis

As previously noted, I took copious field notes while at pixadores' Meeting Points, social activities, graffiti festivals and exhibitions. While transcribing my field notes into Word documents, I added headings, subheadings and text boxes, thus starting the process of openly coding my data according to topics of particular interest (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). It was at this early stage that terms such as 'system', 'hang out', 'vagabond', 'police', 'snitches' (for zé povinho), 'anarchy', "agenda', 'art', 'inequality', 'protest' started to become common themes in the research. It is important to note that all field notes and interviews were first written in Portuguese, which is not only my mother tongue, but the native language of pixadores. Extracts from the data were later translated to English. Between interviews and field notes, the raw material comprises a total of roughly 150 thousand words.

Upon concluding the fieldwork phase of my research, I revisited all of the interviews and field notes in order to begin the process of organizing data into useful and interesting categories—or, as Emerson et al. (1995) refer to it, focused coding. As I coded, these themes were continually refined as a form of inductive analysis. All data was thus refined into more specific themes and topics; these topics became the main subjects of analysis (as detailed in Chapters Five through Eight).

Systematizing and interpreting data was organized into a four stage process. First, I grouped the data according to three main different types of informants: pixadores, graffiti artists and authorities and policy makers. Second, within these interviews and field notes, I attempted to organize the data on the basis of the age of the informant/interviewee/interlocutor. As I talked to pixadores and graffiti artists, whose ages ranged from 17 to 40 years old, categorizing the data in this way helped me to understand how the use of the words pichação, pixação and graffiti changed through the years and were used within different contexts.

A third stage of data organization was the actual focused coding: within each of the three different groups of informants, I carefully read all the data in order to find the main themes that emerged from field notes and interviews. In a final stage, I cross-referenced the themes and terms that emerged from the three groups. Thus, for example, the police theme was less present among graffiti artists than among pixadores.

Additionally, beginning with my first trip to Salvador in May 2013, I regularly wrote theoretical memos in a journal. I made the choice to hand-write these memos so that I could integrate not only extracts from my field notes and generate theoretical insights, as well as collecting all sorts of memories from fieldwork like, train tickets, stickers and folhinhas that pixadores gave to me. Through a continuous and reflexive process of reading and re-examining my field notes and transcribed interviews against these theoretical insights, I was able to garner additional themes, patterns and emerging typologies of data.

Re-examining the coded field notes and transcribed interviews led me to identify two levels of data. First, from a micro perspective I was able to identify the central values and rules of the pixador subculture. Second, from a macro perspective I was able to recognise how pixadores related with broader issues. Both levels of data helped me to identify the sensitizing concepts that underpin this study, for example socio-spatial segregation, criminalization, resistance and commodification.

4.8 Reflexivity and ethical dilemmas

This final section aims to consider and reflect on the issues regarding safety, harm, gender and illegality, as well as the consequences and limitations of this study because of these issues.

4.8.1 'Illegal' ethnography, harm and safety

Because the present research deals with a criminalized subculture, I decided not to accompany pixadores while they performed pixação; nor did I attempt to perform pixação myself. There are at least two main reasons for these decisions. The first regards researcher safety and harm. Although I was invited several times observe and/or perform pixação, I heard from other pixadores that the presence of a female (not to mention an 'outsider') during a pixação performance could be disturbing, not least because they might feel 'responsible' for my safety and integrity and acting on this feeling might compromise their own safety.

The second reason for my decision to not engage in performing pixação relates to the fact that pixação is often treated by the media and other outsiders as a sort of exotic, enigmatic activity. In fact, outsiders have often approached pixadores to ask them to perform pixação in front of media cameras. Pixadores have also been asked by media and other outsiders to provide testimonials. As a researcher, I wanted to establish a rapport with pixadores that was in

some regards different to the ways in which they were used to engaging with 'outsiders'. As there is already a considerable amount of research about pixação from foreign scholars, I focused on building a relationship with pixadores – not as objects but as collaborators. I was interested in listening to their life stories, in hearing about their relationship with pixação over the years, and in their thoughts on the subculture as a whole. Nevertheless, there were a few opportunities for me to observe pixadores performing pixação in contexts where they were doing it legally, as for example a Graffiti Festival in Curitiba and the painting of a wall in Barueri that was allowed by the Council Hall. Even though most pixadores state that, as a matter of principle, they will never perform pixação with authorization of authorities, some of them claim/explain that they participate in legal events in order to collect material (spray cans) needed to perform pixação illegally, as it is meant to be performed, afterwards.

In order to protect the identity of participants, names, places and times have sometimes been changed. I use pseudonyms (rather than real names) in order to ensure that personal details about participants will not be linked to the research data or results. All data, including field notes, recorded interviews, transcripts, and media were stored securely in password-protected files on my personal computer and/or external hard drives.

4.8.2 Fieldwork limitations, gender and embodiment

According to Warren, Hackney, & Warren (2000), gender plays an important role in and can impact various stages of the ethnographic process, including access, trust, development, and even analysis: "gender both frames these stages and poses specific concerns, among the most salient of which are the place of the body, sexuality, and sexual identity among and between researchers and respondents.". The fact that I was conducting field research within an eminently masculine and criminalized subculture made these concerns very real. Moreover, Brazil's status as a country with one of the highest rates of violence against women amplified this fear. In fact, the 9th Brazilian Public Security Yearbook shows that in the year 2014, 47,643 persons were raped nationwide (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2015). The data, which is based on police reports, shows that every 11 minutes, someone is raped in Brazil. Furthermore, the report states that 90% of the victims were women. I thus reflected on this information when devising personal security strategies. This information also influenced the ways in which I embodied myself in the field.

The primary security measures I took were (in this order) first to dress myself in a very 'low profile' manner; for example, I wore baggy T-shirts and sneakers (in order to be able to move quickly) and I tied my hair in a bun (in order to avoid the potential for having it pulled). As I needed to carry a pen, my field notebook, keys, official documents and (some) cash, I always used a very discrete cloth bag; whenever possible, I did not carry a bag at all. Another security measure I took was to always walk fast and to constantly be aware of my surroundings. Finally, when returning home from the Meeting Point, I would always ask to be accompanied by one or two (sometimes more) pixadores, at least to the train station.

It is difficult to evaluate the extent to which my gender and sex limited my performance in the field; however, I assume that the active neutralizing of my femininity helped me to be perceived as 'just the researcher'. In fact, at the close of my fieldwork, a graffiti artist told me that he could not guess my gender from my style of dress or my behavior.

In addition to issues related to personal security, I was sensitive to the possibility that social difference might inhibit my acceptance into the pixador subculture. Besides my gender, my skin color (white), economic status (middle class) and education level also distinguish me from the vast majority of pixadores. It is possible that some pixadores remained wary of me because of my background, as I heard once at the Meeting Point: Oh, she is a researcher? I'm off. I don't talk to researchers anymore. Last time I talked to a researcher from France I was arrested (Field notes, São Paulo, December 2013). As it was not possible and I did not even want to completely neutralize these aspects of my background, I tried to embody the core value of Brazilian street culture: humility. This virtue, in the context of street culture in Brazil, is understood to be the capacity of the subject to acknowledge its own limitations and never to present itself in an arrogant way. Humility is also a core value among pixadores, and respect is built upon it. I have a feeling that in general I managed to position myself in a humble way: always listening more than talking; observing not only the person who was in front of me, but also the context within which we were situated; and being sensitive to subtle aspects of communication that are not assessed through the spoken language and can only be learned by actual experience in the field. I could barely suppress my pride when one said, Paula is an academic and lawyer, but she is humble, but I did my best, as such an expression would itself have challenged the core value.

Finally, and importantly, I recognize that there are certain limitations to the present research. These limitations that are not only related to my gender, sex, age and social background, but also follow from certain methodological choices I made. One example is my use of snowballing as a way to build my network. Such a technique, I found, was particularly limiting amongst pixadores, who organize themselves in crews and groups of crews. Although pixadores are not 'gangs', there is some level of rivalry between crews, and, the fact that I became very keen to some crews meant that I was sometimes asked about my proximity to the members of other groups or crews. Another limitation relates to my gaining access through a gatekeeper who was not a pixador, but rather someone who worked as a sort-of curator of street art. Some pixadores were suspicious of me because of my relationship with this particular gatekeeper, as they had unresolved conflicts from their 'professional' relationship with this individual. Another methodological limitation of the present research concerns relatively limited breadth and depth of interviews with policymakers and police officers, especially in São Paulo. This lacunae is partly a function of limited time in the field: due the regulations of the Doctoral Research Program,

which constrained my time in São Paulo to a total of nine months to. I believe my priorities were sensible. I first focused on building rapport and access with pixadores, who are part of a hermetic subculture, which required time and also had to be well underway before I began contact with police officers, as I feared that these contacts could lead to a loss of trust among pixadores. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that more interviews with policymakers and police officers could have better nuanced the narratives of pixadores regarding for example, police violence.

Having shown the research design of this study, as well as the main theoretical concepts and the range of misunderstandings presented by existing literature related to pixação, the next chapter launches an exploration of the data collected, coded and analyzed in connection with the theoretical framework proposed.

Charpter
05

PIXAÇÃO AND SÃO PAULO'S SKIN: CHALLENGING FRAGMENTATION AND VERTICALIZATION

PIXAÇÃO AND SÃO PAULO'S SKIN: CHALLENGING FRAGMENTATION AND VERTICALIZATION

> Pixo is part of São Paulo's skin.
> (Death Operation, fieldnotes, March 2014)

The expression above, currently used by Death Operation, a pixador who has been active for more than 20 years, untangles the main idea of this chapter, which aims to describe and analyze pixação on a macro level as both a constitutive element of São Paulo and part of the constant process of creation and recreation of urban space.[12] Furthermore, the chapter demonstrates on a micro level that the importance of pixação is linked to the individual trajectories of its practitioners, who understand pixação as a fundamental part of their lives, or even of their bodies, as Death Operation and Old Risky explain:

> Pixo is under my skin, it is in the blood, in the veins. (Death Operation, fieldnotes, February 2014)
> When I do pixação, when I write, I do it with my whole body. It is like the paint roller with ink is a part of me (Old Risky, fieldnotes, June 2014)

Conceptually, pixação is here understood as an embodied performance (Merleau-Ponty, 2013) of risk taking (Pereira, 2013b) that challenges the limits and boundaries of both private and public space in the metropolis of São Paulo, fragmented and verticalized as it is (Ana Fani A. Carlos & Oliveira, 2004; Freeman, 2003; M. Santos, 1990a).

Likewise, pixação's subcultural practices are observed through the lenses of edgework and contemporary urban studies on São Paulo. Analyzing pixação in the contexts of edgework, fragmentation (M. Santos, 1990a) and verticalization (Somekh & Gagliotti, 2013) is significant and new. This analytic perspective reveals the singular ways in which pixadores relate with the city as they create and recreate urban space. In order to analyze the symbiotic relationship between pixação, pixadores and the city, this chapter presents empirical data that describes and gives a sense of pixador subcultural dynamics.

The concept of subcultural dynamics was explored by Ferrell (1993, p. 49) in the context of graffiti as a collective activity in the Denver graffiti "scene." As applied to pixadores, these activities and dynamics include the ways in which they organize themselves into groups (turmas, grifes and famílias), where and how they meet in the metropolis (Meeting Point), how they rolê across the city and how their archiving techniques (folhinhas) preserve pixação history. Important also are the ways in which they perform pixação itself (climbing, invading buildings or just writing across the city).

Regarding the discussion of social-spatial fragmentation in Latin America, Koonings & Kruijt (2007) suggest that "[i]t is not just livelihood strategies which have become informalized, but also social organization, social order, social status and social identities" (2007, p. 4). Thus, together with Koonings & Kruijt (2007), I will argue that these subcultural dynamics can be understood as everyday life practices that integrate and at the same time oppose this fragmentary dimension of São Paulo and therefore are demonized and criminalized.

12. Regarding the notion of urban space as a process, see David Harvey, 2005 and Lefebvre, 2003 .

Figure 16: One of the first pixador Meeting Points, in São Paulo's city center. Robo's personal collection

Yet, I suggest that, unlike Koonings & Kruijt's claim that "[t]he fragmentation and deterioration of the urban space or 'cityscape' through inequality, insecurity and fear affect the lives of the elites and the middle class as much as they do the poor" (2007, p. 1), pixadores, as a group mainly comprised of the poor or other undesirable classes, are much more intensely and negatively affected socio-spatial fragmentation than are the fear-filled elites and middle classes. A large share of pixadores live in the peripheral zones and come to São Paulo's center daily to work, yet are unable to afford the commodified leisure activities offered there. Other pixadores, those who make their livings in the informal sector, sometimes cannot even afford a train or a bus ticket to the city center; their only possibility is to 'jump the catracas'[13] of public transport.

The first pixadores Meeting Points appeared in the city center as gatherings during lunchtime or after work. While creating an alternative space of leisure and social interaction, pixação was born as side effect of São Paulo's spatial fragmentation in the late 1980s. Passers-by and public authorities always hated pixação, but it only became criminalized with a specific criminal act in 1998, almost ten years after the first pixações appeared on buildings. Thus, I propose that pixação is to be understood first as a subcultural practice that evolved in response to a shared problem of socio-spatial segregation. It became criminalized only subsequently, and thus is not a criminal subculture, but a criminalized subculture, as will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

I argue that the criminalized condition of pixação is irrelevant to the pixadores' original motivation for engaging in pixação. Some pixadores even explain that performing pixação helped them to avoid getting involved with heavier criminal activities or even organized crime, which in São Paulo is

13. Catraca is a kind of 'gate' that allows the passage of only one person at a time, thus controlling access to restricted spaces. It is used to gain access to public transport in Brazil and many other countries. The catracas can be also understood as the main archetype of social- spatial segregation in Brazilian metropolises, as a large share of the population cannot afford public transport tickets. The catraca became the main symbol of resistance of the Free Fare movement, which is referred to in Chapter Seven.

dominated by the PCC (Primeiro Comando da Capital, First Commando of the Capital)[14]. As Crazy Ink recalls:

> [...] at that time, I was getting distant from pixação and I was starting to get involved with other stuff [crime], but pixação helped me to keep on the track. (Crazy Ink, field notes, April, 2014).

However, others observed that pixação is a heterogeneous subculture and, as such, there are certainly pixadores who are involved with criminal activities. Regarding the relationship between pixadores and organized crime in São Paulo, it is interesting to note that in scattered conversations, some pixadores affirmed that the establishment of the PCC in São Paulo helped to promote a kind of pacification of the urban conflicts and might even have contributed to a substantial decline in the city's horrendous murder rate. Some pixadores affirmed that before the appearance of the PCC in the 1990s, pixação had a kind of gang structure, and conflicts resulting in deaths were common. One pixador who started to perform pixação between 2005 and 2006 (the moment that the PCC was already established in São Paulo) observed that

> in PCC territory reigns peace, respect and loyalty: I began to do pixação when the 'scene was already organized' [that is, pixação was already under the rules of PCC], and I live in total peace and tranquility within the pixação scene today. But the oldest pixadores say there was a lot of internal conflict and that the arrival of the PCC helped to pacify it. (Crazy Ink, field notes, May 2014).

Even though the focus of this study is not organized crime in São Paulo, pixador perceptions about influence that the PCC has on pixação rules and values, which is consistent with observations by Dias (2011) and Willis (Willis, 2015), I suggest that the urban violence in São Paulo must be understood with this very specificity. According to the logic of these scholars, the PCC factor could indeed be a part of the explanation for the decrease in the number of homicides in São Paulo; from 2005 to 2015 the homicide rates decreased by 44,3% (Atlas da Violência. 2017, p. 13). Crazy Ink, quoted above, is one among several pixadores who point to an important PCC effect on the pacification of São Paulo's streets. As for the pixadores themselves, what they most fear is police violence, which is analyzed in detail in the next chapter.

Coming back to the argument that pixação and specially the subcultural practice of weekly gatherings at Meeting Points in the city center, a social institution that helps to overcome socio-spatial segregation, I realised while analyzing the data that a number of pixadores who were born in São Paulo share the same migration background. Although this research does not deal specifically with the issue of housing in Brazil, an analysis of the life conditions of many pixadores with whom I had contact revealed a common narrative: a family migrated from Northeastern Brazil and then struggled to find a place to live in São Paulo. Crazy Ink, a pixador who now lives in São Paulo's western periphery, recalls the journey made by his family from Bahia to São Paulo in search for a better life:

14. For further understanding on the influence of the PCC on the urban violence in São Paulo, see the works of Dias (2011) and (Willis, 2015).

> My people – my mother, my father, my grandparents – they all come from Bahia, they are Baianos, [...] and they came to São Paulo to conquer better life. [...] This neighbourhood here where we live was only bushes and mud [when we arrived]. The first person to come here was my mother's father, so he is one of the founders of this neighbourhood where I live. Nowadays, the neighbourhood has grown. There are a lot of people, more than thirty-five thousand people. But before it was just a dirt road. There was garbage everywhere (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014).

This chapter aims to analyze the subcultural nature of pixação with specific reference to practices of edgework and relationships with São Paulo's city space. For that, I will first present the special features of São Paulo's urban space – verticalization and fragmentation – followed by a discussion of pixador subcultural practices aimed to overcome and cope with that the challenges presented by these features.

5.1 Understanding São Paulo: perspectives of a fragmented and verticalized metropolis

This specific context in which verticalization took place in São Paulo is also relevant for two aspects of the city that are discussed in this work: the social-spatial segregation and the physiognomy of the metropolis. In this regard, the aesthetic of pixação blends with the appearance of the city, as Robot, an active pixador since the late 1980s, observes: "The city is getting used to it, right? It's already part of São Paulo, it's nothing new, like it was in the '80s, when it started, right? "(Robot, Interview, November 2013)

Analysis reveals at least four types of fragmentation in São Paulo: spatial, social, functional and temporal. I argue that the first two, spatial and social fragmentation have a direct relationship with pixação. Spatial fragmentation has two important aspects: physical and morphological. The concept of 'physical spatial fragmentation' describes the great dividing line imposed by the two big

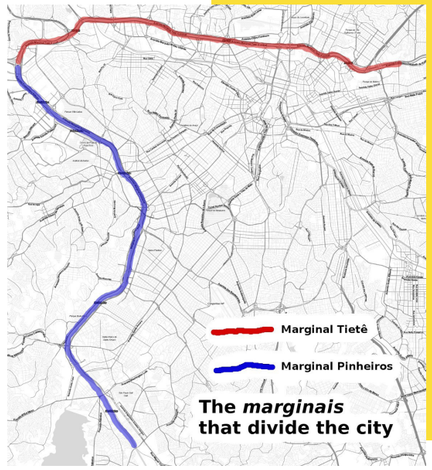


Figure 17: Map showing the fragmentation of São Paulo caused by the division of the city by the Marginais of the Tiête e Pinheiros rivers. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

rivers ('marginals') that cross the metropolis: marginal Pinheiros and marginal Tietê.

I had the opportunity to meet a group of pixadores while they were doing community service, under judicial supervision, in a social center located in Pirituba, a sub-district in the city's Northwestern Zone. After chatting for some time, it became clear that, for most of them, the city's physical fragmentation is such a hindrance that they hardly ever go to the city center. Indeed, some had never been there. While explaining how one moves across São Paulo, a pixador used a popular saying that refers to this physical segregation: "from the bridge over here" (da ponte pra cá). The two great bridges that cross the urban highways, called Marginals, are dominant features of the city's landscape. The borders between central and peripheral neighbourhoods in the West and North are delimited by the Marginals, which divide São Paulo not only spatially but also in social terms. On average, people living within the margins of these two rivers are wealthier and have a higher standard of living than have those who live outside these boundaries.[15] A young pixador told me that, once someone is inside the perimeter of the Marginals, "from the bridge over there" (da ponte pra lá), it was easy to move across all of São Paulo. The difficulty of traversing the city freely, he explained, "starts from the bridge over here" (Humble5, field notes, June 2014). Humble5's insight not only exemplifies the presence of socio-spatial segregation in pixadores' lives, but also reveals which side of the bridge

Figure 18: View from the window of the social center in Pirutba. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

most pixadores intuitively position themselves on.

Beyond this geographical fragmentation, São Paulo is also characterized by morphological fragmentation or, more precisely, verticalization. I argue

15 For a discussion of residential segregation and class see Corrêa (2013) and Koonings & Kruijt (2007).

that pixação is in some ways an element of juxtaposition and opposition to fragmentation and verticalization. When analyzed on the basis of its social and spatial dynamics, a common pixador statement rings true: pixação is a response to a plague that 'the system' created. This statement reflects pixação as an element of juxtaposition and opposition: it arises within the processes of fragmentation and verticalization, but also intervenes actively in these processes.

The macro context presented above comprises an important set of boundaries, constraints and opportunities within which the pixador subculture emerged and evolved. My analysis turns now to a detailed presentation of the lives of pixadores, as understood by themselves as well as interpreted by a variety of micro-level theoretical lenses.

5.2 Meeting São Paulo, pixação and pixadores: the everyday life of a fragmented metropolis

> São Paulo is a Babylon, it is a 'urban jungle', we have to be smart here. Even more for those who live the street culture, like we pixadores do. (Astronaut, field notes, São Paulo, January 2014)

I arrived in São Paulo on 4 October 2013, a day after of one of the greatest pixação political actions in recent years. A pixador disguised as Bakunin had painted protest phrases over a historical monument. At that moment, influenced by the image of pixação as type of urban protest or even as an incipient social movement (Larruscahim, 2014), I was enthusiastic and self-confident about observing the political dimension in which pixação seemed to have been developing.

Just a month after this event, I managed to get in contact with the author of that pixação, which is analyzed in detail on Chapter Seven. He explained that, in general, pixação can be seen in at least two ways:

> Pixação can be categorized into leisure and activism. There is the question of the personal satisfaction of the pixador, to get there and put his mark and overcome some limits, this is not seeking to protest against anything. People often think that pixo is only a way of protest, but it is not. Pixo is an expressive development and many pixadores use it as a way to promote their existence, so, it has these two sides. You can divide it. (Bakunin, field notes, São Paulo, November 2013)

While many of the categories described below have been identified by other researchers (Caldeira, 2012a; Pennachin, 2011; Pereira, 2010b; Soares, 2014b), they have not been understood as criminalized subcultural means of creation and transformation of urban space. As already mentioned in Chapter One, Pereira (2010) did extensive ethnographic fieldwork and was the first scholar to identify and categorize some of the subcultural elements described below. However, he focused more on social dynamics and the territorial relationship of pixadores with the city. Caldeira (2012) in turn identifies pixação as a type of 'urban performance', but points out that pixadores express a "contradictory form of political agency", to the extent that "they affirm rights to the city while fracturing the public; expose discrimination but refuse integration" (Caldeira, 2012b, p. 385). I argue the opposite: São Paulo's urban space was already fractured; pixadores provide a lively cartography of this fragmented and verticalized metropolis. They do not affirm rights to the city; they create and recreate São Paulo by reconfiguring its urban space and, as a consequence, they have been criminalized and demonized. As explained by Gummy: I don't know anyone who knows the whole city as me. I'm going to 'pixar' [write] the whole city. I have mapped the whole city. (Gummy, field notes, São Paulo, May 2014)

Pixação with "x" originated in São Paulo city. It was first seen in the mid-1980s and became viral in the early 1990s, when the first pixações started to appear in the top of high buildings in the city center. Regarding the first pixadores who started the practice of writing at the tops of high buildings, #DI is almost universally recognised as the "king of the buildings". This master was the first to perform pixação on the top of the Conjunto Nacional, a famous building on Paulistan Avenue. The story is remembered fondly by several pixadores, including Old Risky:

> #DI is actually the first pixador who had a real perception of the power of pixação. He was a visionary. He was one of the first to write on the top of buildings. And he always paid tribute to other pixadores, by also writing their signatures. Imagine! He invaded the Conjunto Nacional and, pretending to be a resident, he called police [laughs]! Look, here on the left we can see a

Figure 19: Pixação by #DI, preserved since the 1980s on the top of a building in São Paulo's city center. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

very old pixo from #DI. This is from the 1990s... (Old Risky, field notes, June 2014)

In the 1990s, the media started to report this change in the practice of pixação in the city, as the illustrative vignette below describes:

> After writing almost all space available in the level of the ground floor in the city, pixadores from São Paulo are looking for new challenges. At the Avenue Brigadeiro Faria Lima, in Pinheiros [in the Western Zone of São Paulo], several buildings have pixações on their top floors. [...] To get on the rooftop, pixadores had to cross the machine house of the building and jump through a small window that provides access to the rooftop of the building [...] (Local Report, 9 February 1990: Laje e topo de prédios são os novos alvos de pichação. Folha de São Paulo, p. 15)

It is possible to talk about the existence of a chronology and a history of pixação subculture, even while giving to pixação the status of a perennial institution at a time when subcultures are increasingly becoming "fluid, porous, amorphous and transitory" (Martin, quoted by Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 51). Pixadores themselves understand this, as Crazy Ink explains:

> I'm also researching the scene and, from what I've learned – because I'm from the 2000s, so I did not live the older times – what I know is that the top of the buildings started in the 1990s and basically it started with a dispute among three pixadores who were known as the iron trio [...]. Regarding the vertical climbing, this is already the turn of the century – 1998, 1999, 2000 – the windows guys, those who started from the windows and afterwards the actual climbing, like Spider Man [...]. Then, in the 2010s all this idea of art and protest started, but it is still a very limited number of pixadores who care about it, cause most of them just want to make their own pixo... (Crazy Ink, interview, June 2014).

Pixadores are generally men who came from peripheries (quebradas) of São Paulo and marginalized classes (Pereira, 2010). The literature on pixador Meeting Points suggests that pixadores were originally office boys[16] who used to meet up in the city center (Caldeira, 2013), which is confirmed by Stoned, a pixador active since the early 1990s:

> I remember when I used to attend the Memory Lane meeting, there in the Anhangabaú subway. This meeting point was every Friday afternoon [...] at the lunch time of the office boys. Because most of the office boys were pixadores – formerly there was no motoboy – they used to walk to do everything in the city. And these guys were the majority of pixadores, it was these guys who walked across the streets of the whole city, right? And the majority of these guys used to meet up there. (Stoned, Interview, December 2013)

Yet, pixação is a very large and heterogeneous subculture, and, in order to not essentialize pixadores – or, rather, to analyze pixação as an "atomistic separate culture" (Young, 1999, p. 91) – it is important to acknowledge the peripheral condition of most pixadores is surely one of the main features of pixação even as we note that, as Young points out, "subcultures overlap, they are not distinct, normative ghettos" (Young, 1999, p. 90). As they used to say, "pixação has everything, actually you find all kinds of people" (fieldnotes, January 2014). Thus, at the same time that peripheral origins were always remembered and reaffirmed, many pixadores I talked with also emphasized the diversity of pixação, especially now:

16. Brazilian 'office boys' are normally young men, and their main responsibility is to transport documents, pay bills and assist their employers in other ways. During the past decade, especially in São Paulo, office boys were replaced by the motoboys, who perform basically the same job but using a motorcycle. A great deal of pixadores used to work as office boys and nowadays as motoboys.

> Today, pixação has expanded a lot. There are guys who enjoy rock, there are guys who enjoy samba, there are guys who like funk, and it is much more mixed. In the old times, a pixador should wear wide clothes, he should to listen to rap, he should speak in slang, but today not so much. You see a lawyer, you see a lot of people doing pixação. I know a policeman who is a pixador. Would you believe that? (SunnyB, Interview, January 2014)

To become a pixador one must first and foremost create a pixação, that is, one must perform pixação and leave as many "pixos" as possible across the city. Pixadores as a whole do not have an official system of membership. Despite being considered a democratic subculture in the sense that, theoretically, anyone can become a pixador, issues related to social class are present among pixadores. Most of them refer to guys who are not originally from the peripheries as "playboys":

> Playboys are people who have financial power, people with statuses bigger than ours on the periphery, people with great conditions, financial, structural, we usually refer to that type of guy as a playboy, right? The playboy is a spoiled guy, the guy who has everything easy, right? (Crazy Ink, interview, Month 2014)

Can a "playboy" become a pixador? Technically yes, and certainly there are some playboys who perform pixação, as does SleepyA, who explains that he used to do a more primitive form of graffiti production known as "bombing",[17] and was simultaneously scared and fascinated with pixação:

> You know that I don't live in the hoods, I didn't come from the periphery, I live in a wealthy neighbourhood, and from my appearance you can maybe guess it. In the beginning I was really afraid of going to the Meeting Point, really scared, so I started to go there with a pixador who is also a graffiti writer, but it took a while to gain courage to talk to other pixadores and ask for a signature in a leaflet. (Interview, SleepyA, November 2013)

The narrative of SleepyA, a young, white, light-eyed guy who rarely uses slang when he talks, which he does in slighty shy but very polite way, helps to understand how the peripheral condition is directly related with the issue of social class and spatial segregation. This brings to mind DaMatta's observation that in Brazil, "space confuses itself with the social order so that, without understanding society with its networks of social relations and values, one cannot interpret how space is conceived" (DaMatta, 1997, p. 28).

DaMatta also remarks that "in Brazilian cities, spatial (and social) demarcation is usually done in the sense of a gradation or hierarchy between center and periphery, inside and outside" (DaMatta, 1997, p. 29). In terms of membership, this logic is very present among pixadores: most of them come from the peripheries of São Paulo and normally would have almost no social interaction with those who live in what could be described as a privileged space. The condition of being outside of this privileged spatial demarcation is an expected circumstance for those within the pixação subculture. Grand Father believes this lack of social interaction is natural:

17. Bombing, as Macdonald observed amongst graffiti writers in London and New York, "is all about quantity, productivity and staying power" (MacDonald, 2001, p. 79). Bombers normally paint quickly executed throw-ups or tags, instead of more complex and time-consuming pieces.

> It does not matter much, the class issue. What matters is the attitude of the guy. What matters is the capacity of someone to perform pixação, regardless social class. Pixação is democratic; no one will prevent anyone from making history in pixação. Even if someone does not even to go to the Meeting Point or know anyone in pixação, he can be respected if he plays his role in the street. But I realize that there are few other social classes that are interested, do you understand? Because in other social classes they have other standards to have status [...] to have a car, to have a diploma at university, travel and go party in posh places. So that's the way they can affirm their existence (Grand Father, interview, December 2013).

That said, the main focus of pixadores is to spread their signatures, generally not containing substantive content, across the whole city, but particularly to representative places such as the facades of skyscrapers' in the center. Even pixadores differentiate themselves on the basis of who has earned the right to have their work recognized with an 'x'. That is, the differentiation between pixadores who practice pixação with "x" from those who practice pichação with "ch" starts to appear, as Crazy Ink explains:

> Pixação with X, to which I belong today, means the search for space in the street. It began there, on the ground, on a few walls of the city, and today it takes all the places of the city, from the lowest to the highest, for the search of recognition, within the current groups, of the city today, right? This pixação that we practice, in fact, in my vision, is the pixação of the internal recognition of the ego and fame. So I consider it as a movement because it is a group, a group of people that– The vast majority have the same thoughts, the same ideas, the same intentions in the street, the objective and within that movement there are their codes of conduct, their ways of showing respect and the intention is to always put its mark in unattainable and prohibited places. [...] The main focus is the rolê, which is putting your mark on the street (Crazy Ink, interview, June 2014).

The conscious and proactive respelling of pixação is one of the clearest signs that pixadores understand themselves to be a part of a community that transcends the performance of their art. Crazy Ink makes clear how people who use the 'x' are expected to buy into a common set of values which, together, help to define the subculture.

5.2.1 Pixar is human: becoming a pixador

> [...] for some a belief, for others an offense, but pixar is human (Grillo 13, field notes, February 2014)

When Becker (1963) problematizes the motives of deviant behavior in the context of his classic research on marijuana users, he proposes to invert on the archetypal question of why deviants want to break rules and provocatively ask "why conventional people do not follow through on the deviant impulses they have" (Becker, 1963, p. 27), which implies that "at least in fantasy, people are much more deviant than they appear" (Becker, 1963, p. 26). Most pixadores share this belief regarding the impulse to write in the city: the expression 'pixar is human', has become a motto amongst pixadores. As Grand Father explains:

> I think everyone has a bit of a pixador, in fact, deep down, hidden in his soul. Who has not already written on the wall, you know, it's a very human thing, this. When people ask, 'why do you write [pixação]?' This question had to be asked for the cavemen, you know? Why did you start writing? Who invented the writing? The Greeks, who invented the alphabet? [...] So, I think it's a foolish question because it's a human need, it's communication. I think what bothers people is that they do not understand pixo; they cannot read it. But pixo is a sophisticated language that needs study to be understood well. It's like you get to China and do not know how to read Chinese, eh? [...] it's the same thing. It is a marginal literature. (Grand Father, field notes, May 2014).

Grand Father, remembers that it was around the 1990s that pixadores from different suburbs and peripheries of São Paulo started to arrange their meetings at Meeting Points and organize themselves into groups, crews and families (turmas, gangues e famílias) to promote their logos (grifes) and signatures (pixos) throughout the city:

> We're getting into the third decade, right? [...] The movement was born in the late '80s, but it was first characterized as movement in the late '90s. At first it was not organized; the groups themselves had no symbol, the guys did not use a signature. They just made the name of the group or the nickname, right? It was something, so unpretentious in the '80s. And only in the '90s this began to become more sophisticated. The organizations started, the brands began to form and to reunite several gangs, several groups of pixadores with symbols, with leaders, with parties, with meetings. (Grand Father, interview, December 2013)

In São Paulo, in order to become accepted as member of a turma or família, a pixador has to spread a certain number of signatures (pixos) on urban surfaces, as Grand Father explains:

> The motto of pixação is this: who is not seen is not remembered and has no value and no active voice. So, for the guy to have an active voice in pixação he has to pixar [write] the city, and the cool thing is that everybody starts from zero in pixação. [...] If the guy does not pixar, nobody will recognize him. (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013)

Likewise, permanence in the group is neither compulsory nor guaranteed. It is common for a pixador to decide to move to another família, or even choose to act alone. In these cases, his signature is designated as his personal "pixo", as it is the case for Robot, who explains why he acts alone:

> ... at the beginning of my career [pixação] I did join a group, but after a while I saw that I had different ideas... I found that my motivation was different from the others, so I said: I'm going to do my walk alone. I gain more. (Robot, Interview, December 2013)

This is a very relevant aspect of pixação as a subculture and its criminalization, especially with regard to secondary criminalization or attempts to criminalize pixação as a gang crime, as will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

On the flipside of separation, one finds unions of families, something similar to a congregation. To demonstrate this interconnectivity, a pixador who is a family member will firstly write the name of the union (grife), then the name of the family and lastly his own initials or his pixo codename, as Grand Father explains: "The pixador must first make the symbol of the union, then the name of the group that it is part and the signature of him is the last one and is the smaller one." (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013). See the picture below:

Figure 20: Pixação from VICIO, a longstanding pixação família that has existed in São Paulo since the early 1990s. The picture displays the VICIO signature along with their own personal pixo signatures, T.J and year. Above its union 'Nada Somos' (we are nothing). Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

This is a very typical feature of São Paulo's pixação, as Craft, a pixador from Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais observes:

> Here in BH [Belo Horizonte] there is not much of this culture of groups and families. Here everyone makes his own pixo, and then we write the name of the family and then the name of the brand, a little smaller. I also like this idea of several pixadores writing the same thing, but the culture of the city here is different (Craft, field notes, May 2014)

São Paulo's council hall estimated in 2008 that there were approximately 5000 active pixadores in São Paulo alone (Folha de São Paulo, 2008). Below, I list some of the vast number of crews and families of pixação in São Paulo whose members I met and talked with:

> Snow Boys, Oitavo Batalhão, New Boys, Rapto, Túmulos, Sustos, Profecia, Larapios, Anormais, Atentados, Museu, Jets, Os mais que dois, Arsenal, Homens Pizza, PiroMania, Tribunal, AntiSapo, Shapas, Elementos, Loucuras, Cripta, Exorcity, Autopsia, Funeral, União 12, Retardados, Perigo, Lorotas, Capim, Lixomania, Kamikase, Primos, Grifon, Filho, Pano, Os Demos, Nasa, Homicidas, Exóticas, Opus69, Gurias, Catchom, Shapas (Field notes, May 2014)[18]

This list is of course only a small subset of the hundreds of groups and thousands of individual pixadores that exist in São Paulo, not to mention all of Brazil. I mean only Brazil because it might happen that a pixador who does not live in São Paulo be part of a Paulistan group of pixadores and write its signature

18. For a complete list of pixadores throughout Brazil with whom I had extended conversations and are cited in this work, see Appendix 1. In order to preserve anonymity, the appendix will include a list of their turma, família, and grife affiliations separately from the list of pixadores who were quoted in this thesis.

in a different city. From this list, I managed to have extended conversations with more than 50 pixadores, from different 20 groups. Most of them are males in their 20s or 30s. The great majority lives in one of the peripheries of São Paulo, and typically works as doormen in luxury buildings, as motoboys (an office boy who uses a motorcycle), as painters, or in the construction industry (Field notes, May 2014).

5.2.2 "Vamos dar um rolê"? Performing pixação with friends

> Vault: Hey, let me introduce you Paula. She is a researcher, a serious one and is here to learn about pixação.
> X: Nice, so you are here to come with us to a rolê, right? (Extract from field notes, January 2014)

This short dialogue, extracted from my field notes, was common in conversation circles at the city center Meeting Point. When I was introduced to a pixador, he would usually ask first whether I wanted to rolê with them and observe them in action. Thus, if I were to describe pixação in a single word, that word would certainly be 'rolê', which is here used to designate the main purpose of pixadores in terms of subcultural activity. The official Brazilian dictionary defines rolê as anything that has a roll format, but the argot is also recognized in the formal language as a means of to get around or to take a walk. As it is a proper argot employed by São Paulo's pixadores, there is no literal translation to English. I think of it as an amalgamation of 'hanging out' and 'walking around', which I sometimes combine into 'hanging around.' "Dar um rolê" means much more than just getting around in the city. When one pixador invites another to dar um rolê, the invitation extends beyond doing rolê around the city, and includes observing the city, analyzing the movement of passers-by, searching for a good spot to perform pixação and, most importantly, engaging in these activities together with another pixador.

Old Risky told me that pixação probably started with this dynamic. Back in the late 1980s, it was dangerous (indeed, life-threatening) to circulate alone from one peripheral zone (quebrada) to another. Such circulation would occur only in special circumstances, like visiting a relative. Old Risky told me that pixação probably spread as follows: a pixador from one neighbourhood would go to visit its uncle in another, meeting en route another pixador who would invite him to rolê (Old Risky, field notes, São Paulo, June 2014).). Arguably a deeper form of social interaction that Pereira (2010b) suggests, conversations with Old Risky and others lead me to conclude that rolês represent an important solution to the pixador challenge of coping with São Paulo's fragmentation- generated spatial segregation. This fragmentation of urban space goes beyond mere restrictions on people's mobility (Mcilwaine & Moser, 2007); for a great proportion of those who live in the peripheries, the hindrance is nearly impossible to overcome the rolês, as Old Risky told me,

Figure 21: Pixadores on a rolê in São Paulo. Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

started in the 1990s. At that time, we used to walk from one neighborhood to another, so we used to walk 7, 8 hours... all night traveling across the city and beginning to break the physical barrier of living in the periphery, cause at that time there were no train lines or night buses connecting the peripheries with the center of the city. Even nowadays, if we take the public transport it is still at least 2, 3 hours to commute and only during a limited time of the day. (Old Risky, field notes, June 2014).

Thus, as already mentioned, and contrary to Caldeira's (2012b) belief that pixadores fracture the urban space, I claim that forms of pixador interaction with the urban space, such as rolê, do precisely the opposite: by travelling from one hood to another, and by occupying the city center, pixador behavior is more in tune with what Stavrides calls "spaces-commoning", which is not "simply the sharing of space, considered as a resource or an asset, but a set of practices and inventive imaginaries which explore the emancipating potentialities of sharing" (Stavrides, 2016, p. 7).

5.2.3 From hoods (quebradas) to Meeting Points

'Quebrada' can be translated to 'hood', which is slang derived from the word neighbourhood and thus means the area where one lives or belongs. In the pixação subculture this is an important argot for at least two reasons. The first relates to the identity of those who live in the margins of a fragmented city. By identifying a pixador as someone who is effectively from the same 'quebrada', the social bond and the brotherhood is reinforced. This is the context behind Crazy Ink's explanation of the meaning of a quebrada:

> Well, life here in the periphery [quebrada] is as follows: we live far from all the commercial centers of the city; we are on the far side of these centers of industry, these rich commercial centers. We are the weaker side of this society, right? In the periphery generally live the people who enable the rich people and great part of businessmen to have what they have. Usually it's our mother, our sister who goes, will do the housework for these people, right? And life in

> periphery is very difficult, very difficult even to explain, right? Because I believe the world does not see this side, this side of dark Brazil that is life in the periphery right? So the periphery was born from squatters and occupation of those hills, over there. How can I explain? It was all bushes when people arrived there. They found a means of survival and it was building their houses there. But this is a place very far away from all the richest mass of the city. Then we were kind of going away from these centers, of the great mass that dominates, dominates all Brazil, São Paulo that is actually all connected. So the periphery is this: it's a distant place, where the humblest people have been building their residences with what was possible to survive. It's not luxury; it's kind of the basics of the same basics. (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014)

Additionally, by identifying which quebrada a pixador belongs to creates the possibility to go from one region of the city to another to rolê (that is, to stroll through the city and scope out opportunities to perform pixação), and, therefore, to subvert the immobility caused by fragmentation. Therefore, rolê can be seen as the process by which pixadores subvert a social-spatial segregation that has been imposed upon them. 'When a pixador from one quebrada meets one from another' at a Meeting Point and they go out for a rolê, the two establish a subversive relationship with urban space. This particular way of using subcultural alliances to commute through the city is seen by Pereira (2010b) as a certain strategy to gain safe access to dangerous and unknown quebradas, as well to the city center. By circulating in the city in this particular way, pixadores create and humanize urban space according to the way they perceive and idealize it, apart from the rules and aesthetic patterns designed by authorities, urban planners and the hegemonic urban aesthetic.

Figure 22: Pixadores doing a rolê in the quebrada. Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

Cultural criminologists have emphasized that the simplistic concept of urban segregation based on the thesis of the dual city is not sufficient to comprehend socio-spatial segregation in late modernity. In the context of this study it is important to note that the fragmentation of urban space in São Paulo

is not characterized by the blurry boundaries suggested by Young (2007, p. 31). When compared with North American or European cities, São Paulo's spatial segregation is rather stable and follows a concentric pattern. Nevertheless it is possible to agree with Ilan that street culture in late modernity is directly intertwined with numerous practices of spatial immobility and flow, creating in through-street expressivity a mobility that might not otherwise exist. In this sense, I argue that the very subcultural dynamics of pixação might also create flux in the street cultural space (Ilan, 2015, p. 69) in a way that blurs the historically uncompromising boundaries of segregated spaces in São Paulo.

Another important mechanism of sociability and circulation in the metropolis created by pixadores is the tradition to meet up weekly in a certain place in the city, which they refer as a Meeting Point. The Meeting Point was the main setting of this research, and I went there every week from October 2013 until June 2014. As I described in detail in Chapter Four, the pixadores Meeting Point at that time was in a small alley in the old part of São Paulo's city center. The gathering happened on the sidewalk and in the middle of the street facing Galeria Olido and close to Galeria do Rock. It would normally start at around 7:30 pm, when most pixadores finish work, and last until 11:30 or midnight, when public transport stops running. Meeting Point attendance peaks at around 9pm, when both the street and the sidewalk are completely full of pixadores exchanging leaflets (folhinhas), organizing of parties, drinking and chatting. The Meeting Point can be a site for both conflict and conflict resolution, but most of all it is a time and place to relax, chill out and gather together to rolê around the city.

The first pixador Meeting Point was created in 1987. Since then, several spots of São Paulo have hosted this powerful phenomenon, which pixadores developed to socialize and interact amongst themselves and within the city. In conversations with me, pixadores mentioned "Meeting Point da Marcone" (on Marcone street in the city center), "Meeting Point Borba Gato" (near a statue named Borba Gato), "Meeting Point do Mac" (near a MacDonald's), "Meeting Point da Vergueiro" (near the Vergureiro train station), "Meeting Point do Vale do Anhagabaú" (a public square in the city center) and lately "Meeting Point do Centro" (in reference to its very central location), which is where this research took place. Other Meeting Points in the metropolitan area coincided or still coexist with the central Meeting Point, including, "Meeting Point of São Mateus", "Meeting Point of Osasco", "Meeting Point of Arthur Alvim", "Meeting Point of Guainasis", "Meeting Point of Guarulhos", to name a few.

The temporality and spatiality of Meeting Points, that is, their duration and location, vary according to the ability of pixadores manage to keep repressive forces at bay. As hundreds of pixadores normally congregate in the street in the evening time, it does not take long before passers-by and neighbours start to complain, and the police start to take action.

> It was around 10pm, the Meeting Point was full, probably 300 hundred people. We were standing in the middle of the street, which is actually a very narrow one in the city center of São Paulo. People were chatting, drinking beer and laughing when all of a sudden Sad Eyes took my arm and asked me to move under the marquis of the building. He says: 'Careful, it started again...Zé Povinho [normal people who does not like pixadores] are fucked...now they are again throwing these plastic bags full of urine over us.' (My own experience as recorded in my field notes, November 2013)

The history of the Meeting Points is an important memory pixação's history and also highlights a fundamental feature of pixação: it was born on the streets. As Grand Father observes: "The Meeting Points were always repressed, right? We were always persecuted. Then, when one was finished, another will open again. There is no way. Pixadores are the resistance of the streets" (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013).

Currently, pixadores generally make their way from the periphery to the center, either to meet up in the Meeting Point or to write across the city. However, back in the 1990s, when pixação started to become a subculture, the movement of pixadores was more in the direction away from the city center and toward the periphery, as Little Mouse, a famous graffiti artist who started as a pixador, remembers:

> At that moment [1990s], this thing of groups and crews started as such... And then, since I was still a little new, I was not very famous, I said, oh no, I'm going to start to write [pixar] now with an existing group, so I went out to write with these guys who were already in a group...[...] after work, we would go to the Meeting Point and then from the Meeting Point we would go ... I don't know, depending on who, who I was going to go out with ... ah, the kid lived there in Jardim Ângela, so we'll go from here to Jardim Ângela [a peripheral zone of São Paulo]. (Little Mouse, Interview, June 2014)

Following the notion that a subculture arises as a strategy to "find a meaningful solution to some shared problems" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 51) and it is also a "variation in accentuation of core values rather than a deficit or difference in value" (J. Young, 2007, p. 31), the pixadores Meeting Point might also symbolize a strategy that reveals how they manage to overcome not only the commodification of leisure, but also São Paulo's social spatial segregation. In these senses, when pixadores manage to (a) maintain a tradition of for almost 30 years, (b) meeting up at a fixed time, and (c) at a place in a part of the city that (d) once was home, but (e) now is intended only for them to come to work and serve the upper class; when they manage all of this, they also break this mechanism of segregation and give life and identity to their anonymous signatures in the city.

5.2.4 Folhinhas

> What to you sign? Snowboys
> Yes, of course man, this is a very old and classic pixo, can you give me a signature? (Extract from field notes, January 2014)

Another important subcultural practice that takes place in the Meeting Point is the exchange of folhinhas (leaflets). They are a similar version of piecebooks (Ferrell, 1996) .or blackbooks that graffiti writers use to sketch their signatures and drawings. Nevertheless, the tradition of exchanging folhinhas is a unique in that it is a means by which pixadores who do not know each other can make initial contact and also immediate recognize not only the groups to

which the newly met pixador belongs, but also the quebrada they come from and the generation they belong to (see Pereira, 2010b, p. 149). The exchange of folhinhas and signatures also reveals two other important values of the subculture: respect and humility. Gaining a signature from a pixador who is well-known can be considered a great achievement for both parties, as it also shows that despite fame and recognition, the well-known pixador remains humble.

Pixadores organize these leaflets into files, which are impressive archives and catalogues that keep alive the memory of an otherwise ephemeral subcultural product. Another way to collect and archive signatures is to have a pixador write in a day planner, or even an old book. While Sad Eyes showed me his collection of agendas and leaflets, he reminisced:

> I have here tons of signatures of brothers who have already died, guys from the old school of pixação. This is from the time when we did not have Internet or social media to interact. We used to know each other from the streets and to recognize each other only from our pixações. (Sad Eyes, field notes, November 2013).

Thus, at the same time that pixadores acknowledge and assume the ephemerality of their signatures on the urban surface, and the ephemerality of their lives due to the high risk that pixação activity implies, they create an immortal dispository with these archiving techniques. Another important aspect of this mechanism of sociability and archiving is that, arguably, pixadores also manage to overcome the fragmentation, at least to the extent that they manage to create attachment and strong, affective links within a social-spatial context that is designed to isolate and separate people.

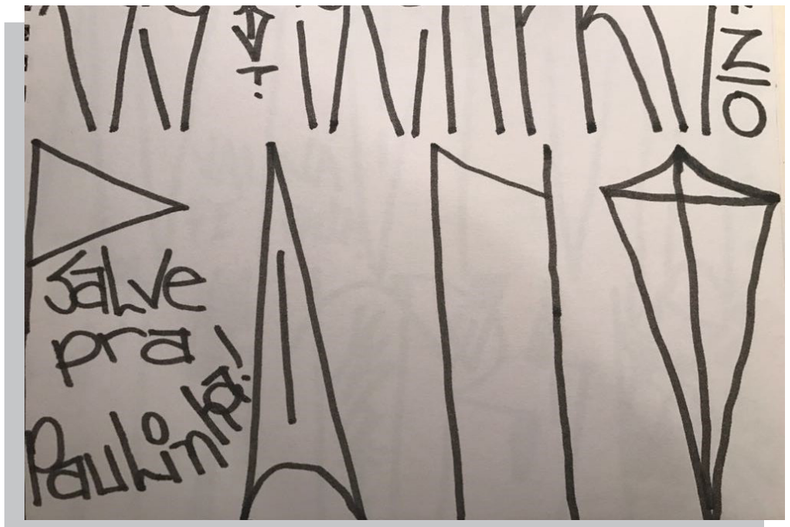


Figure 23: Folhinha signed by a pixador in my last day at the Meeting Point in July 2014. Personal collection

5.3 Pixação: the calligraphy of a vertical and enclosed city

São Paulo's pixação calligraphy is characterized by long letters reminiscent of a straight tag, or "a technical process of invasion of the urban space by the writing," as Chastanet & Heller (2007) suggest. Complementing Ferrell's argument about the importance of style, Chastanet proposes that an understanding of how these urban inscriptions are produced is prerequisite to a sociological study that aims to go beyond moral condemnations of the act. The special ways of performing pixação, as well as its aesthetics and techniques, give the calligraphy its uniqueness. According to Tiburi (2011), "pixação defines the city as a great book written in coded language."

This coded language that Tiburi refers as pixação corresponds to the special calligraphy that pixadores have been developing since the middle 1980s, when some pixadores, inspired by the punk movement started to create an alphabet similar with the gothic letters displayed in the covers of the discs of bands of punk music, as for example famous bands ACDC and KISS. Since then, pixação's calligraphy evolved to a sophisticated form of handwriting with more than thousand of different alphabets or "letreiros" as pixadores name it in their proper jargon.

Regarding the ways in which pixação can be performed Grand Father and Crazy ink reminds that if were possible to categorize pixação according to the ways in which it is performed, they refer to at least five modalities of pixação: floor, human stair, window, vertical climbing and the bosuns chair or rope. The first modality, named as "floor" (chão) correspond to the basics of performing pixação, which is in the level of the ground floor of the city and it is also how pixação started back on the middle 1980s (see Figure 20). The second modality is the human stair and appeared as a solution to the lack of space in the walls in the level of the ground floor. Pixadores name as "window" the modality in which they climb to the level of a window in a building and use the window itself to stand and perform pixação, placing their signatures in the walls between the windows (see Figure 21 and 31). The human stair (see picture 22) or "pé nas costas" is a way of practicing pixação in which the pixador climbs in the shoulder of its companion in order to be able to reach higher spots or even to climb from one window to another. SunnyB told me that he had once made part of a human stair of four pixadores, which roughly corresponds to a 7 metres stair, thus allowing the pixador to reach a much higher spot. The vertical climbing, which is extensively discussed in the Section 5.3 of this Chapter, corresponds to one of the most risky ways of performing pixação because the pixador climbs the higher buildings of the city without any safety equipment. The last modality, which is named as bosuns chair or simply as rope, is the opposite of the vertical climbing because the pixador uses an improvised chair (normally made by a peace of wood) and a rope to climb down the wall of the building while performing pixação.

The relationship between pixadores and urban space is understood to be symbiotic, in the sense that the different typographic styles of pixação in different Brazilian cities follow the topography of the city. In São Paulo, for example,

vertical climb and invasion became one of the main modalities of doing Pixação. It is said that in Rio de Janeiro the 'xarpi' style follows the topography of the mountains, and in Salvador the lines of the waves, as Grand Father elaborates:

> So in each state, the pixo seems to be the DNA of each city.[...] This has a lot to with the fact that pixação follows the aesthetics of the city, so it develops with the aesthetics of the city. That's why the pixo of Rio is more round, São Paulo is more straight and in Bahia is more wavy, because of the waves and curves in the city and so, where you go it is like that. (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013)

Several scholars of urban studies and architecture have investigated the verticalization of São Paulo (e.g., Albuquerque, 2006; Antunes, 2004; Pereira, 2009; Campos, 2002; Gagliotti, 2012; Michelin, 2012; Somekh, 1997). Yet, none of them have mentioned, much less analyzed, the coincidence of São Paulo's second wave of architectural verticalization in the 1990s with precisely with the moment that pixação artistic motives became verticalized as well. I argue that the evolution of pixação forms and practices occurred as part of a dialogue between pixadores and the second wave of verticalization and fortification that took place in São Paulo in the early 1990s. Crazy Ink, a quite- young pixador who became active in 2006, explains this development:

> In the old days, the guys just wrote on the floor. Today the guys scale, the guys use rappelling equipment to go down the building, invade a security building, as an impostor, pretending being someone who lives in that building, or someone who works in that building. You can trick security by using strategy from the street. The groups are doing it and putting their signature in a prominent place, right? (Interview, Crazy Ink, June 2014)

Following the notion of subcultural dynamics as a way of solving problems, Hebdige (1988) points out that "each subcultural instance represents a solution to a specific set of circumstances, to a particular problem and contradictions." Young (1999) proposes the concept of subculture as a set of strategies to solve problems. By intending to overcome early subcultural accounts that mix

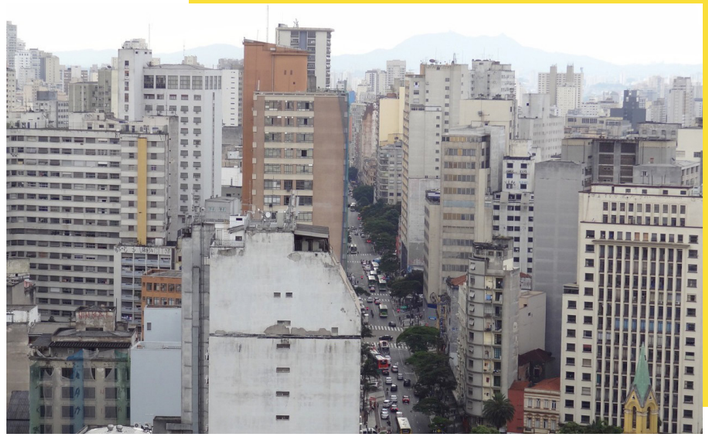


Figure 24: São Paulo and its skyscrapers seen from the famous building 'Martinelli'. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

moralism with description (as anomie theory for example), "deviant behaviour is viewed by [cultural criminologists] as a meaningful attempt to solve problems faced by isolated or marginalized groups" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 36).

While interpreting the emergence of a graffiti subculture in the 1970s in the USA as a response to many social failures in the context of the post Fordism period or, more specifically, as a critique of modernist ideologies, Lewisohn points out that

> The tags and images of those working in direct reaction of their architectural surroundings, fighting for a sense of individualism and territory in the face of an ever-expanding metropolis, can be seen as a byproduct of the system that they are attacking. (Lewisohn, 2008, p. 87)

Likewise, the emergence of pixação subculture in São Paulo during the 1990s coincided with a moment when social and spatial segregation were intensively reinforced, resulting in what Caldeira (2001, p. 231) named the "city of walls". According to this anthropologist, a combination of industrial sector decay and the increase of violent crime contributed to the "rapid walling of the city" (Caldeira, 2001, p. 232). Little Mouse remembers this apocalyptic scenario:

> In the late '80s and early '90s, everything was very degraded, all very bad, very ugly. [...] It was awful. So, people, they did not have much money to take care of their parents. The streets were dirty; City Hall also did not have enough money to take care of the streets. The best thing they did was to try to break violence a little, with police, with things like that. [...] There were a lot of lambe lambe. The lambe lambe took off, already. Political propaganda was everywhere, political propaganda of three campaigns ago. Because the guys went there, they painted and, like, the owner of the wall did not have the money to go there to paint again. The wall had the original wall colour of when the guy bought the house. After he bought the house, he would never paint it again. [...] The external side of the houses – everything that was public, in the streets, so that it faced the street – was very degraded. And it had already had a lot of pixação. That is, the aspect of the city was rubbish. [...] So the streets were very dirty, a lot of dirt everywhere. The walls were all peeled, poorly painted or with moss ... it looked like a ghost city. (Little Mouse, Interview, June 2014).[19]

This condition was overcome only by the ongoing verticalization and securitization of the mid-'90s. Yet, according to Caldeira (2001, p. 243), "from the 1980s to the 1990s the total constructed area of residential high-rises in the city increased 59.27 per cent", and São Paulo in the late 1990s was highly segregated and fragmented. After a period of perceived aesthetic decay, the recreation of public urban space as a well-ordered, tidy sphere of social life took place within a rather fragmented scheme. The city's public space as a whole was not "re-qualified" – as urban planners like to name this process (see G. Alves, 2015) – but instead only an archipelago of isolated enclosed "public spaces" (Stavrides, 2016, p. 13), each of which is designed to serve the needs only of its privileged group of inhabitants, was created. Pixação attacks this scheme by defacing the "white façade" (Tiburi, 2011c).

19. Lambe lambe is an autochthonous print system used in Brazil (and in São Paulo especially), most utilized to publicize traditional local music performances. See Schacter, 2016, p. 124 .

Figure 25: Lambe lambe and overwritten by a pixação, the lambe lambe probably cover an earlier pixação. Photo credit: Guilherme Zani

5.4. Pixação: taking risks, reclaiming existence throughout the city

> When I'm doing pixação, there are many feelings. It's a very good thing I feel, but mostly it's adrenaline. What I really like to feel is adrenaline. Of course, I know I'm taking that risk, but I want to stay, I want to do it, I want to come, I want to show, I want to go up, but I know the risk I'm running from falling or for being in a window and someone pushes me, or from someone who is downstairs, in the badness, and shoots me. (Plates, Interview, São Paulo, October 2013)

The word 'risk' in Portuguese has a double connotation: firstly, as in English, it means a situation where someone experiences danger; and secondly, from Latin resecare, that in Portuguese corresponds to the words riscar (to scratch) or rabiscar (to scribble). In the pixadores' jargon, these words currently refer to the action of pixar. By using these verbs, playing with this double meaning and in somehow assuming that pixação is ontologically constituted by the sense of risk. The autobiography of NunoDV, a retired pixador from Rio de Janeiro, is entitled: Rio of Risks (DV, 2013). In his book Nuno tells his story of risks as he writes of the world of pixação in Rio de Janeiro from the late 1980s to the 2010s, when he abandoned pixação to dedicate himself to a career as a rap singer.

Inspired by the sociology of risk taking, notably in the classic work of Stephan Lyng (2004b), cultural criminologists analyze activities involving voluntary risk taking in order to understand crime as more than a mechanical and calculated act of breaking the law. In that sense the sociological concept of edgework is used to understand crime and transgressions as acts mediated by "distinct emotions, attractions and compensations" (Ferrell et al., 2015b).

Analysis of pixadores narratives makes clear that voluntary risk taking when pixação is performed is connected with the individual and narcissistic desire of overcoming one's own limits, or an "existential scream" as Death Operation defined pixação (extract from field notes, December 2013). Indeed, every time a pixador performs pixação, whether writing on the street, invading one building or climbing another, it is always an act of voluntary risk taking. Importantly, however, individual risk taking is shown to be part of a much larger, collective challenge to police violence (to be discussed in Chapter Six). The collective mix of fear and hatred of an enclaved city can be expressed through violent acts of private revenge of vigilantes, as Plates, a young pixador who started to act in 2006, remembers in the vignette below:

> To get to the top of a building, from the inside, first there is a ladder. Arriving at the bottom of the ladder there is a door, which usually has a lock. [...] Unlock it. Then I unlocked the lock, and I opened it and got it on top. Getting up there, I wrote the first letter. When I got to the third letter, a bald man appeared, white, tall, tall, with a piece of wood in his hand. And he said, 'now you've screwed up, you've stuck the wrong building, your break-in!' And he started cursing me. At that moment he did not attack me, he just said 'brother put your hands behind, sit on your hands,' I put my hands back and I sat on my hands, and he said 'Wait there. You will have what you deserve' and called his other partner to go there. I do not know from where he came from, a big black man. So it was a bald man and a black man. Then the guys said, 'Let's get rid of him quickly, he'll never do it again, he'll be fucked.' Then they locked me up in a service area. I stayed there for about twenty minutes, while the guys discussed what they were going to do with me. Then one came with a gun in his hand. I remember to this day, one was with a pistol, chrome, and the other with a thirty-eight. The guys came with everything, they put the gun in my mouth, they said they were going to kill me, they would cock, they would unleash on my head. They told me they were going to smash me and they said, 'Oh you're fucked, you're never going to do what you're doing. You're not going to fuck off today, you're fucked, you're going to die here.' They hit me, they hit me with the butts of their guns, they gave me a butt, the guys really wanted to fuck me. Then they smashed and unleashed the weapon. They also broke broomsticks into me. The guys wanted to kill me, but they did not, so we spent all night like that. When the day was dawning and the people in the building were waking up, they said, 'Go, put your clothes on!' And then I put on my clothes. There was a filthy bathroom, the bathroom was so dirty, and then they got my sneakers and put my sneakers in the water there, filled with urine, and they said, 'Now put on the sneakers and walk away!' Then I put the dirty sneakers in my feet and I said how I'm going away like that, the clothes all torn, because they put paint on the clothes, I was really fucked up. Then they said: 'Go away now!' They left me at the gate of the building and let me go. Then I got into a piazza that had a fountain, so I was able to wash the sneakers, wash my feet, and I left. I managed to get the train and I went home. That was one of those times that I got quite scared. (Interview, Plates, November 2013).

All pixadores are entirely conscious of these risks, but they keep doing pixação despite them. While Plates told me this and many other stories involving risk, hate, violence and humiliation, he also talked about feelings of pleasure, adrenaline, respect and recognition:

> Great emotion and pleasure, lots of adrenaline you feel by having your body sticking out the window. Making human stairs at the window. [...] You are attached in the window, you want to reach higher, and the only way to go higher is making a human stairs. You are with your partner, your colleague, your friend. Someone you can trust. Then you offer support to him. You hold onto the window, then he climbs on your shoulders. Then he reaches the next storey. Then he pulls you up to the window where he is. And so it goes, so one is pulling the other and lifting the other. I did it a few times. It's a risk, adrenaline rush in that moment, but it's incredible. You can get where you want to go in that way. You're risking life. (Plates, Interview, November 2013)

This is how "edgework functions as a means of reclaiming one's life by risking it" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 73). By risking their lives, pixadores through their scratches (riscos) in the walls and buildings of the city, reclaim not only their lives, but also the recognition of their existence. Regarding this double dimension of edgework, Lyng points out that "[...] the primary goal of the edgework approach is to connect the immediacy of the risk-taking experience to social structures and processes located at the levels of meso and macro-social organization" (Lyng, 2004b, p. 5).

Clearly, the act of pixadores purposely losing control in order to regain it goes beyond the adrenaline and excitement produced by edgework activities. It also represents the taking and retaking of a space that those who live in the margins of the city are not allowed to use and occupy.

SunnyB, a pixador who started to act in the late 1990s, analyzes how the fortification and securitization of São Paulo have influenced pixação. He observes that in the old times it was easier to make it to the top of the buildings, either invading or climbing:

> I think, at that time (lots of guys would not agree), was easier to pixar a high building cause there was only one doorman, that old guy who remained sleeping and not paying any attention, so it was easier to go up.[...] Nowadays is different. Because all of the robberies, most buildings have a camera circuit, an electric fence and a security team, so nowadays, for a guy to pixar a building, he must be really good at it. (SunnyB, Interview, January 2014)

Accordingly, as the years passed, pixadores developed new techniques and modalities of doing pixação. In the early 1990s some pixadores started to write on the top of the buildings and by the 2000s came the generation who started the vertical climbing or, as Crazy Ink describes it, "climbing through small holes" (escalada de furinho), referring to the little holes or spaces on the wall that pixadores use to support their feet while climbing, or "window climbing" (escalada de janela), referring to the technique of using the windows as a support to go up (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014).

This unique way of doing pixação, the vertical climbing of the highest buildings in the city, normally without any security equipment, to paint large letters on the upper floors or the facades by just hanging on the window, became popular among pixadores at the turn of the 20th century. Ferrell and others point out that investigations involving voluntary risk taking, "have found that participants are neither dangerously 'out of control' nor possessed of some self-destructive 'death wish'" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 74). Several stories of pixadores vertical climbing are narrated in calm, assertive and even humorous tones, as Chief, one of the pioneers in the vertical climbing, remembers how it started in São Paulo:

> [V]ertical climbing started due to a lack of space in the underneath to perform pixação; at first the pixador was only stretching his arm and writing pixação at the height that his arm could reach; then we started to climb the windows, then to make a human stairs with two pixadores, then with three, but there was also a dispute for space at this level. Then the escalation started like this, by the dispute of windows. We could climb to the marquise and then we started climbing the windows. The building at São João Avenue was like this. I had made the fourth floor in 1999, then in 2000 others went and made the fifth, then and I went and made the sixth. There was a competition to see who climbed the most. At some point some pixadores from another town came and wrote: Fuck it! Then I got pissed and I climbed to the top of this building on São João Avenue. (Chief, Interview, December 2013)

All these ways of performing pixação are practiced without any safety equipment. Therefore, the risk of death is genuine. Both death and the possibility of death are part of the everyday of all pixadores. According to Pereira (2013b, p. 93), for pixadores, "the dividing line between the unexpected danger and the calculated risk became quite tenuous." Thus, by examining pixação as a embodied

Figure 26: Pixador performing vertical climbing. Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

practice of voluntary risk taking in relation with the fortified verticalization of São Paulo, it is possible to suggest that the vertical climbing is based on the adrenaline rush and the challenge of gravity, while gaining access to a buildings upper façade via invasion is intended in part to expose and undermine the sense of safety and protection the security systems of Paulistanos enclosures claim to provide. Furthermore, the vertical climb without any safety equipment is related to the phenomenon of verticalization itself, which was an outcome of a dispute, fought and lost by the poor, for the most privileged urban space of the city.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have analyzed pixação's and pixadores' complex relationships with São Paulo's skin – the city's urbanistic landscape. I have argued that pixação should not be understood as a criminal subculture in which transgressing law or even moral or cultural norms in a given social context is a main feature or motivational element. Instead, I have shown in this chapter that the transgressive dynamics of pixação are more closely related to a dialogue with the spatial order that dominates everyday life in São Paulo. Hence, I analyzed pixação in an intersectional way:

Firstly, pixador subcultural dynamics can be perceived as a way to create a sense of unity within this fmented metropolis. As Grand Father puts it: "Not just the occupation of visual space, but the network that we form through pixação. Pixação unites all the parts of São Paulo" (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013).

Secondly, the risky ways of performing pixação, such as vertical climbing and invasions, can be understood as subcultural dynamics that challenge but also engage in a dialogue with the process of São Paulo's verticalization. The ability to climb a building without any safety equipment in order to print a signature is an activity that was here analyzed in the framework of the sociological concept of edgework, coined by Lyng (2005) and applied by cultural criminologists (Ferrell et al. 2008) to understand transgressive actions beyond the frame of legality or illegality. Again, pixador risk taking is performed in the context of the specific topologies of São Paulo's urban landscape. Thus, the satisfaction gained as a result of regaining control over spaces from which the pixadores had been banished is directly linked to the social conditions and inequalities manifest within this specific urban topology.

Nevertheless, voluntary risk taking by pixadores goes beyond the adrenaline rush and excitement of risky leisure activities. Voluntary risk taking is also a response to the relentless exposure to all kinds of violence, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Charpter
06

TO DIE AS A MAN IS THE PRIZE OF WAR: CRIMINALIZATION OF PIXAÇÃO AND POLICE VIOLENCE

‘TO DIE AS A MAN IS THE PRIZE OF WAR’: CRIMINALIZATION OF PIXAÇÃO AND POLICE VIOLENCE

> I was beaten and tortured by police several times, I also lost lots of pixador friends who were murdered by police... Every day when I go out to perform pixação, I know that I can die... Why don’t I stop? To die as a man is the prize of war! (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014)

This short manifesto by Crazy Ink gives a glimpse into the relationship between pixadores and police and, most importantly, how pixadores cope with it. When Crazy Ink remembers the episodes when he was beaten, humiliated and tortured by police, he is very conscious that his and other pixador’s lives are not worth much in the eyes of the police. He has completely internalized the belief that the possibility of death is omnipresent. On the other hand, knowing that his condition of being black, young and resident of the periphery would already be sufficient grounds for him to be killed. However he prefers to keep risking his life doing pixação as a way to gain recognition and visibility, rather than dying as one among the forgotten thousands of unreported murders in Brazil. As he says:

> Today for me, pixação gives me the recognition, the status that I wanted when I was a kid, when I saw the guys at the door of the school. This I conquered, so today, what keeps me going, even knowing all the risks, is the love I have for pixação. It’s the history I’ve created, because today there are people who mirror what I’ve already done. I’m 25 now, eh? and I’ve already left a lot of things behind, like building up a family, job and a personal life. All because of pixação, which is very present in my life. I live pixação 24/7! I sleep, I wake up, I breathe pixação, so if I happen to die because of pixação, for me it is ok. Because I know what I did, I know what I stand for. And my name is going to be remembered forever, man, I’m going to get into the history of the stuff, you know? It’s that story. To die as a man is the prize of war. (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014)

Concerning Crazy Ink’s perception that people are living through war, it is worth noting that between 2010 and 2015, more people in Brazil suffered intentional violent deaths than were suffered in the Syrian War during the same period (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2016), and this while in the midst of a historic decline in São Paulo’s murder rate.

By presenting pixadores narratives on the various forms of police violence, which are here understood as the “abuse of legal force, torture and humiliation, and extrajudicial executions by the military and civil police” (Wyllys, 2015), I argue that pixadores are also affected by the “genocidal selectivity” (Carvalho, 2014, p. 143) of the punitive power agencies. As set out in Chapter Three, Carvalho (2014) developed the concept of a genocidal selectivity of the Brazilian penal system to describe structural violence in the form of extrajudicial murders and the mass incarceration of black and poor Brazilian youth. Regarding pixação, a parallel and extrajudicial system of punishment is operated by police against pixadores; official data on police-instigated violence understate the depth and breadth of this system. Crazy Ink recounts an encounter with police, in which he thought he was going to die:

> We used to study at night and at the end of the class we went out to paint in our neighborhood and when we were doing pixação, two police officers came and picked us up. Then they picked us up, placed us inside the car, and drove very roughly through the neighborhood. Then they climbed to a very high place of the city here in the neighborhood, very well hidden, a place of we know is used to get rid of murdered people, which is on the border of the ring road. They took us out of the car and beat us up for hours. Then they took the gun, put it on our heads, in our mouths, telling us that they were going to kill us. Then we said,
> – No, for Christ’s sake, please you do not have to do this to us Sr., police officer! We were just writing on the wall there, we were not stealing nothing, we do not kill people... we are just

> pixadores!
> But they did not give a shit, they kept beating us up very violently, but thanks God after this long session of bashing us up, they still gave us another fright. They said:
> – Do you see that street there?" I'll count to ten, if I see you, I'll shoot, I'll count to ten, if I see you I'll shoot, run away!!
> Then at the time he said that we already got up all broken, one passing over the other, we ran, and thanks to God we managed to get out of this nightmare. (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014)

I am nearly certain that, if the police had shot and killed Crazy Ink and his friend, or if the two had died of their injuries, the event would not be recorded in the police database.

Crazy Ink's striking narrative helped me to open a window into a significant theme of this work, which is the pixador experience of living subject to a non-official and extra-legal system of punishment. Thus, I intersperse pixador narratives about their encounters with the police with criminological discussions on violent police practices in São Paulo, which, as mentioned in Chapter Three, must be analyzed from a micro perspective that takes into account special elements of the influence of São Paulo's urban violence, most notably the 'PCC factor' and the underreported numbers of police killings.

Police violence has been object of study of several scholars (J. A. Alves, 2018; Gonçalves, 2011; Mena, 2015; Silveira, 2016; L. E. Soares, 2015; Waiselfisz, 2015; Wyllys, 2015) who have pointed to issues such as the need to reform the administrative structure of policies in Brazil, the need of demilitarize the police, and how the police historically have been played the role not of containing violence, but rather, of containing "groups considered rejected by the elite and marginalized by the political-economic system" (Silveira, 2016). Analysis of the pixação case, I argue, can help to identify blind spots in these debates.

The notion of selectivity of the penal system first developed by Becker in Outsiders (Becker, 1963) and largely used by Latin America critical criminologists is essential to understand how the interplay between criminalization of certain groups of people and the maintenance of social inequality occurs:

> The selective application of stigmatizing penal sanctions [...] is an essential supra-structural moment for the maintenance of the vertical scale of society. Influencing negatively above all in the social status of individuals belonging to the lower social strata, such selective application functions as a way to hinder their social promotion. (Baratta, 2004, p. 173)

When Alessandro Baratta proposes the passage from a liberal to a critical criminology, he identifies the reception of labeling theories as a fundamental step towards the conception of a materialistic criminological theory, that is, an economic-political theory of deviation, of socially negative behaviors and of criminalization (Baratta, 2004, p.165). Thus, in the same way that critical criminologists (see Andrade, 2012; Baratta, 2004; Carvalho, 2010a; Eugenio Raúl Zaffaroni, 1988) denounced the uneven selectivity of the penal system and how it helps to maintain vulnerable groups excluded and also to hinder their social promotion, cultural criminologists claim attention to the fact that "the inequitable dynamics of law and social control remain essential to the maintenance of political power, and so operate to prop up the system that produces them" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 14).

Death Operation, a pixador who lives in a peripheral zone of São Paulo, also questions this verticalization of Brazilian society: "In an elitist society, because of much greed and corruption, Brazil is the champion in social extermination and the guilt is of a literate minority graduated in the best universities. Now Paula, use your common sense and tell me: are we [the poor] the problem?" (Death Operation, field notes, December 2013).

This chapter's analysis of pixador narratives and perceptions on criminalization of pixação and police violence, is divided into two parts. The first part shows the chronological process of criminalization of pixação and how moral entrepreneurship (Becker, 1963) played an important role in the crescendo of oppression and criminalization of pixadores. The second part harnesses data related to police violence to an analysis of how pixadores are affected by a parallel and illegal system of justice operated by police officers and how pixadores cope with that, including trying to avoid becoming entangled.

6.1 Uneven vulnerability to criminalization and police violence

Building on theoretical contributions from Latin America critical criminology (see Andrade, 2012; Carvalho, 2010; Zaffaroni & Batista, 2011; Zaffaroni & Oliveira, 2013), I identify vulnerability as the process in which criminal control is mainly directed towards certain 'labeled' groups. In this sense, and yet going beyond labeling theory, Andrade (2012, p. 138), states that criminalization is one aspect of selectivity, which results from power inequalities rooted at structural, political- economic level. Further, criminalization affects and selects the poor, and deepens extant processes of social exclusion faced by the selected groups. In that sense, Agozino reminds us that despite several criticisms against the labelling approach, "the insights of the labelling perspective [...] expose the hypocrisy of administrative criminology that supports the imprisonment of human rights campaigners and innocent poor while powerful criminals get away with murder" (Agozino, 2003, pp. 47–48).

In the context of this research, the vulnerable groups mainly come from the peripheries and, as Crazy Ink reminds us, the pixadores' spatial segregation renders their social condition even more vulnerable to oppression: "we all come from the hood, from suffering, we are repressed by this right wing government, which also humiliates us and fucks us up every day" (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014).

The likelihood of pixadores being the objects of repression is greater for those who share – as most do – other targeted, stereotypical labels: poor, black, male, living in the peripheries. People with each of these attributes are criminalized and thus more likely to find themselves in encounters with the police. Further, the same labels influence the stories people tell themselves about what must have happened during a police encounter. These stories, typically constructed without much hard information, rarely portray the objects of violence as victims. Those poor, black, men from the peripheries, the logic goes, must have been doing something wrong (see also Andrade, 2012). The

stigma runs even deeper for pixadores, who choose to work in public spaces where they are relatively likely to attract police attention.

Since the categories of "delinquent" and "victim" are treated as mutually exclusionary, the criminalization of an individual or social group disregards its victimhood and therefore generates something approaching immunity for offenders against them. This inversion, in which the offender becomes a victim, is very present in the everyday life of pixadores, as SunnyBoy remembers: "I was already robbed by a police officer. They took all the car's items, sound, everything inside. The police are very complicated..." (Interview, SunnyBoy, January 2014).

Pixadores are targeted in both layers of the criminal justice system: primary and secondary criminalization (see Chapter Three for a conceptual development of criminalization and structural violence in Brazil; see also Baratta, 2004; Carvalho, 2010b; Weis, 2017; Eugenio Raul Zaffaroni & Batista, 2011). Zaffaroni defines primary criminalization, or repressive penal legislation, "as the specific regulations, acts and laws that are issued by state agencies, whereas secondary criminalization is [...] the real exercise of repression, that is to say, [...] the individualization of persons on whom it falls, be this in the form of punishment, death or physical pain, legally or illegally imposed by executing agencies."

Regarding the primary criminalization of pixação, especially as it is placed in opposition to graffiti (as analyzed in section 6.2 below), I suggest that the filtering process that criminalizes one style (pixação) and considers the other one as art (graffiti) takes into account not only aesthetic parameters, but also the social class and economic condition of its practitioners. The criminalization of popular classes, as discussed in Chapter Three, has been historically used as one of the main tools of social control in Brazil. I have argued elsewhere that the criminalization of pixação represents a point on a historical continuum of criminalization of popular culture that also includes samba and capoeira; criminalization is a way to restrain not only the cultural manifestation itself but specially to neutralize the social emancipatory potential of these groups (Larruscahim & Schweizer, 2015). The analysis below builds on these theoretical insights.

Secondary criminalization in its turn is here analyzed in relation to the actual police violence and also how stereotypes of class, race, gender and even place, also influence more violent police approaches. Weiss reminds that "this secondary filtering process is influenced by the class and racial characteristics of the offenders, and also by their age and gender" (Weis, 2017, p. 6). This is confirmed n a recent newspaper interview with Colonel Ricardo Augusto Nascimento de Mello Araújo, the new commander of Rota, the elite military of the Military Police of São Paulo, who has recently defined the way police officers should act on the streets:

> If he [a policeman] is to approach a person [in the periphery], just as he is going to approach a person here in the Jardins [Noble region of São Paulo], he will have difficulty. He will not going to be respected. Similarly, if I send a [policeman] from the periphery to deal with, talk in the same way, in the same language as a person from the periphery speaks here in the Jardins, he may ended up being rude to a person from Jardins. (L. Adorno, 2017)

After almost ten months of attending the weekly Pixadores Meeting Point in São Paulo's city center, as well as going to other Meeting Points, visiting pixadores at their homes (always in the periphery) and listening to their life stories, I had gathered enough data to support confidently the findings of other researchers (Caldeira, 2012a; Pereira, 2010a): pixadores originate mainly in the poor areas of the city, and most of them are black.

Given this consonance of race and class, one can note that in addition to the selective criminalization pixadores face as pixadores, they also face selective criminalization on the basis of a range of other characteristics: (a) youth, (b) from the periphery, who are (c) male and (d) black. Given all of this, the chance of being criminalized and suffering police abuses is most present in public space. This is important. Public space is where the pixador subculture is defined and practiced. With criminalization, public space a space of risk specifically for pixadores, a space unsuitable for their leisure activities, whether something as simple as doing a rolê or for more provocative interventions like pixação. To avoid these risks, these subjects are forced to use formerly public spaces only for locomotion, that is, for movement between the safe spaces of work, consumption and family life (see also Mitchell, 1995).

Pixadores, however, developed a different relationship with public space and the risks that it presents. Their consciousness about their vulnerable condition to the risks of public space – especially police violence – were very often present in my conversations with pixadores. Thus, one might expect to find that members of such a vulnerable group would also try to minimize risks of being criminalized, policed and assaulted by staying out of public space.

Pixadores often don't. In the case of pixadores, exactly the opposite happens. In general, they accept the risks associated with pixação, including its criminalization, as Elements explains: "They [police] can beat me, they can arrest me but I did not change my mind: I will not give up from pixação" (Elements, field notes, São Paulo, March 2014).

In general pixadores do not question the fact that pixação is criminalized. Even accepting these risks – which ultimately can lead to death – and their vulnerable condition, pixadores still question police abuses and the uneven way in which the criminal justice system deals with pixação, as Woof explains:

> we know that pixação is a crime and that not everybody think it is nice as we do, but what we cannot admit is to be bash up and humiliated by the police. They [police] normally approach us imagining that we are ignorant, that we are not even able to recognize our own rights, so what I do is take a serious attitude and always try to argue with the police officer, to show them that I'm not an ignorant favelado. (Woof, field notes, January 2014)

Regarding the ways in which the poor deal with violence, Young pointed out a decade ago (2007) that the lens of the criminologists tends to dismiss narratives on resistance and resilience. Many pixador narratives treat criminalization and police violence almost as synonyms, as when Woof points out that on one hand they accept criminalization and that "people" do not like pixação, yet "this resilience is all the more notable when compared with the panicked reactions of the middle and upper classes, who can remove themselves so much more

easily from violent situations and retreat into their walled enclaves" (Mcilwaine & Moser, 2007).

Social spatial segregation – through fragmentation of urban space combined with near-immobility – might powerfully affect the ways the urban poor deal with violence. As suggested by Mcilwaine and Moser (2007), while the middle and the upper classes are allowed to freaked reactions against violence due to its capability of mobility, resilience for the poor is often the unique possible reaction to cope with urban violence. In that sense, foreshadowing the debate on resistance amongst pixador subculture, as it was theoretically proposed in Chapter Three, I will suggest in Chapter Seven that new forms of overt pixador political resistance must be considered as important emancipatory responses to problems exacerbated by the effects of socio-spatial fragmentation and urban violence, especially when these two work in tandem.

6.2 On how pixação became criminalized in opposition to graffiti: different layers of a dichotomic discourse

As has been discussed throughout this work, the difference between graffiti and pixação was built upon a supposedly antagonistic relationship, defined by categories such as art vs vandalism, cleanliness vs dirt, beauty vs soiling and authorized vs non-authorized. This discursively constructed dichotomy between graffiti and pixação – art and anti-art – dominates different layers of public discourse and social interaction. It manifests itself in media discourses, and in how state actors try to cope with pixação, firstly through strict enforcement of criminal law and, more recently, through 'pedagogical' police strategies.

This section discusses the discursive basis on which the process of criminalization of pixação has evolved. It will be shown that media campaigns and governments acted as moral entrepreneurs (see section 6.2.1; also Becker, 1963) to demonize pixação subculture, the figure of the pixador and the aesthetics of pixação, always as mirror images of the subculture, [figure] and aesthetics attributed to graffiti.

6.2.1 Media discourse

Since the word pixação (then spelled pichação) first appeared in mainstream media in the late 1980s, the dominant media discourse has framed it in language related to dirt and vandalism. Furthermore, pixação has been, and continues to be, discursively connected with citizen perceptions of insecurity, and insufficient interventions by the authorities. López (2015), who conducted a comprehensive analysis on the dichotomic relationship between graffiti and pixação as presented in newspapers, summarizes the media discourse on pixação as follows:

> Pichação is described as an epidemic (outbreak), related to the ideas of dirt and pollution. The producers are considered as illiterate, sometimes are even described as uncivilized and non-human. The social costs of pichação/pixação are also emphasized, not only its economic impact on the real estate business, but also in terms of notions of heritage, identity and morals. (López, 2015, p. 123)

This media discourse remains hegemonic in many spheres, and continues to dominate the perception of pixação in everyday language and especially in political discourse, where itinfluences the increasingly repressive legislative responses and legitimizing police violence. Pixadores themselves are well aware of the power and prejudice of the media. Crazy Ink, for example, observes the single, unchanging focus of media discourse regarding pixação:

> I remember when I look at the newspaper reports of the 1990s about pixação, it looks like everything is the same as today, the same themes are debated: whether pixação is art or vandalism and always understood as something done by criminals and bandits. The themes explored by the media today are the same themes of the past. (Crazy Ink, field notes, March 2014).

When Crazy Ink references newspaper articles, he is actually referring to "pixação's folders", which are described in the previous chapter as an important subcultural tradition; as through this refined system of archive, pixadores preserve not only the history of their personal trajectory, but also the very history of pixação. That tradition has enriched the analysis presented here, which at some moments would have been impossible without it. Devil 666 showed me his massive collection of newspaper articles, carefully preserved in his folders (extract from Devil 666' pixação's folder, Dec 2013), which document clearly the media's framing of pixadores as bandits, vandals, trouble makers, an urban plague, and gangsters:

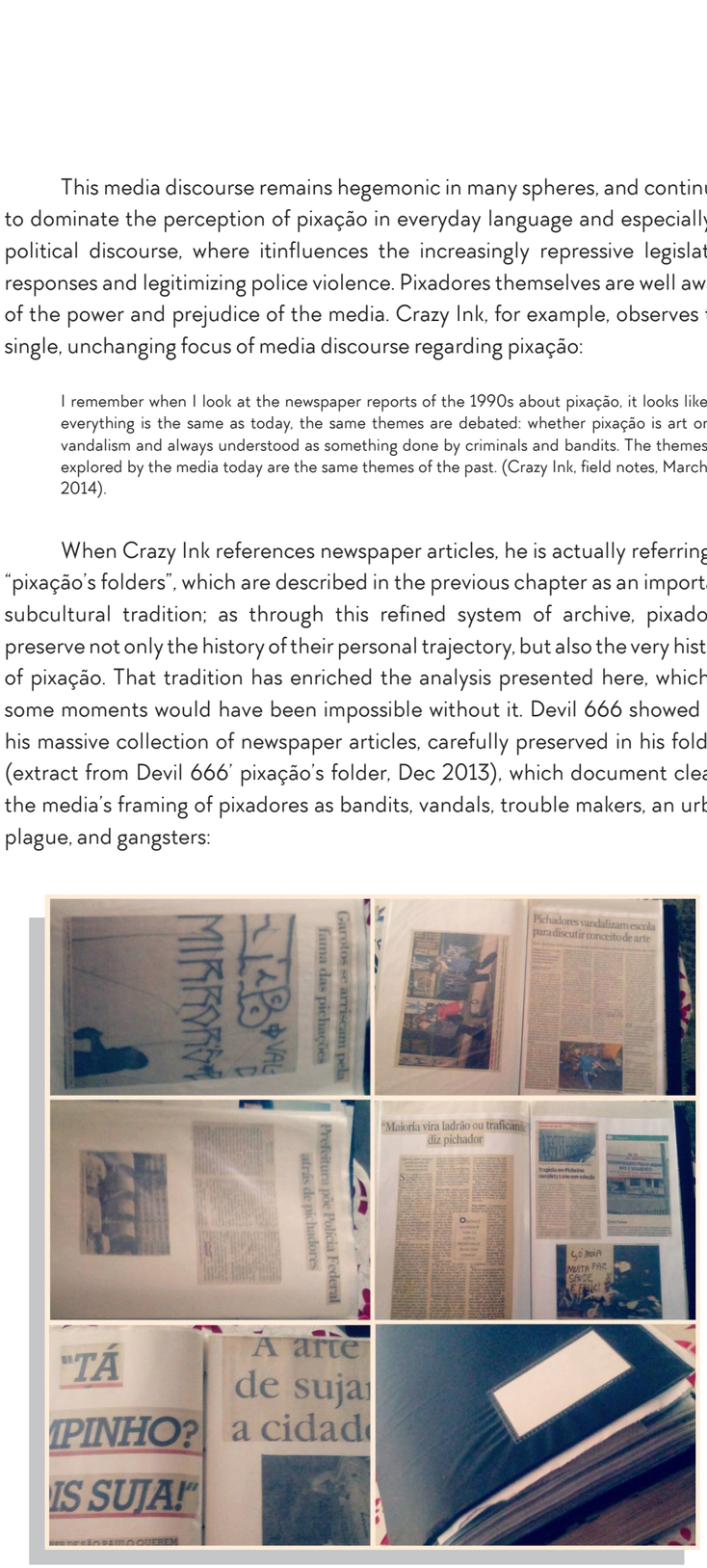


Figure 27: Devil 666, displays his "pixação's folders", a systematic and detailed technique for archiving pixação as presented in newspapers. Photo credit: Devil 666 personal collection

Here, moral entrepreneurship is a key concept to understand crime and deviance not as ontological categories and "not a quality that lies in behaviour itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it" (Becker, 1963, p. 14). The typical rule creator, according to Becker, is a "crusading reformer. He is interested in the content of rules. The existing rules do not satisfy him because there is some evil which profoundly disturbs him" (1963, p. 147). The first moral crusade against pixação in São Paulo dates back to the 1980s, when mayor Jânio Quadros headed one of the first large appearances of pixação in the media. In 1988, Quadros declared a war against pixadores. In the Official Gazette of the Municipality of São Paulo he announced they would be "processed with utmost rigor" and could soon "write on the jail" (Suplemento do Diário Oficial do Município de São Paulo, 1988). Again, in 2000, São Paulo mayor Celso Pitta declared that "we cannot bow in the face of organized crime which is pixação" (Folha de São Paulo, 2000).

Regarding the media discourse on pixação, its narrative commonly frames the pixador stereotypically, perhaps even archtypically, as someone who is an enemy of society and of the patrimony, a subject completely devoid of empathy and therefore to be considered dangerous. The construction of this type of narrative on crime and deviance by the media, also understood as the construction of a moral panic, helps to create and reinforce a process of mass stigmatization that, according to Jock Young,

> [...] involves a widely circulated narrative on the genesis, proclivity and nemesis of a particular deviant group that tends to amplify in intensity over time (particularly in terms of the number of supposed incidents) and then finally extinguishes. It very frequently results in a process of deviancy amplification, a translation of fantasy into reality, where, in certain aspects, the initial stereotypes are self-fulfilled. (Young, 2009)

Besides being framed as vandalism and dirt, some newspaper articles describe pixação as anti-civic, a frame that contributes to the construction of a direct opposition between pixação and art. Titles like "Monuments of SP [São Paulo] deal with problems like pichação, excrement, urine and filth" (Folha de São Paulo, 2012) tell the reader how to perceive pixação. Several newspaper articles placed pixação in opposition with good, arty interventions in public space. As early as 1989, the Jornal de Santo Amaro, from the Southern Zone of the metropolis titled "Graffisms and pichações – art e dirtiness" (GSA, 1989), to indicate the antagonist relationship between graffiti and pixação. Other articles use graffiti artists in their quest to denigrate pixação. One such artist was quoted as saying, "It [pixação] is pure vandalism. It makes the city really ugly. (Folha de São Paulo, 2004).

6.2.2 Cleaning policies

After the Municipality launched the "Clean City Law" in 2006, which banned a considerable share of publicity in São Paulo's public space, in 2007 the municipal "Anti-pichação Act" passed the council, which intended to clean the city of the interventions that had taken advantage of the liberated

visual space. Andrea Matarazzo, the Secretary of Sub-prefectures responsible for the execution of the cleaning policy, equipped every one of the city's 31 administrative districts with an "antipichação-truck" (see Figure 28). Ever since, the 31 trucks have circled the city, cleaning and grey-painting pixação off the city's walls – pixação not graffiti.

Regina Monteiro, who was president of the Commission for Protection of the Urban Landscape from 2006 to 2012 and who wrote the Clean City Law, explained the city administration's need to define categories to instruct the cleaning measures. Even though she mentioned difficulties in finding clear criteria for these definitions, she left no doubt that the terms to distinguish welcome from unwelcome interventions were "graffiti" and "pixação":

Figure 28: Painting and recuperation of written (pixadas) surfaces, or in graffiti writing argot: " the buff". Photo: Fabio Vieira

> Independently from the fact you like something or not, graffiti – we started to try to define the difference between graffiti and pixação. Not that there was a clear difference. But I started to stipulate a certain context, otherwise it would be really difficult to deal with that. How would you discriminate certain things from each other? (Regina Monteiro, Interview, March 2014)

Definitional challenges led to confusion in the field. Several authorized murals, some even financed by the Council Hall, were erased by painting and recuperation teams. "The employees decide what is grafitti and what not. He might look at it and say: 'That is ugly, I'll erase it.', explains a municipal officer (Folha de São Paulo, 2014). After some public quarrels between grafitti artists and the Council Hall, [20] representatives promised to improve the cleaning policies' "precision". Municipal Secretary of Culture, Juca Ferreira affirmed: "The order is: pixação is erased and graffiti is kept" (Folha de São Paulo, 2014). Regarding

20. Regarding this quarrel between São Paulo's Council Hall and graffiti artists, see also the documentary "Cidade Cinza" ("Grey City", Mesquita & Valiengo, 2013).

the relationship between the aesthetic power and the urban landscape, Millie points out that issues of power, image and aesthetics play an important role on the management of public space and, quoting Zukin (1995), remembers that "the look and feel of cities reflect decisions about what – and who – should be visible and what should not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power" (Millie, 2017, p. 65).

The city's cleaning policy more than a selective discrimination against pixação in opposition to graffiti. In addition, a second strategy to deprive pixação of visibility in public space relies on oppositional graffiti as a very means to suppress pixação. Alexandre Youssef, at that time representative of the municipal Coordination for the Youth, understood that in addition to "immediate painting over", pixação can also be combatted through "invest[ments] in urban art and graffiti". Even though the repressive discourse was always the most dominant one, as early as the beginning 1990s, another idea of how to cope with pixação was existent. Based on the same assumption that pixação was 'dirtiness', some commentators and policymakers saw the possibility to use the 'beautiful' to fight the 'ugly' – employing 'art' in public space[21]. This strategy intends to create art that occupies walls in public space, assuming that pixadores would not dare to write over.

While São Paulo's mayors have long exerted themselves to present the city as clean and safe, as part of their strategy for consolidating the city's status as a focal point of the 21st century globalized economy, the rigorous painting-over that followed the Anti-pichação Act in 2007 led to an unintended consequence: the city's international reputation was increasingly dominated by unfortunate images that portrayed the city as uninviting, grey and dismal. This perception was disseminated even more with the international success of Mesquita and Valiengo's 2013 documentary, "Grey City". Simultaneously, Brazilian urban art and graffiti became ever more appreciated on global cultural markets, São Paulo's Council Hall, under Mayor Fernando Haddad (2013–2016), recognized the opportunity and promoted a range of graffiti projects. In order to recast São Paulo as a city that is not only clean but also colorful, cosmopolitan, cool and arty(Reid, 2014, p. 14), urban policymakers under the Workers Party's administration have reinforced the opposition between graffiti and pixação, framing graffiti as art and rigorously differentiating it from pixação – still associated with dirt and crime.

These commodification and appropriation policies have been widely contested by conservative forces. Mayor Haddad was harshly criticised for 'spoiling' the urban landscape with graffiti, but he did not take the denunciations lying down. Dismissing criticism concerning municipality-commissioned murals along 23 de Maio Avenue commissioned, Haddad explained that "[t]his wall was full of dirt and pixação. We had to clean it every month." Haddad emphasized that his proactive graffiti policy twas an instrument for "modernization", attracting "tourists who come to São Paulo to see its graffiti" – and preventing pixação at the same time (Jovem Pan, 2015).

20. Regarding this quarrel between São Paulo's Council Hall and graffiti artists, see also the documentary "Cidade Cinza" ("Grey City", Mesquita & Valiengo, 2013).

Several Brazilian city administrations have graffiti-based anti-pixação. In Curitiba, the second phase of the project "Pichação is Crime" ran under the motto "Promote Graffiti" and cost the municipality a total sum of R$ 1.9 million (about €450,000) in the four years of its duration. The project was designed specifically to deprive the city's wall from pixadores, who were honor-bound not to paint over the colorful graffiti (Bozo, Municipal Guard, field notes, date April 2014). A representative of the Municipal Guard of Curitiba explained the city strategy against pixação:

> We want to create a record of persons who have been arrested for doing pixação, but who are, in reality, graffiti artists. We will compile a register of voluntary graffiti artists. We are going to form an army of graffiti artists to combat pixação. (Bozo, Municipal Guard, field notes, April 2014)

Again, these policies conceptualize pixação and graffiti as naturally oppositional elements – the good and the bad. Despite the hue used by 31 trucks to combat the pixação subculture, the analysis was presented by municipal leaders without any hint of grey. Politicians actively use this oppositional frame to legitimise the one through the other, as Mayor Haddad did with the murals along 23 de Maio Avenue.

6.2.3 Pedagogical urban policies

The authorities not only use commodification to take pixação images away from pixadores; they also try to use education to try to separate pixadores from their pixação subculture. Commentators suggest that graffiti might actually serve as "magic" or "medicine" against its mirror image, pixação, especially when it is part of "educational"

Graffiti is often suggested as a means to educate pixadores, to offer a more appropriate way of expression to them – an educative means to bring 'errant youth' back on the right path. "The pixador is someone who does pixação because he is not skillful enough to make graffiti" (Bozo, Municipal Guard, field notes, April 2014). This quote by the responsible for the anti-pixo program in Curitiba demonstrates a perception of pixação and its practitioners, which has become viral in Brazilian cities in the last years. Some policy approaches now deal with pixadores not solely as 'criminal outlaws', but use a more pedagogical approach, treating them as marginalized youth who are presently incapable of expressing their discomfort with social inequality in an appropriate way, and who thus 'soil' the city with pixação as a coping mechanism.

As early as 1988, Juneca, one of São Paulo's well known old-school pixadores, announced in a local newspaper: "It's a year that I don't do pixação, now I make only art" (Folha de São Paulo, 1988). Ever since, newspapers have referred to Juneca as the "reformed pixador" who, "now that he turned into an artist, he writes on those who soil the city" (Jornal da Tade, May 13, 2002). Juneca himself, roughly 25 years later, describes his personal development as follows:

> My luck was that I got to know an artist, who approached me and asked: 'Wouldn't you like to get to know graffiti?' [...] I evolved and, today, have exhibited in the MASP and Brazil's biggest museums. [...] Pixação is a phase, but you have to go on evolve yourself! (Interview, São Paulo, March 2015)

This model has been applied in educational policy programs for civic education focused on behavior in public space. An educational booklet published by the Foundation Educating Dpaschoal tells the story of the city's children who, guided by protagonist "Felício Happy", have decided

> to tell all their friends that the inks used to write on walls and monuments should be used to prettify the city" or be delivered to teachers so that these could use them to teach graffiti, an art form that is expressed on the streets... (Secco, 1999, p. 12)

This approach has become especially present in political discourse since the election of Mayor Fernando Haddad from the Workers Party (PT) in 2013.

Regina Monteiro, who was responsible for the Clean City Law, as already mentioned, deepened the dichotomy between pixação and graffiti, suggesting that pixadores just needed an opportunity to learn how to draw pleasant and colorful figures:

> Look, these pixação guys, everybody says that they were gangsters, but they just want to express themselves. I think it's logical that one has to express himself in one way or another. But someone like Rui Amaral or Binho [two of the city's most recognized graffiti artists, who both collaborated repeatedly with the municipal administration] easily take these guys, give them a spray can, and teach them colour and perspective. They will stop [doing pixação] on their own. That's the way: take the black pixo away from them and provide them with colours. [...] Like that, the boys can keep on expressing themselves, but communicating, not by provocation and damage. (Regina Monteiro, Interview, March 2015)

This perspective implies the possibility that by enacting good social and educational policies – for example, using graffiti to adapt the 'marginalized other' (see Young, 2011) into the legitimate identity of Brazilian bourgeois society – pixadores will be dissuaded from their irrational, destructive practices and may be encouraged to develop more positive, creative, artistic ways of expression. This is one aspect of an othering process, by which the marginalized are converted into a good citizen, or into someone "just like us" as Jock Young (2011) suggested.

6.2.4 Repression and enforcement

From the late 1970s until the late 1990s, pixação was not criminalized with a specific legal act, but instead framed and prosecuted, typically with fines, under regulations related to property damage. City Hall's legal act 10.315/87, of which regulates public cleaning, prohibited scratching, smudging, writing and pasting posters onto public space. In 2002, the legal act 13.478/02, also related to public cleaning, again framed pixação writing as an administrative infraction.

In 1998, in the level of the federal legislation, after nearly seven years of debate in the National Congress, the Environmental Crimes Act (Law 9605/1998) was enacted. This defined both graffiti and pixação as acts

of "defilement" and "soiling" – and as acts "against the urban order and cultural heritage." At that time, both graffiti and pixação were understood as identical categories and there was already a kind of "criminalizing censorship" (Larruscahim, 2010) regarding the use of urban space, but against both, pixação and graffiti, which were seen as acts of "defilement" in the literal sense of the word: "filth, dirty, defile, corrupt" (Porto Editorial, 2011).

At the same time a particular style of figurative graffiti in Brazil became more and more commodified, and also was used as a way to prevent pixação, in 2011 the Legal Act 9605/98 was remanded and established the conditional decriminalization of graffiti under two conditions: when performed with allowance of the property owner; and with the purpose of valorising public or private property through artistic expression. Pixação on the other hand, continued to be considered an act of defilement, soiling, and polluting, and continued to be prohibited.

Although the new text on pixação offenses and graffiti was not enacted until 2011, the bill had been through a four-year process in Congress. Analysis of this process offers suggestions about the demonized discourse on pixação as opposed to graffiti in the legal discourse sphere was constructed at the turn of the twentieth century to the twenty-first century. The original text of the legal act explicitly conceptualized pixação as an illegal act. The bill (PL 706/2007) was justified in terms of the need to "combat pichação crime" while expressly differentiating pixação from graffiti, which happens to be understood as artistic and cultural expression. As the bill worked its way through the process, an important shift in pixação subculture was occurring: as graffiti was becoming more and more commodified and pixadores more and more demonized, a group of pixadores commenced to consider the opposition between graffiti and pixação:

> In old times there was even a certain idolatry about graffiti, many pixadores thought that the graffiti artist was superior. That's why a number of pixadores believed that graffiti was an evolution of pixação, understand? That was the mindset of the '90s and I see that these guys have not woken up yet. They're too slow, you know? They are still accepting that graffiti artists make connections between themselves and the art market or with the media. That thing Devil 666 and I have already overcome a long time ago. All this harassment, and abuse, we eliminated these middlemen, we completely changed the posture. Today we have no intermediary speaking for us; we are increasingly cutting off the middlemen and creating autonomy, understood? And the old guard guys of pixação are kind of going against that story because they're still so stuck in that old thought that they stay with that eternal and infinite romanticism and do not wake up to reality. (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013).

The final text of the law places Brazil as the first and probably still the only country in which the criminal law regulates two categories of visual interventions in urban space in a dichotomous way through the opposition of the concepts of "art" and "defilement". In the same way that graffiti and street art are opposed to each other around the globe, in Brazil pixação and graffiti are confronted as two exclusionary kinds of urban interventions. As A. Young points out when she analyzes "the contradictions and contestations" around graffiti and street art, "the dividing line between the two communities is not as stark as it might sometimes seem, or is often claimed, even though there exists real

antagonism"(A. Young, 2016, pp. 13–14). This is similar to what occurs between graffiti and pixação in Brazil. Although in fact there is much rivalry, dispute and conflict between pixadores and graffiti writers, I met a number of pixadores who also do graffiti, as well as established graffiti artitists who doing illegal graffiti. For Grand Father, the change in the law in 2011 did not affect pixadores very much. In his perception, pixação was always criminalized, hated and persecuted:

> I think that this change in the law ended up criminalizing more illegal graffiti than pixação, because pixação was on the same level as it was already, and then I think what was highlighted in this law was that graffiti had to be authorized, so it ended up criminalizing more ILLEGAL graffiti. (Grand Father, Interview, Dec 2013).

When Grand Father refers to illegal graffiti he is actually drawing attention to the fact that many graffiti writers who became recognized street artists started to claim a kind of immunity against law enforcement due to the fact that very often they were also working for the state and doing something for free to beautify the city. An episode that illustrates well this situation took place when I was doing fieldwork in São Paulo. In the end of 2013, a relatively famous graffiti writer was arrested when he was illegally bringing his art to the walls of São Paulo, as reported in the newspaper headline: "They caught a person who was trying to beautify a place" (Teixeira, R. 2014, Jan 17. Folha de São Paulo). Just a month after the episode, I managed to interview E-live, the graffiti artist, who offered this context:

> At that time, people there were doing crack and drug dealing, and kids were begging for food near where I was painting, but they [police] decided to arrest the one who was trying to make that place more bright and beautiful. I was arrested but after 3 hours I was already released. What bothered me was knowledge that the media was calling me a criminal. (E-live. Interview, February, 2014).

E-live explains that he always had problems with police, regardless of whether he was doing authorized graffiti or not. E-live is black, relatively young and comes from a distant southern periphery of São Paulo. He was never into pixação, but when he was 12 years old, he attended a graffiti festival in his neighborhood and fell in love with the spray can. He started to write, "hey mum" on the walls of the way that his mother walked to work (E-live. Interview, February 2014). According to him, thanks to a lot of effort, he managed to subvert the Brazilian statistics; he graduated with a scholarship in visual arts and became a teacher at the age of 18. He explains that the simple fact of intervening in the streets is itself militancy, a perspective shared by pixadores, and that the capacity to argue and the level of education and instruction play a great influence when he has to deal with police:

> The police work as follows: the lower the hierarchical level, the more stupid and ignorant they are. This is the case of the police officers who are street patrolling. They always want to get the most harmless. (E-live, Interview, February 2014)

According to the current penal legislation, pixação and unauthorized graffiti are punished with imprisonment of three months up to one year, in addition

to a fine. In Brazil, this is considered a "crime of minor offensive potential", which means that the pixador might not be sent to prison. His sentence might consist of a fine, probation, and one or another form of supervised community service.

This contrast between the legal framework and the rhetoric of pixação – the first includes substitutes to imprisonment while the second frames it as gang crime or even as organized crime – is feasibly explained by Carvalho (2010b):

> The policy of criminal substitutions does not break with the structure of centralized punishment in prisons. On the contrary, it would act as an element of reproduction and relegitimation of the logic of incarceration. (Carvalho, 2010c, p. 47)

In the specific case of pixação, this reproduction and relegitimation of the logic of incarceration, which according to Carvalho (2014) and Zaffaroni (1988) is also a logic of genocide, is reproduced by police and very well understood by Sunny-Boy, who believes that extra-judicial punishments occur due the fact that pixação has a very mild formal punishment:

> Police officers in São Paulo feel very frustrated [when they] arrest us because they know that we will be released the day after. So if they see in our records that we have a long list of arrests and are still active, they will create and forge evidence that we were committing more serious crimes. This recently happened to a pixador friend of mine. The police office told him: mate, we gave you various chances by arresting you doing pixação, so now is time for you to learn the lesson; now you are going to be arrested for robbery. (Sunny- Boy, Interview, January 2014)

For Grand Father, the relationship between police and pixadores was always underpinned by sadism and violence:

> I see that the relationship between police and pixadores has always been a very sadistic one and quite oppressive by the police. Something that is very common even, that I realized over the years is that police use the pixador as a kind of a punching bag, understood? (Grand Father, Interview, December, 2013)

When Grand Father asserts that police use pixadores as a kind of punching bag, he is actually explaining that this treatment is a reflection of the selective penal system as practiced by the police:

> Police think that they cannot legally harm pixadores because the judicial process for doing pixação generates a very low penalty. So they [police] establish a relationship like this: if they assault us, they will not conduct us to police station and thus, there will be no prosecution, so they ask us to choose what kind of punishment we want, if we want to be painted, if we want to be assaulted ... Some give this option, others simply apply it, understood? Most of the time if they take us to the police station to make a police report, we will not be assaulted or tortured. But the cases of being taken to the police station usually happen when the [property owner] goes to the police station to make a report. When they [police] catch us on the street, we are at their mercy. So there's every kind of punishment you can imagine, from painting, beating, humiliating, doing some kind of sadistic joke. Very often they suggest that we beat each other... (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013)

In addition to the reproduction and relegitimation of a genocidal logic of incarceration through this non-official and parallel system of punishment, as discussed in chapters two and three, formal penalties in the form of high municipal fines are also becoming menacing. That is the case in São Paulo, where in 2017 the city council approved a municipal law that established a fine of R$

5000 (€~1250, likely more than half of a pixador's annual income) for pixação.

As discussed above, the 2011 law's definition of what constitutes a crime against environment sets graffiti and pixação in direct opposition to each other. However, the law does not provide any criteria to differentiate them visually. Consequently, the categorization of any given intervention as graffiti or pixação is, for the most part, arbitrarily done by the respective police officer on the street:

> Ohh, when you see unintelligible, ugly scribbles it's pixação, that's a crime. But when it comes to colorful, well-made drawings, this is graffiti, it's art. (Grey, field notes, São Paulo, March 2014)

Cultural criminologists have emphasized how the analysis of crime and deviance should go beyond a static interpretation of the law and "examine how human action invokes the creative generation of meaning, but also how powerful agencies attempt to steal creativity and meaning away from the deviant and the criminal" (Ferrell et al., 2015b, p. 35). Interestingly, these common practices are similar to the cleaning modalities, which leaves the decision as to whether an intervention is pixação, and thus to be cleaned, or graffiti and street art, which might stay, to the municipalities' cleaning staffs (see Figure 28 above).

These invisible fringes that distinguish graffiti from pixação have also an effect on the ways in which their practitioners deal with repression and of course, on how repression and enforcement enact, depending on whether the officer in charge considers the painting on the wall graffiti or pixação. Thus, the following section brings data related to the cases in which pixadores were approached by police, but, instead of being conducted to the police station, they were humiliated, assaulted, abused and tortured by the police. The section also reveals and analyzes the ways in which pixadores deal with police violence.

6.3 Surviving humiliation and torture

An important aspect of exclusionary processes in which the offender becomes a victim, as examined in section 6.1 of this chapter, appears in the abusive way that pixadores are approached by police officers. Very often, when a pixador performing pixação is caught by police he is assaulted, tortured and sometimes even murdered. Stoned recalls one of the many times that he was humiliated and abused by police:

> As I was finishing my piece [pixo], the police car stopped in front of the building, looked up and saw me. Then they said, 'Oh, come down'. As soon as I got down the policemen came, hitting me and punching me in the middle of my face. They broke me, they beat me up, and beat me to the point where I felt completely broken. Then, all of a sudden lots of other police cars came, I think more than ten vehicles. They leaned against me in a dark corner that no one could see and started hitting me again. They beat me up, they really broke me, I never really got as much as I did that day. Then they tore all my documents, ripped my money, ripped all my money, I think I had sixty, seventy [Brazilian Reais], they ripped everything: documents, insurance number, ID, bank card ...I used to have all my documents with me. They broke my cell phone, painted me all over with the spray can, painted my face, painted my arms, and my sneakers, my back, they destroyed me. I remember that there was also a female police officer. I remember until today, but they removed their identifications. So this police officer had a knife, I do not know from where she got that knife ... and she was begging the other police officer, 'let me stick him here, let me stick him here, we get him here, kill him and put him inside of the vehicle and then we disappear with him and nobody will see. It's dark, we can also say that he tried to react.' But the other policeman said, 'no don't cut him, he might scream and people who live nearby may listen and things can go wrong'. But then she started to press the tip of the knife into my throat and told me she was going to stick me. She did not stick me because the other policeman did not let her. If he had, she would have done it. Then the other policeman came and asked, 'Are you a pixador? Now you will see what you will win'! And started to paint me all over again. He wanted me to open my mouth to paint inside my mouth. These guys are cruel, they really screwed me. I think it lasted half an hour ... then after half an hour, they said 'take it all this from the floor (my documents, money, wallet, cell phone), take it all, put it in your pocket and leave!' (Stoned, Interview, São Paulo, October 2013)

Stoned's detailed account of an 'unsuccessful pixação role', as pixadores have come to label an evening when they are arrested or caught by police, reveals not only the incomprehensibly sadistic desire of police officers to demean and humiliate, but also their aim of eliminating and getting rid of someone. Someone they assume, is not going to be missed, someone who they understand to be little more than human waste. As the female police officer says, "we disappear with him and nobody will see." Regarding the assumption that the life of certain people is not worth much, Scheper-Hughes explains that "marginal people (the poor and propertyless classes) are seen by a great many Brazilians, not as rights-bearing individuals, but rather as bandits, public enemies, and rubbish people who often are better off dead" (Scheper-Hughes, 2006, p. 154).

Stoned's story also brings a glimpse of another serious issue related to police violence, which is the Autos de Resistência (Resistance to Authority). Autos de Resistência is the name of the procedure used to investigate cases of homicides committed by police officers in service. This procedure was created during the military regime in the late 1960s and it is focused not primarily on the action of the police officer, but rather on the conduct of the victim, who is assumed to have offered resistance against the police officer approach and therefore killed. The report's performance begins with the understanding that the police officer's actions were justified – investigations and official statistics have never indicated otherwise – so the only question revolves what quality of resistance led to this unfortunate outcome. Stoned was well aware of this when the female police officer asked for permission kill him: "let me stick him here, we get him here, kill him and put inside of the vehicle and then we disappear with him and nobody will see. It's dark, we can also say that he tried to react" (Stoned. Interview, October 2013, emphasis added). Misse, Grillo, Teixeira, and Neri, who conducted research on Autos de Resistência in Rio de Janeiro from 2001 to 2011, point out that the special classification of these cases has also produced a special treatment for police officers; it is impossible to contest and oppose their version regarding the case. The researchers argue that this special procedure enables police officers to freely exterminate and kill suspects, for any reason and without any legal barrier for their extermination practices (Misse et al., 2013, pp. 7–8).[22]

I realized quite early in the field that this vulnerability to criminalization and police violence, independent of legal foundation and even independent

22. In 2016, the term Autos de Resistência was replaced by the expression, "resistance followed by death". Commentators on the subject do not ascribe a significant change in the culture of killings as a result of the new language. See https://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/fim-do- auto-de-resistencia-e-mudanca-cosmetica-dizem-especialistas.

of pixação as a visual representation, is' not a mere statistical probability but is constantly present in the everyday rhythm of most pixadores' lives, regardless of age. As most of them live on the peripheries, police are seen as the archtypical representative of the State, in the form of violence. Narratives about encounters with police officers commonly include stories of intentional cruelty. It is not by coincidence that police officers are referred as "worms":

> when the worms came into the periphery, they came only to humiliate and abuse us, by beating up, breaking into our houses or even murdering. (Elements, Interview, São Paulo, January 2014)

Others tell stories of acquaintances or relatives being murdered by police. Their grief is apparent even as they speak in a quite natural tone. In a group of young pixadores that were on probation in São Paulo's northern periphery, a young guy handed me his mobile phone, which showed a picture of him with his best friend. He explained, trying to sound matter-of-fact but not quite succeeding, that he was sad because his friend was murdered by police officers in a battle between drug dealers and police (field notes, São Paulo, June 2014).

When Ferrell (1995) described demands by United States politicians as "absurd", recalling shouts for penalties like shooting writers, or spraypainting writers genitals, against graffiti writers in Denver, he might not have realized that these are common practices in the treatment of pixadores, not only by Brazilian police officers but also, as shown in the previous chapter, by passers-by who catch pixadores in the act of creating pixação. There are several forms of physical and psychological violence practiced against pixadores that were identified in their narratives on their encounters with police as for example, the ink shower, the Russian Roulette, kidnapping, physical assault, psychological torture, physical torture and flagrantly forged arrest. In thi section I will focus on the ink shower, which is an omnipresent form of violence against pixadores and generally comprises all the other forms of police violence mencioned above.

Figure 29: this Facebook image became viral in Brazil by the end of 2013, when military police officers in the Northeast of Brazil were photographed giving an ink shower to two pixadores (G1, 9 Dec 2013).

Likewise, this section examines the different ways in which pixadores deal with police violence. By analyzing pixadore's narratives, I argue that at least three mechanisms are used to deal with police violence: humor, dialogue and, very recently, protest, which is more deeply analyzed in the Chapter Seven's discussion of pixação as a form of subcultural resistance.

The first time I heard about the famous ink shower was in a conference about pixação in Salvador in 2013, when a pixador was describing his first time doing pixação: "the police caught me and they gave me an ink shower, I was pretty mad, I went back home completely full of ink. That day I learned that pixação would be a part of me" (Grand Father, field notes, May 2013). The ink shower, a form of humiliation used by police officers, consists of spray painting the whole body of a pixador who is caught doing pixação with the same ink spray that they had been using to write. Sometimes pixadores are cruelly forced to open their mouths to receive an inkjet, or to drop their pants to expose their genitals to the spray. As Stoned remembers: "they (police) started to paint me all over, they wanted me to open my mouth to paint inside my mouth. The guys are really cruel. They humiliated me and even made fun of me" (Stoned, interview, October 2013).

Later, while I was doing fieldwork in São Paulo, I realized that this is actually an old and very common practice, almost a tradition. As an old-school pixador (who became a graffiti artist) told me:

> So back in the 1990s, police [...]knew that arresting a pixador was not going to result in anything. So they did even worse: they gave you a slap on the head and an ink shower... it was a current practice, a classic one... (Little Mouse, 2014).

The image shown in Figure 29 above became viral in Brazil in the end of 2013, when military police officers in Ceará, in the Northeast of Brazil, were photographed giving an ink shower to two young pixadores. This procedure, of extreme violence and humiliation, or even an absurdity as Ferrell suggested, is actually part of the everyday life of a pixador. Moreover, pixadores consider it to be something inherent and natural, something that all pixadores almost certainly will experience, sooner or later. What intrigued and somehow surprised me was the fact that almost every time I listened to a pixador commenting on the ink shower, they presented the story in a laughing and very natural tone. I detected no hint of the resentment, anger and other negative feelings I imagined that pixadores must feel when subjected to such treatment. As Stoned says, "it is almost like a baptism on pixação" (Stoned, Interview, October 2013).

Using humor is present not only at the individual level, but at the level of the subculture as well. In February 2015, a competition was launched by a fan page on Facebook, promising a prize for the pixador who sent the best picture of an ink shower, as the Figure 30 depicts. The picture advertises a campaign that was awarded the pixador who published the most original and funny story about an ink shower with a DVD, a T-shirt and a mug of a pixação brand for the winner of the competition. The pixador strategy of using humor to deal, as a community,

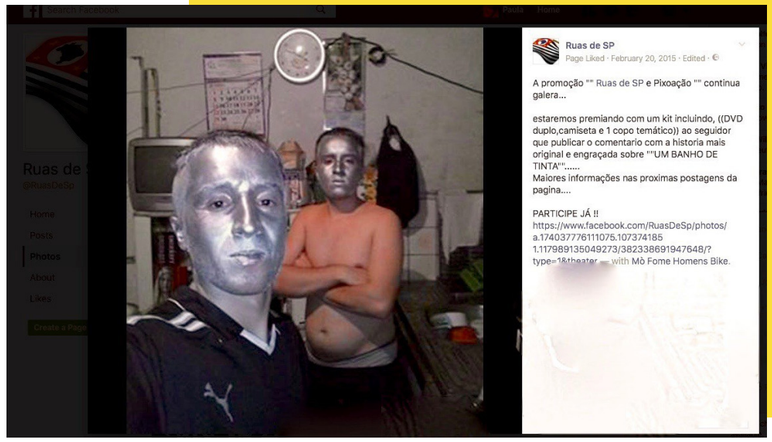


Figure 30: Selfie of two pixadores after an ink shower. This image was used in a promotion that awarded a prize for the most original and funny story about an ink shower.

with this kind of violence can also be seen as a subversive strategy for coping with violence. When Mary Douglas (2005) draws attention to the potentially subversive role of humor in the subject of pollution and scatollogy, she proposes that

> All jokes have this subversive effect on the dominant structure of ideas. Those which bring forward the physiological exigencies to which mortal beings are subject, are using one universal, never-failing technique of subversion. (Douglas, 2005, p. 151)

Based on Freud's analysis of jokes and their relationship with the unconscious, the anthropologist also proposes that the joy of humor relies on a certain kind of economy of subjectivity:

> At all times we are expending energy in monitoring our subconscious so as to ensure that our conscious perceptions come through a filtering control. The joke, because it breaks down the control, gives the monitoring system a holiday. Or as Freud puts it, since monitoring costs effort, there is a saving in physic expenditure. For a moment the unconscious is allowed to bubble up without restraint, hence the sense of enjoyment and freedom.(Douglas, 1968, p. 364)

In that sense, the use of humor by pixadores to cope with such invasive and humiliating forms of body abuse is also arguably related with a regime of economy or even psychological harm reduction when compared to other kinds of violence and aggressions to which they are susceptible:

> It is much easier to take an ink shower rather than be assaulted or face a lawsuit. Weighing up the possible choices offered by a police officer when he arrests us and asks: 'Oh man, do you prefer to be beaten, to go to the police station to sign a lawsuit or do you want to take an ink shower?' Of course I prefer to take an ink shower! Because then it's only a matter of cleaning myself and it's already done, it's all right! It will not generate any charge with the criminal justice system, it will not harm my body...So if there's the option of taking an ink shower, in the end it's even a little funny and then we can even laugh about this. (Crazy Ink, field notes, June 2014)

Thus, when pixadores refer to the ink shower, they often speak about it as something funny and as part of the game (Grand Father, field notes, January, 2014) because they cannot always choose what kind of aggression they will suffer. Actually, as Jas recalls, police commonly play a double game:

> So, they [police] always treated me badly, they beat me, right? Then after beating they arrest. Then they want to become friends, after hitting us! When we're already in the car, going to the police station, right? After that they also took me to the forensic doctor to do the 'corpus delict exam'. But it is ridiculous because the doctor asks: "Did they beat you up?" How am I going to tell that they beat me up in their presence? Before arriving in the place to do the exam they [police] warn: Look, if you say anything, you know mate. You know we'll meet you later, okay? And after the exam they all go together to the police station, so I never took the risk of telling them that they hit me. (Jas. Interview, São Paulo, October 2013)

In the same way that ink showers are treated with a great sense of humor, discussions of "stigmatizing selectivity", (denounced by V. R. P. de Andrade, 2012) are conducted in an anecdotal tone, as for example by Robo, an old-school pixador who is in his 40s and has been performing pixação for more than twenty years:

> Oh, it happened that a police officer approached me and got surprised: 'Wow, I thought it was a kid! Man, I was going to paint you, I was going to give you an ink shower, but you!!!?? Look at your age, man, I'm not going to do anything, I can't even do that to you.' (Robo, Interview, October 2013)

However, even the most sensitized pixadores fail to laugh at some incidents of police violence. As already mentioned in this chapter, pixadores are ever- presently aware that the risk of dying is real and that violent encounters with police are not always evitable. Thus begins the story what began as a normal Thursday night in July 2014. Alex and Ailton met up in the Pixadores Point at the city center and afterwards began to rolê around the city, looking for a good spot to perform pixação. They found the Windsor Edifice, in the Eastern Zone of São Paulo, whose inhabitants were famous for their intense hatred of pixadores. As usual, they distracted the doorman and entered the building, pretending to be residents, but they were not the only ones who were pretending. The doorman also pretended to believe they were residents and thus allowed them into the building. Once Ailton and Alex reached the rooftop, the doorman locked the access door and called the police, reporting a 'robbery'. The police came and encountered the pixadores. Some time later, Alex and Ailton were dead. Grand Father (Interview, July 2014) recounted the story in this way. Some time later, Alex and Aiton were dead. No more details. No laughter.

The police tell a different story. Their first version, supported by the doorman and the media, was that Alex and Ailton had entered into the building to steal. As burglars, they were presumed to be armed, and they resisted police attempts to transport them to prison. This event, the police officers claimed, was a case of legitimate defense under the Autos de Resistência, as discussed above. Grand Father's narrative illustrates a systematic and disruptive practice during which police officers manipulate the crime scene to strengthen their claim of acting in self-defense, when in fact what occurred was murder committed by the police themselves. This narrative, including introduction of subsequent versions of the story, continues in Chapter Seven, when the context of collective subcultural resistance is added to the analysis.

Zacconi, who conducted a legal analysis of 308 case files involving murders committed by police officers in Rio de Janeiro between 2003 and 2009, observes that that "police kills, but does not kill alone." According to Zacconi (2015), the focus on the high rates on police violence in Brazil also helps to undercover the active participation of other agencies of the Brazilian penal system, which are also responsible for legitimizing this violence.

In that sense, the murders of Alex and Ailton, and other pixadores' personal experiences with police violence, not only reveal the brutality of police practices against pixadores, but also raise broader issues such as the challenges facing democracy in a late modern era that is constrained by neoliberalist ideology. With this in mind, Holston suggests that there is a "perverse paradox" of Brazilian democracy which is underpinned by "an abandonment of public space, fortification of residence, criminalization of the poor and support of police violence" (Holston, 2008, p. 272).

In the sphere of the criminological debate, I argue that these specific cases of police violence against pixadores also reveal a transition from the "stigmatizing selectivity" defined by (V. R. P. de Andrade, 2012, p. 137) to what Carvalho has recently described as a "genocidal selectivity" (Carvalho, 2014, p. 139) institutionalized within the Brazilian penal justice system (see Chapter Three). While Andrade develops the notion of a stigmatizing selectivity based on the profile of the population of Brazilian penal system, Carvalho (2014) goes further to analyze the effects of actuarial policies of the left wing government during the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty first century. Instead of promoting social policies in defense of human rights, these policies legitimized state violence in the name of the public order. Although formal penalties for pixadores rarely include prison time, or perhaps because of this fact, pixadores become vulnerable to the genocidal selectivity in the level of secondary criminalization, that is, they are subjected to extrajudicial practices of extermination and torture, performed by a police force that is mainly committed and orientated to maintaining order, sometimes with the assistance of private citizens and other agencies who view the world in similar ways, as a means to protect interests of the Brazilian elites. Regarding Carvalho's critique of the 'leftist' government's punitivism and actuarialism, it is worth noting that, under the presidency of Dilma Rousseff (PT) in 2014, the government established what is commonly described as a left wing government. To Crazy Ink, this label does not make sense. He saw Rousseff's government as "right wing", especially when measured in terms of the the harshness of the repression enacted and enforced by it:

> we all come from the periphery, from suffering, we are repressed by this government of right wing, which also humiliates us and fucks us up every day.... (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014)

Most of the criminological discussions mentioned above analyze police violence in Brazil as emanating from a specifically Brazilian context: fragile democracy, relic of military dictatorship, effect of the newly established democratic condition. I disagree. I argue in this work that, while specificities

of regional, national and local contexts are key points for this work, it is also important to contextualize critical analysis of police violence in Brazil in the early twenty first century on a macro scale within the political-historical conjuncture of globalized neoliberalism. Harvey stresses that

> We are daily witnessing the systematic dehumanization of disposable people. Ruthless oligarchic power is now being exercised through a totalitarian democracy directed to immediately disrupt, fragment and suppress any coherent anti-wealth political movement. (Harvey, 2015, p. 292)

The image that Harvey evokes arguably matches the conditions to which large parts of Brazilian urban populations are exposed and corresponds to the repressive policies that pixadores face on an everyday basis. The pixação subculture is one among several "populations deemed expandable and disposable" (Harvey, 2015, p. 292), and repressive policing of pixação should thus be critically analyzed with regard to similar practices on a global scale. This is not to say that police violence in Brazil and against pixadores is 'just' repression of subaltern populations as "almost everywhere" else. Rather, following Brenner and Theodore, I suggest that repressive and violent police practices against pixadores should be approached as a specific realization of "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). In that sense, and returning to Harvey, I see violence against pixadores as an expression of oligarch-capitalist class privilege in the neoliberal era. This class is claiming power on a global scale, and exercising it through totalitarian democracies that use police and military violence to attack the well-being of whole populations that are viewed simultaneously as both a threat and expendable and disposable (Harvey, 2015).[23] While criminological discussions focus on the issue as a manifestation of a local conjunction, I stress its condition as the very distinct, locally embedded manifestation of a global conjunction, which might also explain why in Crazy Ink's perception that Brazil was under a right-wing government in 2014, despite having Dilma Roussef in the presidency of the country.

In that sense, Carvalho argues that we need to reaffirm a quality of critical criminology in Brazil that "stems, above all, from an unquestionable fact: the systematic and unprecedented human rights violation of the penal system in the reality of peripheral capitalism, despite left-wing Governments"(Carvalho, 2014).

23 In that sense, it is interesting to note that police violence is a phenomena that also occurs among graffiti writers subculture, as analysed by Lachman: "The police have arrested writers gathered at corners, seizing and often destroying the black books writers carry that contain photos and sketches of their murals. One policeman boasted, "We get the kids, and their books contain enough evidence to get a conviction." However, muralists, like the taggers discussed above, are not concerned with the legal consequences of arrest. New York City judges, as one borough's district attorney ruefully complained, often dismiss and never seriously punish cases of graffiti vandalism. What scares muralists are the stories, told by fellow muralists, of cases in which police beat, rather than arrest, writers. The muralists who spoke most seriously of quitting, or had already given up, subway writing were ones with friends who had suffered police beatings. That fear was common to muralists older and younger than 16-the age at which they become liable for adult punishment. Police violence is a real deterrent for graffiti writers; combined with continuing surveillance, it has destroyed the writers' corners. By spring 1983, none of the writers' corners were still functioning."

Figure 31: Pixadores being stopped and searched by police officers during the Point of São Paulo. Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

The data presented above strongly support my argument that primary criminalization of pixação, in which it is framed as crime in opposition to graffiti in a specific legal act, widens a blurry space for already existent and disruptive police practices (secondary criminalization) and extra judicial punishments completely outside the legal parameters and human rights, that mainly targets young, black and poor men from the peripheries. One can only imagine the psychological scars Sunny-Boy carries as a result of an incident where he was a victim of an innovative version of Russian- roulette:

> While one police officer put the gun to our heads, the other who was behind us, shoot with another weapon. At this point I was so affected psychologically that I thought the bullets were coming out of his gun [the one that was pointed at his head], and every time he fired a shot, we hit the ground and placed the hands into our heads, and he [the policeman] spoke: up again. And all the time I thought that I was going to die anyways ... they made it about five times and all of the sudden, they [police] went away ... despite they did not beat us or anything similar, it was an horror ... (Sunny- Boy, Interview, São Paulo, January 2014).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to demonstrate that pixação has been selectively criminalized, in opposition to graffiti, to analyze how and why this has happened, and to describe effects of this criminalization on the lives of pixadores. Pixação was also analyzed in the context of police violence and on the strategies that pixadores create to cope with it. What can be noticed is that the practitioners share experiences of suffering police violence related to pixação and beyond. Equally, they share the consciousness of the risk they take through the everyday practice of wandering around the streets scribbling, exposing themselves to even harsher police (and other) violence. In interviews and informal conversations, pixadores affirmed their unwillingness to "surrender" to this repression, which would mean to stop using and actively intervening in their urban environment. Despite conscious awareness of the risks, pixadores have collectively decided not to accept violent banishment from public space. To the contrary, they have developed a resilient practice of resistance that consists not only of collectively using public space and consciously assuming the risks this brings, but also creating strategies to avoid minimize those risks.

The media, politicians and technocrats that frame pixação as dirt, danger and crime play an important role to reinforce this type of disruptive practice of police against pixadores. In this context the pixador as the 'other' is demonized as a demented vandal, as a criminal from the metropolis' peripheries, and as devoid of civic rationality and responsibility. Through this discourse, the criminalization of pixação is constantly reinforced and re-legitimized.

The disqualification of pixadores as subjects of fundamental rights allows all sorts of individual and institutional violence against them. The analysis of lethal police violence brings to light the strategies used by military police to undercover their illegal and violent practices such as Autos de Resistência and the Flagrant Kit. It also reveals and explains important mechanisms that pixadores use to cope with police violence and sometimes to avoid it. This work is consonant with that of J. Young (2007), who acknowledges the possibility of another narrative about the effects of the constant humiliation and relative deprivation to which the poor of the peripheries are exposed. I have sought to contribute to such a narrative.

While pixadores are usually 'organized' within groups based on relations of friendship and brotherhood, the execution of two fellow pixadores stimulated these groups to get more aware of conditions and interests that are common to all of them, and to get organized on a larger scale in order to articulate their claims more effectively. This leads us directly to Chapter Seven, which will discuss cases in which pixação is used in conjunction with explicitly political agendas.

The subject of death in the pixação subculture, of dying by and because of pixação, has a meaning that goes beyond the dispute for space and the ego of the pixador. Dying for pixação can also be a way of resignifying and regaining control of one's life. Every pixador knows that when he goes out to write across the city, he could be killed by the police or some passer-by (zé povinho), or die in an accident during the performance. The risks are many. But the pixador who lives in the periphery knows that this socio-spatial condition also places him daily in a position of vulnerability and that death is an omnipresent possibility. Human Rights reports reveal how little the lives of young people on the periphery are worth. Dying for pixação is a way of subverting the condition of being just one more statistic in the account of Brazil's institutional and urban violence. To die for pixação is to die with a meaning; is to die 'making history' and leaving alive a memory, a trajectory. It is to die being a soldier in its own battle, being the author of the own history. Crazy Crazy Ink says it best: "to die like a man is the prize of the war."


JUSTIÇA

Charpter 07

WE ARE THE PLAGUE THAT THE SYSTEM HAS CREATED: FROM SUBCULTURAL DYNAMICS TO SUBVERSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

WE ARE THE PLAGUE THAT THE SYSTEM HAS CREATED': FROM SUBCULTURAL DYNAMICS TO SUBVERSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

Paula, you really want to know what pixação is about? We are the plague that the system has created! (Death Operation, field notes, November 2013)

The quote above extracted from one of several chats I had with Death Operation, one of the first pixadores I met in São Paulo. Our first contact was on a Sunday afternoon during a barbecue organized by Grand Father in the Western periphery of São Paulo, or as pixadores call it – fundão,[24] urban slang that designates its peripheral geographical position in the city. Death Operation is only 160 cm tall and yet, as I experienced from the first moment of our introduction, he has an assertive, almost intimidating way of making deep eye contact and tightening his eyebrow while firmly shaking one's hand. Straddling the line between respect and sarcasm – he does not yet know which is appropriate and is keeping his options open – he calls me 'doctor' while he explains his views on pixação, pixadores and 'the system'. Like many other pixadores, he comes from the periphery of São Paulo, he is married, works in informal jobs and has a mother who is Christian. He is the youngest of three brothers who are said to be part of organized crime in São Paulo, but unlike them, Death Operation is not 'involved' (a term used to designate someone who is integrated with criminal organizations).

After our first gathering at the barbecue, I met Death Operation regularly at the Point and it was not long before he invited me to hang out and get to know his hood better. He told me that he does pixação not only as a way to enjoy the city, but also to use spray action as a tool to fight against social inequality and exclusion. This was not the first time that I had heard the expression 'the system' to place pixação in conflictive relationship with the state and public institutions. Later on, Death Operation shared with me a letter that he had written to the Secretary of the Youth for Barueri, a particularly wealthy municipality (and home to Alpha Ville, a famous gated community) in greater São Paulo's Western Zone. In the letter, Death Operation pointed out issues such as social inequality, the precariousness of the educational system and the government's abandonment of the city's youth as a part of their political agenda. He also designated pixação as "the cry of the excluded" and as "the urban plague created by the system" (Death Operation, extract from field notes, December 2013).

Inspired by this striking moment of fieldwork, this chapter aims to analyze pixação in the framework of subcultural theory (Ferrell, 1993; Stuart, Hall & Jefferson, 2006) and political action. This chapter demonstrates that although some criminologists argue that the notion of resistance should not be used to understand subcultural practices, resistance and political intent can in fact be observed within the practice of São Paulo's pixadores. I will analyze data that reveals micro and sporadic forms of pixador political organization and action, which supports my argument that pixadores use their subcultural dynamics as powerful tools and explicit forms of urban protest and social discontent.

In order to discuss these subcultural practices as feasible forms of subversive political action, this chapter also introduces data related to pixador

24. For a discussion of fundão, see (J. A. Alves, 2018)

cultural and social backgrounds, as well as their perceptions on their relationship with the state, authority and Brazil's political context, a task already begun with the presentation of Death Operation's perspective.

Following cultural criminologist postulations on resistance, this chapter "attempts to understand the connections between crime, activism and political resistance" (Ferrell et al., 2015a, p. 17). However, differently from cultural criminologists who propose the notion of subversive political strategies mainly as forms of organized cultural resistance against capitalist economy (Ibid.), both the theoretical framework and the empirical material of this study suggest that resistance must be understood in the specific political and economic context of the Global South and Latin America. For this research, 'the recent connections between crime, activism and political resistance are directly related to an urban movement that demands the right to share the city and that, alongside new forms of urban movements in Brazil that were formed when the Workers Party (PT) came to power, now confront a new form of state power. According to Zibechi, "[t]his new form of state power is an alliance between PT leadership and the Brazilian bourgeoisie, who enjoy not only excellent relations but also the same national project and global perspective" (Zibechi, 2014, p. 290).

After almost two decades with the Workers Party in power, there was an implementation of governance that brings to mind a popular Brazilian saying: 'we feed them [the poor] so they do not eat us [the oligarch elites]'. In other words, two decades with a leftist government coincided with the implementation of methods of governance that promoted policies of social and economic even as peripheral areas were harshly militarized and criminalization has been used as a means for controlling peripheral classes. As Zibechi observes:

> In Brazil [...], the state applies different forms of control simultaneously: The 'Zero Hunger' government plan goes hand in hand with the militarization of the favelas. The Latin American left regard the poor peripheries as pockets of crime, drug trafficking, and violence; spaces where chaos and the law of the jungle reign. Distrust takes the place of understanding. There is not the slightest difference in perspective between left and right on this issue. (Zibechi, 2012, p. 197)

By analyzing Brazilian social movements, Zibechi claims attention to the fact that this political economic scenario helped created a kind of anesthetic effect amongst the poor who, instead of organizing to struggle, were in the labor market and taking advantage of social welfare. Nevertheless, Zibechi points out that although no social actor surpasses the organizational capacity of the social movements of the 1970s in Brazil, various forms of resistance continue and seem to be fragmented among three conflicts: "resistance to megaprojects, the struggle against the expansion of agribusiness in rural areas, and the fight against the frenzied speculation in urban areas caused by the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games" (Zibechi, 2014, pp. 264–265).

Accordingly, this chapter analyzes techniques and subcultural dynamics developed by pixadores, and argues that these can be understood to be both instruments of broader political insurgencies and tools developed with reference to resistance regarding specific and local issues present during a specific political and economic moment.

The chapter is divided into four parts: the first one shows the early use of political messages by pixadores and how they used media coverage of notorious violent crimes and political scandals to gain publicity, especially amongst other pixadores. The second section describes and analyzes the first action collectively organized with a specific ideological purpose: to question the limits of contemporary art by using subcultural techniques of pixação. The third section presents the emergence of a organized political movement within pixação – the Pixo Written Manifest, Finally, I describe and analyze the first demonstration organized by pixadores, which was a demand for the prosecution of police officers allegedly responsible for the murder of the pixadores Alex and Ailton in July 2014, a case introduced in Chapter Six.

7.1 Moral panics upside down: promoting pixação by using media scandals and tragedies

> There are pixadores who enjoy a tragedy just to gain notoriety! [laughs] (Sad Eyes, field notes, November 2013).

As perceived by Cohen in his classic study identifying the British media as an important moral entrepreneur related to crime and deviance, "mass media devote a great deal of space to deviance, sensational crimes, scandals, bizarre happenings and strange goings on" (2002, p. 10). Brazilian media is the same. It constantly reports criminal scandals, tragic homicides, urban violence and other deviant acts.

While the previous chapter discussed the role of the media on reinforcing the stereotype of pixadores as bandits and dangerous criminals and thus (re) legitimizing criminalization and police violence, this section demonstrates the extent of and limitations on the ability of pixadores to proactively influence their relationship with mass media.

The provocative title of this section, 'moral panics upside down', seeks to highlight the interplay of two important pixação subcultural dynamics: the constant search for notoriety and the use of the mainstream media for this. Pixadores constantly repeat that "the one who is not seen is not remembered"[25] (for example Sad Eyes, field notes, São Paulo, March, 2014). Pereira, who has written about the desire for notoriety as a key aspect of pixador subculture, points out that one of the main reasons why pixadores like to write their pixos on public monuments is because, apart from gaining notoriety amongst other pixadores, they might also have the chance to have their signature broadcast by the media, which "would possibly publish a report on the act of vandalism against a considered important asset" (Pereira, 2010a, p. 66).

During an informal conversation at the Pixadores' city center Meeting Point, Grass 89 referred to Túmulos, a group of pixadores that had become well-known in the mainstream media in the mid-2000s for using political scandals, emblematic cases of murder and all kinds of events partly to protest these cases

25. This is another widely used pixador expression that came from the lyric "Artigo 157" [Article 157 as a reference to the crime of robbery, capitulated in the Brazilian Penal Code] of the famous Brazilian rap group Racionais MC's.

of injustice, but also to gain notoriety. Túmulos have been performing pixação for more than 25 years. When I was introduced to one of its members, Grass 89 used a tone of profound reverence and respect: "Pixo protest, twenty years of pixação and fight against the system" (Grass 89, field notes, January, 2014).

It is almost common knowledge among pixadores that this group is the pioneer of pixação protest. Grand Father reminisced: "Political consciousness has already been manifested for a while. The guys from Túmulos are the ones who started to protest in the early- and mid-2000s, by using some notorious cases with great projection in the media. They always went to write on the walls of the house of some politician or someone who had committed some offense" (Grand Father, field notes, November 2013).

Figure 32 : "A year passed and nothing has been done. What now, Mr. Serra? [Governor of São Paulo at that moment]. The people have not forgotten, nor the inhabitants." Seven people were killed on 12 January last year [2007] when a crater opened on site. "Peace for the victims" (Photo: José Patrício / Agência Estado / AE)

Even graffiti writers recognize the group as the forerunners that linked politics to pixação:

> So... there is a group within pixação that is very politicized and that takes pixação as a form of political expression. For example, Túmulos. They are guys who whenever appears a matter linked to a criminal event (and as always controversy and publicity), they always take a part in this matter and take action. (Sad Eyes, Interview, 4th June 2014)

Despite the use of clear messages of protest against specific episodes, there was still the wish to promote the group and the pixo itself. The image above was published in 2008 by a mainstream newspaper (G1 São Paulo, 2008) and refers to a Túmulos protest against continued governmental inattention to the death of seven people due to the collapse of a wall. Characteristically, the pixação is written on the incarnation of the wall that had collapsed, along the Station Pinheiros of São Paulo's metro. Regarding this special skill for choosing

the right spot, Ferrell and Weide remind that "this ability is built from a writer's participatory knowledge of the graffiti subculture, and from an understanding of the places and situations that members of that subculture imbue with cultural significance" (Ferrell & Weide, 2010, pp. 49–50). Surely "spot theory" is also pertinent for understanding pixador subcultural expertise, just as it is for graffiti writers concerning the criteria and ability to choose the right spot: "an intimate knowledge of back alleys, freeway interchanges, interconnecting rooftops, patterns of light and human movement, neighborhood policing tendencies, lines of visibility, major routes of commuter travel, and phases of urban development and decay" (Ferrell & Weide, 2010, p. 49).

Yet, I go one step further. In this specific case it is worth noting that it is not only the message written on the wall and neither the choice by the mere criteria of visibility, but the very symbolic and political choices of spots. This leads us to another way in which pixadores have recently made their subcultural capacities useful to manifest political claims, as the next subsection examines.

7.2 The rupture: art as crime, crime as art

> I gave up bombing and throw ups and also drawing, all in the name of pixação. [...]. I have not done any attack! What I did was a rupture, transcendence. They [colleagues and media] were calling me a terrorist. [Laughs]. Yes, what I've done was poetic terrorism. (Devil 666, extract from field notes, São Paulo, December 2013)

The famous expression 'poetic terrorism', coined by Hakim Bey (2017) was incorporated as a slogan for the rupture idealized by Devil 666, who himself was influenced by readings on contemporary art and by artists such as Marcel Duchamp. Devil 666 argues that there is a bridge between pixação and the idea of art as a form of rupture with old paradigms and, in the presentation of his final Bachelor project at the University of Fine Arts, he saw an opportunity to practice this rupture. The mainstream media, but also other pixadores, titled the resulting intervention, "Attack on the University of Fine Arts."

Figure 33: From top to bottom: Devil 666's 'bomb', the phrase "Art as crime, crime as art," and Devil 666 himself. Picture from Devil's 666 personal collection. São Paulo, 2008

This story begins in 2008, when Devil 666, a young pixador from the western periphery, idealized what he described as "aesthetic displacement", "rupture" or "transcendence" (Devil 666, field notes, December 2013) and as Grand Father explained:

> We wanted to promote a shift of context, as Devil 666 used to say. We took pixação from the streets, in its original form, to the context of the university, because that was his bachelors' thesis in the University of Fine Arts of São Paulo. Devil 666 had to present a practical work of painting and the theme that he chose was pixação. So he thought that the most legitimate way was to take pixação into the University in the way it is, without the authorization of the University, because pixação does not demand any authorization (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013).

The use of these expressions stems from the fact that, when getting into contact with art theory at the University of Fine Arts, Devil 666 saw in the Surrealist movement and especially in Dadaism a strong inspiration for the recognition of pixação as a category of contemporary art. Cauquelin claims that the great rupture between modern and contemporary art was not an opposition, but rather a "displacement of domain" (Cauquelin, 2005, p. 92), in which the art work can be the medium itself and the art-value is much more connected with time and space rather than with the object of art itself. The entrance of pixação in the fine art market and its commodification is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Nevertheless, this first attack was a milestone event that opened the doors for pixadores to see and perceive pixação in its political and ideological strength, as Crazy Ink recognized:

> In the year 2000, Devil 666 arises with conceptual understanding of the study of art and presents pixação to the world. And today, pixação is what it is thanks to #Di [a pixador from the 1990s, the first to claim to be an 'artist'] who implanted this concept in the pixação movement, and thanks to Devil 666, who studied the scene and put concepts in practice by invading strategic places giving the visibility that pixação has today in the world. (Crazy Ink, Interview, June 2014).

Differently from signatures written while hanging out around the city, attacks always had a prior organization and a political reason. An attack action could be understood as an anarchist act of protest where pixadores write their signatures to vindicate or criticize a political or artistic disconformity, or even as Bey designated to be the best act of poetic terrorism: Dress up. Leave a false name. Be legendary. The best PT is against the law, but don't get caught. Art as crime; crime as art. (Bey, 2017, p. ?). A series of attacks that occurred in 2008 targeted institutions of the Paulistan fine art scene. The first attack action took place at the University Center of Fine Arts of São Paulo. It was organized by Devil 666 with the aim to explore the connections and boundaries, if any, between art and pixação

The great day was 11 June 2008 and the publicity was done by the use of a classic subcultural technique: a leaflet, which is also used as an invitation for parties. In response to the leaflet, nearly 40 pixadores gathered together, invaded the University of Fine Arts and started to set in practice the plan of displacing pixação from its main domain – the street – to an educational institution of fine arts. They not only wrote on the walls from inside and outside

of the building, but Devil 666 also created artworks that were displayed in order to be evaluated as part of his bachelor's thesis.

The security called the military police and, failing to follow Bey's advice (don't get caught!) the immediate result of the intervention was the arrest of Devil 666 and four other pixadores. The case attracted the attention of the national media, which also demanded a explanation from the University. Apart from the criminal charges for doing pixação, Devil 666 was also subjected to a University administrative procedure. Thus, what was intended to be an artistic intervention that transcended the art / crime dichotomy turned out to be understood, and amplified by the media, as a crime.

Alison Young remembers how "the art/crime dichotomy is volatile, straddling shifting lines which can capture and recapture bodies, names and images" (2004, p. 53). This time, however, the shifting lines of the art/crime dichotomy were not straddling but very sharp and clear: the atmosphere was one of hatred and resentment; colleagues were clamoring for 'justice' and the attack called as an act of terrorism, but surely not the poetic terrorism as suggested by Bey (2017). The media cast doubt on the seriousness of the institution, and most professors supported the expulsion of Devil 666.

The administrative procedure was concluded and the final decision was to expel Devil 666 from the university. This is how Devil 666, the mastermind of the 'great rupture', told me his story. He also stated that he burned the bachelor thesis project and that he does not have any copy of it. He still lives in the periphery of São Paulo and continues to practice pixação. Recently he started to exhibit his artworks both in small galleries and also in important art institutions like the Latin America Memorial in São Paulo. After the 'great rupture' several other 'attacks' against galleries and art institutions took place not only in Brazil, but also in Europe, as was the case of the Berlin Biennale in 2012 (which will be discussed in the next chapter).

Many pixadores affirmed in personal chats that this first attack and its media repercussion was a crucial moment in the subculture's development. Through this performative action, some pixadores created a consciousness of the potential that organized actions might have for pixação. Besides the mere growth of media attention that such actions can achieve, the attack on the University of Fine Arts reinforced the perception – by the general public and the very pixadores themselves – that pixação can be understood as an intervening force not only in the sphere of transgression, but also in arts and politics.

In the case of the Fine Arts and the attacks described below, pixadores themselves – that is, the bodies captured by the line between crime and art (A. Young, 2004, p. 53) – by addressing this dichotomy, made it the subject of their intervention. Arguably, these pixador interventions can be understood as an attempt to define categories that dominant social actors usually apply to pixadores in an effort to make them governable. It is in this sense that pixadores' organized actions imply what scholars like Zibechi (2012) or Motta (2017) see emancipatory potential in Latin America's urban peripheries. When Zibechi (2012, p. 198) asks, "Can the Marginalized Be Subjects?" pixadores seem to roar, "Yes, we can!".

7.3 From subcultural dynamics to political action

Attempts to identify and delimit pixação's potential political dimensions have already been made, for example by researchers who refer to the subculture as a component of "the Politics of the Poor" (Warsza et. al, 2012), "an Alphabet of Class Struggle" (Warsza, 2012), and "the Visual Right to the City" (Tiburi, 2011b). The historian Snider, for example, identifies pixação as a powerful tool to denunciate social inequality: "the painting itself is [not] the explicit political message; rather, it's the painting's location, on buildings and spaces that are economically and politically out of reach for virtually all of Brazil's urban poor, that makes the statement political"(Snider, 2012).

As I note elsewhere (Larruscahim, 2014), it is actually hard to find any spot within the city region whose vista does not include pixação. Nonetheless, location does shape the political relevance of a visual intervention; and this is understood not only pixadores but also by the media, the police and the policymakers.

This is the case for example, of legendary pixadores like #DI who back in the late 1980s caught the attention of the media by writing on the top of the Conjunto Nacional, a famous building on Paulista Avenue:

> #DI was the first pixador who saw the artistic and political potential of pixação. After writing in the top of the Paulista Avenue, he called the police and the media, pretending to be a resident and denouncing his own act of pixação. Afterwards, he also did a pixação in the pavilion of the Biennale at Ibirapuera Park. Then he made a trophy for himself, which symbolically represents the recognition of pixação. After that, he built a monument for himself, which symbolically represents the memory of pixação. And as if all of this was not enough, he planned to make a pixação at the Palace of the Government of São Paulo and also wrote a letter for the Governor. (Interview, Crazy Ink, July 2014)

#DI died during a street fight in 1997 at 22 years of age, but left an important legacy for pixação: everyone I talked with recognized #DI as the greatest pixador of all time. Crazy Ink, who is also a filmmaker, produced a movie and an exhibition about #DI's life.

#DI was not alone. In the early 1990s, Tchentcho and Krellos placed their signatures on the most prestigious spots of the city, including great symbols of "modern" São Paulo like the Italy Circle, the Bank of Brazil's and the Itaú bank's headquarters and Oscar Niemeyer's Copan Building (Crazy Ink, Interview, July, 2014).

What I show in this chapter is a transition in the pixador subculture, which used its collective knowledge of the most strategic places in the city to give greater visibility to political issues and, gradually, create their own agenda of political demands.

The novelty of this research is the observation that 2008 marks the beginning of a subtle subcultural political transition, which coincided with the rise of new and more explicitly political social movements. Zibechi's analysis of the rise of these new urban social movements in Brazil calls into question some classic propositions (Marx, Lefebvre, Harvey and Negri) that cast doubt on the possibility that marginalized classes may exert agency on behalf of themselves, in pursuit of political rights (see Chapter Three). According to Zibechi (2008),

these doubts are an inappropriate projection of the history of the working class in Europe, where public spaces outside the control of the dominant classes have not been created. He points out that even Lefebvre (2011), who perceived urban space as a product of social struggles, could not see that the underdogs are also able to create their own spaces and transform them into territories of resistance, as it is the case of peripheral classes in Latin America (Zibechi, 2008, pp. 210–211).

Arguably, the organized pixador attacks and interventions in certain institutions represent this emancipatory potential. As pixadores use their subcultural knowledge and social networks, deeply embedded in the reality they face on an everyday basis in the urban peripheries of São Paulo, to intervene in institutionalized spaces of the center, as the Fine Arts University, they clearly manifest their consciousness of the formidable, if not terrifying, effect that their expression has on those who claim an exclusive right to these spaces. Within the last years this consciousness has grown considerably and led small groups of pixadores to bring their means to the service of social movements whose claims seemed to correspond with their own. This generalized narrative is reflected in specific recent developments in Brazil: the impeachment of the President Dilma Roussef and the movement against Michel Temer as his successor. As the picture below shows, some pixadores also engaged in this movement:

In addition to the daily recreation and (re)appropriation of the urban space that pixadores accomplish through the act of performing pixação, I encountered a number of pixadores who had engaged in the great political demonstrations of June 2013: some wrote political messages on symbolic spots, and others used the logo of the Pixo Written Manifest, which I discuss below. With support of visual material, the following subsections will describe and analyze the rise of this political movement within the subculture in general and two specific attacks in particular. Several other attacks shared characteristics similar to these two, but here I analyze specifically those that took place while the fieldwork of this research was occurring and could witness personally.

7.3.1 Pixo Written Manifest

Pixo Written Manifest was born on 13th June 2013. Just after an Act of the Free Fare Movement we went to the point of pixadores. We arrived there from this demonstration and had the idea of creating the Pixo Written Manifest in order to include pixação in these political demonstrations (Grand Father, Interview, November 2013).

Coincidently or not, Pixo Written Manifest was created exactly five years, to the day, after the attack to the University of Fine Arts. The demonstrations of June 2013 initially launched by the Free Fare Movement were a milestone for a new scenario regarding social movements in Brazil.[26] It also opened the doors

26. A small rise in bus fares triggered mass protests. Within days, this had become a nationwide movement whose concerns had spread far beyond fares. More than a million people were on the streets, shouting about everything from corruption to the cost of living to the amount of money being spent on the World Cup. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/22/urban-protest-changing-global-social-network

for a more horizontal and decentralized form of political action. Reflecting on this new wave of urban social movements, which includes the global Occupy Movement as well as Brazil-specific demonstrations of June 2013, Harvey (2013) points to the use of urban space as one of the main shared issues amongst these heterogeneous mass protests.

In this context, the link between pixação and the classic Lefebvre motto 'right to the city', which Harvey revisits, can feasibly be seen in two dimensions. The first is the deliberate and hedonistic use of urban space, or, as Grand Father points out:

> Pixo is divided in leisure and activism. So, there is also the question of pixador personal satisfaction, to get there and put his signature and then overcome some limits without seeking any way to be protesting anything. People often think that pixo is just protest, and it is not. Pixo is a significant development and many pixadores use this as a way to promote their existence, so then we can see these two faces of pixação. (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013)

Actually, if we take into account the right "to change and reinvent the city more after our heart's desire" (Harvey, 2012, p. Kindle Loc 231 of 3542), this hedonistic use of urban space is also a political exercise, even though it is not guided by an enunciated political agenda.

The second dimension involves pixação as an insurgent practice, that is, the use of urban space as a means for protest. This occurs when pixadores use their subcultural expertise of urban space to protest against punctuated political issues or to fight against a "fascist system" as they proposed in the manifest:

> Attention pixadores of Brazil, the time has come for all to unite against the fascist system that oppresses us. For this last Thursday 13/06/13, was created in the Point of pixadores of the Center of SP a movement that aims to bring together all pixadores from SP and Brazil, in an uprising against corruption and all kinds of injustices committed by the authorities of our country.
> The movement will be represented by the initials PME. [Pixo Manifesto Escrito or Pixo Written Manifest].
> This movement was born with the intention of uniting pixadores in political upheavals of diverse strings, always defending the interest of the collective of the town.
> All the pixadores of São Paulo and Brazil are allowed to make the symbol, since it is always represented and accompanied by phrases of questioning and political character. In order to not withdraw the collective character of this movement, we do not want pixo or crew's name associated with this symbol,. We count on the collaboration of all the pixadores of Brazil. It is about time for the movement to unite. Now it is one for all and all for one.
> Long live the pixação and freedom of expression. (Field notes extract, São Paulo, October 2013)

This manifesto is a fascinating piece of political text. It acknowledges the tensions and paradoxes within the pixação subculture, on that cultural criminologists understand as "hybrid, plural and adulterated, borrowing from other subcultures and the mediated values of wider society (Ferrell et al., 2015a, p. 51). And yet it claims not only to represent all pixadores but also to make two claims upon them: to devote at least some of their talents to projects related to their common purpose and, while doing so, to acknowledge no subgrouping of pixadores.

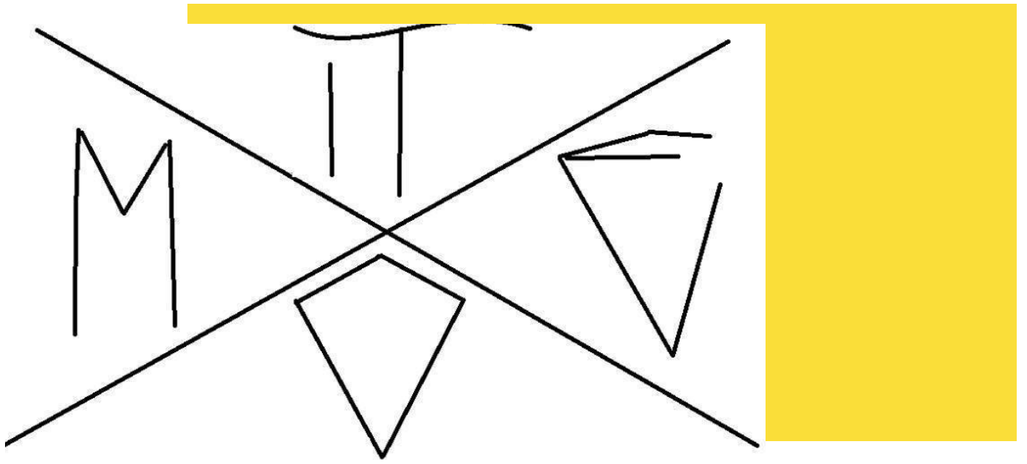


Figure 34: The logo of the Pixo Manifesto Escrito: the word Pixo composed by the Greek letter ϖ (pi) with the great X in the center and the letter O. Then M for Manifesto and E for Escrito.

And certainly this was the perception that some leaders of the Free Fare Movement had in relation to the emancipatory potential of pixação and of the important role that they could play when allied to explicitly social movements. The year of 2013 was a remarkable one, "the huge mobilizations in June 2013 in 353 cities and towns in Brazil surprised the political system as much as analysts and the media" (Zibechi, 2014, p. 269). The atmosphere was one of struggle and hope that social movements would organize and gain strength. Somehow this was also the atmosphere of the during the Thursday evening center city Meeting Points. Some members of Free Fare Movement started to attend the Meeting Points in order to try to convince pixadores to join in demonstrations to fight for the right to the city, as Big Rock, a member of the Free Fare Movement commented to me:

> I come from the street culture, I was punk and today I am engaged in the Free Fare Movement, which is an essential fight for the right to the city. We of the movement, we see an incredible potential in the pixação for this fight: "nobody knows and dominates the city as well as the pixadores, besides, look here today at the point! There are at least 300 people here" (Big Rock, field notes, São Paulo, November 2013).

In that sense, Williams points out that

> social movements and subcultures share much in common, the most important being that both typically focus on disenfranchised groups that have a problem with 'the system' writ large – the status quo, dominant culture, political and economic structures, and so on. (Williams, 2013, p. 165).

Thus, when Death Operation affirms that pixadores are a plague created by the system, he is in tune with Zibechi, who emphasizes the potential emancipatory role of urban peripheries: "[t]he main challenges to the dominant system in the last two decades have emerged from the heart of the urban poor peripheries" (Zibechi, 2012, p. 189).

Based on the contact that I had with pixadores who were (and many still are) engaged in the idea of using pixação also as a form of protest, the next two sections describe some of the symbolic political actions of Pixo Written Manifest, as the picture below shows:

Figure 35: "Brazil does not accept poor who are revolutionary. Alkmin Out." Geraldo José Rodriguez Alckmin Filho has been governor of São Paulo since 2011. Photo credit: collection of Fabio Viera

Figure 35 shows the results of a 2013 PME intervention that depicts the phrase, "Brazil does not accept revolutionary poor people". It seems that pixadores understood not only to their emancipatory potential, but also their threatening potential as Zibechi points out:

> Many large Latin American cities seem to be in the edge of social explosion and several have been exploding in the last two decades. Fearful, the powerful embrace a twofold strategy for dealing with the crisis: try to stall or block the explosion and also prevent the consolidation of those 'black holes' outside of state control, the spaces where those from below, as noted by James Scott (2000), 'rehearse' their challenges to the state before they become full rebellions. (Zibechi, 2012, p. 190)

Zibechi, who also analyzed the June 2013 uprisings, remembers that such moments always arise from somewhere. He points out that there is always a prior period of incubation or rehearsal during which the actors, pixadores in this case, can be seen as engaging in a daily practice of (re) appropriation of urban space.

7.3.2 Bandeiras Monument Attack

I arrived in São Paulo on 4 October 2013. When watching and reading the news, I learned that the "Bandeiras Monument had dawned pixado" in the morning of 2 October 2013 (Folha de São Paulo, October 2013). A week later, during an informal chat with an informant that I had already contacted through

a virtual social network, he told me that he was the author of the attack, but the idea was to keep the authorship anonymous and use the Pixo Written Manifest as a way to identify pixação with the main struggles that were proceeding through a multitude of forms of political action.

The aim of the Bandeiras attack was to promote a discussion about the archetypes of Brazil's historical heroes. The Bandeiras monument is a sculpture by Victor Brecheret, commissioned by São Paulo government in 1921 to symbolize the sixteenth century exploratory and slavery expeditions, Os Bandeirantes. In his description of the monument, which "consists of a long canoe being pulled by two men on horses and pushed by a group of African slaves and indigenous people", sociologist Sérgio Franco draws attention to the fact that "Brecheret removed any trace of the dramatic content that death brings. The Portuguese lead the group, the indigenous people are portrayed as slaves and, to their disgrace, they are chained" (Franco, 2014, p. 120). The monument came to be interpreted as representative of how oppressive and devastating the history of invasion and colonization of Brazil was. According to

Franco, "the sculptor's work did not represent any revolution" (Franco, 2014, p. 121). The attack on Brecheret's monument was partly a means to draw attention to a voting process about a new law on indigenous land, but was also intended to reframe Brazilian historical symbols and engage in a dialogue about what should be considered as a piece of art.

Figure 36: "No to PEC 215, Pixo Written Manifest and the phrase Bandeiras Assassins". Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

Thus, the attack emphasizes contradictions between the relationship between art, politics and crime. The author of the attack focuses attention on an important issue regarding historical memories of Brazil and its iconography. The criminal act that prescribes pixação as crime does so in order to "protect" the urban planning and the cultural heritage of Brazil, including for example the

Bandeiras Monument. Hence, the pixação over the monument exposes not only the hypocrisy of an image that represents Bandeirantes as heros, but also gives voice to the Indians and slaves who are nowadays somehow represented in the populations that live in the great peripheries of the urban centers of Brazil, as it is the case of pixadores.

I have argued elsewhere (Larruscahim & Schweizer, 2015) that the criminalization of pixação is a point on a historical continuum of a colonized country that has always repressed and criminalized the cultural production of its popular classes for the sake of maintaining a liberal capitalist system. In the current political context of neoliberal capitalism in Latin America – regional imperialism combined with new forms and aims of democracy – "control of the urban poor is the most important goal for governments, global financial institutions, and the armed forces of the most powerful countries" (Zibechi, 2012, p. 190).

7.3.3 Protesting against the World Cup: the painting over the 4km graffiti mural

An important event that took place in São Paulo during the last weeks of my fieldwork was the opening ceremony of the 2014 World Cup. The host stadium Arena Corinthians is commonly known as Itaquerão, due to its localization in a faraway district of Itaquera, in the Eastern Zone of São Paulo.

During the colonial period, this area was occupied by indigenous tribes such as Guaianás, which is the origin of the name Guaianases, one of the most remote peripheral neighborhoods of São Paulo and host to a weekly pixador Meeting Point. In the late nineteenth century, the Eastern Zone's famous neighborhoods of Mooca, São Miguel Paulista, Penha and others were a industrialized areas that also hosted immigrants mainly from Italy, Japan, Syria and Libya.

Among pixadores, the Eastern Zone is famous not only for having originated traditional pixos, which have a very powerful significance in the subculture, but also for being one of the areas where the residents are extremely intolerant of pixação.

Just one train station before the football stadium, there was another Meeting Point of pixadores, the 'Arthur Alvim point'. I first time attended this point a couple of weeks before the World Cup opened. For pixadores, this event changed nothing, as the tickets were extremely expensive and unaffordable to them. However, as Astronaut remarked during a chat, the preparation to host the opening and the games that followed was already affecting them. "Look Paula, these big walls of concrete surrounding the train are new! They want to cover the periphery, but we are writing all over these fences (laughs)" (Astronaut, Interview, São Paulo, April 2014).

However, more than concrete fences beside the train line were being built. On 1 April 2014, the Secretary of Tourism of São Paulo launched a call for applications inviting artists and graffiti writers to compete to participate in the creation of what would become Latin America's largest mural, sponsored by Nike and Adidas. The project consisted of the painting of 70 murals measuring

125 square meters on a scale of 50m length and 2.50m height each. The painted wall is 3.5 km long, starting at Patriarca's Train Station and finishing at Itaquera's train station.

The official regulation determined that the painting should be done using the technique of 'graffiti' (for a discussion of the conceptual difficulties associated with such a determination, see Chapter Two) and that the painting of the mural should be associated with the subjects of soccer, Brazilian soccer supporters and the city of São Paulo. The artworks should also be in agreement with the guidelines of FIFA (International Federation of Football Association), which prohibit the use of symbols criticizing the World Cup.

The proposed artworks would be evaluated by a group of curators composed of specialists on urban art, marketing and propaganda as well as by the CPETUR (The São Paulo Company of Events and Tourism) and a special committee, the São Paulo Committee. Finally, the committee of the Clean City project should approve each artwork. Each artist received the amount of R$ 6.500 (approximately € 2.000).

Figure 37: Painting process of one of the murals of the 4km Graffiti. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

Figure 38: Logo of the 4km Graffiti project. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

The painting of the mural started in May 2014 and the graffiti artists took roughly a month to complete their work. According to the project coordinator, 389 people applied to participate in the project and 70 were selected (Clair, Interview, July 2014). As I heard from the Astronaut: "this is going to be the biggest painting over [attack]of Latin America!" (Field notes, São Paulo, June 2014). At both the city center and Arthur Alvim Meeting Points, I started to hear complaints about how exclusive the project was, and about rumors of plans to paint it over. There was an atmosphere of dissatisfaction regarding the expenses related to the World Cup, and the treatment that people from the peripheries were receiving.

The group that was organizing to paint over the mural was different from the one that participated in the attack of the Bandeiras Monument. The idea was to go to the spot during the night, paint over the graffiti with phrases of protest, and register it. At that time, São Paulo was in chaos. Just about a month before start the World Cup, public transport employees went on strike. On a Saturday night in May 2014, I got word that the attack was going to happen and I was invited to observe. However, there was no way to get from my place to the extreme point of the Eastern Zone without public transport. Later on, I received the information that the attack was successful and that a group of around seven pixadores had done it.

A few weeks later, I had the opportunity to interview one of the graffiti writers who was an official participant in the project. He explained:

> I was there as professional and not as an artist [...] I was interested in the wall, in the space and in the money. The project itself had nothing to do with my authorial work, which always has some form of political content [...] There was a clause that if the commission identified any form of political hubbub, the participant would be excluded from the project and required to reimburse the payment and all material received...so, I don't bother if someone goes there and paints it over....[...], but those efforts do not necessarily come from pixação, cause there is a lot of people dissatisfied with the World Cup. (Little Mouse, Interview, June 2014).

Nevertheless, the project coordinator confirmed that the wall had been written over three times within the first months after its painting (Clair, Interview, July, 2014). At least one of those three attacks was made by pixadores who, just like great part of the population, were dissatisfied with the political scenario of the World Cup. The pictures below show the action and the result: The repeated paint-overs of the 4km Graffiti Mural was a form that some pixadores used to engage in the great political discussion of the World Cup 2014 and also a critique of the policies using graffiti to beautify the city and in that specific case the periphery as 'favela make up'.

Figure 39: Pixadores painting over the 4km Graffiti Mural (1). Photo credit: Crazy Ink's personal collection

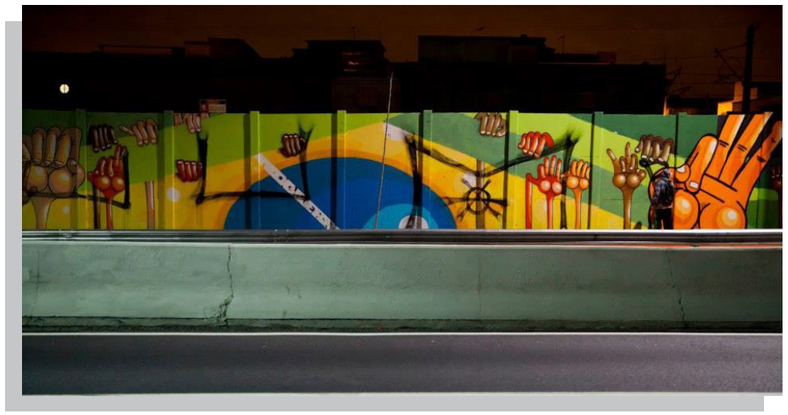


Figure 40: Pixadores painting over the 4km Graffiti Mural (2). Photo credit: Crazy Ink's personal collection

7.4 From leisure pursuits to claiming its own rights: the first pixadores political demonstration

Thus far, this chapter has described and explained the processes that inspired and supported pixadores who started to engage and use their subcultural techniques as means to protest against broader political issues. This last section will focus on a more recent development, in which pixadores started to organize around issues that concern them as pixadores. That is, this section will delve into the beginnings of the creation of a pixador political agenda.

This section returns to the history of the case of two pixadores, introduced in Chapter Six, who were murdered by the São Paulo police in July 2014. The case represents a landmark in terms of pixador political action, as it is the very first time pixadores organized a demonstration and openly manifested themselves in support of a specific demand related to them in their role as pixadores: police violence and the application of the rule of law for the police officers for the police officers who murdered Alex and Ailton.

The document below is the translation of a poster written by some pixadores and circulated in mid-July 2015, a year after the murder, in an effort claim the attention of the media and to announce a march in protest against the court's decision to release the police officers who had been at the scene of the murders.

DEMONSTRATION OF A YEAR OF DEATH OF ALEX DALLA VECCHIA COSTA [JETS] AND AILTON SANTOS [ANORMAL]

About a year ago on a Thursday night 07.31.2014 Alex and Ailton were killed by military police after entering the Windsor building, located in Paes de Barros Avenue in the neighborhood of Mooca, east of São Paulo. Contrary to the claims of the military officers involved in the event, whose version was initially supported by the mainstream media, Alex and Ailton did not enter the building with the intention of stealing, but to pixar the facade of the building, as evidenced in investigations carried out by the own internal affairs of the military police of São Paulo.

Alex Dalla Vecchia and Ailton dos Santos were not burglars. They were pixadores and were summarily executed, as shown by the complaint filed by prosecutors to the judiciary. They were unarmed and offered no resistance.
We believe that the mobilization of family and friends is vitally important, so that at least the memory of these two Brazilian citizens of good character is preserved. Because of the demonstrations that called for the investigation of the crime, in a short time the media changed its approach, starting to refer to both victims of this sad event as "pixadores," and not as "robbers".
It is outrageous that the military police officers were released to respond to the military and criminal proceedings in which they are listed as defendants in freedom, and, even more revolting, having the cynicism to give an interview in which they declare themselves "victims," which at the least offends the memory of the victims and certainly is an affront to friends and family.
At this point it is important to keep the focus on the monitoring of the processes that are underway, for, even responding in freedom, these uniformed killers still will go to trial. We want you to undergo a jury, and publicly repudiate this demeaning attempt to manipulate and entice the public opinion in favor of impunity of the killers.
Unfortunately we know that in our country most of the time the crime committed by military police remains unpunished. But we must not give up pressing the Justice because the so-called "public outcry" is a factor of great influence in such cases.
Nothing will bring Alex Dalla Vecchia Costa and Ailton dos Santos back. We simply want justice to be done, and that police officers are trialed, convicted and pay for the crimes they committed.
On 30 July, 5th Thursday next, we will meet at 18:00 at the site of the center point [in front of the Gallery Olido, located at Rua Dom José de Barros, on the corner of São João Avenue, 473, downtown São Paulo].

Alex and Ailton were murdered while they were trying to reach the top of a residential building in the Eastern Zone of São Paulo, as Grand Father, explains:

> It was a normal Thursday night of July 2014. As Alex, Ailton and many other pixadores used to do, they went to the point at the city center and afterwards to hang out around the city in order to find a good spot to write. They found the Edifice Windsor, in the Eastern Zone of São Paulo, which is also famous for its 'special hate against pixadores'. As usual, they distracted the doorman and entered into the building.[27] Nevertheless, this time the doorman pretended to not have seen them and actually allowed them to get into the building. Meanwhile, the doorman locked Ailton and Alex in the rooftop and called the police, denouncing a supposed robbery. Police came, entered the edifice and after some time Alex and Ailton were dead. (Field notes, July, 2014)

As discussed in the previous chapter, police violence is omnipresent in most pixadores' lives. Many pixadores told stories of friends who were tortured by police or simply disappeared after a police approach. But pixadores recalled this as the first occasion that two pixadores were executed in cold blood and had their posthumous memory defaced. And even though pixação is a heterogeneous subculture, pixadores are generally proud that, despite their criminalized condition, they are really 'just' pixadores and not thieves, as the poster explained:

27. In addition to vertical climbing the outside walls, another way of doing pixação is invading buildings and climbing stairs to the rooftop and then write the pixo upside-down, with a partner holding one's legs. Unlike in Europe, where this practice is also quite frequent, in Brazil and especially in São Paulo, it is necessary to distract the doorman since almost all the buildings have security systems with cameras and vigilance twenty-four/seven.

Alex Dalla Vecchia and Ailton dos Santos were not burglars. They were pixadores and were summarily executed, as shown by the complaint filed by prosecutors to the judiciary. They were unarmed and offered no resistance.

Most of the time, pixadores accept and almost a normalize the idea that because they are pixadores, and because pixação is criminalized, they do not have the right to be understood as victims, even when they are abused and tortured. This time, however, they demanded acknowledgement and even respect of their common and very human condition. When some pixadores started to invocate the name of their crews during the subsequent march, Grand Father appealed for unity: "today we are here mainly as relatives and friends."

This displacement of subjectivity – which travels between their subcultural identities and their very human condition of being at the same time common and mutual friends and relatives – recalls to one of the facets of the so-called fluidity, porosity, amorphous and transience of subcultural identity in late modernity claimed by cultural criminologists (this idea is developed in Chapter Three; see also Ferrell et al., 2015a, p. 51).

In that case, the demonstration and the entire ritual that precede the demonstration – preparation of the banners, pictures, organization of the march – also brought a new element to the subculture: a union, at least in that moment, that overcame subcultural rivalry. Families with history of rivalry marched side by side, as Grand Father observed:

> "There has never been a marching streak. It's a historical fact. At least the boys' deaths brought a good thing. Families (crews) that made war came together that day. We were in a collective action" (Grand Father, Interview, August, 2015).

Hobsbawm offers a reminder of the power of a demonstration and the role that it can play in the experience of one-ness:

> Demonstrations [...] become ceremonies of solidarity whose value, for many participants, lies as much in the experience of 'one-ness' as in any practical object they may seek to achieve. A set of ritual furnishings may arise: banners, flags, massed singing and so on. In organizations whose spontaneous development is less inhibited by rationalism than labor movements, the urge to create ritual may flourish like tropical undergrowth. (Hobsbawm, 1963, p. 150)

In total there were three demonstrations. The first was on 7 August 2014, a week after the murder, and reunited more than 500 pixadores. Prior to this demonstration, the media was parroting the narrative told by the military police: Alex and Ailton were thieves and the killing was in self defense. Pixadores and relatives of the victims were outraged with this version, and by the role of the media in spreading it. A small group of pixadores went to register a complaint at the Secretary of Public Security, where they were informed that nobody there would receive them. At this moment, in Hobsbawm's words, "spontaneity and improvisation" took place, as reported by a local newspaper:

> In front of the Secretary of Public Security, the protesters were informed by the police that at that moment there was nobody to receive them. Protesters then placed ten candles on the staircase of the building and, together, called for 'proper investigation and punishment for everyone involved in Alex and Ailton murders.' They brought out a chorus of 'righteousness,'

another of 'murderers,' and prayed a new Our Father. The march returned to Rue Dom José de Barros, where they finished the demonstration, around 9pm. There, some pixadores took out their sprays and made the only pixação of the night: the letters of PEACE on the asphalt. (Ponte Jornalismo & Filho, 2014)

This first demonstration was vital not only to give visibility to the case, but also to change the media approach from "two suspects die, shot by military police" and "the Military Police [PM] met the assailants inside an empty apartment on the 18th floor" (Estadão, Aug 1, 2014a), to "police investigates the death of two pixadores" and "the duo was killed by police officers" (Estadão, Aug 4, 2014b). By doing so, pixadores managed not only to change the course of the media approach, as well as the course of the investigation.

Figure 41: Pixadores reunited at the Meeting Point, preparing to start the first demonstration. The banners demand justice. Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

The second demonstration was a march, on 31July 2015, to remember the anniversary of the tragedy and to protest the release of the police officers who had been at the scene of the murders. The third demonstration was in December 2017 to protest against the court decision that absolved the police officers. For early subcultural studies, especially the Birmingham School, "subcultures were considered to be political 'eo ipso' (Marchart, 2004, p. 415) and resistance to hegemony was performed subliminally through, style (Hebdige, 1988) or ritual (Stuart, Hall & Jefferson, 2006). As Marchart points out, what escaped from traditional subcultural theorists was "how merely subversive forms of subcultural activity would become part of oppositional action" (2004, p. 416).

These theoretical lenses help to make sense of the pixador actions. Arguably the series of demonstrations are comprised of ordinary subcultural actions as means for an urban protest: the Meeting Point was the starting point of the march and leaflets were transformed into big banners with phrases of protest such as: "Down with repression", A pixador is not a thief", "Ink is not a

weapon", "Long live pixação". "End of military police." And one of the most impressive messages, as it is depicted below:

Figure 42: "Against the genocide of the poor and the black people." Photo credit: Fabio Vieira

Further, the pixador subcultural identity was momentarily reshaped: at the same time that their very identity of being 'just' pixadores and not thieves – as the media first labeled the two assassinated pixadores – compelled them to action in a collective claim for justice, they also abdicated of this very identity of pixadores to claim attention to their very basic human condition, while the marches were taking place: today we are here not as pixadores, but mainly in the role of relative and friends. (Grand Father, Interview, August 2014).

According to Mason (2012), the novelty of the new wave of unrest that took place in Iran, London, Athens, Istanbul and Cairo after the great financial crises of 2008 was a combination of technology, behavior and popular culture: for the first time in decades, people were using methods of protest that did not seem archaic or at odds with the modern contemporary world; the protesters seem more in tune with modernity than the methods of their rulers.

However, as Zibechi argues, this does not mean that these uprisings erupted from nowhere and, unlike the middle-class youths who took to the streets to protest against such effects of capitalism in the neoliberal era as unemployment, the claim for justice made by pixadores went beyond the punishment of the police officers suspected of murdering Alex and Ailton. They mixed a classical method of protest historically used by social movements – a march – with constitutive elements of pixação to community that they recognize that pixação is a crime and is not socially accepted, but at the same time they are not, in Harvey's (2015) words, disposable people. They demanded recognition of their condition as subjects who have rights and who do not accept having their lives eliminated without any possibility of defense.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed key moments in the subculture of pixação that can be seen as crucial for pixadores political engagement through and for pixação. While well-known old-school pixadores like Túmulos had long related their pixo to up-to-date news headlines and thus to political issues, it was only recently that pixadores organized themselves to collectively hit 'strategic targets'.

The first such action that reached a large visibility inside the subculture, but also in mainstream media, was the 2008 intervention in the University of Fine Arts. This action, involving about 40 pixadores, was idealized and organized primarily by Devil 666 and aimed to performing a rupture based on the contradiction of vandalism and art within pixação – "crime as art, art as crime". Since 2008, pixadores have continued to actively intervene in contexts of official art, as it will be discussed in the following chapter.

In the context of the national protest movements of 2013 a similar practice of organized action emerged. The Pixo Written Manifest intervened not only in art spaces, but also in locations with specific symbolic value for political issues pixadores, in tandem with other urban social movements, wished to highlight. This initiative, promoted by a relatively small number of pixadores, was the first thoroughly planned attempt to make pixação's techniques and resources available for social movements dealing with broader political issues. In the process pixadores might claim their own rights in actions that concern themselves – like the protests against increasing prices for public transport in 2013. Other actions aimed to support political struggles that pixadores sympathize with, even if they are not directly affected – as for example the broader social motivations that underlay the the attack on the Bandeiras Monument.

The third moment regards political action concerning issues that affect pixadores as such. In the specific case of police violence against pixadores, as most drastically demonstrated in the extra juridical execution of two pixadores in July 2014. This case is decisive in the subculture's history, as pixadores for the first time used classical means of political struggles like protests, marches, and open letters, all intended to address the general public, the media and state institutions in an effort to claim their right for justice. It is noteworthy that through this organized action, they successfully influenced the media's coverage of the case, which might have been crucial to subsequent legal progress against the assassins. Nevertheless until now they have not been found guilty. Nor have they been acquitted.

This chronological reconstruction of the main political events in which pixadores were involved aimed to bring the proposition that beyond the daily recreation and appropriation of urban space that pixadores do (as seen in Chapter Five), is that arguably, since 2008, when Devil 666 attacked the Fine Art University, he opens the field for pixadores to perceive the emancipatory potential that the subculture has.

Charpter
08

BEYOND ART VERSUS CRIME

BEYOND 'ART VERSUS CRIME'

After four months hanging out with pixadores, I felt it was time to get closer to graffiti artists. That also meant to drift (Ferrell, 2012) in other parts of São Paulo. Or to say it even better, in another São Paulo. If there is anything that really impresses visitors who come to São Paulo for the first time, it is the amount and variation of visual interventions in urban space: stickers, lambe lambe, bombs, protest phrases, stencils and of course, tons of pixação and graffiti. Even though interventions may be scattered throughout the city, there is a matter of spatiality that certainly marks a difference between graffiti and pixação. Known as the 'nest of graffiti scene', Vila Madalena district used to be a student/middle- class neighborhood and, with the arrival of artists and graffiti artists at the beginning of the 21st century, has become gentrified. Nowadays, the Municipality's Tourism Office's local tour guide describes Vila Madalena as

> a district known for the bohemian artists and intellectuals who circulate there. You may find astonishing bars, restaurants, bakeries and sweet shops [...]. Batman and Aprendiz Alleys are real finds, both narrow, winding streets had their walls painted by graffiti artists, being considered true open galleries. (São Paulo Turismo S/A, 2014, p. 88)

On my very first field trip to Vila Madalena, walking with E-live through Batman Alley, he explained to me that some well-known graffiti artists were refurbishing some walls exactly then. He stated that actually these artists actually kind of owned that space. (São Paulo, field notes, February 2014). After spending the afternoon observing some of these well-known graffiti artists at their work, I was invited for a beer and, during an informal chat, one of them looked at me and said emphatically, "The dream of every graffiti artist is to be a pixador!" (Blue bird, extract from field notes, February 2014). Between a mixture of curiosity and surprise I asked him to say more, and he explained to me that he was one of the few graffiti artists who was also active on pixação since the 1990s and that according to him, at the end of the day, graffiti artists understand that pixadores are the ones who "actually dominate the street". (Blue Bird, extract from field notes, February 2014).

Blue Bird's striking revelation gives some glimpse on how the relation of pixação and graffiti in São Paulo goes beyond dichotomic discourses on art/vandalism, beauty/ugliness or legal/illegal, as is often supposed. As Young has argued, based on her analysis of the relationship between illegal graffiti and street art, "the art/crime dichotomy is volatile, straddling shifting lines which can capture and recapture bodies, names and images" (A. Young, 2004, p. 53).

This chapter aims to analyze how bodies, names and images circulate and overlap between and across these trembling lines that separate graffiti from pixação – 'art' from 'crime'. While this dichotomic discourse is widely dominant in the fields of media, urban and social policies and the legal framework as well as in law enforcement, I will argue that the oppositions are not always entirely clear for the practitioners of pixação and graffiti. Therefore, this chapter starts by analyzing the views of practitioners' – both graffiti artists (section 8.1) and pixadores' (8.2) –on the supposed dichotomy. It then explores how pixadores position themselves and what kind of strategies they develop to cope with this opposition.In the last two sections I will discuss pixação in relation to the concept

of art as a strategic transgression and activism (A. Mesquita, 2011), as well as the ways in which pixação started to become commodified (Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015) and culturally appropriated by the advertisement and fashion industry (Young, 2010).

It is important to notice that at the very beginning of this study, the research problem was focused primarily on the commodification of graffiti in opposition to the criminalization of pixação. Nevertheless, during fieldwork it was possible to perceive a shift in the ways in which some pixadores started to understand pixação also as an "art product". This goes beyond the simple practice of producing their own documentaries, magazines, stickers and clothes to sell and exchange mainly with members of the subculture. Two pixadores with whom I had contact during fieldwork, have recently started to be represented by art galleries and, in 2014, the film Pixadores produced by the Finn-Iranian director Amir Escandari (2014) portrayed a group of four pixadores and gave further visibility to the subculture in international cine-art circuits.

Thus, this chapter points out and analyzes the process by which an insurgent and criminalized subculture is also susceptible to co-optation and can be turned into a product to be traded and consumed within global cultural markets. The main point of analysis is to comprehend to the extent to which the transgressive element is neutralized as a result of this process; it might even be reinforced insofar as pixadores actively position themselves in opposition to these domestication tendencies.

In discussions from both pixadores and graffiti artists, it is clear that the commodification of subcultures is often perceived as a process driven by external market forces. This analysis, however, will focus on the complex interplay of the very pixador initiatives, state authorities' and economic actors' roles in the process of co-optation, commodification and re-appropriation of pixação.

8.1 Graffiti as art, for whom? Or on how graffiti was assimilated as art in Brazil

Celso Gitahy – nowadays an established Brazilian street artist – remembers that back in the 1980s all kinds of visual interventions in urban space used to be labeled as pichação (Gitahy, Interview, January 2014). Gitahy remembers that the first appearance of the term graffiti in Brazil was in the mid-late 1980s, when a mainstream newspaper published an article referring to pictorial visual interventions of that time as graffiti: "Graffiti artists make SP an outdoor art gallery" (Fagá, 1987, p. 24).

Following Knauss (2008), I have argued elsewhere (Larruscahim, 2014) and showed throughout Chapter Two, that during the 1960s, the 1970s and the early 1980s, the term pichação served to homogenize all the visual interventions in urban space in Brazil. From political messages against dictatorship to figurative and pictorial interventions, everything was pichação. Influenced by the counterculture movement there was a group of intellectuals, militants and students, the so-called, "marginal poets" who used the stencil technique or the spray action as a way to spread messages of protest in the streets.

However, with the democratic opening of the country, especially in São Paulo, pichações with phrases of protest started to diminish. At the same time, collectives formed by students and plastic artists were gaining more and more visibility with their interventions, performances and installations in public space, as Gitahy remembered:

> In the 80s there was the collective Tupinãodá, formed by students and professors from USP. Also, artists like John Howard, Alex Vallauri and some other punctual names that were painting in the city with the purpose of displacing the art from the museums and galleries. At that time they did not use the term graffiti in Brazil. The press did not know how to label it. So it was a group that was painting, making pictorial interventions around the city, drawing attention, and then a local newspaper published this happening and named it "graffiti". It was the first time the press used the term "graffiti". In the article it was written: "the graffiti artists are painting". Then these guys said, "So we're graffiti artists?" (Gitahy, Interview, January 2014)

Medeiros (2013) argues that this is the very moment when pichação and graffiti started to go in opposite directions, explaining that this is because the "the first schools of graffiti in São Paulo were formed by students of art, plastic artists, poets and actors, mostly from the middle and upper classes" (Medeiros, 2013, p. 39).

According to Schlecht (1995) four artists in particular – Alex Vallauri, Mauricio Villaça, John Howard and Rui Amaral – played a fundamental role in the shift that turned Brazilian graffiti into art:

> "They were curious characters, these marginal artists who paid for their own materials and risked arrest to adorn the city landscape with their quixotic, ephemeral images. Many graffiti artists, having discovered how they could translate notoriety into celebrity, made themselves available to the press. With increasing frequency, stories were little more than publicity stunts and personality pieces, reflecting the new status of graffiti in São Paulo culture." (Schlecht, 1995b, p. 40)

This generation of visual intervenors officially launched graffiti in the field of art and helped to make it acceptable to the media and state institutions and finally as part of the dominant culture. They moved from the art galleries into the street, as Gitahy remembers: "at that time, to be revolutionary was to be against displaying in art galleries" (Interview, Gitahy, January 2014). In 1985, Waldemar Zaidler, Carlos Matuck and Alex Vallauri participated in the XVIII Biennial of São Paulo. These so-called 'marginal poets' were then baptized as graffiti artists and Brazilian graffiti started to be institutionalized and assimilated as art (Fundação Biennial de São Paulo, 1985).

However, this was also the moment when the first pixações began to appear and be subjected to media disgust, due to their indecipherable calligraphy and their association, fair or not, with violence in urban space. While in most of the world, the crime/art dichotomy is applied to the categories to graffiti/street art, this opposition in Brazil, was based from the beginning on the opposition between pixação / graffiti[28]. Knauss underscores the fundamental role of the

28. Very similar to the opposition between Mexican American graffiti (which Chastanet (2007) identifies as having originated in the placas or plaquetas and was called cholo graffiti) with the Chicano muralism movement in East Los Angeles, the opposition between pixação and graffiti in Brazil was established progressively. Sanchez-Tranquilino (1995, p. 58) contends that placas or plaquetas, the name given to the unique form of graffiti insignias developed by Mexican American barrio calligraphers over several generations, is not vandalism at all but rather a visual system developed by Mexican American graffiti writers to keep a public check on the abuse of power in the streets. In that sense, Bloch points out that: "When critical Chicano/a muralism became 'officially approved' by 'community leaders', it became the art of the dominant community juxtaposed against graffiti, which further came to exemplify 'subdominant social values'."(Bloch, 2016, p. 460)

media in building this dichotomic approach:

> What is shown from the media analysis on graffiti in Brazil, is that in the end of the 1980s, the homogenizing approach of the different forms of urban inscriptions was reversed and it was sought to differentiate them radically, concentrating all the socially negative attributes to the logotype expression [pixação]. (Knauss, 2008, p. 352)

However, as the poet and singer Antonio Carlos Jobim used to say, "Brazil is not for beginners". The democratic openness that emerged in Brazil in the middle 1980s was accompanied by one of the country's greatest economic crises " – defined by the stagnation of per capita income since 1980 and by extraordinarily high inflation rates – which was in the early 1980s, the root of the defeat of the authoritarian regime" (Bresser Pereira, 1989, p. 46). Little Mouse, an old school graffiti artist, remembers the impact of this economic crisis not only on the daily life but also on São Paulo's urban space:

> So, those years were the difficult years of the Brazilian economy. With the end of military dictatorship and the begging of democracy, also came the economic crisis and the high inflation. When one received a salary, he had to spend in the same day that he received. Because if he waited to spend it in the next day, instead of buying 5kg of meat, he would had bought only 4kg. So the people, they did not have much money to take care of the patrimony. The streets were dirty. The council hall also did not have the money to take care of the streets. The walls were all peeled, poorly painted or with moss, São Paulo looked like a ghost town.

Thus, analysis of the Brazilian economic and political context in the mid-1980s yields the inference that fallout from the crisis also played an important role in the ways that graffiti was assimilated as a type of art, or as a tool to beautify urban space, since its very beginning.[29] The abandonment of public space by

Figure 43: image showing an stencil of the famous boot of graffiti artist Alex Vallauri and the degradation of the wall. On the board almost erased the message: it is forbidden to throw garbage and debris in that place. The Photo credit: Celso Gitahy

29. "[C]ity governments, corporations, and real estate developers have long understood the benefits of public art in mobilizing support for redevelopment and gentrification" (Kwon 2002, 79). In her study of art projects in public space in New York City, Rosalyn Deutsche shows how art projects further neoliberal urbanization strategies of "revitalisation" and "beautification" (Deutsche 1996, 3ff). She points out that these policies are underpinned by "the universalizing logic of beauty and utility" and, as such, effectively contribute to aesthetic homogenisation (Kwon 2002, 183).

relatively privileged classes, due to bankruptcy and related economic factors, combined with the rise of pixação and renewed political clout of lower-income groups, created new constituencies who benefitted from graffiti be understoodas a nearly cost-free way for São Paulo's urban space to be 'revitalized'. Economic crises and low-income rates also influenced Brazilian graffiti style and technique. As the spray can was relatively expensive, graffiti artists customarily worked with latex ink to prepare the base for the paint, using ink from the spray can just to polish up.

Even though named as graffiti, Brazilian graffiti was since its very beginning very similar to the characteristics of Muralism – a collective approach, spontaneity and positive aesthetic appraisal – and similarly gave

> a decorative meaning to the urban inscription, which was attributed the sense of requalifying urban space. In this way, graffiti and murals were notions that were associated with the inscriptions characterized by the figurative and colorful solution in the city. (Knauss, 2008, p. 352)

In this vein, Little Mouse remembers how the degradation of São Paulo's urban landscape created room for graffiti to become more acceptable and palatable:

> This was late 1980s and early 1990s. It was all very run down, all very bad, very ugly. [...] Posters had taken off, already. Political propaganda everywhere. Sometimes from three campaigns ago. The wall had the original wall colour of when the guy bought the house. After he bought the house, he never painted it again. So the outside of the houses, of everything that was public [...] was very degraded. And already had a lot of pixação. That is, the aspect of the city was rubbish. And then, when we went to paint a wall and make graffiti, at first we were afraid, I was afraid at least. So, I was going to do it in parts; I would go one day just to sketch, another day I would paint the piece. But over time, I saw people reacting positively to what I was doing, different from when I did pixação. People started to see that our paintings made their walls look better. Because the wall of their house was rubbish, and when I went there to paint [...], at least the wall would have new paint. It did not look that dirty anymore. And in that sense graffiti began to be more accepted. [...][P]ixação is something that does not cover the wall, it only makes a scratch. But graffiti does not; graffiti covers the entire surface. (Little Mouse, Interview, São Paulo, June 2014)

Nevertheless, there is still a debate about the origins of Brazilian graffiti. Some argue that it officially started with the generation of artists who migrated from the art galleries to the streets in the end of the 1970s, while others point to the mid-1980s, when graffiti was associated with the hip hop movement, which started with the breakdance meetings at São Paulo's Sé Square (Praça da Sé) and soon afterwards at São Bento Metro's station[30], "which was also occupied by punks and skaters who, after some meetings and negotiations, began to harmoniously share the same space with the b-boys" (Leal, 2007, p. 151).

In the documentary "Cidade Cinza" (Grey City), "Os Gêmeos," the collective name for twin brothers, explain how important the meetings at São

30. São Bento's Metro station is situated in the core of the city center. of It was also attractive for the break dance meetings not only because its location but also because of its architecture. With a façade of visible concrete, the station is buried with connecting mezzanine and two overlapping lateral platforms, which were fundamental for protection in rainy days. "From then on, São Bento came to be frequented by the first crews: Street Warriors (formed by people of São Bento, Pompéia and Cambucí), Back Spin (with components of Ibirapuera Park and Missionary Village, where the rapper Thaíde was b-boy and DJ Hum, later, would be part also), Zulu Nation (from Sapopemba Village, Tatuapé and other parts of the Eastern Zone) and Crazy Crew (dissidents of the Nation Zulu from Vila Carrão and other points in the Eastern Zone)." (Leal, 2007, p. 150)

Bento Metro's station were for them to turn themselves graffiti artists:

> It was 1985, 1986; we were still young kids when we started attending the São Bento's meetings, and that had a decisive influence on what we are today. All we learned from hip-hop culture was there. There was a lot of information exchange there, people coming from a variety of zones of São Paulo. That was the beginning of everything. At São Bento the most important DJs of Brazil were formed. We started with break dance but we decided to keep on in the element of graffiti. (M. Mesquita & Valiengo, 2013)

At that time information was not accessible on a global scale, as it is nowadays thanks to the Internet. Little Mouse remembers when he and his fellow pixadores began to do pixação, their calligraphy 'was less sophisticated than it is today. Unlike European graffiti artists, which quickly emulated their American counterparts, the pixadores had never seen American graffiti and were unaware of its style'. He remembers that the way they started to learn about the New York graffiti scene was through magazines, which they stole, divided, shared in pieces, and went home to translate what was written there:

> In the magazines we would see expressions like this: 'no war', 'peace', 'freedom' ... So we thought, let's write that, right? Love, peace, no war, freedom – things like that. What we think we should write. And make the graffiti letters by writing these things. It was only after about five or six years that Os Gêmeos, after travelling abroad, came and said, 'Oh, man, the guys write their names. It's like pixação. Graffiti out there is like pixação here: it's the names of the crew. That's when we started to write our own names in the 'pieces' from that very information that Os Gêmeos brought. (Little Mouse, Interview, São Paulo, June 2014)

Thus, the combination of lack of resources to buy spray cans and the understanding that, following the classic Bukowski (2009) poem, style is the answer to everything, contributed to the emergence of what is known as the very Brazilian Graffiti Style. Os Gemeos explain:

> we did not know much, the first time we saw an American fat cap, it was in '93 when Berry Mcgee came to Brazil and brought one. Dude, when we saw it, we thought, ah, Ah, this is how it is done?! [...] but with all respect with the history of graffiti, we felt that we should keep going with our own stuff and develop our own style. (M. Mesquita & Valiengo, 2013)

When Ferrell (1993) argues that style and technique matters for the understanding of graffiti subculture, it is feasible to affirm that, in Brazil, these are almost immediate reflexes of a very particular socio-economic condition. The Brazilian Graffiti style emerged from the lack of both resources and information. Manco & Neelon (2005) argue that this combination made "graffiti writers generally ignore trains [latex does not adhere well to metal surfaces] and concentrated on developing a mixed-media approach to painting prominent street spots, altering between affordable latex paint and more prohibitively expensive aerosols" (2005, p. 21). This singular ability to be inspired by a foreign innovation and transform it into something new is what Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade described in the Anthropophagic Manifesto in 1928 (O. de Andrade, 1991). Less poetically, Manco & Neelon (2005), conclude that "[t]his cannibalistic attitude has given graffiti artists the freedom to create new meanings to imported cultural ideas" (2005, p. 55).

Irrespective of which generation of graffiti artists is considered to be the precursor of Brazilian Graffiti, the school formed by Tinho, Speto, Binho and Os Gêmeos launched Brazilian Graffiti internationally at the beginning of the 21st century. This was highlighted by a movement of Brazilian graffiti writers into art

Figure 44: Mural painted by OS GEMEOS, NUNCA a Nina Pandolfo in the 23 de Maio Avenue of São Paulo in 2008. Photo credit: Paula Larruscahim

galleries both in Brazil and around the world, in cities such as London, New York, Paris and Barcelona. Paulistan graffiti writers like Os Gêmeos became world-famous and their artworks have fetched high prices during the last decade, as mayor Fernando Haddad (2012–2016) proudly emphasized during a radio interview: "our graffiti is recognized in the whole world" (Haddad, 2015). He continues, claiming that "besides Europe and the United States, São Paulo's [artistic] heritage is one of the biggest in the world. [...] Not even Tokyo has an archive like that of São Paulo" (Haddad, 2015). Differently from the rest of the world, where graffiti is portrayed as vandalism and crime, in Brazil's art / crime dichotomy it is graffiti that figures as art. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that Brazilian graffiti is also a varied subculture, and thus has a multiplicity of styles that goes beyond the simple dichotomy, as Alison Young reminds when analyzing the analogous graffiti / street art dichotomy:

> Graffiti culture and practice is more complicated than this dichotomy would indicate, in that both the aesthetic of graffiti and its toleration, criminalization or appreciation in the community depends upon issues such as placement, content, style and mode of address. (A. Young, 2004, p. 52)

Despite some graffiti artists' economic success and local politicians' appreciation, not every graffiti artist is taking advantage of this economic and social achievement. As Little Mouse explains,

> The first generation of Brazilian graffiti artists is formed by those who were studying art and then went to the streets to intervene in public space. This is back to the 1980s. These guys were influenced by Keith Haring and are known as the Stencil Guys. Then came the generation of graffiti writers who started doing letters in the street and then went to art galleries, becoming graffiti artists. This is my generation and also Os Gêmeos, Vitché, Binho... There was also a time, in the beginning of the 1990s, that we use to appear a lot on the TV as graffiti artists, so people started to associate graffiti with status and money. But actually, only very few became rich and famous, as is the example of Os Gêmeos. I did not become rich, I own enough money to pay my bills and that's it. (Little Mouse, Interview, May 2014)

This narrative of the São Paulo based graffiti artist Little Mouse gives an idea about the archetype of a successful graffiti artist in the dominant perception of graffiti scene in Brazil today and also summarizes the situation's genesis from a graffiti artist's point of view. In this short report he mentions the first two generations of graffiti in São Paulo, their relation to the established art world and to popular media, the way in which they were commercialized, and how this commercialization is widely overestimated by the general public. Other graffiti artists emphasize even more than Little Mouse that their condition does not correspond at all to the image of the successful and rich graffiti artist. As E-Live, graffiti artist from São Paulo's southern periphery and partner of a street art gallery in Vila Madalena points out

> When we talk about street art and its relationship with the market, we could also call it a 'far away art'. This is due to the great distances travelled by some of us to arrive at certain places of the city. It was not only a geographical distance to come from Grajaú to Vila Madalena to look at the graffiti and to learn how to do it. It was also a social distance, a racial distance. There were too many other distances that we had to cope with [...]. The relationship with the market is a very limited and slow one, so we have to have a lot of patience. (E-live, interview, São Paulo, February 2014)

Thus, there is an intrinsic contradiction produced by the commodification of graffiti and its relationship with the street art market, which according to Bloch, produces also "a challenge to authoritative spatialization due to how it reveals a contradiction whereby urban space is treated as a commodity with exchange value on one hand, and as a collective resource with myriad use values on the other" (Bloch, 2016, p. 456).

I have shown how graffiti in Brazil – differently from European and North American contexts – since the very emergence of the term, has been understood as something positive, and very soon as artistic. More so, we have seen, how the dichotomy of graffiti as art / pixação as crime does not entirely correspond to graffiti writers' perceptions of their own subjectivity and economic conditions, which corresponds to the affirmation that the Brazilian graffiti scene is extremely heterogeneous.

8.2 Pixação, art and transgression: São Paulo under an Ink War

Somehow, the subcultures of pixação and graffiti have always coexisted without major conflicts and the opposition between these different groups was largely a construction by punitive discourses in government and the media. However, the year 2000 was marked by the declaration of conflicts by some pixadores against some graffiti. According to Grand Father,

> They [graffiti artists] were said to be with us [pixadores] but they were actually using the aesthetics of pixação abroad for having realized that graffiti was already assimilated and quite saturated even in the street art market, while the pixação, specially from the point of view of foreigners, really brings something different from the aesthetic perspective and was also claiming attention from the critics of art. (Grand Father, Interview, São Paulo, December 2013)

This section discusses the ways in which pixadores position themselves in relation to "art"; partly as a kind of "(anti-) artist", but mostly as contestants not

only of the commodification of graffiti, but also of the co-optation of pixação by graffiti artists.

With this goal in mind, I will here analyze empirical material – interviews and media texts – that focuses on two types of specific subcultural practices, named 'attacks' (ataques) and 'paint-overs' (atropelos). The first is aimed at the established art circuit and its attempts to coopt pixação, ad the latter is focused on domesticated and commodified forms of graffiti. Both tactics were developed since 2008 by pixadores who used their subcultural practices as resource to organize and intervene in these specific contexts.

At the same time, this section builds a bridge for the analysis of the incipient process of pixação commodification. Paradoxically or not, as will be discussed in section 8.3, I argue that attacks and paint-overs have opened the door for the possibility of exploring pixação as a commodity by the fine arts market, the fashion and advertisement industries, and even by the film industry.

8.2.1 Attacks on art institutions

The first of the tactics here discussed are the organized attacks that pixadores carried out in several art events since 2008. This builds on the previous chapter's analysis of the first such attack, against the University Center of Fine Arts in São Paulo in June 2008.

Attack on the Choque Cultural Gallery

A video artwork of approximately 2:30 minutes begins by showing about 40 pixadores moving from the periphery towards the São Paulo district known as the nest of graffiti and street art. Using a Brazilian rock soundtrack from the 70's, the song's lyrics speak of 'the Brazilian' as a stubborn warrior who never gives up. Half-tremulous images quickly change from a sunny afternoon on the street to the small art gallery, which, using the underground aesthetic, has allowed its facade to be filled with tags, graffiti and stickers. Inside the gallery, the soundtrack mixes with the 'tssss' of the spray cans. In a quick yet peaceful move, pixadores begin to write on walls, furniture and works of art displayed on the walls inside the gallery. The only woman in the gallery quietly asks the pixadores to stop. She is solemnly ignored. The attack seems to happen almost in slow motion, yet lasts less than two minutes.

The attack against the Choque Cultural gallery, realized in September 2008, was mainly motivated by pixador indignation about the unjustified use of the label 'underground.' Pixadores understood that the gallery was making profit out of the transgressive aura of pixação, without sharing with pixadores these incomes. The attack aimed to contest and exposed the incoherence of the exhibition's subject by confronting Choque Cultural with what pixadores consider 'the genuine underground': unauthorized, collective pixação-action. Following Stavrides (2016, p. 201ff), this strategy can be interpreted as an act of "defacing", which might result in the demystification of existing social incoherencies.

Drawing on de Certeau's classic work on tactics and strategies, Ilan (2013) points out that as power and space are always interwoven, the relationship between the elites and the marginalized classes is underpinned by a tension in which the former are more able to develop strategies to define the use of space, while the later create tactics that consist of "a range of actions rooted in time not space and thus inherently more temporary and ephemeral" (2013, p. 20). The pixadores' attack on the Choque Cultural Art Gallery not only played with their intrinsic subcultural practice of performing pixação in an audacious and precise way, but also challenged elite strategy of trying to define the use and limits of street culture, as is frequently done by the cultural industry.

The pixadores' attack is an attempt to break with this logic and, according to Evil 666, one of the attack's designers, it was also intended to provoke discussion of the concept of transgression in the field of arts. Grand Father, in a very provocative tone adds that they also wanted to protest against the commodification and co-optation of street culture, which includes pixação, by gallery owners who were not sharing their profits from the exhibition with pixadores:

> They said that they were supporting us, but we realized that they were making money out from us and we were not taking anything. So, as they said they were underground and supported street culture, we went there and showed them how street culture works. (Grand Father, field notes, January 2014)

In order to give publicity to the attack and to call other pixadores to attend to the event, the same type of subcultural strategy that is used to publicize pixador parties was employed, as shown in Figure 45 below. This image shows the invitation for the attack of the Choque Cultural gallery. It proclaims:

> Art Attack 2
> The path of revolution
> With our protest art we will invade a 'shit' of an art gallery (Choque Cultural) According to its ideology it hosts artists 'underground' artists so it's all ours We'll declare total protest
> Meeting Point: Praça Caliato [...]
> Time: 15:00 Saturday 06-09-08
> Put phrases
> 'Viva a pixação', 'art as crime, crime as art' 'all together for the pixação movement'

By turning a folhinhas, a subcultural expression that was mainly used as technique to trade signatures and invitations for parties, into a call for a political action that aimed to discuss the limits of the opposition between

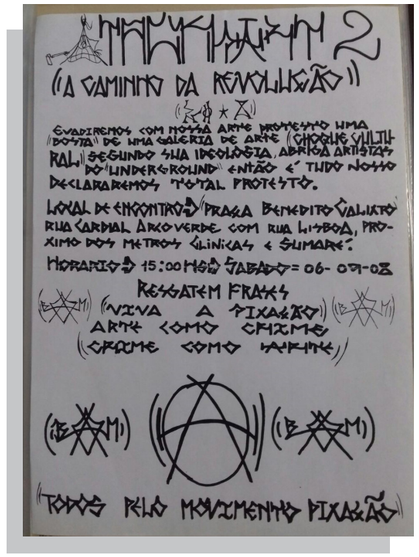


Figure 45: invitation for the attack on Choque Cultural Gallery. Picture taken from Grand Father's original file.

art and crime, pixadores transgress a series of barriers, which Jenks (2003) named as "a center that provides for a social structure, and a structure of meaning that is delimited or marked out by boundaries" (2003, p. 15). Jenks remembers that "the concept of transgression proceeds from an assumption and a recognition of 'that' which can be transgressed. So the story which always precedes the commission or acknowledgement of a transgressive act is the constitution of [this] center" (2003, p. 15). In pixadores attacks to these art institutions we see the cross of both symbolic and actual fences that are erected in São Paulo's socio-spatial context. This invitation illustrates not only how pixadores used subcultural elements to transgress the status quo of the art world, but also to transgress their own condition of immobility discussed in Chapters Three and Five.

Figure 46: By analyzing a close-up of the invitation, we can see the symbols of the movement inspired by Nietzsche's, Beyond Good and Evil,,which also inspired Evil 666's promotion of the rupture of the dichotomy art versus crime or more specifically, pixação versus crime.

As previously discussed, the pixador social network has the potential to mobilize periphery dwellers beyond the boundaries of their 'hood'. By joining points or celebrations in other parts of the metropolitan region, pixadores access territories that they would otherwise hardly reach, either physically or socially. Thus, this network can be discussed as means of overcoming the impact of spatial segregation on everyday life. Nevertheless, the respective social bounds essentially reach other pixadores' territories, that is, the hoods of a specific group of pixadores in a determined area of the metropolitan region. The primary point of access that pixadores might have in different regions of the metropolis are the long established pixador points that, at least once a week, can be considered pixador territory.

The Choque invitation surpasses this function inasmuch as it calls pixadores to collectively invade a space that is beyond their usual reach: the hip, central, arty, upper- and middle-class neighbourhood of Vila Madalena. Furthermore, it introduces pixação to a new territory inasmuch as this action is realized not in public space, but in a semi-public sphere. I suggest that this collective act of invasion of a 'new territory', physically and symbolically, marks a new stage of the subcultural strategies against socio-spatial segregation. This is especially the case, as the deliberate act of invading an 'other' space

emphasises a 'common' understanding that binds individual pixadores to what is here explicitly called 'the pixação movement'. Pixadores from the Eastern Zone e.g. may surpass spatial segregation by joining a point or party organised by pixadores in the Western Zone. But despite accessing the respective 'hood', they will hardly cease to be 'the guys from the Eastern Zone'. The Choque attack was different. By collectively invading a space that is equally foreign to all pixadores, they all are bound by this common condition. The invitation gives an idea of its creators' consciousness of this community building effect, as the phrases 'our art', 'it's all ours', 'we declare', 'all together for the pixação movement' illustrate.

The pixadores engage with the question: who has a right to invade a public space? The Choque Cultural Gallery understood its mission, and its marketing, to include an 'invasive' agenda. This can be seen both by the kinds of 'art' it exhibited and in it's very name: Shock Cultural Gallery. It not only appropriated pixador subcultural images; not only placed a price tag on them; not only failed to share the profits from this enterprise with its cultural originators; but also sought to 'Shock' the Vila Madalena neighborhood in all of these ways. The pixadores objected. Their attack was a demonstration of resistance to all of those affronts, not least of which is a sense of exclusivity when it comes to the question of who has the right to invade.

An attack on the void: São Paulo's 2008 Biennial

The following attack took place only one month after the one in Vila Madalena. Again, the analysis will focus on the specific space and the related content, in order to highlight their significance for the evolution of the subculture as a whole.

While Choque Cultural is a relatively small gallery, directed at a specific public that is interested in what the gallery itself calls 'underground artists', the São Paulo Biennial represents the very heart of Paulistan established art circuit. São Paulo's first Biennial of took place in 1951 and is the second-oldest art biennial in the world after the Venice Biennial, which was set up in 1895 and served as its role model. The Biennial of São Paulo was founded by Italian-Brazilian industrialist Ciccillo Matarazzo (1898–1977). Since 1957, the Biennial of São Paulo has been held in the Ciccillo Matarazzo pavilion in Ibirapuera Park. The pavilion was designed by a team led by famous architects Oscar Niemeyer and Hélio Uchôa, and provides an exhibition space of 30,000 square meters. The Biennial of São Paulo features both Brazilian and international artists, and is considered to be one of the most important art exhibits in the country (Biennial Catalogue, 2008).

To understand socio-spatial segregation dynamics in São Paulo, it is not sufficient to examine the enclaved and fortified gated communities and the material boundaries that they impose to the city's inhabitants (see Caldeira, 2001). Invisible social and cultural barriers were built throughout the 20th century by the oligarchic elites, as curator Sérgio shouts: "these people feel like they were the owners of the city". (Extract from field notes, São Paulo, October 2013). Despite the Biennial pavilion being located in the Ibirapuera Park, a

public space for leisure and entertainment, the main frequenters are those who live in the noble zone near the park. In short, it can be said that for most of the pixadores, the São Paulo Biennial is not be a place that they would have possibly gone, or felt at ease to participate in any way.

Nevertheless, one of the main purposes of the Biennale 2008 was the overt opening of the institution to all kinds of public, as the Minister of Culture suggests in the official catalogue:

> The setting and architecture of Ibirapuera Park with its ethnic resonance make up a living arena for the confrontation of aesthetic perspectives, conceptual trends, and artistic propositions: features that have long placed us as uniquely Brazilian on the world map. (Biennale Catalogue, 2008)

Thus, one of the specific aims of São Paulo's Biennale 2008 was the discussion of the role of the void in art: an entire floor of the building was left empty as a way of proposing a reconsideration of the direction and function of the event: "The 28th Biennial makes a radical proposal to keep the 2nd floor of the hall empty, as a free plant, materializing a suspension gesture shows and search for new content and settings" (Biennale 2008, Catalogue).

Following the artistic proposal of exploring the setting as a free arena for the confrontation of different aesthetic perspectives, the same group of pixadores that attacked the Choque gallery felt invited to intervene in the exhibition, as Grand Father explains:

> it was open to artistic and urban interventions, so 'urban' means that we were automatically invited. And that's what we did there, we occupied a space that was 'empty' (extract from Interview).

In response to the same kind of publicity already used in the past attacks, on 26 October 2008, about 40 pixadores invaded and filled all the walls of the empty pavilion with their signatures and phrases of protest, such as 'Abaixo a ditadura'. Fora Serra [the current rightwing governor of São Paulo]. (Evil 666, field notes, December 2013). The attack was a truly historic event. The entire pavilion was filled with pixações. The police came soon and one pixadora was arrested. At first, the others imagined that she would be released within 24 hours, as commonly happens when a pixador is arrested. They were mistaken. Charlotte was kept in prison for 74 days:

> It ended up with the imprisonment of Charlotte, but we thought she was only going to be detained only that night, right? But then days, weeks, were passing till she completed a month of prison. Then we started to get worried right? Because the normal thing would be that she was the other day on the street, right … and we did not know what was going on behind the scenes, even … because we did the pixações at the Biennial on a day of order, right. It was election day, Kassab [the candidate from the right wing] was winning there in the city hall and I knew that the City Hall and State Government were aliened; Then we go to the Biennial and put phrases like 'down with the dictatorship' and 'get out Serra' [the current administrator of the State Government, also from the right wing]' [laughs] then they went crazy with us and arrested the girl more for that reason, right? … We just could not imagine. (Grand Father, interview, 2014)

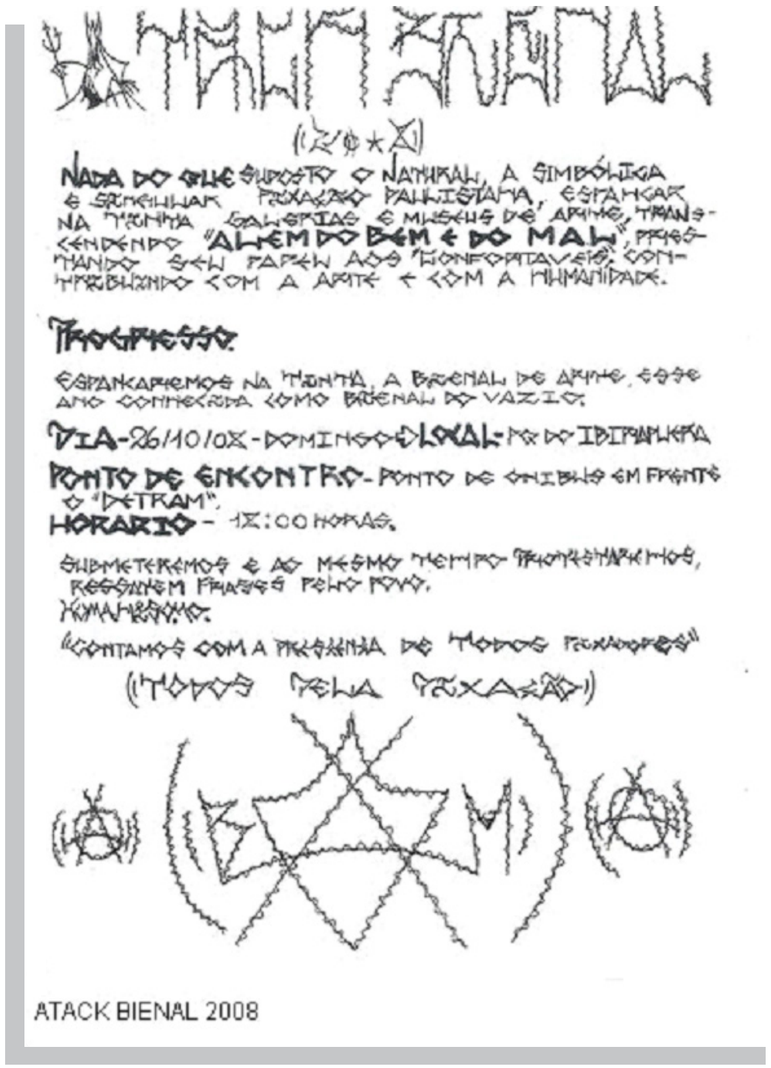


Figure 47 : Atack Biennial / Nothing of That Which Is Supposed Natural, the Symbolic and Single Pixação Paulistana Hitting with Ink Galleries and Museums, Transcending 'Beyond Good and Evil', Rendering their Part to those 'Comfortables', Contributing with Art and with Humanity / Progress / We'll Drown in Ink the Art Biennial , This Year Known as the Biennial of Void / Day 26/10/08 – Sunday à Locality Ibirapuera Park / Meeting Point Bus Stop in Front of 'Detram' / Time 18:00 / We'll Submit and at the Same Time We'll Protest / Bring Phrases for the People / 'We Count on the Presence of All Pixadores' / Humanism / ('Together for the Pixação Movement')

The attack and its effects, such as Charlotte's imprisonment, claimed the attention of the Secretary of the Ministry of Culture, Juca Ferreira and of the Secretary of the Ministry of Human Rights, who publicly intervened in the case by calling for Charlotte's freedom. As I have discussed elsewhere (Larruscahim, 2010) there is a tension on the limits and the relationship between art and criminal law, especially in cases where a main purpose of an artwork or a performance is to destabilize and provoke. In the case of Biennale attack, the

issue goes beyond of what I call a 'criminalizing censorship'. An unexpected collective attack of more than 40 pixadores on the Biennale pavilion was not only an attack on an institution of art, but also an attack on a social structure that functions on the basis of exclusion and inequality.

8.2.2 Graffiti mural paint-overs

> I gave up on doing bombing in the name of pixação. Everyone who knows me is aware that I do not paint graffiti as my daily practice, cause from my point of view it is too superficial. Graffiti for me is only a way to make money to pay my bills. (Evil 666, field notes, December 2013)

Despite stylistic and subcultural differences, graffiti and pixação were for a long time widely understood by their practitioners just as different kinds of interventions in urban space. In fact, it was common that a pixador painted graffiti and an artist practiced pixador calligraphy. Certainly there were issues and conflicts inherent to urban subcultures, such as disputes over the legitimate use of space, especially regarding the universal rule of graffiti (see also Ferrell 1996), to never paint over, which also applies to pixação. In that sense Silva (2015) , who conducted ethnographic research among pixadores of Salvador, concludes that this rule is contradictory, because at the moment the pixador writes his pixo, the urban surface that had been public has now, in a real sense, become privatized.

Some pixadores are radically assuming a position of never doing anything that is allowed, much less attending graffiti festivals. As Charlotte says: "I never run with the state, if you are really a vandal, you never do authorized graffiti" (Charlotte, field notes, September 2014). Others, however, do not believe that pixação necessarily opposes graffiti and see these events as an opportunity to collect material and to paint in a more relaxed way, as Raul tells me during an informal chat at the pixadores Meeting Point:

> This weekend, there is going to be an event on graffiti in our hood. I will participate. For me there is no such opposition. One thing does not exclude the other. I'm going to take advantage to paint very relaxed and also take some spray can with me to do my vandal [pixação] afterwards [laughs]. (Raul, field notes, January 2014)

As famous Brazilian graffiti writers started to turn graffiti artists in the beginning of the twenty-first century, especially in the international context, Brazilian authorities, especially in São Paulo, started to become more flexible on accepting graffiti in public space. Thus, São Paulo's urban landscape started to become filled with commissioned graffiti murals that increased the assimilation and acceptance of graffiti. According to Pennachin (2011, p. 214), this helped to intensify conflicts between graffiti artists who were welcomed by the new initiatives, and pixadores who felt excluded from this new Council Hall political position. Although the discursively constructed opposition between graffiti and pixação had long existed and become ever clearer through government and media discourses, this opposition had not yet been declared amongst its practitioners until this moment. Between 2008 and 2010, pixadores established a practice that can be interpreted as an overt declaration of opposition and,

indeed, conflict against graffiti in general and government-commissioned graffiti in particular. This opposition took the form of organized paint-over attacks.

The first such paint-over attack against took place in 2008 and was directed against three graffiti murals: Tunnel of Paulista, 24 de Maio street and Beco do Batman. "This was also part of the great rupture, when me myself, and I gave up on doing graffiti and bombing", explains Evil 666 remembering that moment. Evil 666 took very serious the need of a breakdown with graffiti artists and understood that in order to keep coherence and to give legitimacy to the attacks he should stop doing graffiti as well. During the night, the same group of pixadores responsible for the attack against Choque Cultural Gallery, dressed in white overalls and pretending to be workers, painted over all three murals. In white ink letters measuring almost two meters high, they wrote phrases like: 'Viva a pixação', 'Beyond Good and Evil' and 'Human, all too human'. The last two phrases were inspired by Nietzsche's work. (Evil 666, field notes, December 2013)

These three spots, especially the Tunnel of Paulista and Beco do Batman, are still today considered as the main graffiti hotspots in São Paulo. The specific Vila Madalena location where Beco do Batman had been painted can be called as the graffiti cradle. It used to be an abandoned alley, in which the Beco Escola do Aprendiz (Alley School of the Apprentice) was situated. The Escola do Aprendiz was part of the NGO Cidade Escola Aprendiz (City School Apprentice) and, back to 2002, invited almost 60 graffiti artists to create and exhibit their art works in this abandoned alley. That collective effort is today known as Beco do Batman, a touristic point and obligatory stop for the Secretary of Tourism of São Paulo's official graffiti tour.

The Tunnel of Paulista also features prominently in the official guide of graffiti tours in São Paulo. In 2008, when the paint-over took place, 160 graffiti artists, sponsored by São Paulo's council Hall, painted a mural paying tribute to

100 years of Japanese immigration. Still in the tunnel, leading toward the Western Zone, there is a mural painted by the Rui Amaral in 1998. Rui Amaral is part of the first generation of graffiti artists in Brazil and, differently from the following generations, he was formerly an artist who went to the streets.

That was the first moment that a group of pixadores positioned themselves against graffiti. Nevertheless, it was not to all kinds of graffiti, as Grand Father says:

Figure 48: Graffiti artists painting murals at Beco do Batman.

> I have nothing against graffiti as a form of expression, the problem is the conduct of some graffiti artists who have been cowed in the dispute for spaces in the street [...]. (Grand Father, interview, December 2013)

With commodified graffiti, execution of a sponsored mural generally is requires that the wall be cleaned, erasing whatever had been before the graffiti artist begins to paint his mural. This practice is seen as flagrant disrespect for the subcultural norm of never painting over a visual intervention in the urban space, whether it is graffiti or pixação. Sometimes, in order to compensate those who had their pieces or pixos erased, the graffiti artist who was sponsored offered a couple of spray cans to those whose pixo had been removed. Grand Father objects that this is an illusion and that there is still lack of respect:

> There is pixador who deludes himself, who dares to say that between graffiti and pixação there was always respect. What respect? When they erase a Pixo agenda [a wall full of pixações] to enter the authorized Graffiti, no one takes responsibility, and the fault is never anyone's fault. The excuse is, 'The owner of that house called me and the city hall erased it,' so if it continues like this, one day all the spots, laterals and tops of buildings will become authorized. Actually it is already happening... Why do we have to respect a space that was not conquered in an illegal way? (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013)

Still, according to Grand Father, the main purpose of these paint-overs was to "protest against the commercial and capitalist dimension that started to characterize graffiti" (Grand Father, interview, December 2013).

Figure 49: "R$ 200,000 in makeup and the city in calamity". The symbol represents 'Beyond Good and Evil'. Photo credit: Evil 666 archive

That was the phrase painted over on one of the biggest murals in São Paulo on Avenue 23 de Maio in 2010. Once again, basically the same group of pixadores responsible for the past attack, organized to paint over Os Gêmeos famous graffiti mural. The mural was originally painted in 2002, but wrongly erased in 2008 by a company hired by the Council Hall to erase pixação. The

removal of the famous mural took place the same time that Os Gêmeos were exhibiting an artistic intervention at the Tate Modern in London and generated a great rift between graffiti artists and São Paulo's council hall. This rift was partially bridged when the council hall, in partnership with the Commercial Association of São Paulo, commissioned Os Gêmeos to produce a new mural, at a cost of R$ 200,000.00 (€50,000). This sum is greater than the cost of one anti-pixação truck, cleaning supplies, and salaries of the cleaning team for one year, but this seems trivial and self-serving, compared with Grand Father's much more serious concerns about what government funds are used for.

According to Grand Father, it was also a form to protest against the scenario of injustice and social inequality in São Paulo:

> At the same moment that they spent all this money to make up the city, a terrible flood was taking place in the peripheries of São Paulo and tons of people were losing their houses. [...] I have nothing against an artist to make money with his art, but if KASSAB [current São Paulo's Major] wants to pay all this money with decoration for the city, he should make it at his own expense and not with public money. The city has several other necessities, a panel of graffiti has no use other than to decorate, and what is the point to decorate a place that smells like dung and human urine, where people sleep in the street living with rats and cockroaches? (Grand Father, Interview, December 2013)

This small group of pixadores was also motivated to declare war on graffiti by the allegedly appropriation of pixação's aesthetic by some graffiti artists who were only interested in making money out of it: "[...] when they realized that pixação was becoming high in the European art world, they started to use pixação's letters in their work [...]" (Interview Grand Father, 2013).

Following neo-Marxist authors like Hardt and Negri (2011) or Stavrides (2016), this conflict between the various subjects involved in visual interventions in urban space can be discussed as an appropriation of public space through marginalized city dwellers. Although the shared rule of not painting over is often practiced less as a form of mutual respect than as form of (counter-) privatization; that is, the norm excludes future potential users of ostensibly public space and is thus most highly supported by those who got there first. This feature has persisted, unquestioned for decades within graffiti cultures in North America, Europe as well as graffiti and pixação in Brazil. Only occasionally, have individual practitioners discussed the reactionary essence of the principle, which, in fact, seems to associate graffiti – and pixação – with the reproduction of an exclusionary capitalist logic.

In this context, the pixador attack on commissioned graffiti murals in São Paulo has to be read, too, as an attack on this principle. Further, when commissioned graffiti is paid for from the public treasury, the paint-over can be understood as a radical critique of the right of those who can decide about the city and state control of public spaces. I argue that these pixador actions can be interpreted as not only an act of defacing public policies, financing cosmetic measures in public space while neglecting the marginalized populations' urgent needs; but also as a re-appropriation of urban space as a common space, used and (constantly re-) designed by its most diverse users (see also Stavrides, 2016).

8.3 A paradigm shift: commodification of pixação

Cultural criminologists like Presdee (2000), Hayward (2004) and Ilan (Ilan, 2015) have extensively discussed the relationship between the criminalization of the everyday life and the commodification of transgression as a significant capitalist trope in late modernity. Hayward (2004) has discussed the contradictions between the commodification of the imagery and iconography of crime and transgressions, concluding that "while the state responds to the reconfigurations and transformations associated with the late modern condition by imposing what it believes to be more 'rational' forms of control and authority, the market takes a very different approach" (2004, p. 173).

However, if neoliberalism "is thus equivalent to the pitless commodification of society in its entirety" (Dardot & Laval, 2017, p. 9) or as Harvey suggested, neoliberalism incentivizes the "commodification of everything" (2005, p. 165), then the neoliberal state should firstly guarantee the free circulation of capital. For this, "it must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee by force if need be, the proper functioning of the markets" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). In that sense, commodification of transgressions and concomitant criminalization of everyday life are on the same side of the coin.

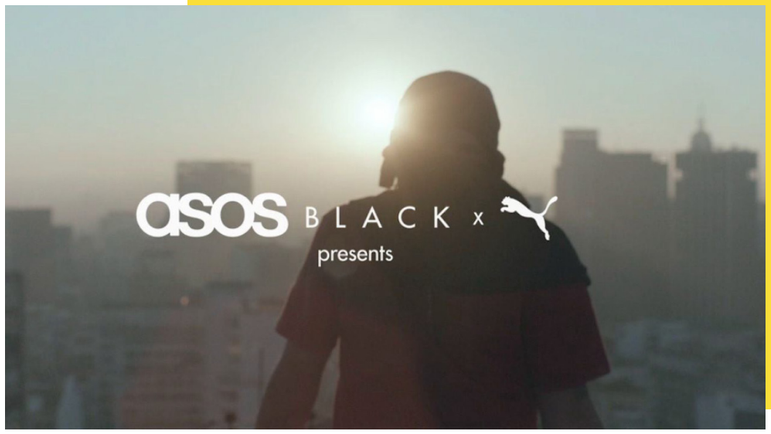


Figure 50: opening scene of the ASOS PUMA commercial.
Retrieved from: http://www.pulsefilms.com/work/item/asos-puma-os-pixadores

At the same time that pixadores are criminalized and framed in the category of disposable people (Harvey, 2015), a neoliberal order pushes for the transformation of these same subjects' very subjectivity into raw material for consumption, as for example, develops during the narrative of a nearly five-minute-long commercial for Asos and Puma[31], directed by Ben Newman in 2012 in São Paulo. (Newman, 2012)

31. The full video is available at: https://vimeo.com/50864165.

The video commercial starts with the image of a pixador walking through a narrow alley of a São Paulo favela. While he walks, the sound of the shaking of the spray-can mixes with inaudible chattering of kids in the background. After passing the narrow alley, the pixador reaches a higher point, where he meets with other three pixadores. At that moment the background landscape changes: one can see the entire favela that blends with and finally gets lost amid the skyscrapers on the horizon line. That is when the first-person narrative by a pixador begins:

> When you create something, you give it life, you can't control what it does or where it goes. When I look to what we have done, my heart starts to race...I can't sleep, it's all I think about. We see things differently.

The camera cuts immediately to four pixadores who are performing pixação on one of the skyscrapers that had been shown as being so far away from the favela. The camera thus denies the existence of spatial-separation that is such a fundamental part of the pixador experience. The narrative also changes; with a background of accelerated electronic music, the pixador now explains how important risk taking is to keep going with life. The image now switches to a surfing train performance [which is still practiced by some pixadores] and a one-word translation of the image: freedom.

Figure 51: Pixadores performing pixação for the ASOS PUMA commercial. Retrieved from: http://www.pulsefilms.com/work/item/asos-puma-os-pixadores

In a deeper analysis of the commercial video, in addition to the romanticization of risk taking and the adrenaline rush proper of the performance of pixação, the combination of images, sounds and text also reproduce what Dardot and Laval (2017) call neoliberal rationality: the neoliberal subject is someone who "by deploying the means of governing him so that he really does conduct himself as an entity in a competition, who must maximize his results by exposing himself to risks and taking full responsibility for possible failures." We see in the video commercial at least two different layers of this neoliberal rationality: firstly issues related with socio-spacial segregation, poverty and exclusion are deemed as a matter of an individual self capacity to overcome that – the narrative of the pixador is also turned in one of this entrepreneurial

subject. When the four pixadores get into one of the distant skyscrapers, the narrative also changes: 'the only way to push things forward is to risk something important', 'we are product of our environment', says the pixador.

The second aspect of this neoliberal rationality is the specific labor relationship established between the producers of the film and the pixadores: Crazy Ink, who is one of the pixadores shown in the video commercial, told me that each of them received a payment of something around R$3500 and no contract was signed. (Crazy Ink, field notes, June 2014). He also explained that the text was written by the producers and that they had little influence on it. The video commercial finishes with Crazy Ink saying, "by creating a language, we are making people think, questioning... People fear what we have to say, so we speak. We're not looking for acceptance, we are pixadores" (https://vimeo.com/50864165, 4:29–). Thus, by examining more closely the relationship between crime, commodification and transgressions, which apparently seems to be in a relation of contradiction, it is actually complementary, or again, in Jock Young's words: bulimic. The same system that criminalizes, rejects or even eliminates pixadores, also consumes its risks and precariousness, but in a 'safe' and 'aseptic' way, or in Crazy Ink's narrative during the commercial: "Like any art, if you look at it long enough, you'll find a meaning, whether it's our meaning, or yours" (https://vimeo.com/50864165, 3:20–).

The contradiction that might arise from this strange relationship between crime and commodities is when also the criminalized subject sees in that relationship an opportunity of economic entrepreneurship. Rudi, a young pixador from São Paulo points out this contradiction with discontentment and anger:

> How much is pixo worth? How many lives can it be worth? We go out to pixar and we never know if we're going to come back alive ... if it's to sell our pixos, then we can have a part in it at least. (Rudi, field notes, São Paulo, May, 2014).

This section points out the recent process of commodification of pixação by the advertisement and fashion industry, so as by the fine art market. This description is based on interviews with both pixadores and agents working in these fields, and on media coverage on the subject. This section aims to analyze the ambiguous process of commodification of transgressions and simultaneous penal control towards pixação.

8.3.1 Who owns pixação: 'Brandification' of pixação

> It was still early in the night, so the pixadores point was just starting when 'X' arrived, very proud of his shirt. He looked like he had just taken a shower, with his hair well-arranged and smelling of perfume. Immediately, Astronaut looked at him and said: 'Nice shirt man! Is it the Cavalera one, isn't it?' – 'Yes, I found it very nice, lots of us here: Os RGS, PESADELO, CTZ, FILHO, OS INFERNAIS, BINHO...' [pixadores groups and families names]. When 'X', turned his back Astronaut and the others muttered that it was a craziness to pay €60 on a shirt that was using the aesthetics of pixação, and not even using them well, because the signatures were mirrored and the print was not good. Then Astronaut commented: 'While they were making money on it, lots of us (pixadores) would not be even sure if we would arrive alive back home that night.' Sad Eyes, on the other hand, said that he felt quite sad on seeing pixação being used like that. Late this night I also met Grand Father and asked about his thoughts on the clothes using pixação

signatures. He tries to explain the contradiction: 'You know Paula, we were actually planning to enter in the shop and to destroy everything, it was supposed to happen a couple of days ago, but then we realized that they (Cavalera) were just using images that are available to everyone on the street. And we have to admit that pixação is something that does not belong to anyone.' (Extract edited from field notes, April 2014)

The image below shows a pair of shorts displayed on Cavalera's website. The price in April 2014 was 199 Brazilian reais, or roughly €60. That was not the first time that pixação was used by the advertisement and fashion industry. In 2010, Nunca, a famous Brazilian graffiti artist, who started his carrier as pixador launched a collection of clothes using pixação's calligraphy, sponsored by Nike.

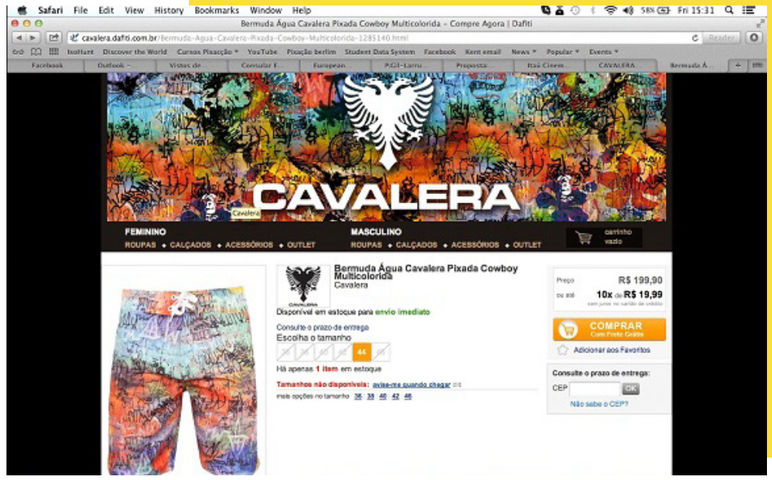


Figure 52: Screenshot of a, advertisement of Brazilian Cavalera's brand, which uses pixação in its clothes.

Brandification is a term coined by advertisement scholars to explain the process by which the iconography of a product not only reaches its intended audience but also becomes part of the broader culture and even people's identity. Holt (2003) uses the phrase "brand nirvana" to describe the ability "to build an icon – to create a brand like Coke, Harley or Nike that generates huge market value over long periods because it serves as a container for cultural ideals" (2003, p. 35).

By analyzing the commodification of street culture Ilan (2015) has shown how "the authentic and transgressive nature of street cultural practices (or decontextualized images and tropes derived from them) is a resource to those who produce a range of products, particular target at youth markets. (2015, p. 102).

As Ilan (2015) points out, not only images and tropes are coopted and decontextualized, but also the very identity and subjectivity of those who create them. Or in J. Young's (2007) words, "in a bulimic society, which at the same time absorbs and rejects in this process of commodification of transgressions, the subjects who actually transgress must be neutralized or even exterminated."

Following this logic, the increasing process of commodification of pixação, as happens with most commercial operations in a capitalist society, started without the active participation of pixadores. Many of them do not care at all: "I just want to come here every Thursday, meet my friends and hang out in the city writing my pixo" (Primo, field notes, March 2015). Others are happy to wear a shirt that shows their signature. On the other hand, yet others also want a slice of the cake and work hard to make a living out of pixação. As pixador Crazy Ink explains in a personal conversation: "It's years that I'm on the street doing my thing. Now it is time to harvest the fruits!" (Crazy Ink, field notes, April 2014)

This very common trope of street cultural expressivity raises the question of the extent to which pixação can still be seen as a form of resistance. Lachmann (1988) analysis is open to this possibility, and he observed a parallel resistance by members of the New York graffiti subculture: "[i]f the existence of a subculture is a sign that its members reject hegemonic practices, then simply offering the rewards of the dominant culture should not, in itself, subvert the subculture's ideological or organizational cohesiveness" (1988, p. 255). If, in fact, neoliberalism represents the "commodification of everything" (Harvey, 2005), suggested in Chapter Three, then in what terms and limits could subcultural resistance be defined?

As already shown, commodification of pixação has taken place, in Jock Young's (2007) words, in a bulimic manner. The calligraphy and aesthetics of pixação has been welcomed by the fashion industry, graffiti artists, advertising media and even the film industry. However, when a pixador creates his own brand, using pixação's calligraphy, he tends to be greeted by the centripetal movement of the criminal system. As I mentioned in Chapter Four, it is a common subcultural practice that pixadores create and produce videos, clothes, caps and other crafts to commercialize and exchange amongst other pixadores. Normally the production of these materials is domestic and sales are limited to the pixador community. This is a sort of commodification, but it does not reach a greater audience.

When I first met Gummy, during fieldwork in Salvador in 2013, he was just starting his small business in clothing, videos and other articles. He sold his products in an informal way, carrying everything in a bag and offering to other pixadores in their gatherings. The created the patterns for the T-shirts and hoodies in a collaborative fashion – the first one was a map of the state of Belo Horizonte and he invited everyone, through Facebook, to send a signature in order to fill the map. After a couple of months, Gummy managed to save just enough money to open his own store, as he explained me in a letter he sent from prison in 2016: "I started my little business with only R$ 10,000 [~€3,000] and by the time I was arrested and had all my goods seized by police, I had almost R$ 30,000 [~€10,000]" (Gummy, personal correspondence, May 2016).

The store, here named as Viva o Grapixo, was launched in a peripheral Belo Horizonte neighborhood in 2014. Since, then Gummy made his living from the sale of clothes with the pixação aesthetic, as well as spray cans and other supplies for both graffiti and pixação. During the writing of this dissertation,

Gummy was arrested and accused of gang crimes, specially, of using his shop as center for the promotion of pixação criminal activities. Authorities pointed not only to his sale of products that can be used to produce pixação – and actually can be also used to graffiti – and also to the sale of clothes and goods using pixação aesthetics, which, they claimed 'encouraged' pixação crime.

Belo Horizonte is the capital of Minas Gerais state and has a special program to combat pixação called "Respect for BH". The coordinator explained:

> These are actions that are there, trying to take care of some aspects that impact the city.[...] It is a Government Plan, it is part of the Plan of Government of Mayor Marcio Lacerda, and within this plan of government there is the combat to pixação. (Marcio Lacerda, Interview, Belo Horizonte, May 2014)

One of the great issues with pixação in Belo Horizonte, are the pixações affixed on historical monuments. Pampulha Church, designed by famous Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer and named as a World Cultural Heritage Site by UNESCO in March 2016, was scribbled on by a pixador. Authorities from Belo Horizonte went to great lengths not only to arrest the author, but also to take the opportunity to publicly combat pixação. The pixador responsible was arrested, but, as pixação itself has a low penalty, the strategy of authorities has been to accuse pixadores of gang or even organized crime, which have much higher penalties. Similarly with the moral panics discourse that imagines a conceptual unity between 'ghetto' and 'gangs' and claims that endemic problem arise from both (see Chapter Five), media and legal discourse have marched in lock-step to construct an image of the pixador subculture as an 'other' that, beyond defacing the city, represents a collective danger due its organization into crews and families – language that is similar to that used in the world of organized crime. Regarding this construction of 'the gangsta' as the dangerous other, Brotherton (2015) suggests that "[t]he constant demonization of the gang [...] not only reflects the colonial gaze of the dominant society vis-à-vis the primitives and the misbegotten, or a handy 'distraction' for the general public opinion away from the business as usual of corporate theft and other skullduggeries" (2015, p. 111).

Prosecutors understand that a crew (or group or family) of pixadores is legally framed in organized crime or gang crime, based on the assumption that pixadores create these groups with no purpose other than committing crime, which in that case is pixar. It is true that members a pixador crew do sometimes gather together to perform pixação across the city, but they also do it with members of other different groups and even individually. Thus, the accusation should always prove technically, that for each pixação, a certain number of pixadores have organized themselves, reunited, and together committed pixação in a certain point of the city. Apart from that, a crew of pixadores is only a group of people who reunite to create a nickname, to exchange leaflets with their signatures, to chill and party together and eventually to do pixação together across the city.

It is at this point that Gummy returns to the story. Gummy is certainly one of Belo Horizonte's best-known pixadores. He became quite active, especially after his first imprisonment in 2010:

> Then when I left [prison] I was thinking, then I realized: 'I even stopped with what I was doing.' Then I said, 'Oh, that's nothing. What I've been through, there is no one who is going to pass the hand and take it out of my life, that suffering I'm going to discount with pixação'. Then I conclude: 'since I was arrested because of pixação, now I'm going to come back.' [...]. Then I went out from prison, instead of going back to randomly pixar, I got a map on the Internet, mapped the whole city and said 'I'm going to pixar all the districts of the city'. I worked as a motoboy my whole life, 10 years I worked and I thought I knew all Belo Horizonte. I looked and thought: 'Oh, I've made several deliveries in several neighbourhoods, I know everything.' But in jail, other prisoners would come and say 'I'm from that neighbourhood' ... Then I thought, 'mmmmh this one I do not know.' Such a neighbourhood, such a neighbourhood, I do not know, no. By the time I left I said 'come on, I'm going to map and I'm going to pixar all the districts of the city.' (Gummy, interview, May 2014)

Thus, Gummy fulfilled his promise and became one of the most notorious pixadores of Belo Horizonte, also in the eyes of authorities:

> The imputed crimes generate repercussions in the community [...] the modus operandi used by the defendants demonstrates boldness and contempt for the public and cultural patrimony of our city, deserving, therefore, more rigorous in its treatment, since such crimes generate social commotion. (Extract from the court decision that imposed Gummy's imprisonment).

Even though the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 considers as cultural patrimony "the assets of a material and immaterial nature, taken individually or together, bear a reference to the identity, action, and memory of the different formative groups of Brazilian society" (Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988, article 216), there is still an understanding in the law that this cultural patrimony is "an absolute, fixed right which follows the object wherever chance may take it" (Pashukanis, 1987, p. 115), especially public monuments that often represent and glorify figures of colonizers, dictators and genocidal events, does the Bandeiras Monument, discussed in Chapter Seven. Nevertheless, as I pointed out elsewhere (Larruscahim & Schweizer, 2015), pixação, is arguably part of the immaterial patrimony of Brazil, and yet, as with other popular and uniquely Brazilian cultural expressions like capoeira and Brazilian funk, it is criminalized, perhaps because represents the identity and memory of what Harvey (2015) has named as disposable people. However, as Fonseca (2009) suggests, when analyzing the policies for the preservation of cultural heritage in Brazil, these policies have always ended up privileging the preservation of assets and memory that glorify social groups of European tradition, which in Brazil are identified in the dominant classes.

Of interest is also Pereira's (2013), observation on reminding that pixadores also have great concern with their memory and history in the city: "it is this preoccupation with the memory and the history of the pixação which motivated that many of them left their marks in historical buildings, assets and important monuments of the city" (2013a, p. 88). Thus, what is normally seen as vandalism and defacement can also be interpreted as a powerful mechanism of visibility and preservation of memory, or even part of a cultural heritage that historically was always eliminated and destroyed by colonizers.

The same order that sent Gummy to prison also determined that all goods from his shop were contraband:

> The volume of material used for pixação, seized in the present case, is enormous, holding the potential to degrade even more severely the ambience of the Capital [...]. The store is a true 'General Headquarter' of pixação in Belo Horizonte, where pixação gang clothing was found, [...] and sale of products that advocate crime. A place where is planned, plotted and material is acquired for the execution of a good part of crimes against public and private patrimony in the capital and in the Metropolitan Region. (extract from Gummy's criminal file)

This emblematic case shows how the selectivity of the Brazilian criminal justice system reaches a specific class of people, and is also performed by the judiciary, as recently suggested by Carvalho (2015). Gummy's case is crucial to get some insights on how commodification of transgressions does not necessarily reach individual practitioners, much less the entire subculture.

Even though it is difficult to claim that there is a direct relationship between criminalization and commodification, it is possible to suggest that criminalization helps to preserve the aura of transgression and dangerousness of pixação – but at the expense of those who are more socially vulnerable.

By examining Gummy's case and going further in this analysis, I would suggest that the concomitant criminalization and commodification of pixação is also useful to gain insight on how the selectiveness of Brazilian criminal justice system also helps to understand the micro dynamics of the agencies of a neoliberal state which mainly acts at the service of capital.

Gummy was arrested in his home on 3 May 2016 and all the material of his shop was seized. Coincidentally or not, the same Justice Prosecutor that presided over his accusation prosecuted the case of multinational Samarco, which is claimed to be responsible for the great ecological disaster in Mariana dam in November 2015. [32] None of its businesspeople or managers was arrested, as Gummy wrote in the wall of an office of Samarco's multinational in Mariana, Minas Gerais, five months before his own arrest. He did not realize the irony at the time. Gummy is not only a pixador who randomly performs pixação around the city. He became socially and politically active by also spreading phrases of protest against this selectiveness of criminal justice system and social inequality. This phrase and picture became viral on the Internet by the end of 2015.

When I asked him for permission to use this picture in this research, in an informal chat on Facebook messenger, I also asked what motivated him to go there and to write that phrase. He replied:

> What motivated me? Was being arrested by the environmental police station for pixação and living with the biggest environmental disaster of Minas Gerais. And no one has been arrested so far...Revolt, that is the motivation, the same as always, only the motives change. (Facebook informal chat, December 2015)

Gummy remained in pre-trial detention since the 3rd May 2016 until December 2016, when he was realized from prison, while none of Samarco's managers were arrested, much less detained. Both pixação and oil spills are crimes against the environment.

32. For a detailed explanation of the Mariana dam disaster see: Fernandes et al., 2016

Figure 53: "To arrest a pixador is easy, I want to see the president of Samarco being arrested." December 2015. Photo: Gummy's archive.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to analyze the extent to which the dichotomy graffiti-art / pixação-crime is perceived by both graffiti artists and pixadores as a rigid opposition, and show some of the multiple aspects that underpin the trembling lines that divide graffiti from pixação. For thus I first discussed the commodification of graffiti in Brazil, showing historical, economic and political aspects that play an important role in the perception of graffiti as art. Then, I discussed the attempts of pixadores to resist and contest not only the commodification of graffiti, but specially when this commodification took place by using pixação's aesthetics.

Thus, concerning the dichotomy graffiti/art versus pixação/crime, even though amongst pixadores and graffiti artists this opposition is not so sharp, the state and law enforcement still use this dichotomy as category that to them very usefully legitimizes, through the penal system, mechanisms of social segregation that exist independently of the criminalization of pixação.

With this in mind, I claim that the incipient debate on the commodification of pixação must be understood in this dichotomous context. I presented and analyzed cases in which established art institutions and actors of cultural industries approached pixadores, who, in return, intervened in fairly unexpected ways. On several occasions, pixadores proved to be eager and determined to resist attempts of domestication and co-optation of pixação precisely because of the fact that, since pixação is criminalized and performing pixação could cost a pixador life, it is impossible to quantify the economic value of a pixo.

Moreover, their interventions expressed more than a continuous will to transgress, which could be interpreted as a defensive gesture. Rather, my discussion of each case included an analysis of incoherencies in the critique of the event or institution that had been attacked. In this respect, pixadores

claimed an active and self-determined role in shaping the process of (partial) co-optation of pixação.

Thus, it is this activeness and interference of some pixadores in the ostensibly irreversible process of commodification of pixação that is here understood as the very element which gives pixadores their role of autonomous subjects within contexts such as the art circuit and the cultural industry. Given their social condition, their access to these spheres is a surprise and a puzzle. Subcultural dynamism is at least part of the answer.

Charpter
09

CONCLUSION

Over the past decade, pixadores have been the focus of considerable discussion, both by the media and by researchers. Although pixação has existed as a Brazilian subculture since the mid-1980s, polemic pixadores interventions and 'attacks' on Biennales, art galleries and graffiti murals helped to place them as objects of scholarly and international popular attention.

Many studies have explored pixação and its relationship with art, urban studies and even psychology, as the review of the literature in Chapter Two demonstrates. Surprisingly, perhaps, these scholars have sidestepped important issues related to the criminological aspects that shape pixador lives, as well as on macro aspects that influence on the criminalization of pixação.

The main research question proposed by this thesis aimed to understand the extent to which pixação can be considered a subcultural form of commodified apolitical leisure or, for that matter, a subcultural political expression against socio-spatial segregation and structural violence. This main research question was unfolded into four supplemental questions that were addressed in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight, respectively.

In this final chapter, I underscore the main contributions of this study on the state of the art of research on pixação, by analyzing the main theoretical conclusions that are supported by my ethnographical data, as well as the implications of this research for social polices and reforms. Finally, I present avenues for future research that revealed themselves during the five years I dedicated to understanding pixação in all of its manifestations.

9.1 Pixação and the contestation of socio-spatial segregation

The expulsion of popular classes from São Paulo's central districts was directly connected to, and in fact realized through, the verticalization process of the urban landscape. While São Paulo's verticalization could not have proceeded as it did without the prior expulsion of the working class and the poor from the center to the periphery that started during the 1970s and 1980s, fragmentation has been a type of horizontal, rhizomatic and disorganized process of this metropolis. Pixadores challenge both verticalization and fragmentation, which they themselves understand to be forms of socio-spatial segregation. Pixadores target the central area's high-rise buildings not only to position their names on the center's most visible spaces, but as a symbol of their resistance to decades of forced exclusion from the city's centrality.

The majority of pixadores who participated in this study live in the peripheries and have to travel long distances to arrive at the most wealthy areas of the city, where they work as bouncers in fortified buildings, as motoboys, or construction painters, and menial laborers. By analysing the urban flow of pixadores and the ways in which they use pixação as a way to overcome both government policy and informal pressure which significantly hinders their urban mobility, I argue throughout this thesis that this specific context represents an important element in the construction of a pixação subculture that goes beyond the enjoyment adrenaline rush of risk taking, which is typical of urban

subcultures, to the promotion of a rupture in the fragmentation of São Paulo urban space, on at least two levels.

The first level regards the verticalization of São Paulo's urban space. Whereas pixação is regarded as following and accompanying this verticality, as for example proposed by Chastanet and Heller (2007a), I contend that pixadores do exactly the opposite. What lies behind the act of performing pixação is a confrontation against the phenomena of verticality that represents one of the main aspects of São Paulo's socio-spatial segregation. this observation, and my analysis of its implications, are important contributions to the criminological debate on space, resistance and transgression. Specifically, I suggest that when pixadores add visual interventions tothe facades of São Paulo's skyscrapers – and even more importantly, when they 'invade' ostensibly private and exclusive space in order to reach the heights where they create their images – they are joining a political dialogue over the use of urban space. They are, after all, appropriating a space which, due to their social and spatial condition, pixadores are not meant to use or intervene in.

The second level on which pixadores break with São Paulo's urban space fragmentation is related to the aspect of mobility, or perhaps better to say immobility. The central feature of the pixação subculture is the creation of pixação, but the culture goes much deeper than this. It includes a social hierarchy, rules, and norms for behaviour. One of the norms is participation in rolês, which are more than just casual strolls and more than just scouting for their next pixo location. They are also moments of active observation, active engagement with their surroundings, and active presence. By practicing rolê, without saying a word, pixadores are communicating an emancipatory idea: we are here. They are thus also actively challenging the legitimacy of policies and hegemonic social norms that reinforce a logic of immobility.

9.2 Criminalization, police violence and the 'absence of the state'

My work with the pixador subculture opens analytic lenses to another issue that relates with criminalization: urban and police violence. This complements the traditional critical criminological focus on the effects of kinds of criminalization of the poor that lead to the phenomenon of mass incarceration. I claim that the primary criminalization of pixação, that is, being treated as criminal – in opposition to graffiti, which is specifically identified as legal, even though those who enforce the law have difficulty in distinguishing works of pixação from works of graffiti –has served to reinforce and bolster the legitimacy of extant, disruptive police practices (secondary criminalization) as well as of extra-judicial punishments that are completely outside the legal parameters and basic human rights framework.

To demonstrate the existence of socio-legal reinforcement to secondary criminalization and extra-judicial punishment, I presented several cases of police violence, including the extraordinary case of Ailton and Alex, who were murdered by military police officers in São Paulo (see Chapter Six). Analysis of

these cases, which are an illustrative subset of a much broader collection of data collected during nine months of fieldwork, it is possible to affirm that almost all pixadores with whom I had contact share two common features: they from the periphery, and they have directly and personally suffered some kind of police violence. The problem of police violence emerged as an almost natural aspect in the life of every pixador.

Given this social reality of active police intervention into the lives of pixadores, I was at first surprised to learn that a relatively small number have been prosecuted in the formal judicial system, and that, formally (at least until very recently), pixação is a minor offense that culminates in imprisonment (see Chapter Six). Nonetheless, I analyzed the prosecutorial experience of pixadores and my data yields two clear findings. First, as showed in the case of Gummy (Chapter Seven), the imprisonment of a pixador usually happens in a spectacular way and is normally used as an exemplary case, in which the media, the Judiciary, the prosecution and local authorities are engaged in showing that pixação does not remain unpunished.

Second, and more disturbing, is the enabling process that formal performances reinforce. Many pixadores many with whom I had contact believed that police violence against them can be explained in part by the fact that pixação is considered a minor criminal offense and the associated belief that formal penalties do not serve as a deterrent. They believed that in addition to the police's authoritarian sadism (they also spoke of a culture of sadism within the police force, but this subject is beyond the present study), there was also a desire of the police officer 'to make justice with their own hands.'

Aligned with critical criminological theories, this research reveals that police violence and criminalization of the poor have to be considered as preconditions; they exist independently from pixação, but pixadores are repetitively exposed to them and they are further aggravated by the precise fact that pixação was criminalized. In that sense, also the discussions of urban violence that tend to focus on the absence of the state must be reviewed. Accordingly, and following from the analysis presented in Chapters Three and Six, I insist that we review the conclusion, drawn from traditional macro-analysis of urban violence, that the absence of the state in the field of public security is one of the main causes for urban violence in Latin America. My data show clearly that not the absence, but rather the quality of the presence of the state determines the extent and nature of violence in São Paulo.

While reviewing the relevance of the traditional findings, we need first to explore which state institutions are absent (and confirm in a more systematic fashion whether or not they really are) and where they are absent. If we take into account that even though homicide rates in São Paulo have declined since 2005, as referred in Chapters Three and Six, these reports do not include the numbers of people killed by the police. As many pixadores confirmed, 'the police state' is very present and proactive in the peripheries, to the extent that, for some pixadores, the recent Worker's Party government was notable not for its ostensibly 'left wing' social parties, but rather for its continuation of brutal,

authoritarian repression of the poor, especially in the peripheries of São Paulo during international marquis events like the World Cup.

Still, regarding the proposition that is the absence of the state one of the main macro factors for urban violence, 'the PCC factor', also discussed in Chapters Three and Six, arguably plays an important role and had a 'positive influence' over pixador subculture. This is absolutely not to say that pixadores are connected with the PCC. Rather, it is to say that, in its own way, the PCC has established and enforced rules for some aspects of life in the peripheries of São Paulo. As this is where most pixadores live, they must be sensitive to these rules. Beyond the individual level, pixação is a subculture of the periphery. As such, subcultural norms and practices are also shaped by the rules of the game. Among the most important rules is the PCC insistence that murder may not be used as a way of solving conflicts. In these senses, understanding the PCC factor is tremendously important to understanding the pixação subculture.

And yet, PCC influence should not be overstated. As shown in Chapter Seven, pixação hierarchies are much weaker and more fluid than they once were, due in part to prosecutorial claims that these structures were 'gang related', but also to moments of more genuine and horizontal unity at level of the whole subculture. In sum, this research shows that it is not the absence of the state that can be considered the main cause of urban violence in São Paulo's peripheries. Rather, it is precisely the state's presence in the pixadores' lives that represents the risk of being exposed to violence. Police violence.

9.3 Subcultural practices turned into political action

Another important outcome that emerged from the data analyzed in this research is the engagement of pixadores on political actions by using their subcultural features and subcultural expertise. By subcultural features, I refer to folhinhas, to the Meeting Points and to the rolês across the city.

Subcultures and social movements share some similarities, especially the fact that they contest 'the system'. However, in this study, I found out that pixadores commenced to create strategies to effectively contest what they also call 'the system'. Thus, in Chapter Seven, I analyzed the process by which pixadores started since beginning of the 21st century to use pixação and its subcultural dynamics to contest not only art institutions and the idiosyncrasies of Brazilian cultural heritage, as in the attack to the Bandeiras Monuments, but also to demand the application of the rule of the law in the case of the murder of two pixadores by the military police of São Paulo.

I refer to these political demonstrations as 'subversive political action', which describes the pixadores' ability to actively transform their criminalized subculture activity a powerful political tool. Thus, for example, the folhinhas, normally used to trade signatures and as party invitations, are transformed into pamphlets that call for a political demonstration. Similarly, the Meeting Point can serve subversive political purposes as a focal point for the organization and launch of political demonstations. These purposes were illustrates with reference

to several cases of painting over murals (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight) as well as collective political responses to the unsatisfactory judicial handling of the policemen who were present at the murder of two pixadores (Chapters Six and Seven).

9.4 Interconnections between art, criminalization and commodification of transgression

As the opposition between graffiti and pixação is mediated by a criminal act that considers graffiti as art and pixação as crime, in the early stage of this study, the research problem was focused on the commodification of Brazilian graffiti and the criminalization of pixação. Ethnographic fieldwork helped me to understand that this opposition is not so sharp and, moreover, pixação is also becoming commodified. These issues are analyzed in Chapter 8, where I argue that pixação is best understood as a transgressive artistic act against hegemonic aesthetic patterns that tend to consider only graffiti as art – despite or sometimes because of its incipient commodification.

Transgressive achievement is operated on two levels. The first is the commission of an illegal act, but this is now where the greatest transgressive potency of pixação resides. The criminalization of pixação occurred long after it the subculture was well-established, hated and demonized. As previously discussed in Chapter 4 this analysis is framed in the Latin American criminological assumption of the selectivity of the criminal system.

Hence, even with commodification, pixação preserves its transgressive aura. Arguably because one of the aesthetic patterns that pixação confronts is the symbolic representation of good or evil as well as beauty and ugly. This aesthetic rupture was the main focus of the Chapter 8 discussion of the tensions between modern art and contemporary art. Thus, I argue that pixadores like Devil666 have perceived the strength of pixação and have been promoting a rupture – a "displacement of the domain" (Cauquelin, 2005, p. 92) – which refers to the interplay between the notions of art and aesthetics. While the concept of art refers to the content of the artwork, aesthetics refers to its value. Thus, if in contemporary art the sphere of the art becomes independent of aesthetics and, consequently, those involved in the process of bringing art to the audience cannot be distinguished as different actors, pixadores can easily become artists without being co-opted or having the aesthetics of pixação culturally appropriated and consequently being completely excluded of this process.

In that sense, in the case of pixação, which is particularly demonized and criminalized in opposition to graffiti/art, when pixadores take control of the irreversible process of commodification, they are actually committing another act of transgression. Instead of passively accepting being co-opted and excluded from the profits of an eventual commodification, they are turning the game of the neoliberal art market to take their slice of the cake.

9.5 Implications of the research for policy and reform

The urban masters of São Paulo who have been trying to launch the city a major global city see pixação as a direct conflict. Policymakers constantly try to frame pixação as dirt and vandalism, and their policies have focused on 'cleaning'. Even though this study was not focused on urban and social policy, its findings certainly should be of great interest to those who are designing future urban and social policies for the city of São Paulo. Attempts to eliminate pixação (or even pixadores) have been both ineffective and counterproductive, even by measures used by the authorities. This research shows that current urban polices aim to fight pixação while completely ignoring the subcultural organization, motives and belief patterns that are behind all these signatures. Policymakers must understand that pixadores are subjects who ultimately are fighting for their right to the city. Policies that acknowledge both the citizenship and humanity of members of this subcultural community, and seek actively to integrate pixadores into society in a meaningful way, are much more likely to be effective in both the short run and the long run than policies focused simply on the physical manifestations of the pixação subculture have been.

Through the analysis of pixador subculture, this research also contributes to discussions regarding the design of effective social polices to combat urban violence. It introduces important data that shows the limited relevance of the argument that the 'absence of the state' contributes to urban violence. Pixador narratives of police violence demonstrate that, actually, the very presence of the state – notably, the police –causes violence, especially in the peripheries. On the other hand, their reports regarding the presence of the PCC, the organized crime syndicate of São Paulo, has been helping to diminish urban violence. Thus, policymakers who are interested on understanding urban violence and police violence in São Paulo might consider investigating why police officers have targeted pixadores for illegal and violent acts.

My analytic framework can travel far beyond São Paulo. At the most general level, I argue that deep interrogation of subcultural communities and their web of interrelationships at the meso- and macro-levels can yield policy- relevant conclusions related to violence and the prevention of violence. Pixadores are present only in Brazil; that is, while there might be people who practice similar behavior elsewhere, this behavior, wherever it is practiced, must be understood in its own, unique, micro- meso- and macro-level contexts before meaningful policies can be designed. Subcultures exist in all urban settings. Hence, my framework can be applied everywhere.

9.6 Final reflections and future research directions

Pixação, the main topic of this study, was approached from a criminological perspective that aimed to discuss pixação and graffiti in Brazil beyond the simplistic differentiation of the criminal law that considers pixação as art and graffiti as crime.

As outlined in the literature review (Chapter Two), the subject of pixação and graffiti concerns a wide range field of research, but not many researchers have analyzed the subject from a criminological perspective. When pixadores describe themselves as "the plague that the system created" (Chapter Seven), they arguably are pointing to the contradictions of capitalism in the neoliberal era: a city that works at the service of the capital, a criminal justice system that mainly targets and select the poor, and a concomitant process of commodification of these bodies and subjectivities which, at the same time they are eliminated and rejected by this logic, are also turned into products to be commercialized and consumed by the cultural industry. As shown in Chapter Two, academic interest in pixação subculture has increased considerably over the past ten years and will certainly continue to be the focus of many future studies. My work offers many suggestions for fruitful avenues their research (as well as my own) might take.

My first contribution to the criminological debate lies in the analysis of pixação from a subcultural standpoint that takes into account particular issues more aligned with the perspective of the Global South. Despite a vast literature on criminal subcultures, not much has been said about the mediated representations of criminal subcultures Latin America. As a matter of fact, I have rejected the language of 'criminal' subculture, working instead with the notion of 'criminalized' subculture to emphasize a separation between pixador motivations to performance of pixação and the subsequent criminalization of those performances. This criminalization has profoundly influenced the pixador mindset, but not in the intended direction. For a wide range of reasons, they have viewed criminalization as both unjust and misguided, and they have responded with hate rather than submission. Future work should continue to probe pixador understandings of their own motivations, both to develop a clearer understanding of those motivations as they are and recently have been, but also to measure their evolution in response to stimuli from meso and macro levels.

This research also contributes to the field of urban studies that focus on social-spatial segregation. So far, not much has been said about the cultural effects of the phenomena of verticalization and fragmentation of São Paulo. Hopefully, my study of pixação from this standpoint will initiate a scholarly dialogue that can lead to a better understanding of the effects of socio-spatial segregation, first in São Paulo and, after theoretical and methodological tools have been polished, in other verticalized and fragmented urban contexts.

Another potential field that this research could be benefited in the future is regarding the analysis of pixadores and pixadoras narratives from the perspective of gender. Firstly the gender analysis in the perspective of masculinity, as most of the data collected here corresponds to the different ways in which pixadores portrait their masculinity roles within the urban space, authorities and between themselves. Secondly, there is still rough data to be further explored and analysed regarding pixadora's roles within pixação subculture.

Even though this research was not primary focused on aesthetic aspects of pixação, I nonetheless contribute to the incipient literature regarding street art and commodification of transgression. Chapter Eight in particular goes beyond classic assumptions that tend to differentiate art and crime or art and vandalism. I go far beyond the commonplace, 'one person's art is another person's vandalism' in order to understand the specific drivers behind specific acts of resistance. Pixadores who engage in acts of resistance understand that their work is simultaneously art and vandalism – but vandalism with a political purpose, and art that is in proactive dialogue with extant debates on definitions and interpretations of art. The interventions discussed and analyzed in Chapter Eight highlight pixador responses to what they perceive to be hypocritical claims regarding what comprises both art and vandalism. My work places these concepts in a direct dialogue with one another, and with the sometimes-fractious and -competing subcultures that produce them. This is the beginning of a long and highly productive road.

Finally, this research contributes to the understanding of new social movements, especially in Latin America, as it shows that new forms of political engagement can also emerge from subcultures that originally were apolitical. The way that pixadores have been articulating themselves, by creating political actions, whether in the form of 'attacks' or in the form of demonstrations, as shown in Chapters Seven and Eight, by using their subcultural expertise to resist against socio-spatial segregation and commodification of pixação can certainly contribute to a better understanding of the concept of subcultural resistance and also for theories on social urban movements in Latin America. But the present work marks only a beginning. There is much to be learned about the pixador subculture, and much more to be learned about its engagement with other subcultural actors as well as broader communities.

REFERENCES

Adorno, L. (2017, August 24). Abordagem nos Jardins tem de ser diferente da periferia, diz novo comandante da Rota - Notícias - Cotidiano. Retrieved 25 August 2017, from https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2017/08/24/abordagem-no-jardins-e-na-periferia-tem-de-ser-diferente-diz- novo-comandante-da- rota.htm?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=fb- noticias&utm_content=geral

Adorno, S. (2002). Exclusão socioeconômica e violência urbana. Sociologias, 4(8).

Agozino, B. (2003). Counter-Colonial Criminology: A Critique of Imperialist Reason. London: Pluto Press.

Alvelos, H. (2004). The Desert of Imagination in the City of Signs: Cultural Implications of Sponsored Transgression an Branded Graffiti. In J. Ferrell, K. Hayward, W. Morrison, & M. Presdee (Eds.), Cultural criminology unleashed (pp. 181–191). London: GlassHouse.

Alves, G. (2015). Transformações e Resistências nos Centros Urbanos. In A. F. A. Carlos (Ed.), Crise Urbana (pp. 143–154). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Alves, J. A. (2014). From Necropolis to Blackpolis: Necropolitical Governance and Black Spatial Praxis in São Paulo, Brazil. Antipode, 46(2), 323–339. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12055

Alves, J. A. (2018). The anti-black city: police terror and black urban life in Brazil. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Amnesty International. (2015). You Killed My Son: Homicides by military police in the city of Rio de Janeiro (p. 90). Rio de Janeiro: Anistia Internacional Brasil. Retrieved from https://www.amnesty.nl/sites/default/files/public/youkilled_final_bx_0.pdf

Andrade, V. R. P. de. (2012). Pelas Maos Da Criminologia. Revan.

Avelar, I. (2017). The June 2013 Uprisings and the Waning of Lulismo in Brazil. Luso-Brazilian Review, 54(1), 9–27. https://doi.org/10.3368/lbr.54.1.9

Baratta, A. (2004). Criminología crítica y crítica del derecho penal: introducción a la sociología jurídico penal. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina.

Baudrillard, J. (1993). Symbolic Exchange and Death (Theory, Culture & Society). (I. H. Grant, Trans.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Becker, H. S. (1963). Outsiders:studies in the sociology of deviance. New York: Free Press.

Becker, H. S., & Geer, B. (2004). Participant observation and interviewing: a comparison (and subsequent exchange with Martin Trowl). In C. Seale (Ed.), Social research methods: a reader. London ; New York: Routledge.

Bengtsen, P. (2013). Beyond the Public Art Machine: A Critical Examination of Street Art as Public Art. Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History, 82(2), 63–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/00233609.2012.762804

Benjamin, W. (2008). The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. London: Penguin.

Beuyes, J. (2014). Whats is Art? (V. Harlan, Ed., M. Barton & S. Sacks, Trans.). Clairview Books.

Bey, H. (2017). Taz: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism (2nd Revised edition edition). New York: Autonomedia.

Blay, E. A. (1985). Eu não tenho onde morar. Vilas operárias na cidade de Sao Paulo. (1st Ed. edition). Nobel.

Bloch, S. (2016). Why do Graffiti Writers Write on Murals? The Birth, Life, and Slow Death of Freeway Murals in Los Angeles: DEBATES. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 40(2), 451–471. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468- 2427.12345

Boleta, D. M. (Ed.). (2006). Ttsss... – a grande arte da pixação em São Paulo, Brasil – pixação, the vastest art, São Paulo, Brazil. São Paulo: Editora do Bispo.

Borba, M., Davids, A., & Simões, D. (2012). Estética Marginal (Vol. 2). São Paulo: Zupi Editora.

Brasil, C. (2008). As Ações do Comando de Caça aos Comunistas. In Vestígios do Passado: a História e suas fontes. Porto Alegre. Retrieved from http://eeh2008.anpuh-rs.org.br/site/anaiseletronicos#B

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism". Antipode, 34(3), 349–379. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00246

Bresser Pereira, L. C. (1989). Ideologias econômicas e democracia no Brasil. Estudos Avançados, 3(6), 46–63.

Brotherton, D. C. (2015). Youth Street Gangs: a critical appraisal. New York: Routledge.

Bukowski, C. (2009). Mockingbird Wish Me Luck. HarperCollins e-books. Retrieved from https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/product/B000VYX8ZO/ref=oh_aui_d_detailpage_o0 2_?ie=UTF8&psc=1

Caldeira, T. (2001). City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Caldeira, T. (2012a). Imprinting and Moving Around: New Visibilities and Configurations of Public Space in Sao Paulo. Public Culture, 24(2 67), 385–419. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-1535543

Caldeira, T. (2012b). Imprinting and Moving Around: New Visibilities and Configurations of Public Space in Sao Paulo. Public Culture, 24(2 67), 385–419. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-1535543

Campbell, E. (2013). Transgression, Affect and Performance: Choreographing a Politics of Urban Space. British Journal of Criminology, 53(1), 18–40. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azs055

Campos, R. M. de O. (2007). Pintando a cidade: uma abordagem antropológica ao graffiti urbano (Phd). Universidade Aberta.

Canevacci, M. (1993). A Cidade Polifônica: ensaio sobre a antropologia da comunicação urbana. São Paulo.

Carlos, A. F. A. (2013). A Prática Espacial Urbana como Segragação e o 'Direito à Cidade' como Horizonte Utópico. In P. de A. Vasconcelos, R. L. Corrêa, & S. M. Pintaudi (Eds.), A cidade contemporânea: segregação espacial (pp. 95–110). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Carlos, A. F. A., & Oliveira, A. U. de (Eds.). (2004). Geografias de São Paulo – A Metrópole do Século XXI (Vol. 2). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Carlos Vainer, David Harvey, Ermínia Maricato, Felipe Brito, João Alexandre Peschanski, Jorge Luiz Souto Maior, ... Venício A. de Lima. (2013). Cidades Rebeldes: Passe livre e as manifestações que tomaram as ruas do Brasil. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.

Carvalho, S. de. (2010a). Antimanual De Criminologia (Edição: 3). Lumen Juris Rj.

Carvalho, S. de. (2010b). Antimanual De Criminologia (Edição: 3). Lumen Juris Rj.

Carvalho, S. de. (2010c). O Papel dos Atores do Sistema Penal na Era do Punitivismo. Rio de Janeiro:Lumen Juris. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/download/30900516/Carvalho_-_O_Papel_dos_Atores_-_Final.pdf

Carvalho, S. (2014). THE "GAUCHE MANAGERIALISM" AND THE CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY THAT DOES NOT FEAR SAY ITS NAME. Revista Direitos e Garantias Fundamentais, 15(1), 125–155.

Casara, R. (2017). Estado Pós-democratico: neo-obscurantismo e gestão dos indesejáveis. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

Castells, M. (1977). The Urban Question – A Marxist Approach. London: Edward Arnold.

Castells, M. (1983). The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements. University of California Press.

Cauquelin, A. (2005). Arte contemporânea: uma introdução. (R. Janowitzer, Trans.). São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Cerqueira, D., LIMA, R. S. de, Bueno, S., Valencia, L. I., Hanashiro, O., Machado, P. H. G., & LIMA, A. dos S. (2017). Atlas da Violência 2017. Rio de Janeiro: IPEA.

Chastanet, F., & Heller, S. (2007a). Pixacao: Sao Paulo Signature: San Paulo Signature. Toulouse, France: XG press.

Chastanet, F., & Heller, S. (2007b). Pixacao: Sao Paulo Signature: San Paulo Signature. Toulouse, France: XG press.

Coelho de Oliveira, G. R. (2009). piXação: arte e pedagogia como crime. Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Centro de Educação e Humanidades, Faculdade de Educação, Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação, Rio de Janeiro.

Cohen, S. (2002). Folk devils and moral panics: the creation of the Mods and Rockers. London: Routledge.

Corrêa, R. L. (2013). A Segragação Residencial: Classes Sociais e Espaço Urbano. In P. de A. Vasconcelos, R. L. Corrêa, & S. M. Pintaudi (Eds.), A cidade contemporânea: segregação espacial (pp. 39–60). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Costa, A. C. E. da. (2015). Como me tornei uma etnógrafa, ou: um campo na minha cidade. Ponto Urbe, (17). https://doi.org/10.4000/pontourbe.2961

Czapski, R., & Riberio, B. (2013). Graffiti São Paulo. São Paulo: Ed. do Autor.

DaMatta, R. (1997). A Casa e a Rua: Espaço, cidadania, mulher e morte no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Rocco.

Dardot, P., & Laval, C. (2017). The New Way Of The World: On Neoliberal Society. (G. Elliot, Trans.). London: Verso. Retrieved from https://www.amazon.com/New-Way- World-Neoliberal-Society/dp/1781681767

David Harvey. (2005). Contetsed City: Social Process and Spatial Form. In N.

Jewson & S. MacGregor (Eds.), Transforming Cities: New Spatial Divisions and Social Tranformation. Routledge.
Davis, M. (1992). City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles (Reprint). Vintage.
de Andrade, O. (1991). Cannibalist Manifesto. Latin American Literary Review, 19(38), 38–47.
de Carvalho Oliveira, A. K., & Marques, A. C. S. (2015). Só pode pixar quem não é pixador: artifícios capitalistas de criminalização e capitalização no universo da pixação. Revista ECO-Pós, 18(3), 126–137.
de Carvalho, S. (2014). O" gerencialismo gauche" e a crítica criminológica que não teme dizer seu nome/The "gauche managerialism" and the critical criminology that does not fear say its name. Revista de Direitos e Garantias Fundamentais, 15(1), 125–155.
de Souza, M. A. A. (2004). Território e lugar na metrópole – Revisitando São Paulo. In A. F. A. Carlos & A. U. de Oliveira (Eds.), Geografias de São Paulo – A Metrópole do Século XXI (Vol. 2, pp. 21–49). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.
Deegan, M. J. (2001). The Chicago School of Ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, & S. Delmont (Eds.), The Handbook of Ethnography. London: Sage.
Del Olmo, R. (2000). Ciudades duras y violencia urbana. Nueva Sociedad, 167, 74–86. Dias, C. C. N. (2011). Da pulverização ao monopólio da violência: expansão e consolidação do Primeiro Comando da Capital (PCC) no sistema carcerário paulista (Phd). Universidade de São Paulo (USP), São Paulo.
Diógenes, G. (2017). Arte, Pixo e Política: dissenso, dissemelhança e desentendimento. Revista Vazantes, 1(2), 115–134.
Domingues, P. J. (2002). Negroes having white souls? The whitening ideology in the interior of the black community in São Paulo, 1915-1930. Estudos Afro-Asiáticos, 24(3), 563–600.
Douglas, M. (1968). The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception. Man, 3(3), 361. https://doi.org/10.2307/2798875
Douglas, M. (2002). Implicit Meanings. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis. Retrieved from http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=165450
Douglas, M. (2005). Purity and danger: an analysis of concept of pollution and taboo. London ; New York: Routledge.
Dovey, K., Wollan, S., & Woodcock, I. (2012). Placing Graffiti: Creating and Contesting Character in Inner-city Melbourne. Journal of Urban Design, 17(1), 21–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2011.646248
Droney, D. (2010). The Business of "Getting Up": Street Art and Marketing in Los Angeles. Visual Anthropology, 23(2), 98–114.https://doi.org/10.1080/08949460903472952
DV, N. (2013). Rio de Riscos. Rio de Janeiro: Tramas Urbanas.
Ellner, S. (Ed.). (2014). Latin America's radical Left: challenges and complexities of political power in the twenty-first century. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). Writting Ethnographic Fieldnotes. USA: Chicago Press.
Engasser, T. (2014, Juin). La pixação: une appropriation originale et subversive de l'espace pauliste (Master Thesis). Université de Toulouse II – Jean Jaurès Institut Pluridisciplinaire pour les Études sur les Amériques à Toulouse (IPEAT), Toulouse.
Engels, F. (1987). The Condition of the Working Class in England (Rev Ed edition). Penguin.
Engels, F. (2016). The Housing Question. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
Escandari, A. (2014). Pixadores.
Estadão. (2014a, August 1). Dois suspeitos morrem em tiroteio dentro de condomínio na Mooca. Estadão. Retrieved from http://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,dois-suspeitos-morrem-em-tiroteio-dentro-de-condominio-na-mooca,1537357
Estadão. (2014b, August 4). Polícia investiga morte de pichadores em prédio na Mooca - São Paulo. Estadão. Retrieved from http://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,policia-investiga-morte-de-pichadores-em-predio-na-mooca,1538561
Fagá, M. (1987, June 28). Grafiteiros fazem de SP uma galeria de arte ao ar livre. Folha de São Paulo, p. 24.
Falzon, M.-A. (Ed.). (2009). Multi-sited ethnography: theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research. Farnham, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
Feldman, M., Bell, J., & Berger, M. (2002). Gaining access: a pratical and theoretical guide for qualitative research. USA: Altamira Press.
Feltran, G. de S. (2014). Crime e periferia. In R. S. de Lima, J. L. Ratton, & R. G. de Azevedo (Eds.), Crime, polícia e justiça no Brasil. São Paulo, SP: Editora Contexto.
Fernandes, G. W., Goulart, F. F., Ranieri, B. D., Coelho, M. S., Dales, K., Boesche, N., … Soares-Filho, B. (2016). Deep into the mud: ecological and socio-economic impacts of the dam breach in Mariana, Brazil. Natureza & Conservação, 14(2), 35– 45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ncon.2016.10.003
Ferrell, J. (1993). Crimes of style: urban graffiti and the politics of criminality. New York: Garland.
Ferrell, J. (1995). Urban Graffiti - Crime, Control, and Resistance. Youth & Society, 27(1), 73–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X95027001005
Ferrell, J. (1996). Crimes Of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality. Northeastern.
Ferrell, J. (1998). Against the Law. Social Anarchism, 5. Retrieved from http://www.socialanarchism.org/mod/magazine/display/67/index.php
Ferrell, J. (2008). Cultural criminology: an investigation (1. publ.). Los Angeles ; London: SAGE.
Ferrell, J. (2009). Kill Method: A Provocation. Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology, 1(1), 14.
Ferrell, J. (2012). Anarchy, Geography and Drift. Antipode, 44(5), 1687–1704. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01032.x
Ferrell, J., & Hamm, M. S. (Eds.). (1998). Ethnography at the edge: crime, deviance, and field research. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Ferrell, J., Hayward, K. J., & Young, J. (2015a). Cultural Criminology: An Invitation (Second Edition edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Ferrell, J., Hayward, K. J., & Young, J. (2015b). Cultural Criminology: An Invitation (Second Edition edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Ferrell, J., Hayward, K., Morrison, W., & Presdee, M. (Eds.). (2004). Cultural criminology unleashed. London: GlassHouse.

Ferrell, J., & Weide, R. D. (2010). Spot theory. City, 14(1–2), 48–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810903525157

Folha de São Paulo. (2000, August 25). Um spray na mão e uma ideia na cabeça. Retrieved from http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/dimenstein/oquedacerto/gd250800.htm

Folha de São Paulo. (2004, October 3). 'É vandalismo mesmo', diz grafiteiro – Prédios e espaços públicos são marcados com símbolos de indivíduos e gangues que disputam espaço e visibilidade. Folha de São Paulo, pp. C5–C6.

Folha de São Paulo. (2008, October 28). Pichadores agora destroem marcos do grafite em São Paulo. Retrieved from http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/cotidian/ff2810200812.htm

Folha de São Paulo. (2013, February 10). Monumento às Bandeiras amanhece pichado em São Paulo. Folha de São Paulo. Retrieved from http://www.google.de/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Ff.i.uol.com.br%2Ffolha%2Fcotidiano%2Fimages%2F13275339.jpeg&imgrefurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww1.folha.uol.com.br%2Fcotidiano%2F2013%2F10%2F1350696-monumento-as-bandeiras-amanhece-pichado-em-sp.shtml&h=423&w=635&tbnid=RJFhbeiCQ1-PIM%3A&zoom=1&docid=Cwg-J7B20dpVgM&ei=oUmKVdq3BInwUvbJgOAH&tbm=isch&iact=rc&uact=3&dur=2240&page=1&start=0&ndsp=15&ved=0CCQQrQMwAQ

Fonseca, C. (1981). A Poesia do Acaso – Na transversal da Cidade. São Paulo: Tao.

Fonseca, M. C. L. (2009). Para além da pedra e cal: por uma concepção ampla de patrimônio cultural. In R. Abreu & M. Chagas (Eds.), Memória e patrimônio: ensaios contemporâneos (pp. 59–79). Rio de Janeiro: Lamparina.

Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. (2015). Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (No. 9). São Paulo.

Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. (2016). Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (No. 10). São Paulo, SP, Brasil.

Franco, S. M. (2014). Defacing. In F. Malzacher & S. Herbst (Eds.), Truth Is Concrete: A Handbook for Artistic Strategies in Real Politics (pp. 181–182). Berlin; Graz: Sternberg Press.

Franco, S. M. (2015). Pixação e Memória: a Cidade como Lápide. In A. E. Leite (Ed.), Graffiti em São Paulo: tendências contemporâneas. Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano. Retrieved from http://issuu.com/tramas.urbanas/docs/graffiti_em_sp_site

Franco, S. M., Silva, D. I., Pixobomb, R., & Warsza, J. (2012). The Politics of the Poor – in conversation, March 29 2011, São Paulo. In Artur Żmijewski & J. Warsza (Eds.), Forget Fear – 7th Berlin Biennale of Contemporary Art. Köln: König.

Freeman, J. P. (2003). Review: City of Walls – Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo. Teresa P. R. Caldeira. Urban Geography, 24(2), 183–184. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.24.2.183

Freire, P. (2000). Pedagogy of the oppressed (30th anniversary ed). New York: Continuum.

Freire, P. (2005). Education for critical consciousness. London; New York: Continuum.

Fundação Bienal de São Paulo. (1985). 18a Bienal de São Paulo: catálago geral. São Paulo: Fundação Bienal de São Paulo.

Furtado, J. R., & Zanella, A. V. (2009). Graffiti e Pichação: Relaçõs estéticas e intervenções urbanas. Visualidades, 7(1), 138–145.

G1 São Paulo. (2008, August 1). Protesto de pichadores relembra um ano de desabamento no Metrô. G1 São Paulo. Retrieved from http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/SaoPaulo/0,,MUL250699-5605,00-PROTESTO+DE+PICHADORES+RELEMBRA+UM+ANO+DE+DESABAMENTO+NO+METRO.html

Gago, V. (2015). La razón neoliberal: economías barrocas y pragmática popular (Primera edición). Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.

Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Gitahy, C. (1999). O Que É Graffiti - Coleção Primeiros Passos. São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Gonçalves, V. C. (2011). A tortura como violência instituída e instrumento para a simulação do réu confesso (Doctoral Thesis). Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curitiba.

Goulart Serafim, J., & Luiz de Azeredo, J. (2011). A (des) criminalização da cultura negra nos Códigos de 1890 e 1940. Amicus Curiae, 6(6). Retrieved from http://periodicos.unesc.net/index.php/amicus/article/view/541

GSA. (1989, November 2). Grafismos e Pichações – arte e sujeira. Pichadores – A mediocridade em ação. GSA.

Gupta, S. (2015). Pixação and Tourist Appraisal. Wasafiri, 30(2), 40–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/02690055.2015.1011394

Hall, S., & Jefferson, T. (Eds.). (2006). Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain (2 edition). London; New York: Routledge.

Hall, S., & Winlow, S. (2007). Cultural criminology and primitive accumulation: A formal introduction for two strangers who should really become more intimate. Crime, Media, Culture, 3(1), 82–90.

Hall, S., Winlow, S., & Ancrum, C. (2008). Criminal identities and consumer culture: crime, exclusion and the new culture of narcissism. Cullompton, UK; Portland, Or: Willan.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2011). Commonwealth. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Harvey, D. (1988). Social Justice and the city. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1989). The condition of postmodernity an enquiry into the origins of cultural change. Oxford [u.a.]: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2002). The art of rent: gobalization, monopoly and the commodification of culture. Socialist Register, 93–110.

Harvey, D. (2003). The New Imperialism. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
Harvey, D. (2005). A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
Harvey, D. (2012). Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution. New York: Verso.
Harvey, D. (2015). Seventeen contradicitions and the end of capitalism. London: Profile Books.
Hayward, K. (2002). The vilification and pleasures of youthful transgression. In Youth Justice: Critical Readings (pp. 80–94). London: Sage.
Hayward, K. (2004). Space – The Final Frontier: Criminology, the City and the Spatial Dynamics of Exclusion. In J. Ferrell, K. Hayward, W. Morrison, & M. Presdee (Eds.), Cultural criminology unleashed (pp. 155–165). London: Portland, Or: GlassHouse; Cavendish Pub.
Hayward, K. J. (2004). City Limits: Crime, Consumer Culture and the Urban Experience. London: The Glass House.
Hayward, K. J. (2012). Five Spaces of Cultural Criminology. British Journal of Criminology, 52(3), 441–462. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azs008
Hayward, K. J. (2016). Cultural criminology: Script rewrites. Theoretical Criminology, 20(3), 297–321.
Hayward, K., & Schuilenburg, M. (2014). To resist = to create? Some thoughts on the concept of resistance in cultural criminology. Tijdschrift over Cultuur En Criminaliteit, 4(1), 22–36.
Hayward, K., & Young, J. (2004). Cultural criminology: Some notes on the script. Theoretical Criminology, 8(3), 259–273.https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480604044608
Hebdige, D. (1988). Subculture: The Meaning of Style. Routledge.
Heckert, J. (2005). Resisting orientation: on the complexities of desire and the limits of identity politics (PhD Sociology). University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh. Retrieved from https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/24689
Hobbsbawm, E. (1963). Primitive Rebels: Banditry, Mafia, Millenarians, Anarchists, Sicilian Fasci, The City Mob, Labour Sects, Ritual, Semons & Oaths. The University Press.
Hollander, J. A., & Einwohner, R. L. (2004). Conceptualizing Resistance. Sociological Forum, 19(4), 533–554. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11206-004-0694-5
Holston, J. (2008). Insurgent citizenship:disjunctions of democracy and modernity in Brazil. USA: Princeton University Press.
Holt, D. (2003). How to build an Iconic brand, (21), 35–42.
Human Rights Watch. (2009). Lethal force: police violence and public security in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch.
Ilan, J. (2012). 'The industry's the new road': Crime, commodification and street cultural tropes in UK urban music. Crime, Media, Culture, 8(1), 39–55.
Ilan, J. (2013). Street social capital in the liquid city. Ethnography, 14(1), 3–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138112440983
Ilan, J. (2015). Understanding Street Culture: Poverty, Crime, Youth and Cool. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jenks, C. (2003). Transgression. Psychology Press.
Jovem Pan. (2015, February 12). Entrevista entrevista com prefeito Haddad. São Paulo.
Juarez, B. (2014). Arte urbano= usos expresivos del espacio público= Arte urbana: usos expressivos do espaço público. Unicampi.
Juarez, B. (2016). The visual and social indeterminacy of pixação: the inextricable moods of São Paulo. Urban Creativity Scientific Journal, 2(1), 43.
Justiça Global. (2009a). Os Muros nas Favelas e o Processo de Criminalização (p. 90). Rio de Janeiro. Retrieved from http://www.global.org.br/wp- content/uploads/2016/03/r_jg_2009_muros_favelas.pdf
Justiça Global (Ed.). (2009b). The criminalisation of poverty: a report on the economic, social and cultural root causes of torture and other forms of violence in Brazil. Geneva, Switzerland: World Organisation Against Torture. Retrieved from http://www.global.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Criminaliza----o-da-pobreza-----Um-relatorio-sobre-as-causas-econ--micas-sociais-e-culturais-da-tortura-e- outras-formas-de-viol--ncia-no-Brasil-2009.pdf
Kaplan, R. dos S. C. (2012). Grafite/Pichação: circuitos e territórios na ate de rua (Master Thesis presented to the Programa de Pós Graduação em Ciência da Arte da Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF). Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF, Niteroi.
Katz, J. (2001). From how to why: On luminous description and causal inference in ethnography (Part I). Ethnography, 2(4), 443–473.
Knabb, K. (2007). Situationist International Anthology (Revised ed.). Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets. Retrieved from http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/
Knauss, P. (2008). Grafite Urbano Contemporâneo. In S. Torres (Ed.), Raizes E Rumos – Perspectivas Interdisciplinares Em Estudos America (pp. 334–353). Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras.
Koonings, K., & Kruijt, D. (Eds.). (2007). Fractured cities: social exclusion, urban violence and contested spaces in Latin America. London: Zed Books.
Lachmann, R. (1988). Graffiti as career and ideology. American Journal of Sociology, 94(2), 229–250.
Larruscahim, P. G. (2010). Interlocuções entre a arte e a criminologia (pp. 247–243). Presented at the ORDENAMENTOS JURÍDICOS E A DIMENSÃO DA JUSTIÇA NAEXPERIÊNCIAJURÍDICA MODERNA E CONTEMPORÂNEA: Diálogo entre História, Direito e Criminologia, Florianópolis, SC: Editora Fundação Boiteux.
Larruscahim, P. G. (2014). From graffiti to pixação – Urban protest in Brazil. Tijdschrift over Cultuur & Criminaliteit, 4(2), 69–84.
Larruscahim, P. G., & Schweizer, P. (2015). A criminalização da pixação como cultura popular na metrópole brasileira na virada para o século XXI / The criminalization of pixação as popular culture in the brazilian metropolis at the dawn of the 21st century. Revista de Direitos e Garantias Fundamentais, 15(1), 13–32.
Lassala, G. (2010). Pichação não é Pixação – uma introdução à análise de expressões gráficas urbanas. São Paulo: Altamira Editorial. Retrieved from http://www.

altamiraeditorial.com.br/descricao.asp?id=2&id_livro=31&idc=2
Lassala, G. (2014). Em nome do Pixo: a experiência social e estética do pixador e artista: Djan Ivson. Universidade Presbiteriana Mackeinze, São Paulo.
Leal, S. J. de M. (2007). Acorda hip-hop: despertando um movimento em transformação. Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano.
Lefebvre, H. (1991). The Production of Space. (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
Lefebvre, H. (1996). Writings on Cities. (E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Eds.) (1 edition). Cambridge, Mass, USA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Lefebvre, H. (2003a). The Urban Revolution (1 edition). Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2003b). The Urban Revolution (1 edition). Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2009). Dialectical materialism. (J. Sturrock, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Leminski. (1985). Curitiba. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXdKmKUcXAk
Lewisohn, C. (2008). Street Art. London: Tate Publishing.
Lins, M. A. T., Alexandre, D. S., Silva, E. E. G. da, & Silva, R. C. da. (2015). A criminalização do trabalhador negro. Caderno de Graduação - Ciências Humanas e Sociais - UNIT - ALAGOAS, 3(1), 29–46.
López, A. A. (2015). Public spaces, stigmatization and media discourses of graffiti practices in the Latin American press (doctoral thesis). Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin. Retrieved from http://www.diss.fu- berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000099234
Luxemburg, R., Hudis, P., & Anderson, K. (2004). The Rosa Luxemburg reader. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Lyng, S. (Ed.). (2004a). Edgework: The Sociology of Risk-Taking (1 edition). New York: Routledge.
Lyng, S. (Ed.). (2004b). Edgework: The Sociology of Risk-Taking (1 edition). New York: Routledge.
Lyng, S. (2014). Action and edgework: Risk taking and reflexivity in late modernity. European Journal of Social Theory, 17(4), 443–460. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431013520392
Macdonald, N. (2001). The Graffiti Subculture: youth, maculinity and identity in London and New York. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
MacDonald, N. (2001). The Graffiti Subculture: Youth, Masculinity and Identity in London and New York. New York: Palgrave Schol, Print UK.
Manco, T., & Neelon, C. (2005). Graffiti Brasil. London: Thames & Hudson.
Manso, B. P., & Dias, C. N. (2017). PCC, sistema prisional e gestão do novo mundo do crime no Brasil. Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública, 11(2), 10–29.
Marchart, O. (2004). New Protest Formations and Radical Democracy. Peace Review, 16(4), 415–420. https://doi.org/10.1080/1040265042000318635
Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. Annual Review of Anthropology, 24(1), 95–117.

Mason, P. (2012). Why it's kicking off evereywhere: the new global revolution. London: Verso.
Mayer, M. (2010). Social Movements. In R. Hutchison (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Urban Studies. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc. Retrieved from http://knowledge.sagepub.com/view/urbanstudies/SAGE.xml
Mayer, M., & Boudreau, J.-A. (2012). Social Movements in Urban Politics: Trends in Research and Practice. In P. John, K. Mossberger, & S. E. Clarke (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics (pp. 273–292).
McGaw, J. (2008). Complex Relationships between Detournement and Recuperation in Melbourne's Street (Graffiti and Stencil) Art Scene. Architectural Theory Review, 13(2), 222–239. https://doi.org/10.1080/13264820802216858
Mcilwaine, C., & Moser, C. O. N. (2007). Living in fear: how the urban poor perceive violence, fear and insecurity. In K. Koonings & D. Kruijt (Eds.), Fractured cities: social exclusion, urban violence and contested spaces in Latin America. London: Zed Books.
McLeod, K. (1999). Authenticity Within Hip-Hop and Other Cultures Threatened with Assimilation. Journal of Communication, 49(4), 134–150. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02821.x
Medeiros, R. (2013). Uma história do graffiti paulistanos contada em quatro atos. In A. E. Leite (Ed.), Graffiti em São Paulo: tendências contemporâneas (pp. 26–49). Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano. Retrieved from http://issuu.com/tramas.urbanas/docs/graffiti_em_sp_site
Mello, M. (2006). Graffitti: um pouco da história. Tupigrafia, 1(1).
Mena, F. (2015). Um modelo violento e ineficaz de polícia. In Bala perdida:a violência policial no Brasil e os desafios para sua superação. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.
Merleau-Ponty, M. (2013). Phenomenology of Perception (Tra edition). Routledge.
Merrill, S. (2015). Keeping it real? Subcultural graffiti, street art, heritage and authenticity. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 21(4), 369–389. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2014.934902
Mesquita, A. (2011). Insurgências Poéticas: arte ativista e ação coletiva. São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Annablume Fapesp.
Mesquita, M., & Valiengo, G. (2013). Cidade Cinza.
Millie, A. (2017). Philosophical Criminology. Bristol: Policy Press.
Misse, M., Grillo, C. C., Teixeira, C. P., & Neri, N. E. (2013). Quando a polícia mata: homicídios por 'Autos de Resistência' no Rio de Janeiro (2001–2011). Rio de Janeiro: Booklink.
Mitchell, D. (1995). The end of publci space. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 85(1), 108–133.
Mittmann, D. (2012). O sujeito pixador: tensões acerca da prática da pichação paulista. Universidade Estadual Paulista (UNESP), São Paulo. Retrieved from http://base.repositorio.unesp.br/handle/11449/90125
Mondardo, M. L., & Goettert, J. D. (2008). Territórios simbólicos e de resistência na cidade: grafias da pichação e do grafite. Terr@Plural, Ponta Grossa, 2(2), 293–308.

Monteiro, V. B. (2017). Criminalização da pobreza e de defensores de direitos humanos. Cadernos do CEAS: Revista crítica de humanidades, 0(240), 238–255.

Moriyama, V., & Lopez, F. (2010). Estetica Marginal: Nova Escola. São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Zupi.

Motta, S. C. (2017). Emancipation in Latin America: On the Pedagogical Turn. Bulletin of Latin American Research, 36(1), 5–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/blar.12526

Neelon, N. (2006). Unsavory Characters. Print, 60(1), 30–31.

Negri, A. (2007). Qu'est-ce qu'un événement ou un lieu biopolitique dans la métropole ? Multitudes, (31), 17–30. https://doi.org/10.3917/mult.031.0017

Newman, B. (2012). ASOS Black X Puma – Os Pixadores Film. Sao Paulo: Pulse Films. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o6dhT9YqxWk

O'Brien, M. (2005). What is cultural about cultural criminology? British Journal of Criminology, (45), 599–612.

O'Brien, M., & Yar, M. (2008). Criminology: the key concepts. London ; New York: Routledge.

Olmo, R. D. (1981). America Latina y su criminologia (1a ed edition). México: Siglo XXI Editores Mexico.

Paixão, S. J. C. da. (2011). O meio é a paisagem: pixação e grafite como intervenções em São Paulo (Master Thesis: Programa de Pós Graduação Interunidades em Estética e Hostória da Arte). Universidade de São Paulo (USP).

Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. (1968). The City (New impression edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pashukanis, E. B. (1987). Law and Marxism: A General Theory. (B. Einhorn, Trans.). London: Pluto Press. Retrieved from https://www.amazon.co.uk/LAW-MARXISM- General-Evgeny-Pashukanis/dp/0861047400

Pennachin, D. L. (2011). Subterrâneos e Superfícies da Ate Urbana: uma imersão no universo dos sentidos do grafiti e da pixação na cidade de São Paulo. Uniersidade Federal de Minas Gerais. Escola de Belas Artes, Belo Horizonte.

Pereira, A. B. (2010a). As Marcas da Cidade: a Dinâmica da Pixação em São Paulo. Lua Nova, (79), 143–162.

Pereira, A. B. (2010b). As Marcas da Cidade: a Dinâmica da Pixação em São Paulo. Lua Nova, (79), 143–162.

Pereira, A. B. (2013a). Cidade de riscos: notas etnográficas sobre pixação, adrenalina, morte e memória em São Paulo. Revista de Antropologia Da USP, 56(1), 81–110.

Pereira, A. B. (2013b). Cidade de riscos: notas etnográficas sobre pixação, adrenalina, morte e memória em São Paulo. Revista de Antropologia Da USP, 56(1), 81–110.

Pinheiro, P. S. (2002). The paradox of democracy in Brazil. The Brown Journal of World Affairs, 8(2), 113–122.

Pinto, C. R. J. (2017). A Trajetória Discursiva Das Manifestações De Rua No Brasil (2013-2015). Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política, 0(100), 119–153. https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-119153/100

Ponte Jornalismo, & Filho, F. S. (2014, August 8). Pichação se une em protesto por mortes de Alex e Ailton. Retrieved 5 August 2015, from http://ponte.org/pichadores-se-unem-em-protesto-pela-morte-de-alex/

Presdee, M. (2000). Cultural criminology and the carnival of crime. London; New York: Routledge. Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/id/2002542

Preußler, J., & Cogitatio Factum (Eds.). (2017). The Death Of Graffiti. Berlin: Possible Books.

Quinn, M. (1996). 'Never shoulda been let out the penitentiary': Gangsta Rap and the Struggle over Racial Identity. Cultural Critique, 34, 65–89.

Raby, R. (2005). What is Resistance? Journal of Youth Studies, 8(2), 151–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260500149246

Ramires, J. C. de L. (1998). O Processo de Verticalização das Cidades Brasileiras. UEM, 16(1), 97–104.

Reis, L. V. de S. (1993). A 'Aquarela do Brasil': reflexões preliminares sobre a construção nacional do samba e da capoeira. Cadernos de Campo - USP, 3(3), 5–18.

Ribeiro, F. V. (2015). Produção Contraditória do Espaço Urbano e Resistências. In A. F. A. Carlos (Ed.), Crise Urbana (pp. 171–186). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Rolnik, S. (2007). Memória do corpo contamina museu. Transversal Texts, (1). Retrieved from http://eipcp.net/transversal/0507/rolnik/pt

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. (2012). Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data (3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.

Sader, E. (2011). The New Mole: Paths of the Latin American Left. London ; New York: Verso. Retrieved from http://www.versobooks.com/books/981-the-new-mole

Sanchez-Tranquilino, M. (1995). Space, Power, and Youth Culture: Mexican American Graffiti and Chicano Murals in East Los Angeles. In B. Jo Bright & L. Bakewell (Eds.), Looking High and Low: Art and Cultural Identity. United States: The University of Arizona Press. Retrieved from https://www.amazon.co.uk/Looking- High-Low-Cultural- Identity/dp/0816515166/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1508849237&sr=8-1&keywords=looking+high+and+low+art+and+cultural+identity

Santos, J. C. dos. (2008). A criminologia radical (3a. ed). Curituba: ICPC [u.a.].

Santos, J. V. T. dos. (2002). Violências, América Latina: a disseminação de formas de violência e os estudos sobre conflitualidades. Sociologias, (8), 16–32.

Santos, M. (1985). Spatial Dialectics: The Two Circuits of Urban Economy in Underveloped Countries. Antipode, 17(2–3), 127–135. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1985.tb00341.x

Santos, M. (1990a). Metrópole Corporativa e Fragmentada, o Caso de São Paulo. São Paulo: Nobel.

Santos, M. (1990b). Metrópole Corporativa e Fragmentada, o Caso de São Paulo. São Paulo: Nobel.

São Paulo Council Hall. (2007). Histórico Demográfico do Município de São Paulo. Retrieved from http://smdu.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico_demografico/introducao.php

São Paulo Turismo S/A. (2014, May). Guia / Guide – São Paulo 2014 – Global City, the Land of Soccer – Cidade Global, Território da Bola. Prefeitura de São Paulo – Turismo. Retrieved from http://imprensa.spturis.com.br/downloads/GuiaSP_Ingles_BonecoTotal_BX_V01.p df

Scandiucci, G. (2017). A cidade e seus muros: As pixações de São Paulo à lus da psicologia arquetípica.

Schacter, R. (2008). An Ethnography of Iconoclash: An Investigation into the Production, Consumption and Destruction of Street-art in London. Journal of Material Culture, 13(1), 35–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183507086217

Schacter, R. (2013). The World Street Atlas of Street Art and Graffiti. London: Aurum Press.

Schacter, R. (2016). Ornament and Order: graffiti, street art and the parergon. London: Routledge.

Scheper-Hughes, N. (2006). Death Squads and Vigilante Politics in Democratic Northeast Brazil. In Law and Disorder in the Postcolony (p. 215). The University of Chicago Press. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=eBx5BgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA266&dq=%22programs)+found+in+Mexico+and+California+(Anderson%22+%22and+massive+internal+dispossessions+and+displacements..%22+%22began,+in+the+1990s,+deporting+large+numbers+of+detained%22+%22scripts+from+time+to+time.+Violence+is+like+drugs+and+it+is+o%22+&ots=SZKZ5X51HX&sig=xK7zYIN15MgKWTHavjxaOPxBOiM

Schierz, S. (2015). Governing Graffiti NYC Style. Zum Ort von Graffiti in der kriminalipolitischen Ordnung der Dinge. In L. Förster & E. Youkhana (Eds.), Grafficity: Visual Practices and Contestations in Urban Space (pp. 85–117). Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink.

Schlecht, N. E. (1995a). Resistance and appropriation in Brazil: How the media and `official culture' institutionalized... Studies in Latin American Popular Culture, 14, 37–67.

Schlecht, N. E. (1995b). Resistance and appropriation in Brazil: How the media and `official culture' institutionalized... Studies in Latin American Popular Culture, 14.

Sérgio Franco. (2009). Iconografias da Metrópole – Grafiteiros e Pixadores representando o Contemporâneo. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.

Silva, R. C. A. (2015). Espaço público e uso privado: as tensões entre o público e o privado na pixação soteropolitana. Presented at the 39 Econtro Anual da Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais - ANPOCS, Caxambu, Minas Gerais.

Silveira, V. J. (2016). Desmilitarização. O Brasil precisa debater a herança da ditadura no sistema policial. IHU Online: Revista Do Instituto Humanitas Da Unisinos, (497).

Singer, A. (2014). Rebellion in Brazil: Social and Political Complexion of the June Events. New Left Review, (85), 19–38.

Snider, C. M. (2012, May 24). Street Painting and Social Inequality in São Paulo. Retrieved 29 June 2015, from https://americasouthandnorth.wordpress.com/2012/05/24/street-painting-and-social-inequality-in-sao-paulo/

Snyder, G. J. (2011). Graffiti Lives: Beyond the Tag in New York's Urban Underground. New York: New York University Press.

Snyder, R. (1992). Explaining Transitions from Neopatrimonial Dictatorships. Comparative Politics, 24(4), 379. https://doi.org/10.2307/422151

Soares de Oliveira Sobrinho, A. (2014). Direito à Cidade ou Discriminação? Da Privatização dos Espaços ao 'Rolezinho' em São Paulo. In Cidade, Segurança Pública E Direitos Humanos (pp. 271–289). São Paulo.

Soares, F. B. F. (2016). Nóis pixa você pinta, vamos ver quem tem mais tinta: direito à cidade e resistência nos espaços urbanos (Master Thesis). Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais - Faculdade de Direito, Belo Horizonte.

Soares, L. E. (2015). Por que tem sido tão difícil mudar as polícias? In Bala perdida: a violência policial no Brasil e os desafios para a sua superação. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.

Soares, L. R. (2014a). Pixação: dinâmicas de comunicação da rua (Bachelor Thesis). Universidade de Brasília - UNB, Brasília. Retrieved from http://bdm.unb.br/handle/10483/7278

Soares, L. R. (2014b). Pixação: dinâmicas de comunicação da rua (Bachelor Thesis). Universidade de Brasília - UNB, Brasília. Retrieved from http://bdm.unb.br/handle/10483/7278

Somekh, N., & Gagliotti, G. (2013). Metrópole e verticalização em São Paulo: exclusão e dispersão. Anais: Encontros Nacionais Da ANPUR, 15. Retrieved from http://unuhospedagem.com.br/revista/rbeur/index.php/anais/article/view/4123

Spinelli, L. (2007). Pichação e comunicação: um código sem regra. Logos, 14(1), 111–121.

Sposito, M. E. B. (2013). Segragação socioespacial e centralidade urbana. In P. de A. Vasconcelos, R. L. Corrêa, & S. M. Pintaudi (Eds.), A cidade contemporânea: segregação espacial (pp. 61–94). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Stavrides, S. (2016). Common space: the city as commons. London: Zed Books.

Tiburi, M. (2011a). Direito Visual à Cidade. In Filosofia Pop (pp. 39–53). Editora Bragantini. Retrieved from http://www.redobra.ufba.br/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/revista_redobra12_virtual.pdf#page=40

Tiburi, M. (2011b). Direito Visual à Cidade – A Estética da PiXação e o caso de São Paulo. In Filosofia Pop - Poder e Biopoder (pp. 39–53). Editora Bragantini. Retrieved from http://www.redobra.ufba.br/wp- content/uploads/2013/12/revista_redobra12_virtual.pdf#page=40

Tiburi, M. (2011c). Direito Visual à Cidade – A Estética da PiXação e o caso de São Paulo. In Filosofia Pop (pp. 39–53). Editora Bragantini. Retrieved from http://www.redobra.ufba.br/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/revista_redobra12_virtual.pdf#page=40

UN-Human Rights Council. (2016). Report of the Special Rapporteur on minority issues on her mission to Brazil (No. A/HRC/31/56/Add.1) (p. 21). United Nation - General Assembly. Retrieved from https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G16/021/35/PDF/G1602135.pdf

Uriarte, U. M. (2012). O que é fazer etnografia para os antropólogos. Ponto Urbe, (11). https://doi.org/10.4000/pontourbe.300

Vasconcelos, P. de A. (2013). Contribuição para o debate sobre processos e formas socioespacial nas cidades. In P. de A. Vasconcelos, R. L. Corrêa, & S. M. Pintaudi (Eds.), A cidade contemporânea: segregação espacial (pp. 17–38). São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Vasconcelos, P. de A., Corrêa, R. L., & Pintaudi, S. M. (Eds.). (2013). A cidade contemporânea: segregação espacial. São Paulo: Editora Contexto.

Waiselfisz, J. J. (2015). Mortes Matadas por Armas de Fogo - Mapa da Violência 2015 (Mapa da Violência). Brasília: Secretaria-Geral da Presidência da República, Secretaria Nacional de Juventude, Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, UNESCO. Retrieved from http://www1.brasilia.unesco.org/download/MapaDaViolencia2015MortesMatadas-SobEMBARGO.pdf

Warren, C. A. B., Hackney, J. K., & Warren, C. A. B. (2000). Gender issues in ethnography (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Warsza, J. (2012). An Alphabet of Class Struggle. In A. Żmijewski & J. Warsza (Eds.), Forget Fear – 7th Berlin Biennale of Contemporary Art. Köln: König.

Webber, J. R., & Carr, B. (Eds.). (2012). The New Latin American Left: Cracks in the Empire (1 edition). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Weber, L. D., Kessler, M. S., & Carvalho, S. de. (2015). Da margem ao centro: estudo sobre o controle punitivo dos grafismos urbanos em Santa Maria/RS. Revista de Estudos Criminais, 58, 65–84.

Weis, V. V. (2017). Criminal Selectivity in the United States: A History Plagued by Class & Race Bias. DePaul Journal for Social Justice, 10(2), 4.

Williams, J. P. (2013). Subcultural Theory: Traditions and Concepts (1 edition). Polity.

Willis, G. D. (2015). The Killing Consensus: Police, Organized Crime, and the Regulation of Life and Death in Urban Brazil. Univ of California Press.

Wyllys, J. (2015). Formas de temer, formas de reprimir: as relações entre a violência polciial e suas representações nas mídias. In Bala perdida: a violência policial e suas representações nas mídias. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.

Yiftachel, O. (2012). Critical theory and 'gray space': mobilization of the colonized. In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, & M. Mayer (Eds.), Cities for people, not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city (pp. 150–170). London; New York: Routledge.

Young. (2010). Cultural Appropriation and the Arts (1 edition). Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

Young, A. (2004). Judging the Image – Art, value, law. London; New York: Routledge. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nla bk&AN=116079

Young, A. (2014). Street Art, Public City: Law, Crime and the Urban Imagination (1 edition). Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.

Young, A. (2016). Street Art World. Reaktion Books.

Young, J. (1999a). The exclusive society social exclusion, crime and difference in late modernity. London [u.a.]: Sage.

Young, J. (1999b). The Exclusive Society: Social Exclusion, Crime and Difference in Late Modernity (1 edition). London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications Ltd. Young, J. (2007). The Vertigo of Late Modernity. Los Angeles; London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Young, J. (2009). Moral Panic: Its Origins in Resistance, Ressentiment and the Translation of Fantasy into Reality. British Journal of Criminology, 49(1), 4–16. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azn074

Zacconi, O. (2015). Indignos de vida: a forma jurídica da política de extermínio de inimigos na cidade do Rio de Janeiro (1st ed.). Rio de Janeiro: Revan Editora.

Zaffaroni, E. R. (1988). Criminología: aproximación desde un margen (Vol. I). Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Temis Librería.

Zaffaroni, E. R., & Batista, N. (2011). Direito Penal Brasileiro I. Rio de Janeiro: Revan.

Zaffaroni, E. R., & Oliveira, E. (2013). Criminology and Criminal Policy Movements. UPA.

Zaluar, A. (2014). Etos guerreiro e criminalidade violenta. In R. S. de Lima, J. L. Ratton, & R. G. de Azevedo (Eds.), Crime, polícia e justiça no Brasil. São Paulo, SP: Editora Contexto.

Zaluar, A., & Alvito, M. (1998). Um século de favela. FGV Editora.

Zibechi, R. (2008). Autonomías y Emancipaciones:América Latina en movimiento. México: Bajo tierra.

Zibechi, R. (2012). Territories in resistance: a cartography of latin american social movements. Edinburgh: AK Press.

Zibechi, R. (2014). The New Brazil: Regional Imperialism and the New Democracy. (R. Ryan, Trans.). Edinburgh: AK Press.

APPENDIX I
OVERVIEW OF THE INFORMANTS

List one: Pixadores referenced in the thesis

1. Death Operation – informal chat
2. Old Risky – informal chat
3. Crazy Inky – informal chat and interview
4. Waste Om –informal chat
5. Robot – informal chat and interview
6. Humble5 – informal chat
7. Rudi – informal chat
8. Grand Father – informal chat and interview
9. Craft – informal chat
10. Stoned – informal chat and interview
11. Sunny B – informal chat and interview
12. Sleepy A – informal chat
13. Grillo13 – informal chat
14. Vault – informal chat
15. Sad Eyes – informal chat
16. Chief – informal chat
17. Jas – informal chat and interview
18. Evil 666 – informal chat
19. Charlotte –informal chat
20. Gummy – informal chat
21. SunnyB – informal chat and interview
22. RiskyRap – informal chat
23. Astronaut – informal chat
24.Bakunin – informal chat

List two: names of the groups, families and pixos of pixadores with whom I had contact

Snow Boys, Oitavo Batalhão, New Boys, Senhor, Rdu, Rapto, ExorcityTúmulos, Sustos, Profecia, HC, Larapios, Pigmeus, Anormais, Museu, Chefe,Jets, Sustos, Caroline, Os mais que dois, Arsenal, Homens Pizza, PiroMania, Noia, Trombadas, Tribunal, Sapos, Loucos Gang, Cripta, Ilegais, Brisas, Ant Boys, Vicio, Rastros, Vândalos, Autopsia, Vômitos, Funeral, União 12, Trágicos, Deza, Família 12, Hemp, Nucleares, Ran, Sapos, Pavilhão, Fúria, Morte, Os Cururu, Krellos,, Genocídio, The Relâmpagos, Retardados, Goma, Naipe, Perigo, Lorotas, Primos, Brisados, Grifon, Filho, Exóticas, Opus69, Gurias, Shapas, Lixomania, KOP, Locuras, Capim, Catch OM, Smith, Nasa, Donas, Exóticas, Namastê, Elementos, Fantasmas,Calligrapixo, Xuim

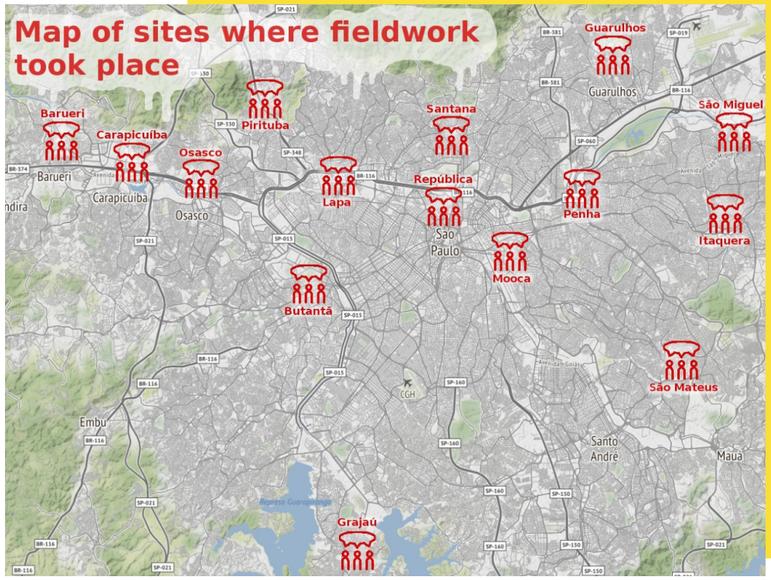
List three: Graffiti artists referenced in the thesis

1. Little Mouse – interview
2. E-live – interview
3. Blue Bird – informal chat
4. Gitahy – interview
5. Big John – informal chat 6.

List four: authorities referenced in the thesis

- Two municipal guards
- Coordinator of the 4km Graffiti
- Coordinator of the Program Respect for Belo Horizonte

APPENDIX II
MAP OF SITES WHERE FIELDWORK TOOK PLACE



APPENDIX III
CONSENT FORM

Paula Gil Larruscahim
pg247@kent.ac.uk
Telefones: (11) 9597222438 tim
(11) 975426571 vivo

University of Kent

Universiteit Utrecht

Doctorate in Cultural and Global Criminology
www.dcgc.eu

Identificação

Sou pesquisadora da Universidade de Kent no Reino Unido e Universidade de Utrecht na Holanda e estou fazendo uma pesquisa sobre o grafite e a pixação. A forma como essa pesquisa será realizada é através da observação da cultura do grafite e da pixação. Por isso gostaria de ter sua permissão para participar de atividades relacionadas ao grafite e à pixação onde minha presença não cause nenhum incômodo ou inconveniente.

A pesquisa

Durante esses momentos eu gostaria de fazer anotações para que eu possa entender melhor o que é o grafite e a pixação. Se a qualquer momento minha presença possa causar algum inconveniente, você pode me pedir para ir embora ou sair.

Outro instrumento importante para a pesquisa é a entrevista formal. Dessa forma, se você concordar, eu gostaria de lhe fazer algumas perguntas sobre o grafite e a pixação. Essa entrevista dura cerca de 1hora 1hora e meia e eu também gostaria de gravá-la, pois assim posso entender suas palavras em detalhe.

Sua participação

Se a qualquer momento durante nossa conversa você se sentir desconfortável em responder alguma questão, me diga. Você não é obrigado a responder nenhuma pergunta que faça você se sentir desconfortável. Também se você quiser responder, mas preferir que eu não grave, eu desligo o gravador.

Se a qualquer momento você quiser não participar mais dessa pesquisa, me diga e eu apagarei todo o conteúdo de suas informações.

Meu compromisso

Eu me comprometo a não revelar o conteúdo dessa conversa para ninguém, além de pessoas ligadas a pesquisa e em quem eu tenha absoluta confiança de que manterão confidencialidade. Eu me comprometo a não identificar nomes, lugares ou fatos que possam revelar sua identidade ou que possam causar riscos ou danos para você.

Agora eu gostaria de iniciar a entrevista e lhe perguntar se você concorda em me responder algumas questões sobre o grafite e a pixação. Você concorda em participar? Posso gravar a nossa conversa?

APPENDIX IV
TOPIC LIST FOR THE INTERVIEW WITH PIXADORES AND GRAFFITI WRITERS

1. Personal data (simple and close questions)
Age
Residence place
Job/education*
Family

2. Personal History within the subculture
When started
How does started

3. Art
What is piXação/graffii and its elements
Technique
Material
Creation
Relationship with art galleries

4. Resistance
Purpose/objectives
What is the political and social engagement of pixação/graffiti?

5. Crime/transgression
Vandalism
Property protection
Visual pollution
Relationship with police

6. Media
Economic value of pixação
Advertisement
Public campaigns against
Relationship with art galleries

FAVELA

THE CRIMINALIZATION AND COMMODIFICATION OF SUBCULTURAL STRUGGLE IN URBAN BRAZIL

ISBN/EAN: 978-90-9031320-7