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Daniel McDonald

Setting History in Motion

Social Movements and Popular Art in Urban Brazil, 1970s–1990s

How do visual imaginaries shape resilience? How might historians experiment with form to analyze visual sources? The video essay *Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery* addresses these questions, employing visual argumentation based on Urban Intermedia to explore how popular artists used imagery to foster resilience among social movements from the urban periphery of São Paulo, South America's most populous city. Across Brazil's civil-military dictatorship (1964–85) and the subsequent democratic transition, these movements organized to demand basic urban infrastructure and essential state services. This activism generated a vast archive of flyers, bulletins, pamphlets, and comic books adorned with hand-drawn illustrations by mostly anonymous artists that depicted the city and social action. The video essay combines these illustrations with clips and soundscapes assembled from activist films to reconstruct distinct moments of a linear metanarrative that envisions everyday people rising to confront inequality in the megacity. These illustrations went beyond simply supporting movements through visual representations of grassroots organizing. Taken together, the illustrations comprised a collective act of world-building by popular artists from the margins of a megacity. The companion essay that follows explores the stakes of visual argumentation for the construction of social resilience by historical actors and reflects on the visual essay as a framework for historical analysis.

The American Historical Review, 2024, 129(4), 1702–1730
https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhae469
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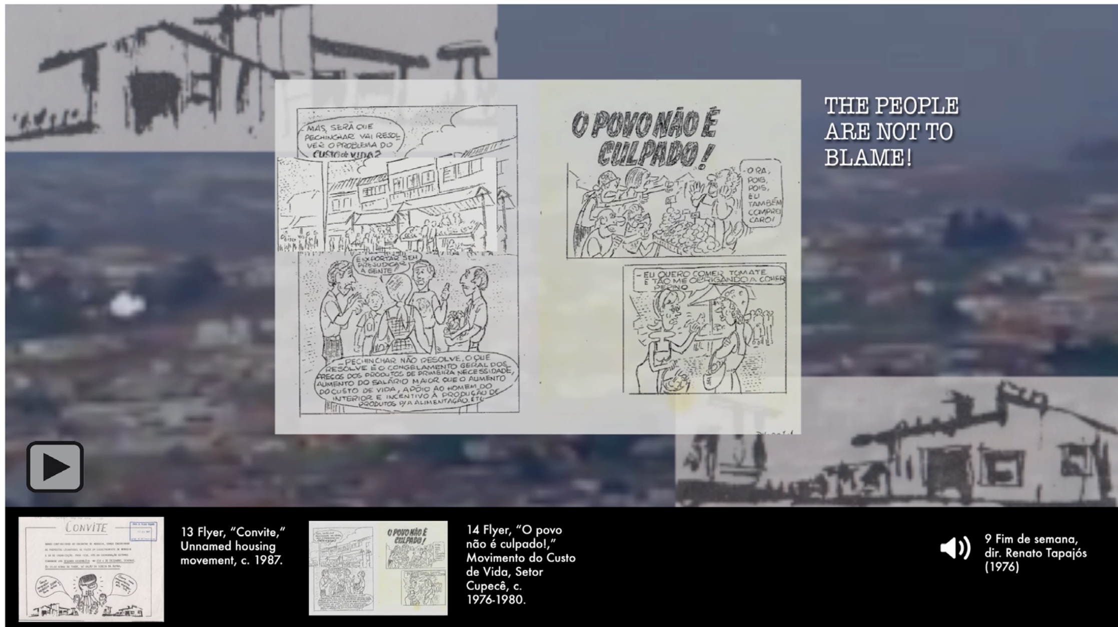
Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery

Social Movements, Visual Archives, and the Megacity



Video 1. The full video can be accessed in the online version of this article.

A woman looking out the window of her home exclaims, "My god! Is this a street?" The objects of her ire are a rat and a mouse frolicking amid a trash-strewn street; the vividly rendered rat bears a markedly malevolent expression. Neighborhood groups from A. E. Carvalho, a working-class neighborhood in São Paulo's eastern periphery, included this full-page drawing as the cover of a pamphlet for its "movement for cleanliness and rat extermination" (frontis). While A. E. Carvalho's rats likely did not have such expressive faces, the low-slung single-family homes, the woman with her hair in a handkerchief, and sense of space would have resonated with residents from across the periphery—as would the scenes of filth and rat infestations. The pamphlet text lamented poor conditions in the neighborhood, from a lack of paved streets to the encroachment of bushes that encouraged the proliferation of rats, spiders, scorpions, and snakes. Subsequent drawings depicted angry residents demanding action from the mayor and coming together (Fig. 1). These illustrations culminated in the call to an assembly where neighborhood residents would meet with municipal officials to demand action (Fig. 2).[1] Such visualizations were an essential feature of movement paraphernalia in São Paulo, South America's most populous city, during Brazil's civil-military dictatorship (1964–85) and the post-1985 transition to democracy.

These images evidence how residents of the urban periphery understood the unequal urbanization of the megacity and the resultant

Frontis: ***Movimento pela Limpeza e Desratização,*** **(A.E. Carvalho) (pamphlet), São Paulo, c. 1988–91, pp. 1. Source: Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa Vergueiro.**

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Figures 1–2. ***Movimento pela Limpeza e Desratização*** **(A.E. Carvalho) (pamphlet), São Paulo, c. 1988–91, pp. 3 and 5. Source: Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa Vergueiro.**

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disparities in terms of access to housing, employment, urban amenities, and social services. Between 1950 and 1991, São Paulo grew in population from 2.1–9.6 million inhabitants as it became the leading industrial center in South America.[2] Population growth took place mostly on the city's margins as waves of rural migrants built their homes on cheap land progressively more distant from the historic city center. Typically, these areas lacked basic urban infrastructure, such as paved roads, electricity, and access to the city's water and sewer networks. Similarly, the state struggled to extend essential services from schools to health care to childcare; periphery residents' frequent lack of formal legal title to the land further complicated extending and accessing these services. These dynamics characterized urbanization across Latin America and indeed much of the Global South during the mid-to-late twentieth century, giving rise to diverse forms of "peripheral urbanization" and large urban agglomerations or megacities with high degrees of spatialized social inequality.[3] In São Paulo, the social movements that arose to contest these inequalities generated an enormous quantity of paraphernalia to facilitate their organizing and claims-making: pamphlets, flyers, films, and even comic books. The centrality of visualizations to these movements raises questions essential to the emerging historiography on resilience: What role does the visual imaginary play in resilience? And how can new sources and methods help us understand the construction of visual lexicons of resilience?

The principal contention of this article and the accompanying video essay is that visualization plays a central role in the construction of social resilience. Through visual art, people can respond to challenges, envision solutions, and imagine a better future. This case study focuses on visual media consisting primarily of hand-drawn illustrations in social movement paraphernalia as well as photos and films produced about the urban periphery of São Paulo between the 1970s and 1990s. Through these images, social movements made sense of the unequal urbanization of the megacity and sought to envision what social action would look like in the form of meetings, protests, and other types of direct action. In doing so, activists constructed a visual lexicon that shaped conceptions of the periphery as a distinctive urban space as that region of the city emerged in real time. As this article and video essay explore, popular art rendered everyday life and the urban landscape into an instantly recognizable lexicon, one that visualized the periphery as defined by both poverty and spatialized inequality as well as a vigorous tradition of organizing and protest. Rather than a mere mirror of an objective reality, popular art comprised a collective practice employed by social movements to envision a more inclusive city alongside their fight to make one.

The ubiquity of these visualizations and consistency of this dualistic conceptualization is striking given the diverse paraphernalia and equally varied groups that composed them. Amateur movement artists, nearly always anonymous, took great care to illustrate pamphlets and flyers despite their

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ephemeral nature. Images represented a powerful tool to persuade residents to attend a particular protest or join the movement, or to inform them about pressing local issues. These documents most often targeted a hyper-local audience, such as a single neighborhood; those that aspired to reach a larger audience, even just across the metropolitan area, were a distinct minority. The movements that composed these documents included mainly neighborhood associations and groups connected to the progressive Catholic Church as well as mothers' clubs, labor unions, local sectors of political parties, and favela associations, among others. The digitization of disparate movement archives, in several cases by activists themselves and their allies, enables the comparison of these images across geographies and groups.[4]

Similarly, activist *cineastas* made films depicting hardship in the periphery as well as neighborhood and labor struggles, often in partnership with or at the behest of these movements. One such filmmaker, Renato Tapajós, made films with labor unions in São Paulo's industrial suburbs, including the Metalworkers' Union of São Bernardo do Campo for *Linha de montagem* (*Assembly Line*), and neighborhood movements in the periphery with whom he developed close relationships, such as *A luta do povo* (*The Struggle of the People*) that he made with the Associação Popular de Saúde (Popular Health Association). Tapajós, a film student turned urban guerilla fighter who had been imprisoned and tortured by the dictatorship, represented a new generation of visual artist who sought to document and even facilitate social change through their work.[5] In practice, these films complimented movement paraphernalia in their desire to inspire periphery residents while also attempting to inform audiences elsewhere about the struggles unfolding there.

The existence of this corpus also allows for methodological experimentation. This article accompanies a video essay that engages with Urban Intermedia, a critical framework for analyzing urban-focused visual media. In practical terms, Urban Intermedia features the composition of dynamic collages and animations using diverse media with limited text or narration to form a narrative. Rather than words, the framework presupposes that the assembled materials tell their own stories and make arguments through their visual languages. Alongside these assemblages, a bar along the bottom of the video registers each document or piece of media, including the audio sampled from the films. This bar functions both as footnotes for the video as well as an important component in the open-ended and iterative nature of Urban Intermedia as a research project. As Eve Blau writes, while the starting point of each narrative is the present moment with its questions and debates, the present "is engaged historically and spatially through dense intermedia matrices, challenging unitary understanding of urban environments and processes and leaving viewers to construct their own meanings from the material presented."[6] The video essay presented here represents one narrative out of the many possible, a digital object open to interpretation and discussion. This article uses the

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media contained therein to engage with an interdisciplinary literature on social resilience before reflecting on the video essay as a framework for historical argumentation.

At first glance, popular political art has a singular purpose. Representations of the city and protest on flyers and pamphlets aimed to rally residents and supporters alike to social action of one kind or another. More broadly, however, this art reflected one of the few media in which periphery residents represented the periphery. In these hand-drawn illustrations, unnamed artists envisioned from the standpoint of everyday life the past, present, and future of the city. Political art on paraphernalia nearly always accompanied a call to overcome some kind of challenge from larger structural inequalities to recalcitrant or outright hostile politicians to the day-to-day challenges of sustaining movements. In fulfilling this function, moreover, political art contributed to the cultivation of a culture of activism in the periphery that went beyond any one movement.

Nonetheless, the role of popular art remains relatively underexplored within the interdisciplinary literature on resilience. From its origins in ecology and environmental studies, diverse scholars have employed the concept of resilience to explore how social and cultural frameworks underpin resilience, seeing social relations as fundamental components. As Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont distinguish, social resilience contrasts with perspectives that emphasize the psychological qualities, typically in individuals, required to cope with shocks. Rather, studies of social resilience focus on how members of a group or community "assemble a variety of tools, including collective resources and new images of themselves, to sustain their well-being in the face of social change."[7] In this conception, the end-goal of social resilience is not a return to the status quo, but rather further adaptation or transformation to sustain the well-being of the group in question.[8]

Political art brings together two important strands within the literature on social resilience of particular importance to marginalized groups and social movements. One strand highlights the importance of social networks to resilience. In the context of movements, such networks fortify resilience by enabling movements to adapt to shifting political circumstance, share information, and coordinate operations.[9] Another conversation highlights the powerful impact of collective imaginaries, especially for marginalized groups, which foster resilience through crafting narratives about the past and future of those communities, affirming belonging (and non-belonging), and distinguishing what qualities define that community.[10] Indeed, cultural phenomena ranging from music to conceptions of justice and morality can foster resilience.[11] For social movements, visualizations can create a common identity that aid social network cohesion with similar beneficial effects on resilience. Likewise, art on political

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paraphernalia helped define the periphery as an urban space and a community in complex ways.[12]

These pamphlets and flyers drew on a long material tradition of movement paraphernalia supplemented by new forms of political street art, activist filmmaking, comic books, and other popular media in Cold War Latin America.[13] In their style, the illustrations on movement paraphernalia clearly invoke popular commercial comics such as Brazil's own *Turma da Mônica* (*Monica's Gang*) and Argentina's *Mafalda* that helped drive Latin America's golden age of comics from the 1950s through the 1970s.[14] The most repressive phase of Brazil's dictatorship in the late 1960s and early 1970s saw the destruction of much movement paraphernalia, where it was created at all, either by activists fearful of imprisonment or due to seizure by political police. Most of the illustrations featured in the video were created between the mid-1970s through the early 1990s, a period in which Brazil and other Latin American countries experienced transitions from dictatorship to democracy even as the threat of repression remained to varying degrees. In Brazil, the military initiated a controlled liberalization in 1974 whose terms were fiercely contested by a reinvigorated civil society and not least by the groups whose artwork is featured in the video essay. This process continued through the restoration of civilian rule in 1985 and the formative years of Brazil's contemporary democracy, including during the crafting of the 1988 democratic constitution.[15]

For periphery residents, that process included defining the periphery as a space and community amid continued urban expansion. The video essay begins with maps, photos, and illustrations depicting two interrelated processes: mass rural-urban migration and the practice of self-building or auto-construction (*auto-construção*) of homes. The horizontal expansion of São Paulo occurred mainly due to poor migrants from rural areas of Brazil arriving in the city and then constructing simple homes in progressively outlying districts where land was inexpensive.[16] Social movements frequently invoked migration and auto-construction through images such as those in Figures 3–5.

These images engage in remarkably detailed world-building that go beyond the narrower stated aims of the documents in question. For instance, a Cost of Living Movement pamphlet contains a series of detailed images depicting a migrant family arriving in São Paulo (Fig. 3–5). Part of a story entitled "What is this plague that is killing us?," the video essay relays the dialogue in the pamphlet between the wife, Maria, and her husband, Mané, of a sharecropping family from Brazil's drought-stricken Northeast.[17] For three pages, the story follows the couple as a greedy landowner expels them from their land, and they decide to strike out to São Paulo where they hope to make a better life. Ultimately, Maria and Mané encounter only hardship in their new home, culminating in their difficulty putting food on the table. The story seems to exist for the purposes of conversation in a movement meeting. At the end of the story, the pamphlet provides

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que praga é essa que está nos matando?

A família de Manē veio do norte hā 2 anos atrās. Lā a vida era dura... Moravam num pedacinho de chão, longe de tudo e de todos. Armaram ali o seu barraco e viviam com seus 4 filhos, ainda pequenos. Plantavam alguma coisa e dava para ir levando a vida. Terras tinha... mas a semente e os adubos eram tão caros que Manē não podia comprā-los.

Um dia, um tal senhor João tirou a famīlia de Manē do sossēgo. Deu 15 dias para desocupar suas terras.Manē quis pedir mais tempo, pois precisaria colher sua plantação., e alēm do mais não tinha para onde ir. O "seu" João não quis saber; disse que se Manē não saísse iria tomar outras medidas.

5

DIG 002-5

Manē e sua mulher, naquela noite, enquanto os filhos dormiam, conversavam desconsolados. O que fazer? Para onde ir? E a plantação?

De repente, Manē esboçou um sorriso, como se um fio de esperança tivesse surgido na sua vida. Sua mulher lhe perguntou:

- O que vocē estā pensando, Manē?
- Ir para São Paulo, Maria. Eu ouvi dizer que lā as coisas são mais fāceis ...

- E a passagem, Manē? Nōs não temos dinheiro.
- Vamos vender tudo que temos: a cama, o fogão, os bancos, e com este dinheiro a gente vai.

Maria, embora um pouco receosa, aceitou a proposta de Manē. Venderam tudo e vieram para São Paulo. Chegando aqui, o drama continuou... A esperança de Manē se acabou ao encontrar tanta falta de humanidade, num lugar onde havia tanta gente.

Conseguiram alugar um quartinho, e Manē começou a trabalhar de faxineiro numa firma. E o salārio? No dia do pagamento, Manē e Maria faziam as contas: vai tudo para a comida, e o que fazer?

6

DIG 002-6

- Jā estamos devendo na venda. E o dinheiro da condução? Precisa comprar roupas para as crianças, pra vocē tambēm. Nao dā mais para ir trabalhar com essas roupas. Sabe, Manē, a professora das crianças pediu uniforme, taxa da APM, cadernos, livros. O que fazer? Ah, a conta de luz estā atrasada e o aluguel tambēm. Eu preciso trabalhar. Não dā mais. E as crianças, onde deixar?

- Chega, Maria, não aguento mais ... Não entendo por que acontecem essas coisas. Serā que o nosso destino ē sofrer? O que podemos fazer ē comprar menos comida este mēs, para ver se sobra um pouco de dinheiro.

- Mas isso não dā, Manē. As crianças, eu, vocē ... todos estamos fracos, doentes, porque não comemos direito, e agora vocē vem com essa?

- Eu não tenho outra saída, Maria. Vocē tem?

- Não, mas precisamos encontrar ...

PARA DISCUTIR:

- Por que a vida da gente ē assim como a vida do Manē?
- Quais as necessidades mais simples de toda pessoa humana?
- Nosso salārio dā para atender a estas necessidades?
- O que podemos fazer para mudar essa situação?

7

DIG 002-7

Figures 3–5. Movimento do Custo de Vida, Setor Interlagos, *O custo da vida* (pamphlet), c.1976-1978, pp. 5–7. Source: Centro de Documentação e Memória, Universidade Estadual Paulista.

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discussion questions probing why the family's life is the way it is, asking participants to reflect on their own situation, and inquiring what action should be taken. The rest of the pamphlet attempts to rally residents of the neighborhood of Interlagos in São Paulo's southern periphery to the Cost of Living Movement, a campaign against high food prices and dictatorship economic policies that peaked in the late 1970s. It also narrates the history of the movement to that point and outlines the actions that its coordinating council wished to undertake in the near future.[18]

This document demonstrates how images on paraphernalia can convey information and characterization that go beyond the text even in an unusually narrativized example. The illustration (Fig. 3) dramatizes the confrontation between Maria and Mané and the rural boss "João." Figure 4 evokes common scenes of families arriving in São Paulo with all their belongings in cardboard suitcases. Here, the family encounters a common visual device of contrasting the self-built houses of the periphery—the name of the film featured in the video at this point, *Fim de semana*, evokes the practice of building one's home on the weekend—with the distant city center marked by skyscrapers. The soundscape in this section contains clips drawn from scenes in greater São Paulo of industrial blast furnaces (2:22–2:42) to evoke the industrial jobs that drew people to São Paulo, and the manufacture of concrete blocks (3:08–3:33) used to build migrants' homes.[19]

In a later sequence (5:17–5:29), the video essay layers different illustrations that utilize the same device as Figure 4 where the physical distance of the city center conveys the chasm between life there and in the periphery. Residents of neighborhoods like Interlagos would immediately recognize that the simple house signified the periphery even though the pamphlet never specifies which neighborhood the family settled in. Popular artists used the center versus periphery divide as a visual shorthand for their exclusion and relative poverty compared to the middle-class center, the former being represented in this case by the empty bowl in Figure 5. Visually invoking the center versus periphery divide called into existence both a delineated urban space but also a community in the periphery for popular artists, one that could potentially be mobilized.

Most flyers and pamphlets conjured the center versus periphery division without the rich written narrative of "What is this plague that is killing us?" Like the pamphlet text, the sequence of images conveyed the family's story of migration, exclusion, and hardship in a way that invited audiences to identify with the family and connect their story to their own lives. Accordingly, the pamphlet is one of few instances where the video essay relays the text in its entirety to supplement the provided imagery. Even unaccompanied, the images contained meaningful signifiers that neighborhood residents would associate with the periphery as a distinctive space and community versus the city center. For organizers, successfully cultivating that sense of difference would ostensibly enable them to rally neighborhood

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residents to combat the high cost of living, thereby improving movement resilience even beyond the more immediate goals of improving attendance at the next rally. More broadly, the images offered a way to process the divide between the center and periphery within the megacity and its attendant impact on their lives. In short, the images helped foster a resilient movement culture while engaging in a collective act of world-building with anyone who engaged with them.

"The megacity," writes Ananya Roy, "is a metonym for underdevelopment, Third Worldism, the global South." Roy paints depictions of the megacity by scholars and in popular discourse as riven between two poles of an "abject but uplifting human condition, one that lives in filth and sewage but is animated by the 'alchemic ability' to survive and thrive."[20] Portrayals of the megacity have leaned into dystopian visions that tend to flatten any kind of difference, whether within a given city or between them.[21] Urban Intermedia offers an opportunity to understand how periphery residents constructed resilience through their visualization of the city. Bringing together social resilience and Urban Intermedia centers what Henri Lefebvre calls "representational spaces," that is "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users.'"[22] What kinds of representational spaces did movements imagine?

At first glance, illustrations on movement paraphernalia in São Paulo may seem to echo the flattening conception of the megacity in its simultaneous utopian and dystopian valances. Depictions of the city frequently highlight filth, poverty, and immiseration; conversely, uplifting images of communities coming together to solve problems also proliferate. The video essay expresses this conception through a series of scenes that construct and then "deconstruct" the urban landscape of the periphery. Between the dystopic and utopic, popular artists presented a varied and nuanced vision of the megacity grounded in the everyday lives of periphery residents.

Two scenes establish how depictions of the urban landscape could serve as a canvas to show a space and community impacted by poverty, but also a resilient culture of collection action. Midcentury developmental authorities and scholars alike regarded the unplanned expansion of cities in the Global South from São Paulo to Mumbai as spatial manifestations of underdevelopment.[23] The first scene depicted in Figure 6 looks at the origins of the auto-constructed city, first through a scene from the film *Fim de semana* and then through three illustrations. The *Fim de semana* clip explains how the urban poor turned to auto-construction in the periphery in pursuit of the dream of owning a home given that they could not afford other options.[24] While poverty helps explains why these actors built houses in this manner, the succession of visuals focuses instead on depicting an urban landscape built with intentionality through communal and familial efforts.

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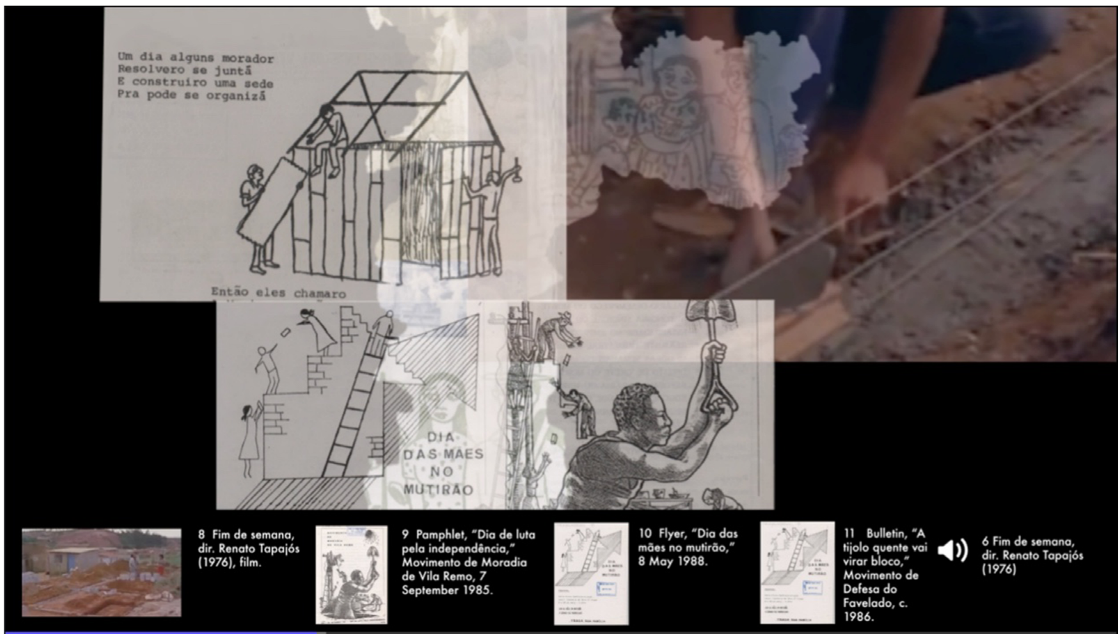

Figure 6. Still from "Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery: Social Movements, Visual Archives, and the Megacity," 03:21.

Indeed, the film shows that individuals relied on friends and family to erect their homes, offering a look at the initial stages of the settlement of a peripheral neighborhood. In the bottom right image, the housing movement of Vila Remo calls residents to a *mutirão*, a collective effort to build homes from scratch.[25] Similarly, the bottom left depicts neighborhood women in another mutirão.[26] House building of this sort translated the initial method of settling the periphery into an organized act of community solidarity. The image in the upper left takes this idea further, depicting the construction of a community center by neighborhood residents. Taken together, these images envision an urban landscape born not only of poverty, but of community solidarity that would be essential to fostering resilience in an otherwise unforgiving city.[27]

In the next scene, the video assembles a complex collage of urban landscapes of the periphery. The effect at first is overwhelming as these rendered neighborhoods and streetscapes blend into one another. However, placing the auto-construction scene prior to this still highlights how this landscape might have not conjured the idea of dystopia but rather of community and family to periphery residents. The assembled illustrations came from movements of all varieties from across greater São Paulo and reflected perhaps the single most common motif: the peripheral landscape. The soundscape reinforces this idea, substituting the mechanical sounds of industry and concrete manufacturing in the previous section with recordings of indistinct chatter and the sounds of children playing in a neighborhood in the periphery.[28] To draw the periphery, then, was to invoke a world.

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Figure 7. Still from "Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery: Social Movements, Visual Archives, and the Megacity," 05:09.

A closer examination reveals discrete elements drawn from everyday life that composed that world and differentiated it from the city center. Movements did commonly visually reference filthy and unsanitary conditions in their illustrations as Figure 8 depicts. The scene with the rats and trash strewn about the street referenced in the opening of this article reflects just one such insalubrious element of the peripheral landscape. Open-air sewers and the wells they polluted represented another, the latter reflecting the lack of access to the sewer network for millions of the city's residents.[29] Other common elements, such as the overloaded bus, represented the travails faced by periphery residents who endured long commutes to work. The soundscape in this section samples recordings of both those busy roadways as well as the lively chatter and community of a street market.[30] The broader scope of these elements reflected more than unhealthy conditions from the factories where periphery residents worked to schools, daycare facilities, churches, markets, and community centers. It represented community as well, not necessarily one poised for revolutionary action, but one whose problems were as mundane as they were pressing and worthy of collective action.

In sum, these building blocks firmly situated the world they comprised within the everyday lives of periphery residents, encouraging the audience to connect movements to their daily experiences of the city. These elements composed a key component of a visual lexicon that movements could invoke to communicate with residents. Health movements, for instance, could include the open-air sewer while the

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Figure 8. Still from "Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery: Social Movements, Visual Archives, and the Megacity," 06:50.

movement for public daycare might situate a daycare overflowing with children. The extraordinary degree of interchangeability and compatibility of these illustrations across movements speaks, moreover, to the existence of a common visual language that supported the activities of these movements and played an essential role in constructing the periphery as an imagined community.

Alongside the urban landscape, social action comprised a key theme of visual depictions on movement paraphernalia. By way of agglomerating images from a large collection of flyers and pamphlets, the video essay presents a linear temporality that begins with ordinary people recognizing a particular problem, coming together, and then engaging in collective action, usually a street protest. The video accesses this "metalanguage" through the layering and compositing functions made possible by design software.[31] While visuals sometimes relayed this sequence in its entirety, more often they referenced one stage or another depending on their circumstances. But given the metalanguage of visuals across these paraphernalia audiences could assume what would come next. In short, the cumulative trajectory of depictions of social action served movements by representing their desired outcome in an urban context and with people who resembled the audience of these publications. In doing so, movement paraphernalia fostered a collective imaginary of the periphery as a community and space defined as much by collective action as by urban deficiencies.

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As a practice for fostering movement resilience, constructing an imaginary of collective action involved breaking down a distinctive organizing methodology. Images of collective action on movement paraphernalia typically depict two defined phases. In the first phase, an individual or a group of neighborhood residents encounter a problem, whether that be a lack of certain kind of urban infrastructure like paved streets or a poorly functioning state service. Then, residents get together in a small group to discuss the issue, usually represented as people sitting in a circle. At this point, social action remains confined to the neighborhood, and the assembled may or may not have formed an organized movement. Rather, these representations center on characterizing an authentically grassroots reaction to an obvious problem as in Figure 9.

Two documents utilized in the collage at 07:58 of the video essay depict this first phase (Fig. 9). The comic book, "Daycare!: Only the beginning," begins with a mother beset with the responsibilities of raising her children while also working outside the home. After discussing this with her neighbors, she and a group of mothers go to the local neighborhood association, here composed entirely of men, with a petition for a daycare. "Daycare!" offers an excellent example as well of the humorous tone of many illustrations; the children crawling over the mother and causing mayhem in her kitchen offers a disarming way of situating later social action within the everyday.[32] Figure 10 offers a more sober depiction of favela residents in São Paulo who discuss the origins of their favela in 1975 and then decide to organize themselves.[33] In both cases, the illustrations use a cartoon format that allows for speech bubbles. Other illustrations in the documents and the text urges residents to understand the interconnectedness of different urban issues. The text in Figure 9, for instance, laments that the neighborhood lacked a school and a gymnasium for children, and that the local health clinic did not function properly.

The two images also highlight the varied ways in which movement artists drew people in the periphery. In some cases, illustrators represented the periphery's multiracial working-class population in ways that suggest racial difference, such as in Figure 9 through individuals' features and hair as well as their clothing, although paraphernalia from these movements virtually never openly discussed race. In others, stylistic choices in depicting people, such as in Figure 10 where the drawings are more loosely rendered, make such determinations vague at best. Across these different stylistic choices, however, the main aim seems to have been to encourage a diverse working-class audience which contained significant populations that identified as mixed-race (*pardo*), Black, and white to see themselves in the characters on the page while avoiding open discussion of race itself.

The second phase consists of scenes of street protests as depicted in the final collage of the protest sequence in Figure 11. The video essay begins the sequence with the *caravanas*, caravans of rented buses that

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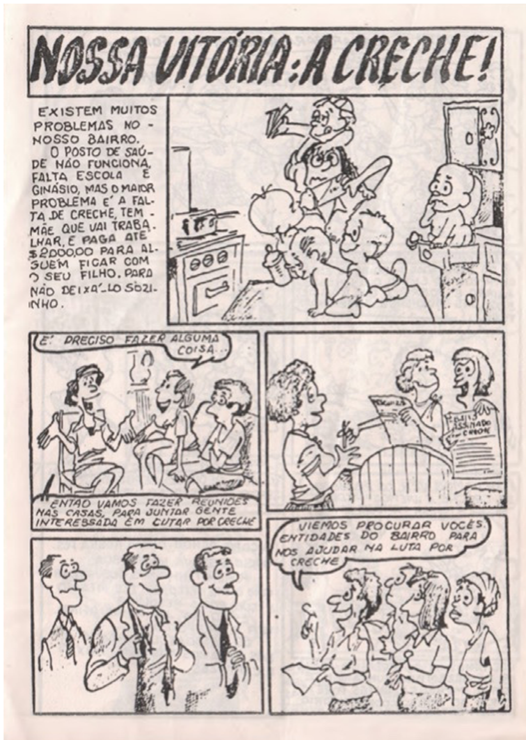

Figures 9–10. ***Left*: Sociedade de Amigos de Vila Yara, Sociedade de Amigos de Vila Yara, Sociedade de Amigos de Vila Progresso, and Clube de Mães do Tijolinho (Morro Grande), *Creche!: Só o começo* (comic book), n.d., p. 2, *Right*: União de Moradores Cidade Nova e Parque Novo Mundo, *Conquistas da União de Moradores* (pamphlet), c. 1980–85. Source: Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa Vergueiro.**

became a mainstay of protests in Brazil during the dictatorship period. Street protests marked the moment in which these illustrations depicted periphery residents taking action and, in most cases, traveling to centers of power to make claims on politicians. The caravans reflected the practical necessity of leaving the periphery to do so; even lobbying the mayor or the state government of São Paulo, both located in the city center, required a significant journey given the size of the city. Urban movements in São Paulo also joined long-distance caravans to the federal capital, Brasília, in the interior.[34] Protests on foot, of course, comprised the majority of such visualizations. These depictions centered on masses of people typically bearing banners, mirroring their real-life counterparts. In some cases, these protests were relatively small, but more often artists attempted to convey a sense of scale. The words on these banners tended to reflect one of two strategies. In some cases, the banners bore the names of different neighborhoods, indicating a desire to convey the geographic spread of a given movement beyond a single area. Others predictably bore the names of the movements and their demands.

The video essay blends images of both phases together and alternates the transparency between them to reflect the tension between the

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Figure 11. Still from "Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery: Social Movements, Visual Archives, and the Megacity," 09:49.

temporality it constructs and that of the individual source documents. The video represents an entirely distinct object from the visualizations it utilizes; the archival registry reminds viewers of the possibility of arranging these images differently.[35] Unlike in the video, individual movements did not progress from low-level neighborhood organizing to open protest at the same time. Rather, the transition envisioned in these illustrations from local organizing to open protest, where it happened at all, occurred repeatedly at different moments for distinct movements during the 30 or so years reflected in the archive used for the video essay. That is to say, the video essay presents an idealized vision of social action free from internal conflict or failure. As such, these materials cannot be taken solely as instructional in nature. Rather, the video essay points to the presence of a visually crafted metanarrative from which any given movement or activist artist could draw on to convey certain information to audiences.

The linear narrative of the video essay culminates in movements mobilizing periphery residents to undertake open street protests, the result of the heroic metanarrative that the video essay traces. The consistent visualization of this trajectory reflected a real challenge for movements. The periphery was a vast space, home to a diverse working-class population who faced significant difficulty getting by, limiting the time available for protest. Moreover, under authoritarian rule, even protesting and making claims targeting the civilian-run city or state governments

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ran the risk of imprisonment and torture or at the very least a violent reaction from the police, a danger which persisted through the return to democracy.[36] Indeed, sociologist Lúcio Kowarick coined the phrase *espoliação urbana*, literally urban spoilation, to describe the cumulative impact of these forces and the repression of labor activism on everyday people in the periphery of São Paulo.[37] Visualizing protest could potentially help audiences themselves take to the streets while also reflecting the collective world-building being undertaken by the anonymous activist artists.

That overriding need to facilitate protest, however, created silences or left other topics underexplored within that visual world. Even the most highly narrativized form of visual imagery, the comic book, depicted a straight line from urban problems to successful protest. Depictions rarely focused on conflict within groups or neighborhoods, though visuals of group discussions might imply conflict resolution to some degree. Paraphernalia predictably did not often portray failure to achieve movement aims and the regrouping that followed. In terms of promoting movement resilience, illustrating such setbacks or the real messiness of organizing work might have prepared would-be participants and set more realistic expectations when many movements, including the Cost of Living Movement whose protest is depicted on the right of the still in Figure 12, did not achieve their stated aims of price controls for food and other basic necessities.

The desire to communicate a clear visual message and the limitations of visuals themselves could also flatten differences in terms of urban landscapes as well. Depictions of the urban landscape focused on the low-slung, self-built homes of the working poor that characterized large swaths of the periphery as seen in Figure 7. From its beginning, however, the landscape of the periphery contained a variety of urban forms that became arguably more prominent over period covered here, including communal tenements (*cortiços*), large-scale public housing blocks, land occupations, favelas, and ultimately condominium buildings in more prosperous districts. While this relative elision might appear minor, and inhabitants of all these neighborhoods faced common problems, it reflects how these visual representations tended to privilege certain urban experiences over others.

The question of how to represent silences and potential counternarratives in visual storytelling presents a particular challenge for the video essay. In the final sequence of the video, a flyer emerges depicting a man wearing a hard hat and a woman with her hair in a kerchief. Produced by the Cost of Living Movement, a movement led by housewives (*donas de casa*) in the periphery, the flyer encourages solidarity by neighborhood activists represented by the woman for striking workers represented by the man (Fig. 12). The flyer reflects the gendered vision of activism in the periphery present in this documentation: women organized the neighborhood as an extension of the home while workplace activism remained an ostensibly masculine domain.[38]

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The visual representations of these archetypes would have immediately conveyed the message of the flyer even without the text. Similarly, the rather stern expressions reflected the seriousness with which the flyer regarded its subject. Yet, this division obscured the important participation of women in the strikes of 1978 to 1980 and in labor activism more broadly during the period. Similarly, men played significant roles in neighborhood activism.[39]

Figure 12. Movimento do Custo de Vida, *Solidariedade aos trabalhadores demitidos pela greve* (flyer), c.1978-1980. Source: Centro de Documentação e Memoria, Universidade Estadual Paulista.

The films utilized in this section highlight the emotional resonance of this heroic metanarrative. The sequence splits to show two films playing side-by-side (Fig. 13). The upper-left depicts the 1978–80 strikes led by the metalworkers' union in the São Paulo industrial suburbs from the film *Linha de montagem* (1982) and the lower-right quadrant shows the protest of the Cost of Living Movement in São Paulo's main cathedral in August 1978 from the film *A luta do povo* (1980). Tapajós directed both films as part of a series of films in the 1970s and 1980s that examined working-class life and protest, mostly in São Paulo. Reflecting Tapajós's strong identification with these movements, the films parallel the visual lexicon developed across the movement's paraphernalia. Indeed, Tapajós used movement activists as actors in some of his films alongside footage of actual protests.[40] Rather than "real" depictions, then, the films reflect a curated reality of those events not entirely dissimilar from that of the hand-drawn illustrations.

The soundscape both brings that reality into focus and invokes a sense of romanticism around the height of these protests from the late 1970s through the mid-1980s. The collage of streets protests includes recordings of now-iconic dictatorship-era protest chants such as "*a*

Figure 13. Still from "Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery: Social Movements, Visual Archives, and the Megacity," 09:27.

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luta continua!" ("the fight goes on!") and "*a greve continua!*" ("the strike goes on!") as well as of protesters at the funeral of Santo Dias, an Afro-Brazilian Catholic trade unionist assassinated by military police on a picket line in 1979.[41] After the split film clips depicted in Figure 13 conclude, the protest section ends on a rendition by protesters of perhaps one of the most emblematic protest anthems of the dictatorship period, Geraldo Vandré's *Pra não dizer que não falei das flores*, which debuted in 1968.[42]

Notably, the video essay omits a central figure in the 1978–80 strikes who features prominently in the film *Linha de montagem*: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the president of the metalworkers' union and the future president of Brazil (2003–10, 2023–present). The omission of Lula is not to neglect his central role as arguably the dominant political figure of Brazil's post-dictatorship period. Rather, this choice highlights the tension wherein rank-and-file activists are depicted in paraphernalia as heroic yet are also nearly always anonymous. The visual lexicon employed by movement allowed everyday people to see themselves as heroes in a struggle for inclusion and even revolution, yet the very anonymity of those figures reflects an enduring historiographic silence unreconciled by visual depiction, whether by the documents or the video essay itself.

The final sequence of the video essay disaggregates the heroic metanarrative by first reversing the finished collages and then scrambling them in a quartered animation. This act performs a similar function as a conclusion in a written essay, reflecting on the presented argument and suggesting the possibility of future scholarly work both on this theme and in this medium. To cap the essay in this manner highlights the visual lexicon as an act of world-building around a metanarrative dispersed yet perceptible across a mass of individual images produced across time and space by related but distinct individuals. The quartered animation returns the assembled materials if not entirely to their original state of dispersion, then to more of an open place where other arguments and narratives might be assembled.

Many of the questions and trade-offs involved in a digital video essay mirror those in a standard written article. Authors must choose what evidence to draw on, how much or how little to focus on certain topics, and the arc of an argument from the introduction to the conclusion. Unsurprisingly perhaps, a peer-reviewable video essay raises fresh concerns that merit dedicated reflection, not least due to the relative novelty of the form in a general sense. The specific analytical framework and archives utilized in this instance yielded further questions with implications for how this form might develop in the future. At their root, these concerns clustered around two related questions: How does a video essay convey an argument through primarily visual means? And can a video essay really stand alone?

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To start, the citation system helps ensure that the video essay can be evaluated independently, especially by way of peer review. The primary sources are cited when they appear on screen or are heard in the soundtrack. The video does not cite images again when they appear for a second time as part of collages or other composites, such as in the concluding sequence. These composite images reflect the transformation of primary material into visual argumentation. As in a written essay, referencing arguments made by the same author previously in the same text does not necessarily require the citation of all the archival materials used to make that argument in the first instance.

The need to contextualize the video essay subject shaped its visual argumentation even as it helped ensure its legibility if viewed independently of this article. In part, the challenge lay in familiarizing a nonspecialist audience with a new context without overloading the video with text, in effect rendering it a written article that plays out on a screen. Beginning the video with a series of text slides at the beginning did prove essential for giving the viewer some foundational information: the images used, the location, the time period, key terms, and how the citation system works. Over its runtime, the video uses progressively less and less text until the concluding sequences use none.

Similarly, visual elements served critical roles in contextualization. The sequence on rural-urban migration, for instance, included a map of Brazil and migration routes. The video reuses images, sequences, and visual devices such as the progression of drawings of the migrants Maria and Mané and the recurring motif of the city outline of São Paulo. The dynamic collages, the video's key visual device and a mainstay of Urban Intermedia, serve as focal points for the argument and bookend each of the video essay's subsections. Viewers can expect each sequence to end in a dynamic collage, where the video will pause and allow them some time to process. The first half of the concluding section replays the final collages from each subsection, recapping the video for the viewer. This predictability helps orient the viewer where the material and context are otherwise unfamiliar, ideally allowing them the mental space to examine the imagery and devices being presented. Simultaneously, it sets up the final sequence, where the carefully assembled collages are re-scrambled to underscore the iterative nature of constructing visual lexicons using this methodology. In sum, the need to contextualize facilitated and informed the arc of the argument presented in the video.

The tension between the textual and visual also comes into play in the question of language and translation. In this case, the source material is entirely in Portuguese and reaching a non-Portuguese speaking audience would understandably require translation just like quoted material in a written article in similar circumstances. Ostensibly, the focus on visuals would render this a moot point. But the nature of the featured materials made at least some on-screen translation necessary. On social movement flyers, images and text exist in a dynamic relationship; these sources also include some text rendered in creative fonts, such as the

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Participe! (Participate!) bubble text in the section on neighborhood organizing. More prominently, the clipping technique—in which the video first displays images on the flyer or pamphlet in question before selecting the image—displayed significant amounts of text on screen that might pique the interest of non-Portuguese speaking viewers.

The question of how much and what text to translate therefore became highly salient. Many of the documents contained significant amounts of text whose translation and rendering on screen would distract from the visual argumentation. For translation, the video prioritized text that identified names of movements, the subject of their organizing, and that which interacted with the selected image in a significant way. The video translates the scene depicted in the opening vignette of this article, for example, where a woman exclaims "My God! Is this is a street?!" as she looks out her window at rats and trash strewn about her street.[43] In this case, the translated exclamation adds meaning to the imagery, expressing both indignation and the sense of humor common to these drawings. Similarly, the hand-drawn comic books frequently created by these movements, often with the purpose of educating audiences about a particular issue, feature full scenes of dialogue essential to understanding the visuals. In the sequence on the comic book page "Daycare!: Only the beginning," the title and dialogue are translated. The video does not translate a longer passage on the page used in the sequence that situates the daycare among other neighborhood struggles and the cost of childcare. This is certainly meaningful information, but the former is conveyed through the cumulative mass of images and the latter sentiment through the illustrated scene.

The strength of the visual argumentation and the ability of the video essay to stand independently stem in no small part from the purposeful selection of visual, textual, and audio materials. This video engaged with Urban Intermedia to present a more explicitly essayistic format perhaps than previous projects, which tended to range rather more widely across themes and source types and were often intended as public exhibits.[44] This video revolves primarily around a specific genre of visual imagery: drawings on social movement paraphernalia produced in São Paulo's urban periphery during and just after the dictatorship. While narrower than some other Urban Intermedia projects, this refined source base served the essay's aim of identifying and examining visual lexicons that facilitated resilience among a defined group, in this case the periphery residents who were the target audience of this material. This selection facilitated a visual analysis whose scope and focus arguably resembles that of a peer-reviewed written article.

The video essay also incorporates films whose purpose is likewise to enhance the visual argumentation made by the principal source base, the hand-drawn images. On one level, they accomplish this by depicting through live action landscapes, processes, and events referenced in the drawings. The combination of static hand-drawn images and film depictions of the same subject raise the question of the relationship between

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representations and that which they represent. Likewise, the film clips help immerse viewers in the sounds and sights of the city and protests examined in the video essay, an especially helpful exercise for those unfamiliar with either subject. In other cases, the films play important roles in the visual argumentation, such as in the video from approximately 5:29–5:54. In this sequence, the cut from static images to film, where the collage of skyscrapers in the city center become a man building his home in the periphery, reverses the visual hierarchy established between center and periphery constructed in the previous sequence, a key aim of the video essay as a whole. The video essay, however, does not wholly cede the screen and narrative to the films. The periphery and center sequence is the only one where film occupies the screen without the presence of the hand-drawn illustrations in some form. In film sequences such as in 2:44–3:04 and 3:22–3:27, the video employs transparent collages as watermarks. This choice checks the potential of the films to overpower the collective voice of the hand-drawn imagery.

Photos play a comparatively minor, but cognate role. The video essay begins with a series of photos depicting São Paulo's urban landscape and rural-urban migrants in Brazil. While the first photo establishes some visual context, that of the megacity, the migration photos create a visual narrative that eases viewers into the representational realm of the hand-drawn images. This is not to claim that the films and photos reflect reality more so than the hand-drawn images. Rather, the contrast that these sources allow with the hand-drawn images encourages viewers to think about the relationship between the visual and the subject they depict from the very beginning.

The video essay's use of sound sampled from the films performs a similar function even as it represents a more significant departure from the strictly visual focus of Urban Intermedia than the inclusion of some text. Audiences of earlier versions of the video essay expressed discomfort with watching a silent video, especially in collective settings. The video employs distinct soundscapes for each section that mix instrumentals, songs with lyrics, recordings of community life, and sounds of protest. Over the course of the video, the soundscapes progress from instrumentals to recording of machines to sounds of community life and finally to recordings of iconic protest chants like "a luta continua!" This composition reflects and reinforces the arc of the video as developed through the visual argumentation of the emergence of organized social movements.

Naturally, a video essay driven by visual argumentation does not perfectly replicate the argumentation of a written article nor is that its purpose. As Blau writes of Urban Intermedia, the video essay is an "open-ended and dialogic format" whose meaning is not fixed in the same manner, and which establishes an especially dynamic relationship between the city, archive, and narrative that invites further iterations.[45] The video essay is also fundamentally set apart as a medium that unfolds on a screen and not a page, that is mostly viewed and even experienced rather than read. Engaging judiciously with the geography of the screen and the attention of the viewer are just two considerations that will shape the

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form in the future. Of course, video essays on other subjects with different analytical priorities will develop their own distinctive visual formats. That said, as the previous reflections indicate, authors must structure the video essay with the same care given to their written counterparts to present a clear reference point within that iterative dialogue.

Video essays and other digital methods, whether applied to cities or other subjects, comprise a promising framework for visual analysis in scholarly work. On a practical level, video essays allow for analysis incorporating a far greater number of images than most print journals can realistically incorporate. While AHA guidelines have recommended taking digital scholarship more seriously for the purposes of tenure and promotion, setting standards for peer-reviewed evaluation of such work will become even more important for historians as digital objects of diverse sorts become more common. In this case, simultaneously creating a textual and visual video essay highlighted how one form can complement the shortcomings of the other, with the textual allowing for greater precision in argumentation while the video essay could make connections across large corpuses of different visual media. The latter, moreover, can take advantage of the abilities of software like After Effects, which allow for the transformation of visual material. The inclusion of a citation bar for both visual and audio material allowed the video essay to incorporate a form of footnotes with the accountability and reference possibilities that those bring.

Combining textual and digital essay forms also must confront certain challenges that will shape their use moving forward. While some historians may possess or learn technical skills, many will collaborate with design professionals and digital humanities staff to produce digital work. The financial resources and time needed to pursue such projects undoubtedly comprise one of the principal barriers to developing historical digital projects along these lines. That said, these collaborations open new possibilities for team-based historical practice in keeping with the spirit of the *AHR*'s History Lab section. Design professionals will bring conversations and analytical traditions beyond the training of most historians to bear on these projects. Urban Intermedia, for instance, allows for interdisciplinary conversations that speak across the usual disciplinary knowledge bases through a shared media language that any urban scholar could employ.

Similarly, the digital nature of the video essay raises further questions about the future of such projects both in the *AHR* and beyond. Are digital forms inherently ephemeral? Are they destined for obsolescence? Can and should digital scholarship be continuously updated? While this essay cannot provide comprehensive answers to these questions, the preservation of digital scholarship has long preoccupied digital humanists. The inaccessibility of large portions of the early internet further speaks to the fragility of digital objects, even and perhaps especially those accessed online.[46] As a precaution, this article replicates the video's references section in an annex, but long-term maintenance will require publishers and creators alike to

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work together to create ecosystems of institutions as well as financial and technical support, a process which the video essay discussed here along with the other digital contributions to the *AHR*'s December 2024 issue are attempting to undertake.

The video essay faces an arguably easier path to preservation relative to web-based projects or those with an interactive component, at least in the short to medium term. Yet, as software and storage for digital files change over decades, even video file formats widely used in the present may lose their readability or degrade in performance in a manner that written essays do not typically experience. The extensive files used to create these videos face an even quicker potential obsolescence given their fragility and specificity to software programs such as After Effects. During the revision process for this video essay, for instance, a routine software update corrupted the main file for the video, erasing extensive work completed up to that point. Whether authors wish it or not, it may quickly become impossible to access the base files required to edit a video essay without simply starting from scratch. In any case, I have no plans to alter the video essay presented alongside this article once published, but future digital projects may wish or find compelling reasons to do so. In that event, such sustainability concerns will become even more pressing, stimulating further, hopefully generative collaboration within and beyond the academy.

Such a partnership allowed this article and video essay to examine how a large quantity of hand-drawn illustrations by popular artists from the periphery envisioned their city and what collective action would look like. Depictions of urban landscapes, people, and protest enhanced the impact of paraphernalia calling periphery residents to action. More broadly, such visualizations engaged in remarkable acts of world-building that contributed to defining the recently settled periphery as an urban space and community. The video essay highlighted the common symbols and tropes of these visualizations. In some ways, the visual narrative echoes scholarly and popular discourses that simultaneously emphasize the megacity's dystopian elements while also alluding to the ostensible propensity of informal areas for innovative forms of survival. But a closer examination traces the intricate ways that artists visualized the city and social action as firmly ensconced in periphery residents' everyday lives. The visual narratives crafted by the illustrations examined here remained relatively silent on some issues such as racial difference and flattened distinctions on other topics like the variability of the periphery's urban forms. Nonetheless, popular art played a notable role in fostering social resilience among movements in the periphery of this megacity and among periphery residents more broadly within the periphery as some of the only visual depictions created by residents themselves.

The centrality of popular art to movement paraphernalia points to the importance of the visual in the construction of the collective imaginaries pivotal to social resilience among marginalized groups. Political art, of course, represents only one possible genre for visual analyses of social resilience. For instance, future studies might explore how depictions of

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nature have shaped the resilience of environmental movements or the relationships of groups and natural landscapes. For scholars examining social and political movements, visual sources offer a way to access activist world-building as a means and end for constructing resilience and move beyond more functionalistic analyses of these movements. Doing so aids our understanding of how movements adapt in the face of both challenges as well as the everyday struggles of social organizing over long periods of time and in difficult circumstances. Similarly, for urban scholars, popular art opens new avenues for understanding how historically marginalized individuals conceptualized urban space.

These new avenues attest to the possibilities of resilience as a generative category of historical analysis. Certainly, the imagery analyzed here facilitated resistance among periphery residents to the dual scourges of spatialized poverty and authoritarian rule. Yet, resilience as resistance arguably limits the former's potential. In Brazil, representing the periphery, megacity, and social action through hand-drawn illustrations became an important and culturally specific practice of resilience by way of constructing an enduring collective imaginary. As this case study has indicated, historical studies of resilience can point to cultural and social frameworks in groups of different scales—from niches like the activist class in the peripheries of a global megacity to groups as large as whole nationalities and beyond—that serve as sources of collective adaptation across time and space. That focus may yield particular dividends when working with fragmented or challenging archives because it allows scholars to take the group as the unit of analysis while not entirely neglecting the experiences of individuals who may otherwise be anonymous. As a category of analysis, then, resilience offers a flexible, yet workable concept from which to connect individual experiences to collective imaginaries and to ask a question central to historical analysis: How have people constructed worlds to contend with constant change?

Supplementary data

The audio and visual references for "Visualizing Resilience from the Periphery" are available in the supplementary data section of this article.

Daniel McDonald is a historian of modern Latin America with a particular focus on Brazil. His research centers on inequality and citizenship, cities, and religion, especially the global history of Catholicism. McDonald's work has appeared in the *American Historical Review*, the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *The Americas*, and the *Journal of Urban History*. Currently, he is a postdoctoral fellow in the Faculty of History and the OSGA Latin American Centre and an associate member of St. Antony's College at the University of Oxford. He is presently writing a history of popular movements and the Catholic Church in urban Brazil.

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I want to thank Kat King whose skill, patience, and knowledge were integral to this project as well as Heliana Angotti Salgueiro, Mark Philip Bradley, Adriana Massidda, Bruno Carvalho, the anonymous reviewers, and the editors of this issue for their feedback and support at various stages in the evolution of this project. I am grateful to the activists, social movements, clergy, and archives in São Paulo that shared their materials with me. The video essay was developed with the generous backing of the Latin American Centre at the University of Oxford, including through a Malcom Deas Fund grant. A grant from the Harvard Mellon Urban Initiative supported early work on this project, which benefited from postdoctoral fellowships at Harvard University, the University of Rochester, and the University of Oxford.

1 *Movimento pela Limpeza e Desratização* (A. E. Carvalho) (pamphlet), c.1988-1991, Pasta Movimentos Populares, Região Leste, Documentos, Série Urbanização, Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa Vergueiro, São Paulo, Brazil (hereafter, CPV). All translations are by the author. Capitalization and punctuation match the original text to the extent possible. In frontis, the woman peering from her home exclaims "My God! Is this a street?" In Figure 1, the man in the hardhat remarks, "Mr. Mayor!!! … And how are we [doing]???" The assembled in Figure 2 exclaim "We will unite!!"

2 Population estimates from Prefeitura de São Paulo, "Tabelas: População nos anos de levantamento censitário, município e região metropolitana de São Paulo, estado de São Paulo e Brasil," História Demográfica do Município de São Paulo, accessed July 30, 2023, http://smul.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico_demografico/tabelas/pop_brasil.php.

3 Michael Lukas and Nadine Reis, "Introduction: Old and New Dimensions of Peripheral Urbanization in Latin America," in *Beyond the Megacity: New Dimensions of Peripheral Urbanization in Latin America*, ed. Nadine Reis and Michael Lukas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 12-13.

4 Daniel McDonald, "Grassroots Archives: Memory, Dictatorship, and the City," *American Historical Review* 129, no. 2 (June 2024): 669–680.

5 See *Linha de montagem*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Tapiri Cinematográfica, 1982), film and *A luta do povo*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Associação Popular de Saúde, 1980), film. On the films and career of Renato Tapajós, see Krishna Gomes Tavares, "A luta operária no cinema militante de Renato Tapajós" (Master's thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2011).

6 Eve Blau, "Urban Intermedia: City, Archive, Narrative," in *Ways of Knowing Cities*, ed. Laura Kurgan and Dare Brawley (New York: Colombia Books on Architecture and Planning/ Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, 2019), 211. Scholars at the Harvard Graduate School of Design created the first Urban Intermedia projects, which involved four cities: Boston, Berlin, Istanbul, and Mumbai. These videos composed an exhibit that debuted in 2018.

7 Peter A. Hall and Michèle Lamont, "Introduction," in *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era*, ed. Peter A. Hall and Michèle Lamont (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14.

8 Carl Folke noted the shift away from an equilibrium paradigm within studies of social systems and ecology in Carl Folke, "Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social-Ecological Systems Analysis," *Global Environmental Change* 16 (2006): 253–67.

9 For an overview of this literature, see Emmanuel Lazega, Tom A. B. Snijders, and Rafael Wittek, eds., *A Research Agenda for Social Networks and Social Resilience*, Elgar Research Agendas (Cheltenham, UK/Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022). On social movements and social networks, see Isabelle Langrock and Sandra González-Bailón, "Protest Networks, Mobilization, and Resilience," in *A Research Agenda for Social Networks and Social Resilience*, Elgar Research Agendas, ed. Emmanuel Lazega, Tom A. B. Snijders, and Rafael Wittek (Cheltenham, UK/Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022), 131.

10 Two examples of studies of collective myth making and resilience include Michèle Lamont, Jessica C. Welburn, and Crystal M. Fleming, "Responses to Discrimination and Social Resilience under Neoliberalism," in *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era*, ed. Peter A. Hall and Michèle Lamont (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 129–57 and Gérard Bouchard, "Neoliberalism in Québec," in *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era*, ed. Peter A. Hall and Michèle Lamont (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 267–92.

11 See especially Kyle Whyte's discussion of Indigenous conceptions of morality and spirituality in Kyle Whyte, "Critical Investigations of Resilience: A Brief Introduction to Indigenous Environmental Studies & Sciences," *Daedalus* 147, no. 2 (March 2018): 136–47.

12 While not addressing issues of imagery and visualization, another useful account of resilience in an urban context is Paul Amar, ed., *Cairo Securitized: Reconceiving Urban Justice and Social Resilience* (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2023).

13 Recent works have pointed to popular art as vital components of political and social movements. See, for example, Camilo D. Trumper, *Ephemeral*

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Histories: Public Art, Politics, and the Struggle for the Streets in Chile (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016) and José Ragas, "Archiving the Chilean Revolution," *American Historical Review* 126, no. 1 (March 2021): 166–79.

14 For a brief overview of the history of comics in Latin America, see Jorge L. Catalá-Carrasco, Paulo Drinot, and James Scorer, "Introduction," in *Comics & Memory in Latin America*, Illuminations: Cultural Formations of the Americas Series, ed. Jorge L. Catalá-Carrasco, Paulo Drinot, and James Scorer (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 5–11.

15 In 1974, President Ernesto Geisel (1974–79) declared a policy of *distensão* (distenstion) or decompression that signaled a gradual move away from the most repressive policies of his predecessors. Under President João Figueiredo (1979–85), the dictatorship continued the *abertura política* (political opening) under intense pressure from a wide coalition of social movements. Amid a thriving recent literature on the period, older but still helpful overviews of this period include Maria Helena Moreira Alves, *State and Opposition in Military Brazil*, Latin American Monographs, no. 63 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 139–175 and Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–85* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 160–255.

16 Raquel Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei: legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: FAPESP/Studio Nobel, 1997), 202–4.

17 While "north" can sometimes refer to the Amazon region, few migrants to São Paulo came from there. Rather, "north" sometimes substituted for "northeast" in colloquial speech and reflected common ambiguities when referencing Brazilian regions. See Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do Nordeste e outras artes*, 5a ed. (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, 2012). This work is available in English as Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Jr., *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, Latin America in Translation/En Traducción/Em Tradução (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

18 Movimento do Custo de Vida (Setor Interlagos), *O custo da vida* (pamphlet), c.1976-1978, Documento 2, Pasta 25, Caixa 5, Fundo Clubes de Mães da Zona Sul, Centro de Documentação e Memória, Universidade Estadual Paulista, São Paulo, Brazil.

19 The clips are *Linha de montagem*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Tapiri Cinematográfica, 1982), film, 00:47:43–00:48:15 and *Fim de semana*, directed by Renato Tapajós (1976), film, 00:06:35–00:06:57, respectively.

20 Ananya Roy, "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 2 (March 2011): 224. Here, Roy cites the characterization of a Mumbai "slum" in Simon Crerar, "Mumbai Slum Tours: Why You Should See Dharavi," *The Times* (London), May 13, 2010, https://www.thetimes.com/article/mumbai-slum-tours-why-you-should-see-dharavi-r9q0sdxm3×8. Exceptions to these two poles include works such as Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, 2nd ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013) and James Holston, "Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries," *City & Society* 21, no. 2 (December 2009): 245–67.

21 Perhaps the most influential example of this literature is Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (New York: Verso, 2006).

22 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 39. Hall and Lamont cite Lefevbre's *The Production of Space* in highlighting that studies of social resilience allow for an analysis of what is "perceived, conceived, and experienced at the individual level." See, Hall and Lamont, "Introduction," 3.

23 Brodwyn Fischer, "Urban Informality, Citizenship, and the Paradoxes of Development," in *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain*, ed. Agustin E. Ferraro and Miguel A. Centeno (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 372–74.

24 *Fim de semana*, directed by Renato Tapajós (1976), film, 00:06:40–00:07:15. This film and others used in the video essay are generally available at the Filmoteca, Biblioteca Virtual, Empresa Paulista de Planejamento Metropolitano accessible at https://bibliotecavirtual.sdr.sp.gov.br/Filmoteca.aspx, accessed July 31, 2023.

25 *Movimento de Moradia de Vila Remo* (pamphlet), September 7, 1985, Pasta Casa Própria, Movimentos Populares, Documentos, Série Habitação, CPV.

26 *Dia das mães no mutirão* (flyer), May 8, 19875, Pasta Casa Própria, Movimentos Populares, Documentos, Série Habitação, CPV.

27 Movimento de Defesa do Favelado, Região Epsicopal de Belém, Arquidiocese de São Paulo, *A tijolo quente vai virar bloco* (bulletin), c. 1986, Pasta Favelas, Movimentos Populares, SP – São Paulo, Documentos, Série Habitação, CPV.

28 *Fim de semana*, directed by Renato Tapajós (1976), film, 00:03:44–00:03:50 and *Fim de semana*, directed by Renato Tapajós (1976), film, 00:14:14–00:14:31.

29 For an examination of grassroots health movements in São Paulo, see Daniel McDonald, "São Paulo Rising: Grassroots Movements and the Right to Health in Authoritarian Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (August 2023): 495–526.

30 The roadway clip is *Fim de semana*, directed by Renato Tapajós (1976), film, 00:00:37–00:01:02. The soundtrack representing the market consists of two clips, *Um caso comum*,

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directed by Renato Tapajós (Pastoral da Saúde da Zona Leste II, Oca Cinematográfica, 1978), film, 00:07:33–00:08:01 and *Um caso comum*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Pastoral da Saúde da Zona Leste II, Oca Cinematográfica, 1978), film, 00:08:25–00:08:46.

31 See Lev Manovich, *Software Takes Command: Extending the Language of New Media*, International Texts in Critical Media Aesthetics (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 249–69. For a discussion of the origin of the term "intermedia" in Urban Intermedia and its engagement with Manovich's conception of a metalanguage, see Blau, "Urban Intermedia," 218–19.

32 Sociedade de Amigos de Vila Yara, Sociedade de Amigos de Vila Progresso e Clube de Mães do Tijolinho (Morro Grande), *Creche! Só o começo* (comic book), n.d., Pasta Documentos, Série Creches, CPV.

33 União de Moradores de Cidade Nova e Parque Novo Mundo, *Conquistas da União de Moradores* (pamphlet), c.1980-85, Pasta Movimentos Populares, São Paulo – Região Norte, Documentos, Série Urbanização, CPV.

34 In 1978, a small caravan of protestors from São Paulo's Cost of Living Movement traveled to Brasília to deliver their petition to Brazil's military president. See Thiago Nunes Monteiro, *Como pode um povo vivo viver nesta carestia: o Movimento do Custo de Vida em São Paulo (1973–1982)* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2017).

35 Blau, "Urban Intermedia," 218.

36 Historians have increasingly turned to the term "civil-military" dictatorship to describe the authoritarian government of 1964–85. The military controlled the federal government and selected the president, always a general, and intervened in state and local affairs, including by imprisoning and stripping political rights from opposition figures. Civilians allied with the military typically controlled key ministries and state governments. The dictatorship gradually began allowing for more competitive elections as part of a planned return to democracy in the late 1970s and 1980s in which some moderate members of the opposition won state and local offices. On the debate over characterizing the dictatorship, see Andre Pagliarini, "'De onde? Para onde?' The Continuity Question and the Debate over Brazil's 'Civil'-Military Dictatorship," *Latin American Research Review* 52, no. 5 (2017): 760–74 and Marcelo Ridenti, "The Debate over Military (or Civilian-Military?) Dictatorship in Brazil in Historiographical Context," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 37, no. 1 (2018): 33–42.

37 Lúcio Kowarick, *A espoliação urbana* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979). This book is available in English translation as Lúcio Kowarick, *Urban Spoilation*, trans. Matthew Aaron Richmond (São Paulo: Centro de Estudos da Metrópole and Associação Brasileira de Ciência Política, 2024).

38 Maria Cecília Domezi, "Elas ergueram as panelas - donas de casa: da luta contra o custo de vida à construção da cidadania" (Master's thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 1997).

39 On the participation of women in the ABC strikes of 1978–80, see Jaime Santos Junior and Marilda Aparecida de Menezes, "Histórias de mulheres militantes na perspectiva dos(as) filhos(as): (des)engajamentos políticos," *Educação & Sociedade* 42 (2021): 1–17. Santo Dias, a labor and neighborhood activist, is one example of a man whose activism straddled this supposed divide. See, Luciana Dias, Jô Azevedo, and Nair Benedicto, *Santo Dias: quando o passado se transforma em história* (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, 2004).

40 *A luta do povo*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Associação Popular de Saúde, 1980), film, 00:09:58–00:10:35 and *Linha de montagem*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Tapiri Cinematográfica, 1982), film, 1:13:58–1:14:35. See also, Tavares, "A luta operária no cinema militante de Renato Tapajós," 50–54.

41 The sounds clips are *Linha de montagem*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Tapiri Cinematográfica, 1982), film, 01:04:15–01:04:59; *A luta do povo*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Associação Popular de Saúde, 1980), film, 00:01:51–00:02:17; and *A luta do povo*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Associação Popular de Saúde, 1980), film, 00:24:44–00:03:16, respectively.

42 *A luta do povo*, directed by Renato Tapajós (Associação Popular de Saúde, 1980), film, 00:03:47–00:04:01.

43 Movimento pela Limpeza e Desratização (A.E. Carvalho), (pamphlet).

44 See the description and screenshots of the Berlin project in Blau, "Urban Intermedia," 213–17.

45 Blau, "Urban Intermedia," 219–20.

46 On recent advances and challenges in ensuring the sustainability of digital scholarship, see Kirsta Stapelfeldt, Sukhvir Khera, Natkeeran Ledchumykanthan, Lara Gomez, Erin Liu, and Sonia Dhaliwal, "Strategies for Preserving Digital Scholarship/Humanities Projects," *Code4Lib*, no. 53 (December 2023), https://journal.code4lib.org/articles/16370; Jennifer Edmond and Francesca Morselli, "Sustainability of Digital Humanities Projects as a Publication and Documentation Challenge," *Journal of Documentation* 76, no. 5 (February 26, 2020): 1019–31; and, Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Planned Obsolescence: Publishing, Technology, and the Future of the Academy* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

The American Historical Review , 2024, 129(4), 1702–1730
https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhae469
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