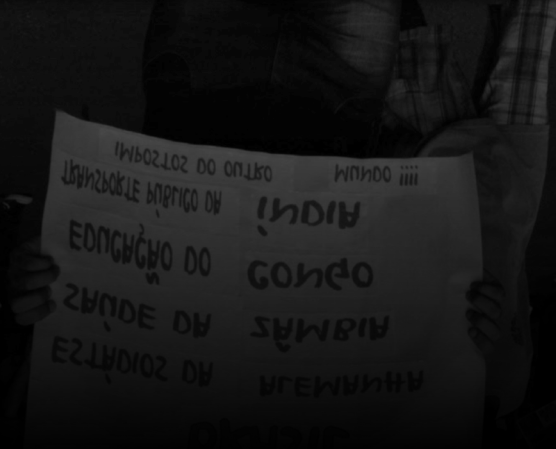# Social exclusion in Rio de Janeiro

The daily struggles of favela residents in Parada de Lucas and the effects of mega sporting events

Social exclusion in Rio de Janeiro

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events

Photograph front-page[1]

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[1] We took this picture during the protest of 06-02-2014 in Rio de Janeiro, Rio Branco. This protest was directed against the World Cup and the rise of the bus fares. The note states: " Brazil: stadiums like Germany, healthcare like Zambia, education like Congo and transport services like India."

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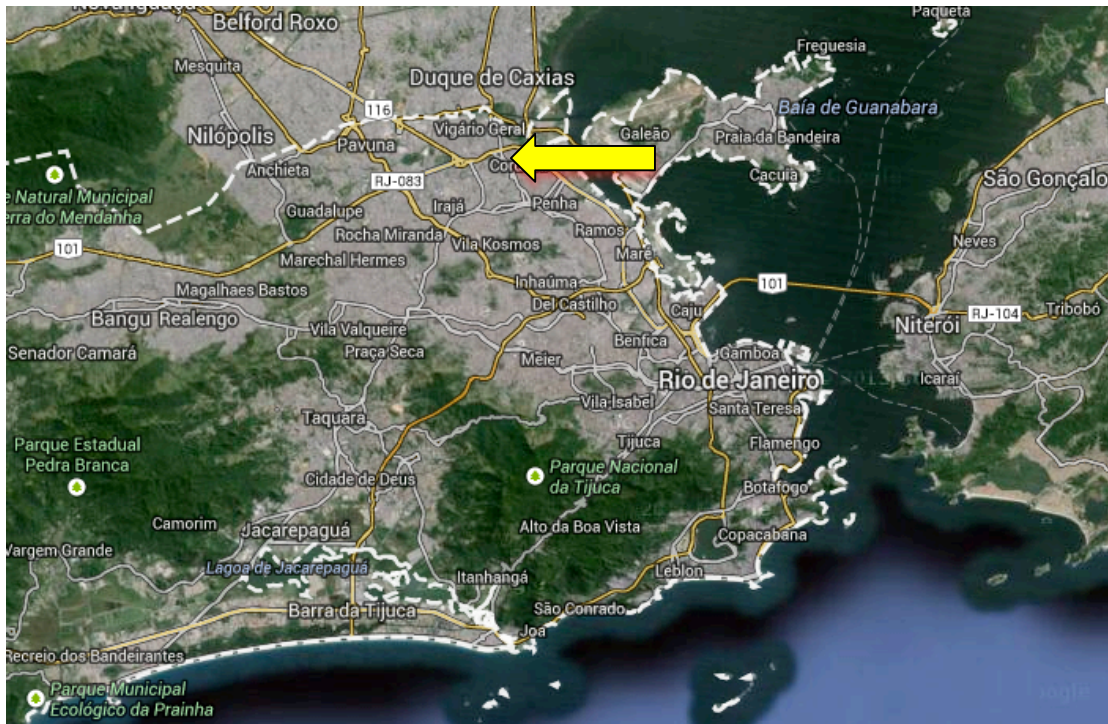
June 2014

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Rio de Janeiro

Fig. 1 – Location of Parada de Lucas within Rio de Janeiro.

Parada de Lucas
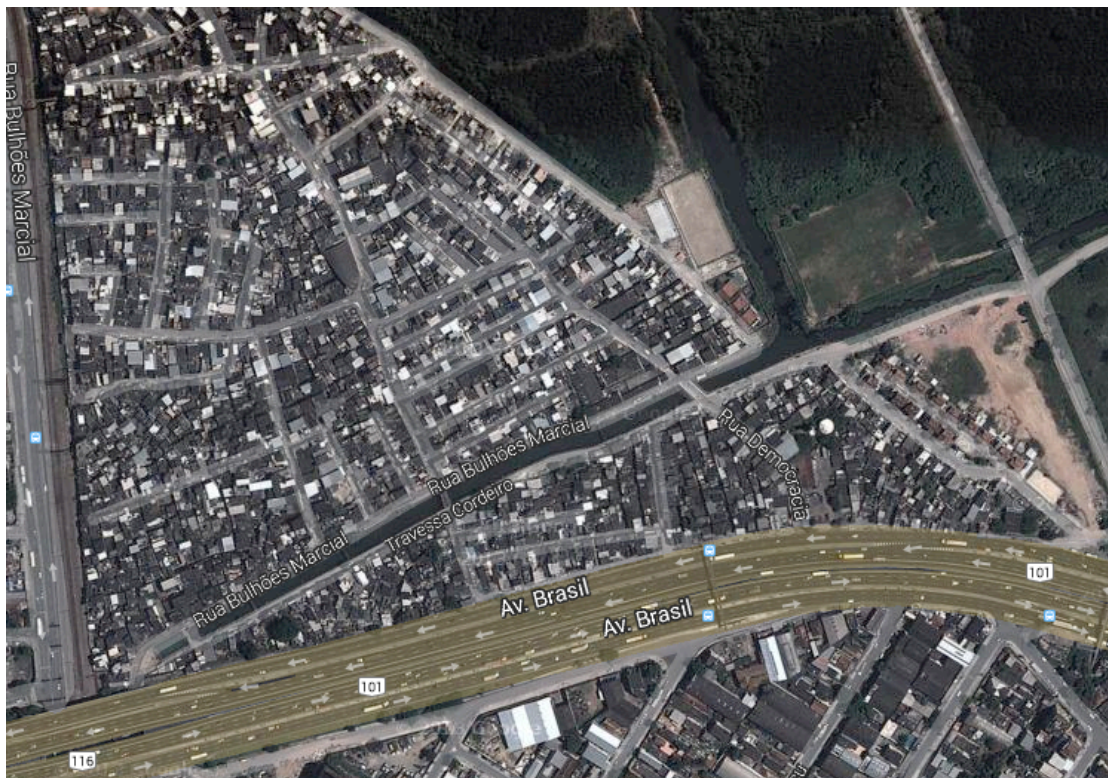
Fig. 2 – Everything north of Av. Brasil is Parada de Lucas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The image of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, is typified by slums, otherwise known as favelas, which are located side-by-side with wealthier areas, demonstrating real evidence of the enormous inequalities existent within Brazilian society. These illegal settlements hardly receive state or municipal intervention, other than policing, repression, and clientelist vote probing (Arias 2004:2). Marginalized and segregated, favela residents are boxed into clearly defined negative stereotypes, largely associated with poverty, violence, and ignorance (Perlman 2010:14). Excluding the favela residents from the basic citizenship rights, due to their social differentiation, has strengthened the elite's position within society, thus demonstrating the failures of the democratic system in place (Holston 2009:255). Nonetheless, despite their prevailing marginal status, favelas are increasingly recognized as a permanent part of the city. Favela residents have progressively appropriated political, economic, social/civil and cultural rights, legitimizing their 'right to the city', while refusing to be excluded any longer (Holston 2009:249; Lefebvre 1996:157). Mega sporting events, namely the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic games in 2016, which will be hosted in Brazil, are an occasion to present the country to the international realm as modern and advanced, hoping to promote growth and social cohesion. Nevertheless, numerous housing evictions, human rights infringements and inadequate governmental investments have only backfired such imaging, and thousands have joined forces to protest.

Research Context

The purpose of this study is to understand the processes and mechanisms behind social exclusion, and the resulting coping strategies for favela residents in Rio de Janeiro, particularly in the favela Parada de Lucas, where we have conducted our research. It is a complementary study, in other words, a research where both of us gather data and analyze the same case study at the same location, yet we each have taken on a different part of the study. We, furthermore, seek to offer an in depth and broad approach to explain and understand these phenomena, and how they are influenced by mega sporting events. The theoretical and social relevance of this thesis is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the effects of mega sporting events on issues like social exclusion and coping strategies in developing countries, such as Brazil, and to contribute to a wider and deeper empirical support and offer a broader scope to the existing theory.

Our definition of social exclusion, inspired by Madanipour *et al* (1998:22), and Walker and Walker (1997:8), is the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from the social, economic, political or cultural rights, determining a person's integration within society. The lack of participation or access within any of these previously mentioned rights, such as the lack of decision making, political opinion, lack of employment and material resources, or the lack of integration to society's culture, are some examples which determine a person's social exclusion.

The research question, which has been used to study and provide an answer to these processes, is the following:

How do the favela residents of Parada de Lucas, Rio de Janeiro, experience and cope with social exclusion, and, in particular, the exclusion effects of mega sporting events?

The various subtopics related to this theme are: favela residents; social exclusion and the four prime dimensions, which shall be discussed further on in our thesis, namely: livelihood, social capital, citizenship and identity; coping strategies and the mega sporting events. Each chapter aims to answer several sub questions, where we analyze how the favela residents cope with being excluded from each of the previously mentioned prime dimensions, as well as how they cope with the upcoming mega sporting events.

Research Population

This research focuses on favela residents of the favela Parada de Lucas. While its official name is Parque Jardim Beira Mar, everyone knows it as Parada de Lucas, or Lucas for short, and throughout our thesis we shall designate it as Lucas. We have chosen favela residents since, according to the context of Brazil, they are those who suffer from different types of social exclusion, from livelihood, to social capital, citizenship and identity. Lucas is a favela, located in the northern part of Rio, which has hardly been the subject of prior research. Our research population is a mix of individuals of different categories, namely, gender (male/female), age groups (youngsters, young adults and adults), skin color (light skin/dark skin), occupation (employed – mostly outside the favela – or unemployed, and students) and socio-economic background (middle, poor and some extremely poor), all suffering from different degrees of social exclusion and are all dealing, to various extents, with: the lack of access to livelihood, citizenship deprivation, social capital and identity stigmatization. Although we tried to seek out people who fulfilled all these categories, we were not able to

establish much contact with the extremely poor people within the favela, this due to two factors. Firstly, there was a bigger probability that they would have connections with the local gang Terceiro Commando (Third Command – TC), which was discouraged by part of those whom we already knew. Secondly, since we primarily made use of the method snowball sampling, which will be explained further on, we weren't able to establish much contact since most of our informants belonged to a less poor or lower middle class socio-economic background. The one regard, which is not prominent within the community, is housing evictions related to the World Cup. Nonetheless, we have extensively studied their views and opinions during our time there. Additionally, we have interviewed some non-favela residents in order to have an understanding of the perceptions these people have regarding favela residents.

Obtaining access to the favela came through our key informant, Pedro. We met him through another contact, namely, Abel, who had introduced us to him through Facebook. Once in the favela, we used the method of snowball sampling (Boeije 2009:40). This type of sampling is mainly used when target groups are difficult to reach, where those who we already know introduce us to new people within the favela, who, in turn, will introduce us to other people. In our case, Pedro had introduced us to all of his friends and contacts, and once we moved to the favela, we were able to establish contact with more people on our own, namely, neighbors, storeowners, etcetera. Another type of sampling method we used was deliberate sampling. This is a non-probability sampling method, which involves the selection of respondents based on factors excluding random chance. Informants were, thus, based on selected criteria, which was relevant to our research.

Research Methods and Techniques

To answer our central research question, we made use of method triangulation, in other words, the combination of different methods, in order to gain a deeper and more complete understanding of the concept of social exclusion from different angles (Boeije 2009:176). Participant observation – PO – ('hanging out' and 'being there') and informal conversations seemed to be the most effective, and are those that we have used for all our sub questions. From the very beginning of our research until the very end, we adopted PO in order to detect meanings, feelings and experiences of favela residents (Boeije 2009:59). By observing the new environment and research population within that environment, we gained a basic understanding of the way favela residents lived their lives and what they faced on a daily basis. Nonetheless, although it was extremely helpful with providing us certain insights, we

soon experienced its duality, namely, being an insider as well as an outsider. A researcher is there to conduct research, yet at the same time to establish 'rapport', otherwise known as a trustful relationship between themselves and their informants. Halfway through our research, Pedro confronted us: "I really feel studied, I don't know how to act or what to do, because it feels you are always researching me." Furthermore, he told us he had no idea what was real; if we were real friends or if we were just acting for our research. This duality put us in a vulnerable position, yet luckily we didn't experience it with anyone else, as far as we know.

Moving to the favela was one of the best choices we made since it gave us the opportunity to fully 'live' and experience the community, like one should during research. It provided us with insights that we probably would not have come to if we haven't had lived there. Nonetheless, our living there made our presence ever more obvious. While not everyone knew exactly what we were doing there, due to the local gang TC who were better off not knowing, almost everyone questioned our reasons for being there. Again we were confronted with the duality of an anthropologist, wanting to 'fit in', yet always being an outsider.

We also used interviews to obtain more data, most of them being unstructured interviews, otherwise known as informal conversations, since we soon realized that most of our informants talked more openly during dinner or over a drink. This method lacks any structure or control (Dewalt & Dewalt 2011:138). We used this method in order to obtain information regarding the various forms of social exclusion, the coping strategies used, and the information about the neighborhood and its inhabitants. Starting a conversation about a certain topic would soon blossom into a serious discussion between all those present at the time. It was extremely interesting to see how these discussions would unfold and how, sometimes, we hardly needed to speak in order to get what we wanted. Nevertheless, by the end of the research experience, if some issues were still unclear, and once we had built a trustful relationship with our informants and had established enough 'rapport', we both conducted a few structured interviews for the final touches. All the interviews, informal or structured, have been conducted between the end of January 2014 until the beginning of May 2014, which coincides with our research period within the field. It must be added that each name of our informants has been changed in order to secure their anonymity.

Apart from these two main methods, we also adopted others, such as, mapping, life history interviews, visual data and the media, to make further use of the method triangulation. Mapping is a technique, which we adopted in order to help us to sketch and understand social situations and social relationships. We used this method mostly for ourselves in order to

provide us with insights on social structures or hierarchal structures within the favela, which, in turn, helped us while we analyzed our data. Life history interviews are interviews where one's life history, related to livelihood, social capital, citizenship and identity, are the topic of inquiry (Boeije 2009:63). This method could only be applied once we had established enough rapport with our research population. Both previously mentioned methods facilitated our view of the favela and of our informants, and were mainly used for our questions regarding livelihood and identity, although it could be used for citizenship in some regards. We came to understand their world and how it was structured, as well as the reasons for being the way they were or for the things that they said. You could notice, for example, how those who endured a rough past were more critical, or how those with an education were more analytical and perceptive.

Visual data was also used as a method to invoke a reaction, since a first impression of a photo or footage can say a lot about a person. We showed images, religious pamphlets or other footage gathered from Facebook – such as violent occurrences in Rio - to invoke a reaction, and loosen the discussion concerning the informants' feelings and perceptions toward certain issues, otherwise known as photo or film elicitation. Besides that, it helped us know if we were interpreting the data in a correct way or not. For example, we asked about the country's logo 'Brazil: a rich country and a country without poverty'; the country's flag 'Order and Progress'; propaganda from the FIFA; images of destroyed favelas due to housing evictions; footage on YouTube, etcetera. When we showed Brazil's logo everyone's first reaction was one of outrage, yet, if we showed pictures of destroyed favelas, the reactions would vary since some find it more personal than others. This method was mainly used in order to ask questions regarding the impacts of the mega sporting events, notions of citizenship, as well as how religion was used as a coping strategy.

Finally, the use of the media was extremely helpful when it came to identity construction and the mega sporting events. The media provided extra insights and extra information, especially independent news anchors, as for example 'A Nova Democracia' and 'ANF' – News Agency of the Slum – and Facebook, where certain home pages – RioonWatch.org and Popular Comity Rio, World Cup and Olympics – as well as local activists or even the favela residents posted their views or actual events related to social exclusion. We also detected gaps in the information the media provided, such as we have registered with 'Rede Globo' – the biggest news anchor, which many favela residents believe it to be associated with Brazil's government – since some of their stories did not coincide with the stories of the favela

residents. The media was mainly used in order to understand the impacts of the mega sporting events to a greater extent.

Index Chapters

The following chapter is related to the theoretical framework, which will be used to further explain core concepts, such as, social exclusion, citizenship and coping strategies. Although they are slightly coupled to the context of favelas, these sections will essentially define each concept to the general theory existent in the scientific literature. Then we will adopt the various core concepts to the chapter regarding the context of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro and provide a short introduction to Lucas. The chapters that follow concern the four prime dimensions of social exclusion discussed within the theoretical framework and how the favela residents cope with them. Chapter 3 shall discuss issues of livelihood, namely, social capital, work, education, healthcare, housing, etcetera. Chapter 4 will focus on the notion of citizenship within the favela. Chapter 5 will explore identity politics between the favela and the city, as well as within the favela. Chapter 6 will refer to the impact of the mega sporting events, as well as the viewpoint of the favela residents regarding this issue. In the discussion/conclusion we shall provide an analysis of the previous chapters, as well as an overall conclusion. This thesis shall conclude with a literature list, as well as an appendix with a summary of the entire research.

1. SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN THE FAVELAS OF RIO DE JANEIRO: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theoretical framework is essential to understand the underlying processes within any social situation. Therefore, a solid theoretical examination of the key concepts will be provided in the following chapter, discussing the concepts of social exclusion, 'othering', citizenship and coping strategies. Within several sections, we will explore the different notions, and to further explain certain notions, provide the reader with a theoretical model, which helps to classify statements and/or behavior.

1.1 Social exclusion

In this section we will examine the concept of social exclusion — a complex, dynamic and layered phenomenon, which 'determines' the lives of individuals and collectivities. While some individuals or groups are included, others will be excluded. Social exclusion may refer to a situation or a state people find themselves in, but often it refers to processes and mechanisms by which people are excluded (DeHaan and Maxwell 1998:2).

There exist numerous definitions about the concept of social exclusion, explaining the content of this notion. For example, Madanipour *et al* (1998), who states that social exclusion is considered a multidimensional process, constituted by various combined forms of exclusion, namely: "participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes". The combination of those forms can generate acute structures of exclusion, which manifest themselves spatially, for example, in certain neighborhoods. (Madanipour *et al.* 1998:22).

Another definition is proposed by Walker and Walker (1997:8), who make a clear distinction in their definition between, on the one hand, the notion of poverty and, on the other hand, social exclusion. They argue that poverty refers to a lack of material resources, principally income; and social exclusion as a more comprehensible formulation, to the "dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems, which determine the social integration of a person in society". We will make use of these approaches in a comprehensive definition of social exclusion that comprises the economic, social/civic, political and cultural dimensions. Hence, we define social exclusion, inspired by Madanipour *et al* (1998:22), and Walker and Walker (1997:8), as the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from the social, economic,

political or cultural rights, determining a person's integration within society. The lack of participation or access within any of these previously mentioned rights, such as the lack of decision making, political opinion, lack of employment and material resources, or the lack of integration to society's culture, are some examples which determine a person's social exclusion.

The notable distinction Walker and Walker (1997:8) make between poverty and social exclusion is an important one. This, because, they proclaim poverty is a unidimensional concept, and is traditionally measured by solely comparing material resources possessed by a household. The notion of social exclusion, on the other hand, is a much more complex and layered phenomenon. It has a multidimensional character, since different attributes — like income, education, healthcare, employment, etcetera — are included (Byrne 2005:74). While it is true that poverty is measured by comparing material resources, some remarks can be made. While Walker and Walker typify the notion of poverty as unidimensional, and social exclusion, as multidimensional — Whelan and Whelan (1995) affirm that "no one would wish to deny that poverty arises from a variety of processes or that it is experienced as involving a great deal more than income defect" (Whelan and Whelan 1995:29). But, paradoxically, an insistence on a multidimensional measurement of poverty leaves us incapable of distinguishing between the consequences of poverty and social exclusion, thus blurring the line between those two concepts.

To get a clear view on the complexity of social exclusion, we have to look at the implications that arise when the different attributes of social exclusion are measured over time. Some of these attributes are not gradual or incremental but rather sudden and discontinuous. They are non-linear and may change over time (Byrne 2005:76). Some authors argue that the concepts of social exclusion in relation to urban socio-spatial structures are in some cases virtually synonymous (Madanipour *et al,* 1998: 8-9). But, in other places, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, age and numerous other variables may be the cause of social exclusion.

A typology has been made in order to understand our approach of social exclusion. Related to the economic, social/civil, political, and cultural domains, we have chosen to focus on four prime dimensions existent within those domains i.e. livelihood, community and social capital, citizenship and identity construction. It is not so that each dimension is solely connected to one domain, since all are elaborately interrelated. In addition, livelihood, community and social capital, citizenship and identity construction are, to a greater or lesser extent, also interconnected with one another.

1. *Livelihood.* The notion of livelihood contains different features, namely: employment, housing, social and economic infrastructure, household relations and social capital (Moser 1999:8). Another main factor, which is discussed by Madanipour *et al* (1998:9) and Peace (2001:24), is the distribution of the urban socio-spatial structures and access availability to certain parts of a city. In this sense, it can be related to economic and social-civil rights.

2. *Community and Social Capital.* The dimension of social capital refers to strong relationships - where bonding and bridging are the main concepts. Social capital may therefore best be understood as an organizational device, that advocates cooperative and collaborative behavior from any ideological, political or development perspective (Moser and Dani 2008:284; Coleman 1988:S100; Leonard 2004:630). It is, furthermore, connected to social/civic and economic rights all people are entitled to, namely, healthcare, education, social mobility, social security, as well as, social citizenship, further relating it to notions of citizenship (Peace 2001:22).

3. *Citizenship.* The concept of citizenship is, in our understanding, very broad - touching the core concepts of group membership, identity, inclusion/exclusion and participation (Delanty 2000:10). Concerning the right to aspects of livelihood, social capital and identity construction, thus being part of the economic, social/civic, political and cultural rights, this concept is essential (Peace 2001:23). Citizenship will, therefore, be further explored in a following section.

4. *Identity construction.* The last dimension focuses on the construction of identity of a certain group. Aspects of culture, ethnicity, livelihood, social capital and citizenship all contribute to this construction. Identity is crucial to understand "collective behavior, personal experience, and the relationship between self and society" (Stryker, Owens and White 2000:93).

To understand social exclusion to a greater extent, some of the underlying causal mechanisms shall be explored, which are related to the four prime dimensions previously discussed. Firstly, we will make use of Goldstein's (2003:37) reference to Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of the class system and (re-)creation in France, where Bourdieu shows that

the 'taste' – as a form of habitus, otherwise known as a lifestyle, values, dispositions, expectations – someone acquires at home and at school, ultimately legitimizes social differences and someone's social orientation and 'sense of place'. Therefore creating the different social classes within a given society.

Secondly, we will make use of the boundary model of Frederick Barth to explain how social identities are constructed (1969), which divides the classes. He argued that it is important to study the boundaries between different groups — because, it is at the limen between those groups that the criteria, which determine who is included and who is excluded from a particular group, become visible (Barth 1969:17). Those so-called boundaries, in relation to social exclusion, are, according to the social sciences, constructed and therefore flexible and changeable. The construction of those boundaries takes place through a process called 'othering'. While the notion of 'othering' was created by Emmanuel Levinas, it came more in use when it was reintroduced by Edward Said (1995), who showed that, in order to construct a (group) identity, opposite others are needed (Said 1995:332). The individuals or groups who are socially excluded are, therefore, often stigmatized as less worthy and suffer from a negative image and stereotypes associated with violence, crime, unreliability, dishonesty, ethnicity, etcetera, because they are everything the 'other', who is included, is not.

Thirdly, we will use the idea of the self-fulfilling prophecy, coined by Robert Merton (1968:477) who stated that 'public definitions of a situation (prophecies or predictions) become an integral part of the situation, and thus affect subsequent developments this in particular in human affairs'. Thus, the one who is defined and stigmatized as less worthy or having a certain behavior will follow up this idea even if it works in their disadvantage. In more modern terms we would call that the 'incorporation' or subjective assimilation of dominant frames.

We showed how various processes determine and typify the ones who are excluded. But it would be reductionistic to argue that someone is solely social excluded through social factors concerning, for example, identity construction through the process of 'othering'. Another mechanism, which might determine whether someone will be excluded or not, is - especially in a global city - social policies. These contain public and private governance, the latter referring to non-governmental entities, including private organizations, which construct policies that have a binding effect on livelihood and the 'quality of life' of people (Byrne 2005:122).

1.2 Citizenship

In the 1950's, the renowned author Oscar Lewis coined a theory, namely, the culture of poverty. This theory consists of the belief that individuals have that nothing will ever change for them, due to a feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependency and of not belonging (Oscar Lewis 1998:7). People are convinced that the government or other existing institutions do not provide for their interests or needs, which eventually is passed on from one generation to the next. Hence, these people only live in the present and hardly think of the future or long-term goals and achievements.[2]

Recent developments, related to agency and empowerment, have changed this point of view since active participation and membership is now an option. We are talking about the concept of citizenship. Although a nearly universal idea, which applies to all, its meaning and the way it is experienced varies greatly (Kabeer 2005:1). The most common and simple notion of citizenship concerns group membership, namely, the membership of a political community, touching upon core concepts of belonging, identity, participation, and inclusion/exclusion (Delanty 2000:10). Our understanding of citizenship is very broad, ranging from civil, legal and social perspectives. The civic definition turns to the notion of 'being a good citizen'. The legal definition focuses more on membership based on the modern liberal tradition connected to the political and economic aspects of society. Delanty (2000) connects the globalized world to citizenship, thus connecting it to notions of naturalization for political purposes, as well as, consumption and work, which are related to the market economy (Delanty 2000:10).

For our approach we shall use the social point of view, where citizenship is defined as "a passive and active membership of individuals in a nation-state or a certain city, with certain universalistic rights and obligations at a specified level of equality" (Janoski 1998:9-10). Passive membership is characterized by the simple notion of being, a status or the right to have rights, associated with legal and social rights; active membership entails doing something in order to acquire and maintain those rights, namely political and participation rights, by getting involved in community issues, or social and political movements (Janoski 1998:30). Despite the fact that, in reality, all citizens are supposed to be equally entitled to various economic, social/civil, political, and cultural rights; in practice these are often unequally distributed, seen that the 'system' excludes a major part of the population (Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2012:347-348; Holston 2009:255). Therefore, "social

exclusion may be seen as the denial [or non-realization] of the economic, social/civil, political and cultural rights of citizenship" (Walker and Walker 1997:8).

Delanty (2000:9) specifies two types of citizenship: a formal and legal status in the economic and state oriented conception; and, a more *de facto* participation in the civic community one lives in. The former is related to notions of nationality, since both relate to ideas of membership to a certain group, and identification with that group, namely, the nation-state. Several factors influence this notion such as capitalism, which has transformed the world into an image of capital and wealth aggregation, resulting in socio-economic inequalities. Democracy is a further factor influencing the concept of citizenship. Democracies hold the promise of egalitarian citizenships, nevertheless, in practice, conflict arises as principles clash with prejudice over the conditions of membership and the distribution of rights (Holston 2009:245-246; Delanty 2000:2).

The latter is more relevant and entails a distinct 'active kind of citizenship' by being involved in the matters of the community and proving that one belongs to the group (Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2012:347; Nash 2009:1069). The 'Western theory' of citizenship defines the concept and who is included. Nonetheless, a history of struggle has determined that those excluded of those rights have tried to redefine, develop and alter appropriated ideas regarding rights, duties and citizenship. Notions of justice, fairness, recognition and self-determination have come forth, stressing a more 'horizontal' view of citizenship in an interconnected world (Kabeer 2005:1). This is associated with notions of social capital, which has been previously defined. Nevertheless, a clear distinction must be made between social bonding and social bridging (Putnam *in* Leonard 2004:930). The former is fit for 'getting by', while the latter is essential for 'getting ahead'. Bridging social capital can pave the way to achieve other types of capital, such as, economic capital, cultural capital and human capital, or even the 'right to the city'. Characterized as 'active citizenship', it encompasses a "broader sense of public, and hence collective, participation in exercising the right to change the way resources are allocated" (Mitchell and Wood 1999:1003). Citizenship can, thus, be considered a concept that measures rights and obligations, through negotiations, as a result of participation (Janoski 1998:4; Delanty 2000:9).

Related to our context of global cities, Holston (2009:246) affirms that urbanization creates notably fragile conditions since, "city regions become crowded with marginalized citizens and noncitizens", which slowly but surely contest their exclusions. Building their own homes and way a life through a process of auto-construction, favela residents have appropriated the city's soil and claim access to resources they believe they have the right to,

as citizens of the city (Holston 2009:250). Circumstances of degradation, peripheralness and the development of daily life struggles has resulted in the working class legitimizing their right to urban spaces and refusal to be excluded from them (Holston 2009:249; Lefebvre 1996:157). Becoming a specific kind of demand, it can be seen as a transformed and revived right to urban life (Lefebvre 1996:158). Global peripheralness has, thus, generated a new kind of 'active citizenship' in the form of urban social movements (Miller 2006:207). Through participation and communal action, people are able to negotiate, redefine and alter their exclusion, establishing themselves as social actors and demonstrating their views on economic, political, social/civil and cultural rights and policies (Cornwall, Romano and Schankland 2008:35). Nonetheless, the main question is: are the favela residents involved?

1.3 Coping strategies

After having discussed the two highly connected concepts of social exclusion and citizenship, we are now going to examine how people, who are excluded from the general citizenship rights, (economic, social/civic, political and cultural), cope with such issues on a daily basis.

Since the state or city is unwilling or incapable to provide equal rights to all of its population, immense frustrations and grievances arise in certain places or within certain groups who are excluded (McCarthy and Zald 1977:6). Thus, the main question is, how do people cope with the fact that they are socially excluded? Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989:267) define coping as "the process of executing a response toward a perceived or potential threat". This process is implemented in order to remain functional as an individual or a collectivity (Scheper-Hughes 2008:19). People dealing with issues of social exclusion do not solely struggle with social exclusion and citizenship deprivation, but also struggle for recognition of their worthiness as human beings and respect for who they are and from where they come from (Jenkins 1996:77; Kabeer 2005:4). As argued before, the identity is partly formed through a process of 'othering', through which they are stigmatized and are typified as less worthy. Those typifications and stigmatizations have their effect on their social identity. As Richard Jenkins points out (1996:77), "identities are constructed through a kind of internal (self-attributed) and external (other-ascribed) dialectic conditioned within specific social worlds. This holds for both personal and social identities."

In the case of Rio's favelas, the residents are victims of considerable prejudice and negative stereotypes (Perlman 2010:14). Mainwaring (1987:139) argues that they are "portrayed as thieves, as violent, dishonest, dirty, and lazy, and are excluded from

participating in a common quest for material goods and dignity on those grounds". These negative stereotypes toward the favela residents have enabled an ideology of marginality powerful enough to "blot out all evidence of the contrary" (Perlman 2010:148).

One of the various forms of coping, as a united group with a common struggle, has to do with the concept of solidarity. Communities seek social support for instrumental reasons or emotional reasons, as a type of problem or emotional focused coping (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub1986:269). Where there is a lack of services provided by the state, people turn to each other for mutual aid (Perlman 2010:194), namely, extended family networks or their immediate neighborhood (Kabeer 2005:7), in order to "seek advice, assistance or information", as well as, "moral support, sympathy or understanding" (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub 1986:269). For example, Kabeer (2005:278) describes how collective practices in Uruguay sought to assist the basic needs of the urban poor through a variety of grassroots experiences, such as, soup kitchens, food-purchasing clubs, local health-care centers and neighborhood associations. Other resources may include labor, human capital (healthcare and education), productive assets (land and housing), household relations (such as income pooling and consumption sharing), and social capital (McIlwaine and Moser, 2003:115).

Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1986:268-270) developed a typology with five different coping strategies, which are relevant in relation to the concept of social exclusion and which we shall adopt:

1. *Active coping*, which refers to the process through which people take direct active steps, directed to try to remove or prevent the stressor, or to improve its effects. The above mentioned examples can be related to this type of coping mechanism.

2. *Venting of emotions*, which refers to the tendency to focus on whatever distress or upset one is experiencing, and to ventilate those feelings. This may be functional, for example, if a person has to deal with social, economic or political changes within the society one lives in.

3. *Acceptance*, through which people accept the reality of a stressful situation. The acceptance of the stressor as real occurs during the acceptance of a current absence of active coping strategies. Acceptance could be an important coping strategy in circumstances in which the stressor is something that must be accommodated to, as opposed to circumstances in which the stressor can easily be changed.

4. *Turning to religion,* as a coping response is proposed by McCrae and Costa (1986). They suggest that such a coping mechanism may be quite important to people when under stress for widely varying reasons (McCrae and Costa *in* Carver, Scheier and Weintraub 1986:385-405).

5. *Denial*, which is considerably controversial. It is often suggested that denial is useful, minimizing distress and thereby facilitating coping but, alternatively, it can be argued that denial creates other problems unless the stressor can profitably be ignored. I.e. denying the reality of social exclusion allows social exclusion to become more serious, thereby making the coping that eventually must occur more difficult.

The different coping strategies arise from a shared understanding of group attributes, norms and goals, which are sufficient to produce uniformity of behavior among those who share that social identity (Brewer and Silver 2000:154; Escobar and Alvarez 1992:4; Kabeer 2005:7).

One of the various coping strategies, in our case, are active coping strategies in the urban setting of Rio de Janeiro. The auto-construction of entire neighborhoods, despite the disapproval and opposition from the city and central government, can be seen as one of the many active coping strategies. Due to processes of urbanization, the cities became overcrowded, resulting in illegal settlements in order to participate and function in urban life. Nonetheless, favela residents struggle to "confront the entrenched regimes of citizen inequality that the urban centers use to segregate them" (Holston 2009:252). As a consequence of this struggle, social movements and popular organizations have emerged, which are expressions of society to increase the popular sectors' stance and autonomy, as well as, to redefine their identities and rights, in an attempt to broaden their space for action and participation (Cardoso 1989:1; Foweraker 1995:97; Mainwaring 1987:132). Mainwaring (1987:133) classifies urban popular movements as a subset of social movements. He defines them as poor people's movements, which develop in urban spaces, and attempt to "improve urban living conditions, usually through demands on the state for public services including sewers, paved roads, better transportation facilities, better medical facilities, running water, and electricity." A crucial feature of these movements is that they are not homogenous. It can often be a challenge to achieve unity, except, for brief and particular objectives (Mainwaring 1987:138).

1.4 Global cities and sporting mega events

In our case, social exclusion is investigated in Rio de Janeiro, a global city, which is hosting various mega sporting events, like the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic games in 2016. Global cities, which are increasingly connected to the world economy, are dealing with new growth sectors, which have capabilities for profit making, and with which the 'old local economy' cannot compete. This creates significant distortions in investment, both at the local and national level, resulting in a new geography of inequality (Sassen and Portes 1993:475). The formation of the post-industrial global city, through the combined effects of global reorganization of capitalist production, and the quest of fragmenting urban policy, has disempowered the lower class (Byrne 2005:124), typifying them, according to Holston (2009:246), as marginal citizens or even non-citizens. According to Loic Wacquant (2008:270), this also happened in the developed north: 'advanced marginality'.

When mega sporting events like the World Cup and the Olympics are hosted in such cities, which are often seen as a special case, diverting from normality, whose immediate impacts begin with the event and end with clear outcomes, particularly, legacies (Hiller 1998:47), it usually has an accelerating effect on investments in stadiums and infrastructure, tourism, international image building, and on private governance. These types of mega events can provide the opportunity to create a positive image, namely, a symbol of modernity for Brazil. The World Cup 2014 is a chance to demonstrate a unified country, coming together while cheering and working toward the same goal (Ronquillo 2012:3). Nevertheless, according to Ronquillo (2012:4), the opposite is occurring. This image is coming at the expense of the population, particularly, the lower class. Numerous accounts of housing evictions and human rights violations have been taking place in the name of football, showing that the Brazilian government "is more concerned with having an image as a big emerging country than with the welfare of the citizens", resulting in social exclusion. The contribution to the national economy has become the sole justification for hosting such events, while negative impacts are "either ignored or hidden under the table" (Hiller 1998:48). Nonetheless, the World Cup's held in Korea-Japan 2002 and Germany 2006 are proof of the deception of mega events as major economic boosters.[3]

Different urban social movements have appeared recently, due to the upcoming mega events as will be described in the next chapter. As Brewer and Silver (2000:155) pointed out, the force behind those social movements is the need for inclusion and recognition. Redefining urban meaning is a means to achieve social change (Castells 1983:304). The people are aware

that they are purposely being excluded from the benefits expected from the city, thus they demand rights regarding housing, health, employment, education and violence. Therefore citizenship can be seen as the key element for social movements that "seek to widen the scope and content of civil society" (Mitchell and Wood 1999:1004). It has become a common reference to the struggles of many, since they achieve to redefine and construct a new notion of citizenship. One where they are as much included and heard as the rest.

2. SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND CITIZENSHIP DEPRIVATION IN THE CONTEXT OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND PARADA DE LUCAS

The 20th century is characterized by an extraordinary process of urbanization in Brazil, resulting in urban peripheries of overwhelming poverty and inequalities in cities worldwide (Holston 2009:245; Koonings and Kruijt 2007:23). Rio de Janeiro has been no exception to this process, since during the 1950's, mass migrations occurred from rural to urban locations. According to the latest statistics, around 1,393,314 people live in over 763 auto-constructed slums, designated as favelas, on the fringe of poverty and lacking numerous rights (Segre *in* Hernandez, Kellett, Alleen 2010:166).[4]

2.1 Citizenship and inclusion/exclusion within Brazil

Although Brazil is a democratic country, the universality of undemocratic practices proves otherwise (Goirand 2003:18; Koonings and Kruijt 2007:24). By using 'old politics', such as, clientelism, corruption and a 'culture of favors', Brazil's elite takes the lower class for granted, and doesn't see them as full or real citizens entitled to a normal standard of living (Cornwall, Romano and Shankland 2008:38).

Citizenship, in Brazilian *cidadania*, is a recurrent word in the federal government's idea of democracy, representing Brazil as an inclusive nation, where all are recognized and equal (Cornwall, Romano and Shankland 2008:33). Nonetheless, expectations of benefits, empowerment and a stronger voice for the urban poor have hardly surfaced, seen that the government still adopts various 'old politics'. Favela residents have detected improvements in housing, transportation, economic conditions, such as employment, and sanitation, to a certain extent, yet, access to healthcare, personal security, and political power, have gotten worse. Moreover, the access and quality of education has also not improved, since it is seen as a main contributor to social mobility and economic improvement, keys to moving out of poverty (Perlman 2010:104,229,231; Perlman 2006:175). For a long time favela residents have remained at the bottom of society in the economic, social/civil, political and cultural domains.

Brazil's elite has integrated the lower classes' to 'work' for their own benefit (Perlman 2010:266), and has, as well, defined a regime of citizenship based on social differences – education, property, race, gender, occupation – rather than based on national membership, in order to solidify their rule. Holston (2009: 255) defines this as "a citizenship system that is

universally inclusive in membership but massively inegalitarian in distribution". Thus, the favela residents are not 'marginal' to society, but are deeply integrated into this system, despite the fact that it is in an asymmetrical way. Although being part of the functioning of urban life, favela residents are actively excluded, exploited and marginalized, by an inegalitarian system (Perlman 2006:14). It becomes clear that the favela residents have always been exploited and excluded.

Many consider football to be one of the major binding factors in Brazil. Football connects the people in a more intimate way, since it is considered much more than a game. Associated with social relations and social norms, football enables "people to dress up in the colors of the national flag, and live a concrete experience of national union" (Da Matta 1988:129). However, with the World Cup in 2014, an occasion, which can demonstrate to the world a new and improved Brazil (Ronquillo 2012:3), has only backfired since thousands have joined forces to protest, largely focusing on government expenditures and social justice demands. The World Cup's true legacy may be a growing political and social consciousness, which make those who struggle in daily life to fight for their rights.[5]

The outburst of protests and demonstrations, in the leap to the World Cup, and the Olympic games is, thus, not because those mega sporting events are the main reason behind social exclusion, but rather, they have an invigorative effect on already existing processes and mechanisms.

2.2 Social exclusion and social capital within the favelas of Rio

Favela residents, who have always lacked the fundamental rights of healthcare, education and security, have always been the "cogs in the local and regional political machines", and are socially excluded in various ways, touching the different domains previously mentioned (Perlman 2007:209). Rio de Janeiro has, since 1989, the most unequal distribution of wealth and urban services of any metropolitan area in Brazil. While some believe that society is still divided between a two-class system, authors like Perlman (2010:30) state that, nowadays, there is a significant difference in wealth within the favelas and among Rio's favelas. We have seen this within Lucas, since there are a significant number of middle class residents. The disparity in wealth has to do with the economic growth in the last years, yet Brazil is still one of the most economically polarized countries in the world (Perlman 2010:151), having an enormous effect on the livelihood of the lower-class, in relation to the upper class, distinguishing Rio as a city of extremes (Goldstein 2003:70; Mainwaring 1987:137). This

also affects the socio-spatial structures within the city, since the favela residents are driven to the city hills. Houses, mostly inhabited by extended families, make use of small spaces (Arias 2009:62), containing the poorest social classes, which are, in addition, the areas most lacking basic public services. Most favelas consist of illegal, uncoordinated clusters of improvised dwellings - lacking decent housing and infrastructure, official water, sewage, or drainage systems (Gay 1990:104; Mainwaring 1987:137; Holston 2009:246). Socially and spatially, the city is split up into two unmistakable sectors, namely, the legal and illegal, presenting an obstacle to employment, social mobility, security and citizenship (Jauregui *in* Hernandez, Kellett, Alleen 2010:216; Perlman 2010:251). In the eyes of the favela residents, an excessive amount of money, in the wake of the mega sporting events, is spent on the wrong things, instead of housing, hospitals, schools, etcetera.

Still, Rio is also a city where community organizations and neighborhood associations mushroomed in the late 1970s, with favela residents depending on each other as a form of social capital (Gay 1990:105; Perlman 2006:164). But since the 1980s, eroded by violence and insecurity (Zaluar 2004:157), the past four decades have been characterized by a "loss in trust, community unity, and freedom of movement", resulting in an erosion of social capital and the creation of disorder within the city, and, the incapability or unwillingness of the city to provide personal and public services, as well as security in favelas (Perlman 2010:164; Arias 2004:1). Criminal clientalistic networks have since emerged between residents, politicians and drug gangs in order to accommodate certain mutually dependent interests, deeply interlinking Rio's favelas with the city's politics. Nevertheless, these mutually dependent interests are often linked to local criminal enterprises, and not basic local necessities (Arias 2004:6). This has, furthermore, strengthened feelings of alienation and 'lack of citizenship', enough for residents to define themselves in relation to extended family networks and immediate neighbors for support (Kabeer 2005:7), while living in their created world of "adaptations, connections, and strategies with which to inhabit modern metropolises on better terms" (Holston 2009:249). This has become one of the major coping and survival mechanisms (Perlman 2006:164). Public policies, now ever growing due to the mega sporting events, promoting the removal of favelas and the relocation of its residents, do not consider the significance of family livelihoods, and established reciprocity and exchange networks (Perlman 2010:266; Ronquillo 2012:71).

Nonetheless, slowly but surely, the notion of citizenship has become prominent in the lives of favela residents, namely, in popular movements, regarding issues of housing, health, education, unemployment, violence, etcetera (Dagnino *in* Kabeer 2005:149). "Consciousness,

agency and the capacity to struggle are seen by them as evidence of their citizenship, even if other rights are absent", enabling them to become political agents through participation (Dagnino *in* Cornwall, Romano and Shankland 2008:33). The quests to improve their daily life struggles have created movements of 'active citizenship', based on claims, such as, the right to have rights and the 'right to the city'. This type of insurgency begins with the struggle for the right to a worthy and dignifying daily life, eventually proposing "a city with a different order of citizenship" (Holston 2009:246).

Favela residents are continuously being defined and redefined in "the struggle over inclusion/exclusion and marginalization/integration" (Perlman 2010:323). Exclusion based on a place of origin and community are reasons enough to attribute a lower status, regardless of a person's assets, education, employment, intelligence, etcetera (Perlman 2006:167). Residing in a 'non-place', such as a favela, has resulted in the dehumanization and criminalization of the urban poor (Perlman 2010:153). This marginal status has been created by society, and not the poor, eventually turning the poor into victims of substantial prejudice, negative imaging and stereotypes. Favela residents are generally considered as "violent, dishonest, dirty and lazy" (Mainwaring 1987:139). The social and political division within the cities' society has generated a difference between 'us', the rich, and 'them', the poor, which is further exacerbated by the media (Perlman 2010:187). This process of 'othering' has typified the favela residents as favelados, a prejudiced term, considering them as 'social problems', which the city should get rid of, turning it difficult to conduct a decent life and earn a decent income. Nonetheless, favela residents have, in just a few decades, jointly contested notions of their attributed identity in a struggle to reform the idea of citizenship within the Brazilian society. "We are from the favela, but not favelados" (Johnson 2012:2). Rap songs by MC Bill denounce the marginalization of favelas, and samba songs demonstrate pride and insurgent identity (Perlman 2010:332).

2.3 Protests and demonstrations

The protests and demonstrations, as a way of active coping, are mainly directed against the Brazilian government and the existing system. The government, which has a budget for hosting the World Cup of around $14 billion and another $18 billion for the upcoming Olympics - not counting the projected amount of public and private investment that will be needed before - are said to be misleading the Brazilian population.[6] This because the government explicitly proclaimed that all the money that was to be spent on stadiums would

be private, leaving public funds for much needed infrastructure. Nonetheless, in reality, a huge amount was spent on building stadiums - at the cost of improved highways, subway systems, airports and ports.[7] Stadiums were built with 'green technology', acquiring foreign labor and technology with an annual maintenance cost of 10 percent of the total price. That is to say, the total cost of the stadium will double within just 10 years.[8] Other investments, made by the city of Rio, included a white wall that hides the Maré favela from the view of cars passing by. Its goal was to 'lessen the noise of traffic', however, community members stated that their main problems were: inadequate health care, and education, not acoustics.[9] In the eyes of many of our informants, the excessive amount of money is spent on the wrong causes.[10] This idea is shared by many and has resulted in over a million people protesting in Brazil's state capitals, from Manaus to Porto Alegre.

2.4 Parada de Lucas

Fig. 3 – Entrance to Parada de Lucas under the viaduct. This photo was taken from Google Maps since the TC prohibited taking pictures of the favela.

Pedro picked us up from the train station and walked with us to the favela. When we reached the nearby viaduct, which we had to walk under in order to enter the favela, we noticed something really peculiar, namely, that the favela was flat, and not steep on a hill. Moreover, the streets were wide and a channel, filled with all sorts of trash, divided the favela into two clearly defined spaces. A few tree trunks were blocking the road, while little children removed them for the cars passing by in order to receive some coins. Pedro explained that the trunks were placed there in order to stop police cars or cars from other gangs who want to invade the favela. Further on, some gangsters or 'bandidos' (bandits),

as Pedro calls them, were leaning against the wall, heavily armed. One of them nodded to Pedro, while inspecting us. While walking along, we asked Pedro how the community perceived the existent command (TC) in the favela. He explained that that the community is ok with it, mainly because they do not confront the police. When the police come, they go in hiding, instead of confronting them with force. They even use fireworks to warn each other that the police are coming, and each sort of firework represents different entrances to the favela. We followed the paved road; we were surrounded with two or three story houses, along with a tangle of electric wires stretching between them. On first sight, the conditions were not that bad, but upon entering some small alleys, the conditions became worse. Dirty water was flowing through the alleys and the intense smell was still uncommon to us, a smell that later on in our research disappeared.

Fig. 4 – Street view of Parada de Lucas. This photo was taken from Google Maps since the TC prohibited taking pictures of the favela.

The favela Lucas had some first strong impressions on us when we entered the first time. These impressions slowly faded away and became normal. Even the gangsters, who were heavily armed, became, after a while, people with a recognizable face, a name, and family members or friends of our informants. This became our research field for three months, launching our study of social exclusion within Lucas.

3. LIVELIHOOD CONDITIONS

Livelihood is essential for a person to function within any society, namely, access to employment, education, healthcare, security, housing, etcetera. As discussed in our theoretical framework, the access to these services vary immensely within the community, since, as Perlman (2010:30) states, there is a significant difference in wealth within the favelas, as much as among Rio's favelas. This can also be said of Lucas, where the access is heterogeneous among its residents. Where some houses had flat screens and air conditioning, others, like Dona Clara, a 57-year-old unemployed lady who was our neighbor, merely live off the essentials in order to survive each day. This chapter shall discuss the various features of livelihood in the context of Lucas, as well as its relation social exclusion.

3.1 Social capital

Within the notion of livelihood we included different features, namely: employment, housing, economic infrastructure and household relations. The different features, which are strongly related with one another, are intertwined with social capital as an omnipresent factor. Social capital, as an asset, can be seen as the glue that ties the community of Lucas together. The families within the community share their houses most of the time with other family members (cousins, aunts, grandparents). For example, the division of space at our key informant's house, Pedro — a 29-year-old tourist student and resident in the favela – is as follows: Pedro lives on the ground floor, while his brother and his nuclear family live upstairs. This division of space — sharing the different layers of a house — is common in the community.

According to various authors, people turn to each other where there are no services provided by the state in order to seek advice, assistance or information (Kabeer 2005:7; Perlman 2010:94). This in line with the situation in Lucas, where extended family members, but also other people of the community, walk in and out to borrow items, food or money; or seek advice or assistance. The social infrastructure seems to work for everyone, and is heavily built on trust and reciprocity. In our network, which contained different types of households, income pooling is not usual; but instead, people borrow money or items, or simply support their family.

An illustration is that after a few weeks at Pedro's place, we noticed his television was gone. When we asked him where it was, he replied:

> "Ohhw, a friend of my niece, she is pregnant and doesn't have a television, and since I don't use it that much, I've lent it to her."

During our time in the community we were witnesses to this social network and could make use of its benefits as well. The social networks which people are part of, and make use of on an everyday basis, is thus heavily built on a profound sense of altruism and reciprocity, in combination with a far extending network of contacts. Hence, social networks can be seen as one of the prime coping mechanisms people use in Lucas. It is a social bridging strategy for getting by on a daily life basis (Putnam *in* Leonard 2004:930). There is also a NGO present called Afro-Reggae where people can attend music classes, dance classes and get information about various topics such as citizenship, pregnancy, etcetera.

3.2 Work, income and mutual aid

Most of the people with whom we have spoken to have a job outside the favela, which gives them enough money to live off in the favela. While speaking with various favela residents about employment, most people were satisfied with their job. Speaking with Luís, a 26-year-old technical engineer and resident, about employment he stated:

> "Well, my job delivers me enough money to live off. […] Nowadays it's not that hard anymore to get a job you know. I think five years ago, if they heard you lived in the favela, yeah, then it would be much harder to get the job".

While the minimum salary is 620 reais (1 euro = 3 reais) a month, most favela residents earn more than that, and it delivers them enough money to live off. A remark can be made that most of the young adults we interviewed still lived with their parents, since buying a house before marriage is uncommon within the community; therefore their living expenses might be less than that of house owners.

While most people in our network have enough money to live off, there are numerous families who do suffer from extreme poverty. For example, one of our neighbors, Dona Clara, receives the 'Bolsa Família' on a monthly basis — a cash transfer program created by the government to support poor families. She receives around one hundred reais per month out of this fund (around 35 euros), and besides herself, she also has to support her granddaughter. She also told us that some people make up stories, such as dead husbands, unemployment or having more children than they actually have, in order to receive more

money from the government. In this sense, we can notice that the people are frustrated when the government cheats on them through denying them basic services, yet they seem to have no problem with cheating the government.

Besides the supporting program of the government, poor families also get support from the community itself. When visiting the Associação de Moradores (AM, Association for Favela Residents) in the favela, they told us that they hand out food packages to the families who need them the most. Besides this, the AM also provides free physiotherapy for the favela residents and for a small fee they also organize after school tutoring. The money the AM obtains in order to hand out these food packages, and offer free physiotherapy, is collected through a tax, which the favela residents are free to pay or to decline. While talking with Mark – a 32-year-old German guy who happens to live in the favela from 6 to 10 months a year for the last 6 years – about poverty, he told us that he knew more tragic cases, such as women who live in poverty and are 'forced' to prostitute themselves in order to survive. While in our network most people don't deal with these forms of poverty, studying at a university, or a good healthcare program is often out of reach.

3.3 Education and healthcare

In Brazil, the educational and healthcare systems, which are the biggest issues within the favela, are divided in a private and public domain. The richer people are able to pay the necessary fees, which gives them access to the better private hospitals and private schools, whereas the poor favela inhabitants are subjected to the public healthcare system and the public schools, which lack good quality.

The people with whom we spoke with are unanimously unsatisfied with both services in Brazil. Since the state is unwilling or incapable to provide good educational and healthcare services, people often vent their emotions about it (McCarthy and Zald 1977:6). For example, João, a 31-year-old resident stated:

> "For me, Brazil is not worth it, to host the World Cup, and the Olympic games. A country, which has the healthcare as we have here in Brazil, and an educational system as the one we have, shouldn't host the World Cup. Have you seen the hospital in Penha, where we have to go to? Man, it's horrible, horrible!"

After the massive protests during the Confederation Cup in 2013, the government promised more doctors and better healthcare; and started the 'Mais Médicos' program – More Doctors – a program which recruited thousands of doctors, the majority of them Cuban. Nevertheless,

the recruitment of Cuban doctors brought with it a lot of complications. Daniel, a 26-year-old favela resident, explained to us:

> "You know they promised us doctors, and better healthcare, but they employed doctors from Cuba, who are cheap, not even Brazilian ones, and there are already so much incidents. Because most of them work in the North-East and they only speak Spanish, you know, and the people in the North-East are very aggressive, so when the doctor can't help them, don't understand them or explains something in Spanish instead of Portuguese, they just beat them up."[11]

When people in the favela get sick or need a medical treatment of any sort, they first have to go to the clinic outside the favela. Pedro explained:

> "If we want to go to the hospital, we first have to go to the clinic. There we pay 120 reais during the week or 200 in the weekend just to go to the hospital. Once we are at the hospital in Penha, the queues are so long that people die you know! And the hospital is so bad!"

When visiting the local clinic, it seemed very modern. But when talking with some people from the neighborhood, they told us that most of the time there isn't even a doctor on call, which can negatively affect people's health. For example, Dona Clara has Type II Diabetes, which requires constant care and medication, yet without a doctor, she can't get her necessary prescriptions on time, and has to return over and over again until there is a doctor present.

However, some remarks can be made. Mark told us that in 2013 a favela resident took the initiative to start a clinic within the favela to improve the services for the residents. Nonetheless, after a few weeks the clinic had to close since the favela residents massively tapped electricity, leaving the initiator with a huge bill, which he couldn't pay.

As for education, according to Larisa, a 14-year-old teenager who attends high school:

> "We are lucky if even half of the teachers show up. Also, when they don't show up, we never learn the material that was supposed to be given, yet it does come forth in the exam".

Daniel stated:

> "It's ridiculous, hardly anybody speaks English, while in theory we have had English classes. If the teacher showed up for class, all we learned was 'he is it' and then he would turn on a movie"

Esther, a 24-year-old gastronomy student and resident, adds:

"Many people here don't even finish high school because their parents don't see the benefits. Also, girls get pregnant at an early age or they don't care and work in the informal sector since one can often earn more than the formal sector."

The lack of a good quality education within the public schools, results in a poor prospect of a decent job, leaving no high motivation and priority to finish high school or enter a university. Within the eyes of Brazilian society, favela residents are, according to many people of the middle and upper class, unworthy of diplomas or incapable of reaching such goals. The idea of the self fulfilling prophecy, coined by Robert Merton (1968:477) who stated that 'public definitions of a situation (prophecies or predictions) become an integral part of the situation, and thus affect subsequent developments this in particular in human affairs', seems to work in Brazilian society – since the favela residents meet the expectations set by the middle and upper class.

3.4 Infrastructure, housing and security

Most residents are satisfied with the infrastructure within the favela, yet they tend to compare the conditions with the situation of several years ago, instead of comparing it to other neighborhoods. For example, João told us that several years ago it was much, much worse. When the government started the project Favela Barrio in 1994, they paved the roads, which were dirt before, and they installed a drainage system.

Almost all favela residents we spoke with are overall satisfied with their houses, even though they are auto-constructed. Seen as a strong active coping mechanism, the favela residents display their resistance against the city of Rio and appropriate their 'right to the city' (Holston 2009:250). Most of these houses, moreover, have 'gato' energy, television and water. 'Gato', which literarily means 'cat', refers to, in this case, the fact that the favela inhabitants don't pay for it or share the TV signal.

Although they are satisfied with their house and living standards, a lot of the favela residents have the wish to move outside the favela. This for two reasons, which both have to do with the fact that your house is not really yours and a sense of security. The first reason has to do with legal documents. Luís told us that he has the wish to move outside the favela because the whole favela was built on a swamp several years ago. Moreover, he has no legal documents stating that his house was legally built, or that it is really his house. If the government decides to destroy the favela, the favela residents have no 'legal measures' to fight with. This happened, for example, in the favela Mangueira, where hundreds of houses

were destroyed because they were too closely built to the Maracaña stadium, and the government had other plans for that piece of land. The second reason is more complex and has to do with the TC, one of the biggest gangs in Rio, which rule Lucas. Paulo, a 34-year-old unemployed resident, told us:

> "When you buy a house here in the favela, it is never really your house you know. If the bandits want you to leave, you have to leave. Outside the favela, if you have a house, it's really your house […] the only thing which bothers me are the many assaults that happen there".

Daniel told me that it happens only once in a while that somebody has to leave the favela because of the commando.

> "Most of the time it has something to do with hooking up with the wrong woman (women who 'belong' to one of the bandits). If they find out, they can beat you up so badly, feed you to the pigs after they have cut your arms and legs or put car tires around you and burn you alive"

Several of our informants said they are saving to buy a house outside the favela, which can be seen as a form of active coping. Others like Daniel, prefer life inside the favela, since it delivers him more security and the favela residents are more social in his eyes — referring to his far extending network of contacts.

Some might question the safety within the favela, with the lack of police, and the presence of the TC. But when asking around, most favela residents do confirm that within the favela there are no assaults, no robberies and its safe to let your door open day and night; this due to the major consequences which are told by the residents that the TC are told to carry out; that is if the people don't comply. In high contrast, there are the neighborhoods outside the community, where people defend their property as if it were a castle — using fences, sting wire and cameras.

It's interesting to see that somehow favela residents have the wish to move outside the favela, this due the presence of the TC, whereas acknowledging the higher risk on robberies and assaults in non-favela neighborhoods. The quote of Daniel shows that, while 'small' violence might not happen that much inside the favela, the TC do give the favela residents a certain sense of fear. When entering the favela our contacts soon taught us the different restrictions, rules and appropriate distances, this through stories and 'examples' they heard of. Crime is the subject of conversations, stories and jokes.

One day, Wolter went to the birthday of Debora, a neighbor in the favela. He didn't know that Debora's son was one of the biggest gangsters in Lucas. Soon the topic of conversation was football. Most people cheered for Flamengo, but Wolter seemed to have picked the wrong team to cheer for. When they found out Wolter was cheering for Fluminense, another football team, Debora called her son and told him to kill him on the spot. After repeating this for a while, with a big smile on their faces, she gave Wolter a hug and said "ohhw I was just joking".

The very talk of crime, discussions and joking, which is common in the favela, reinforces feelings of insecurity. Some authors (Caldeira 2000:19) propose that the endless analysis of different cases can be seen as a coping mechanism, to cope with their perplexing experiences. Be that as it may, talk of crime and feelings of insecurity seem to shape the urban landscape in Lucas, shaping the social interactions and habitus of the favela residents. Banality of talk of violence can also put in question if such violence actually occurs or if the TC fabricates it in order to instill fear.

3.5 Coping strategies

When observing the different coping strategies – that is according to Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989:267) "the process of executing a response toward a perceived or potential threat" – we see different reactions of favela residents to cope with the absence of good education, healthcare or security.

For a lot of people, this is the reality. They don't believe in change, because for decades, the government has made promises, but the people don't see any change at all. Nevertheless, the previously mentioned social network of the favela residents can be seen as an active form of coping. Social capital in the form of taking care of each other, for instrumental or emotional reasons — as an active form of coping – seems to be the most common, problem or emotional focused coping strategy (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub 1986:269).

The interplay between, on one hand the distrust present among favela residents that nothing will change, and on the other hand the situation as it is, results in that favela residents often vent their emotions as a way of coping. Some remarks can be made since they mostly only vent their emotions during an interview. For example, while conducting an interview with Daniel, he vented his emotions during the interview, but as soon as it was over, he would carry on with his normal activities as if the problems where no longer important. Therefore, the emotions could have been evoked by the interview questions. When the interviews came to an end, most of the favela residents seemed to accept the situation as it is.

This in line with the idea of Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1986:268-270), who state that people accept the situation as it is, this in circumstances where the stressor is something that must be accommodated to, as opposed to circumstances in which the stressor can easily be changed. Change where nobody believes in.

Besides venting of emotions and acceptance, religion is also used as a coping strategy. In line with McCrae and Costa (1986:385-405), we did see that religion could be quite important to people in the context of livelihood. We just now mention religion, since the many people in our network don't attend church services, and therefore it might seem they are not religious at all. Yet, we don't want to leave this coping strategy untreated since everywhere in the favela passages from the Bible are written on the wall or texts like 'God is loyal' and 'When life is hard, Jesus will take care of it'. While walking around in the favela, several times people have handed us pamphlets saying: "All the things you want, a house, a car, anything, it will all stay on earth when you go to heaven."

The favela contains numerous churches. While attending an Evangelical church service, the pastor explained: "if you have it difficult, or if you are poor and ask yourself why, remember that all those with wealth, cars and big houses can't take it with them. You are born naked and will leave this earth naked." In this sense, giving the religious people of Lucas hope, a Christian perspective and a prospect of a better future in the afterlife.

In this section we have explored how social exclusion is perceived in relation to livelihood. In the following section, we will examine how this social exclusion is perceived in the context of citizenship rights, considering that, while people lack different services, which should be provided by the state, they are officially entitled to those rights.

4. THE LACK OF/OR ACCESS TO CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

The notion of citizenship is a recurrent word in the federal governments' idea of democracy, where all are recognized and equal (Cornwall, Romano and Shankland 2008:33), yet, according to Douglas, a 25-year-old resident of Lucas who studies pharmaceuticals, the government criminalizes the poor, hence the favelas are entitled to much less when it comes to education, housing, public security, citizenship rights, etcetera, as we have discussed before. In this chapter we will focus the various degrees of citizenship experiences within the community, as well as the ways in which they cope with the lack of access to their rights.

4.1 Degrees of citizenship

Citizenship is regarded and experienced differently by the residents of Lucas. Some people believe themselves to be full citizens of society since they believe that there are rights for everyone. Nevertheless, they are aware that several of their rights are taken from them or that they are not put into practice. In their eyes, this does not, however, make them non-citizens or half-citizens because, as Esther states:

> "I am excluded from certain rights not because I'm from the favela, but because we have a political system that does not favor the lower economic class. Nonetheless, we participate in society, we are part of a story, of a place, of a process, and we shall continue to do so in the best way possible."

Others do not view themselves as full citizens due to the lack of these rights, making them feel "extremely limited" as Douglas, put it. Thiago, a 45 year old construction worker/overseer, furthermore, says how it can be very frustrating to see how others enjoy the benefits they don't have, yet feel they are entitled to. Issues such as healthcare and education seem to be the biggest problems within the community, as we have discussed in the previous section. This goes in accordance with Holston's (2009:225) statement on how the system of citizenship is a "universally inclusive (system) but massively inegalitarian in distribution".

Nevertheless, most of the residents we spoke to in Lucas are hardly aware of their rights within society, according to some of the higher educated people we spoke with. Both Pedro and João state that the people here can be seen as 'drugged people' because everything goes by them without them even knowing. They don't take the time to get to know or understand it, but mostly, they don't care.

Most people do not even know they are entitled to many rights, and think that when the government 'gives' them certain entitlements, it is because the government is being benevolent. Thiago explained that the government makes it difficult for the poor by actively taking away many rights. Then, once in a while, and mostly during election times as a means of 'buying' political support, otherwise known as 'pork-barrel politics' (in Brazilian – *boca de urna*), the government 'jumps in' by improving a situation or issue within the community, thus exploiting temporary relationships for political gain (Arias 2004:6). This slightly improves the lives of the residents and makes the government look like heroes. Unfortunately, these political stunts influence some people's votes towards those who paid for those services, not even thinking twice about their political parties' objectives. Some residents we have spoken to vote blank as a form of protest because they consider every politician corrupt. Nonetheless, their vote automatically goes to the party who is winning, which contradicts the whole purpose.

The education system, moreover, fails to educate anyone about their country's politics, history or citizenship rights for that matter. Douglas explains how everything he knows about his rights or politics is due to self-education, since the government prefers to keep the population ignorant and submissive. While some do the same, this cannot be said for everyone within the community. Fred, a 30-year-old resident and employee of a local NGO called Afro-Reggae, explained:

> "There are three types of people here: a minority that is interested and searches for information; those who crave information but are shy or ashamed to seek it, thinking that it's not suited for them; and those who don't even think about these issues seen that they have never been given anything or never have had any opportunities in life, thus why would that change now. And unfortunately, the majority of the people of Lucas are part of the second and third groups."

When we asked our neighbor Thais, a 33-year-old resident who sells self-made crochet, about her view regarding her citizenship rights, she responded "My what? What is that?" After explaining the concept, she could say that she doesn't have certain things that others do; yet she could not relate it to the concept of citizenship rights.

Thus, one thing is certain; although the notion of rights is not fully understood by all, the favela residents know that the conditions in which they live in could be much better if the government would consider them as equals to the rest of society.

4.2 Coping Strategies or strategies for strengthening citizenship?

Much complaining is done when it comes to the conditions existent within the favela such as inadequate housing, sewage systems, education, healthcare, and transportation. The infrastructure and house structures do not always have the best conditions, since they are self-built. In addition, the government can take away their property since they do not officially own it, as told before by Luís. Healthcare is very poor as well, leaving little options to those who cannot afford it. According to João and Esther: "The chances of dying before you are properly attended are very high in Brazil." And regarding education, the disparity in quality is extremely evident. Although entitled to an education, a private education is out of their reach, and a public education lacks any type of structure or quality.

Daily experiencing the disparity of rights, due to their status of an unworthy lower social class, is something that they do not accept. Nevertheless, within the community, little is done to actively change, improve and maintain those improvements through bridging social capital – 'getting ahead' – or active membership (Mitchell and Wood 1999:1003; Janoski 1998:30). In the past, some efforts have been made to ensure proper roads and sewage system, through the Favela Barrio project previously mentioned, by means of protesting and signing petitions. These sewage systems are highly valued, but the places where they still have the old ones lack proper functioning. Another important reason the system does not function properly is due to lack of care by part of the residents, in other words, the people throw away garbage on the ground, which eventually clogs up the sewage system entirely when it rains.

One of the main active coping forces, throughout the country, have been the many protests that have occurred, since the summer of 2013, against the government for its corruption, for raising the bus fares, as well as, protests against the World Cup in 2014. The force behind these social movements is the need for inclusion and recognition, and redefining urban meaning as a means to achieve social change (Brewer and Silver 2000:155; Castells 1983:304). Banners stating 'No to the World Cup', and slogans 'Hey FIFA, pay my fare' and 'This hypocrisy is a load of crap' are chanted throughout protests. People are outraged about how the government is spending its money, i.e. building new or improved stadiums and transportation. Maria, Thiago's wife, says:

> "What the people need are better hospitals and an improved healthcare system, as well as an improved education system. Many people lack the basic necessities of a citizen and are now fighting for what is theirs."

Yet, fact of the matter is, residents of Lucas hardly participate in any of those protests. When the protests began, Pedro, Douglas, Ronaldo and Fred participated, yet they either went with people from their university, or in the case of Ronaldo and Fred, with their fellow staff members of the NGO Afro-Reggae. Most people are not even interested in going to such events, since lots of them depend on government aid or simply don't care, while others just see it as a reason to party, as Daniel put it. Daniel also adds:

"No, I never went to a protest, I was raised with the idea that the government is corrupt and won't change anything. […] for example the protest of one year ago, the bus fare was 2,75, they [the government] wanted to make it 2,90 then the people went protesting, They dropped the price back to 2,75 for a while, but now… it's 3 reais. If the government has any plan they just do it! Nothing will change!"

Thiago and Maria add:

"I work everyday of the week, and sometimes even in the weekend like today on Saturday. I only just arrived and it's 22:00. When do I have the time to go to such things? I wish I could, but I just don't have the time. We keep those things for the younger generation who is filled with a modern and just ideology."

There are still the few who make efforts, yet most people simply complain and do nothing about it. They essentially rely on their passive membership, otherwise known as the notion of being, a status or the right to have rights (Janoski 1998:30), hoping that someone somewhere will change something. Thus, is this, in contrast to what has been stated before, accepting their fate? In line with McCrae and Costa (1986), acceptance exists during a current absence of active coping strategies. Or is it denial? Esther states:

"Many people know that the community has precarious houses, sanitation, healthcare, education, etcetera, yet they don't want to see or acknowledge it, since they are too dependent of government agencies or aid. For them, it's easier to leave things the way they are because if they try and change it, it can become worse. It has an obscure and wrong side to it, but people prefer to avoid."

Douglas adds:

"People think: if we complain, all they'll see is that we complain, but all the shit won't cease to exist, it will all stay the same".

Most people grow up thinking that nothing will change anyway, otherwise known as 'the culture of poverty', a feeling of marginality and powerlessness. In reference to Oscar Lewis (1998:8), a renowned author on this subject, these people "are like aliens in their own country, convinced that the existing institutions do not serve their interests and needs". Others in Lucas don't speak up in fear that their situation will worsen, thus thinking: leave things how they are now because I have lived until today. Nonetheless, according to Esther:

> "The big problem is that to change anything here, we constantly have to protest or demand stuff from the municipality, and people don't want to do that every single time. Moreover, the results are not always what we expect them to be. They are more temporary results, whereas we wish to see long-term results, thus, eventually, everything goes back to the way it was."

Getting involved in community issues or on a political level, as a different form of active membership (Janoski 1998:30), is also done by few. Douglas, for example, tries to help others by tutoring students in various subjects, hence offering them greater opportunities within their education. Yet, he states:

> "Mostly, those who help within the community are affiliated with churches, NGO's or do it as their job, as for example the AM. In my point of view, they don't do it with honesty to help the community, since they are mostly out for other interests, like money. Churches ask money from their followers to feed their own corruption. The NGO's, like Afro-Reggae, are heavily sponsored and, if you take a look at the size of the community, they eventually only change the lives of few. If you take a better look at it, it is quite hypocritical. They try to change the community and have the best facilities, whereas the school right next to it is falling apart. And as for the AM, they don't do a good job either. We pay taxes for them to keep the community clean, yet there is trash everywhere, hence most of the money goes to their own pockets. They once wanted to improve the sewage system and they had 3 million reais to use [obtained through the Favela Barrio program], yet they only used up 1 million, leaving us with a shitty sewage system."

Pedro adds:

> "I never really understood how the AM works. I actually know really little about it. The people that work there have been working there for at least a decade. I know that there are elections, yet they probably don't mean anything since the same people are elected each year. We also don't notice any improvements coming from their part. All I know is that they work alongside the traffickers, thus they must be corrupt."

It has been told by many that the AM works side-by-side with the local gang linked to TC, since they wouldn't be able to accomplish anything without their approval or knowledge. This might be one of the reasons why the same people stay 'in office' because they might have certain arrangements with the TC, which other people would not follow up or agree to. Little is actually known about their relationship, yet many speculate that it is a corrupt one. The AM would also seem to be a perfect place to spread notions of citizenship and rights, yet they do not touch upon such issues, reserving their efforts more towards livelihood and social capital.

The NGO Afro-Reggae, on the other hand, dedicates itself to keep children from the streets through dance and music, as well as promoting issues such as education, healthcare, citizenship, etcetera. Many people make use of this platform as a way to educate themselves and gain knowledge, which the community has limited access to. Fred says:

> "We do here what the government fails to do. And even though they are one of the sponsors, it is just a way for them to say that they are 'helping'. We try and educate people when it comes to citizenship. We even help out with any legal documents, when people seek government aid or when someone wants to go to college. Nonetheless, not many people make use of these services. People seem to be afraid to reach out or don't care. We also organize lectures and group discussions about many issues, inter alia, citizenship, women's rights, etcetera. But the big question always is, how many people are going to show up? Sometimes there are more than 15; other times there can be just two. Let's just say, the means are here and we are doing everything we can to spread the word, yet sometimes it just isn't enough. People aren't motivated or they are too shy or ashamed to show up."

We participated in a discussion concerning women's position within society, at invitation of our neighbor Dona Clara since her son Ronaldo works for the NGO, which took place at the NGO's facilities in Lucas. This was an instance where we could actually measure the interest of the people and their knowledge.

> The discussion started one hour after the scheduled time, which had frustrated some people so they left. When the moderators finally set everything up and everybody took their seats, half of the 22 people in the audience were children. Apparently, they expected a showing of the movie Spongebob Squarepants, and sooner or later they started to leave, not showing much interest in the conversation.
> Basic knowledge regarding differences between men and women was the starting point of the discussion, yet few dared to talk. The same people were always speaking, sharing their ideas and knowledge, while the rest listened carefully. Suddenly the conversation turned to more complicated issues, such as, gender differentiation, cultural ideas, ascribed identities, and the room fell quite quiet, except for one woman. This woman was a powerful presence within the room and she clearly wanted to state her opinion on the inequality between men and women. Nonetheless, not everything she said

was quite accurate, namely, that the colors pink and blue, ascribed to girls and boys, had been so since the beginning of time.

Something so small as that can completely change your perspective on many things. What made her think that we will never know, since she wasn't open to speak to us afterwards. Towards the end of the discussion, some people seemed pleased, while others just looked confused. Dona Clara stated:

"I was really bored, I almost fell asleep. I didn't really learn much. I usually come to these type of things because of my son [Ronaldo]."

If active coping or active membership doesn't seem to be used often within the community, what about religion? Previously, we have mentioned how religious quotes appeared everywhere around the favela and that many people use religion as a coping mechanism to try and see the world in a good way. Having faith in a 'fight/goal' or religion is almost the same thing; it is having faith that something will improve. These people aren't as active when it comes to acquiring citizenship rights, since they find comfort in their religion and in each other, instead of seeking or strengthening their rights. As a united group with a common struggle, they seek social and emotional support (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub 1986:269). Ana, our 60-year-old neighbor says:

"I have been going to church for my entire life and it has done me much good. I can just feel Jesus' love and guidance, and I hope I can pass that along to everyone. I feel comforted within this community and especially within my own congregation because everyone looks out for each other."

During the Evangelical mass we attended, the pastor preached about many things, among others, our place in the world. This was one of the main expressions she stated that made it clear to us how they explain their social situation through religion. She explained:

"We are all part of a body, which only together can function properly. Some are the ears, others the nose, others an arm or a toe. We each have our place within that body, just as we have our place within society. We must accept this and not constantly fight it. We must find harmony in it."

Nonetheless, not all share this point of view. Pedro says that highly religious people don't think for themselves. Apparently there is a distinction between the extremely religious, or

Evangelical people and the less strict, namely the Catholics. Some say that the former use religion as an excuse for every small issue in their lives. Esther adds:

"I am religious but I'm Catholic, not Evangelical. [Evangelical's] believe that their lives are the way they are because it is God's will. We call that conformism. They believe that God will always help them whenever necessary. But it's not quite like that. Although he says he will help, he also says to work and fight for what you want and need. People only use the parts that suit them best."

All in all, the views of Evangelists in Lucas can be considered as social conservatism seen that it focuses on preserving the traditional values related to their practiced religion and apply it to their daily lives. In this sense, they are complacent to existing social and political injustice; in other words, they accept their lack of citizenship. An active coping attitude doesn't seem to fit in their vocabulary. On the other hand, Catholics seem to have a more hands on approach.

5. UNDERSTANDING IDENTITY POLITICS

Citizenship rights regard equality in rights, and equality as a person. As we have pointed out above, this equality is withheld within Brazilian society, since the economic, political and social/civil rights are unequally distributed, typifying them as marginal citizens of even non-citizens (Holston 2009:255). These typifications, furthermore, influence notions of identity construction seen that they are tied with ideas of stigmatization and construction of boundaries. An identity, personal or social, is constructed through a kind of internal (self-attributed) and external (other-ascribed) dialectic conditioned within specific social worlds (Jenkins 1996:77). Therefore, someone's identity is hard to define and a layered phenomenon. In order to define oneself, a process called 'othering' is often used. This theory coined by Edward Said (1995:332) states that in order to define oneself, opposite others are needed. According to Barth (1969:17) it is at the limen between those groups where people are defined, and where the criteria – who is included and who is excluded – become visible. In this section we examine this process of 'othering', and the stigmatization that accompanies this process. Further, we will examine how these forms of stigmatization are perceived in the lives of the favela inhabitants in Lucas.

5.1 The construction of identity in Brazil

During our time in Brazil we soon found out – in line with the findings of Pearlman (2010:14) – that prejudice is everywhere, concerning, predominantly, ideas about: ethnicity, the fact that someone is poor, lives in the favela or is from the North-East, especially the state Paraíba. Although these types of prejudice are the topics of a lot of jokes, and those jokes seem to be accepted, they are at the same time used in a very negative way – shaping the patterns of thought of Brazilian society. Donna Goldstein (2003:37) attempts to analyze these patterns of thought using Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) theory on the construction of social classes. Bourdieu shows that the 'taste' – as a form of habitus, otherwise known as a lifestyle, values, dispositions, expectations – someone acquires at home and at school, ultimately legitimizes social differences and someone's social orientation and 'sense of place'. Goldstein states that the jokes and prejudice in the Brazilian society about black people or favela residents may be seen as 'bad taste'. But, following up on the idea of Bourdieu, it is this 'bad taste' that shapes the cultural and class capital of the middle and upper class in Brazilian society.

During our first introductory interview about this topic with Pedro, he told us the following about this matter, giving us a clear example how vast prejudice is in Brazilian society. He told us that most people in his school didn't even believe that he is from a favela - since he studies. When he told his fellow students he actually did live in a favela, they wouldn't believe him because people outside the favela consider 'them' (favela residents) not able or worthy to study. While talking more about this matter, we asked Pedro what the commonly used term 'favelado' meant to him, he answered:

> "Ohhw man, favelado is something that contains all bad things and preconceptions, like, you are poor and would steal, would be aggressive and all that kind of stuff (…) But I don't consider myself a 'favelado', far from it."

Pedro's reaction to the question what the often used term 'favelado' meant to him, corresponds with the idea of Mainwaring (1987:139) who argues that they are "portrayed as thieves, as violent, dishonest, dirty, and lazy, and are excluded from participating in a common quest for material goods and dignity on those grounds." Pedro explained to us that, of course there are people who are like that - who do steal, deal in drugs, and live that way – but he didn't, and didn't consider himself a 'favelado'. When people did speak about 'favelados', he didn't feel addressed at all. This first interview about this topic left us with the question about how stigmatization is perceived in other dimensions of human life.

While exploring stigmatization among students in universities we soon came in contact with Douglas – a pharmaceutical student. He also seemed to experience forms of stigmatization and discrimination at his university when he initially applied. Douglas stated:

> "While applying for the scholarship, I had to go through a different process, namely, two interviews with the coordinators and one the school's director, to see if it wouldn't all be too much of a shock for me. Damn they are equal to me! I had to mention I lived in Lucas, and on the inside it hurt. I didn't speak with so much happiness. That's when I realized I am different. The poor have to go through interviews to see if they are psychologically fit to study alongside wealthier people."

When asking Mark if he was ever discriminated or stigmatized, he replied:

> "Yeah of course, especially the older generation you know, they are afraid because you live in the favela. Like Helena, [his girlfriend] she doesn't live in the favela, and lives together with her grandmother. Before I had such good conversations with her grandmother, we could talk for hours, and she really liked me, you know. But when she

found out I lived in the favela she became really suspicious and told Helena: he lives in the favela, with a German background, he must be a drug dealer or something like that"

Both, Pedro and Mark didn't seem to get mad or angry since both didn't feel addressed by 'their' one-size fits all ascribed identity. It made them sad that people talked and thought that way about 'them'. Pedro and Mark both preferred to engage in a conversation with those who stigmatize and discriminate against them, telling them that people in the favela are not all like that. But according to Pedro, in the end, people from the favela have to pay the price somehow, just because some of the people in the favela do steal, and do rob – matching the idea of Pearlman (2010:148) who argues that these negative stereotypes towards favela residents have enabled an ideology of marginality powerful enough to "blot out all evidence of the contrary".

When talking about stigmatization in relation to employment, some of the younger favela residents we spoke with don't feel they get discriminated anymore when they have a job interview. They told us that five years ago, it was different, and worse, but nowadays they feel they have equal chances. Mariana, a middle-class teacher, even stated:

"No, they don't get discriminated anymore. Sometimes I get discriminated. I have a friend who lives in the favela and she can work everywhere, but when I try to get a job, the storeowners say 'ohhw, you are from the south zone, your parents are rich, so you don't have to work. People from the favela, they have to work because they are poor, so they don't quit their job that easily if they don't like it".

This statement from Mariana, who lives in Zona sul, stands highly in contrast with the story of Marco – a 32-year-old resident of Lucas who works for the government - told us. When asking Marco if he ever got discriminated on his work he replied:

"Various times. Like a colleague of mine, he is higher in rank you know, but we really got along with each other, everyday we had lunch together. But as soon as he found out I lived in the favela… he just spoke three more words to me and never talked to me again. And another day we went out for dinner with people from work, they were all drinking beer, but I don't so I was just sitting there. Then they started to talk about 'favelados'. So, I am not ashamed I live in the favela, so I told the group 'I live in a favela'. Everybody was shocked and looked strange at me."

When taking a closer look at the various interviews we had with favela residents about their experiences concerning stigmatization and discrimination, we soon found out that through a process of 'othering' – as Edward Said (1995:332) puts it – the favela residents get stigmatized and defined as being a 'favelado' which, according to various

favela residents, and non-favela residents, refers to all kinds of negative features a person could have. Someone is assumed to steal, use drugs and be aggressive. The so-called social boundaries, which separate the favela residents, as a social category, from the rest of Brazilian society - as Frederick Barth (1969:17) proposed – are, according to the theory of Barth, flexible and negotiable. Nevertheless, in Brazilian society, those boundaries have proven themselves to be profound and rigid. In practice, the characterization of someone as being a 'favelado' can be made just on the basis of spatial segregation. Thus, the fact that someone lives in the favela is enough to classify that person as being a 'favelado'. One would say that Pedro would prove the opposite as a studying and hard working person. Or Marco since he had studied and now works for the government. But the reality shows that, as for Pedro, his fellow students didn't know how to react and just didn't believe he lives in a favela or at least pretend they don't believe he would live in a favela, not to jeopardize their patterns of thought. Spatial segregation seems to be the key feature, which divide the social categories in Brazil, making living in the favela enough to classify one as being a 'favelado'.

5.2 Spatial segregation and the need for 'othering'

In line with this idea, we soon learned that when people move outside the favela, they are able to switch social classes, losing their previously ascribed identity. This became clear when we went to a barbecue at David's place (a previous favela resident) just outside the favela. After the barbecue, when we walked home with Pedro, he looked sad and disappointed. Later that night he explained why he did feel sad before:

> "I am sad because I had a conversation with David at the barbecue. He told me that all the northern people were 'Paraíba' and he was very discriminating. He said, they have no culture, and are all poor and the same. And that is not true, you know. People from the Amazonia are not the same as people from Recife or Fortaleza, and you know, David, he lived in the favela as well, like just four years ago, and back then he wasn't like that. It's just now that he moved out, he somehow feels better and talks like this. It's a shame".

Most of the people we spoke with outside the favela — living in the wealthy southern zone of the city, namely Zona Sul — do use the term 'favelado' very often, and have the preconception that a favela is a very dangerous place where you don't want to be, themselves never even having been inside a favela. When talking with Mariana about this matter, she

first told us that the term 'favelado', for her, is indeed a very negative and stigmatizing term to use, but she did use the term while speaking with her friends about favela residents "because it's easy in use". This goes in accordance with Tajfel's ideas, namely, that people would just use (stigmatizing) stereotypes in order to simplify the complex reality they have to deal with on a daily basis (Tajfel 1974 *in* Cinnirella 1997: 45-47).

According to Catarina, who lives in Zona sul, the favela residents are excluded but she is excluded at the very same time by living in her own little bubble along with the other people who live in Leblon. She hardly ever leaves the place and they never use public transportation. Even to go to the city center they use a taxi. In this sense, as Catarina puts it, they are the ones who are socially excluded since they can hardly go anywhere in the city due to fear of people robbing or kidnapping them.

While for people in Zona sul, the term 'favelado' is just 'easy in use' as Mariana puts it, the favela residents – even if they don't feel addressed like Pedro – do feel stigmatized since the term contains all negative stereotypes.

According to Karina, a middle class activist, carnival is the only day that favela residents, black and white are all equal. Karina stated:

> "Yeah, carnival is the only day that a black man can be white, and a favela resident can be rich. Everybody can use his or her imagination and can be what he or she wants to be. Ethnicity doesn't matter anymore because you can forget you are Negro."

As stated before, prejudice is the topic of a lot of jokes. When talking with Daniel about the impact of those jokes, he told us that people 'joked' a lot and especially inside the favela with the fact that he is from 'Paraiba'. He explained to us why:

> "Around twenty years ago there was a big drought in the North-East, especially in Paraíba, and Penambuco. During that time, a lot of people from the North-East went to Rio de Janeiro to live in the favelas, I think around 50% of the people who live here in the favela are from Paraíba: Me, Felipe, Luís, George [and he pointed to some people of which he thought where from Paraíba]. Because we went to Rio for a better life, have a different posture and our woman dress differently with more comfortable clothes, the cariocas [people born in Rio de Janeiro] found us weird and somehow less worthy, but its not true you know."

While the favela residents are typified as being 'favelados' through a process of 'othering' – inside the favela the same process, whether or not through jokes, is present. People from the North-East / Paraíba are being stigmatized by the carioca's. It seems that the tendency to

subordinate a group to oneself in order to define who one is is a common used strategy in Brazilian society, leaving favela residents, and especially those from Paraíba with stigmatizing labels to deal with.

5.3 Coping strategies

According to Perlman (2010:323), favela residents are continuously being defined and redefined in "the struggle over inclusion/exclusion and marginalization/integration". As shown above, our informants applied different strategies to cope with identity stigmatization. Using the model of Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1986:269), we recognize five different coping strategies among favela residents in their struggle for recognition of their worthiness as human beings and respect for who they are and from where they come from (Jenkins 1996:77; Kabeer 2005:4).

Some of the residents we spoke with have an active way of coping by confronting the 'other' that they are from the favela, but are far from the person that a 'favelado' is believed to be. Both Pedro and Mark seek the confrontation with the 'other' as a way to educate them that not all residents can be generalized in such categories. Other's like Marco say they are not ashamed that they come from the favela, yet don't seem to be interested in changing people's views, since according to him it's not worth it. When asking Marco why he didn't confront the 'other' with his point of view, he explained that people who do use the term 'favelado' are just 'fodida' (fucked up) and won't change their view anyway.

Some of them, like Daniel, accept the situation as it is. According to Daniel, this is due to the fact that he doesn't want to spend his energy on 'them' because nothing will change. The acceptance of identity stigmatization arises from the assumption that active coping strategies will bring no change, and in this case identity stigmatization is something that must be accommodated to (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub 1986:269). While Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1986:269) also recognize denial as a coping strategy, we didn't find any informant who denied the identity stigmatization they suffer from.

In line with the other forms of social exclusion, religion seems to be used as a coping strategy as well. McCrae and Costa (1986) propose that religion, as a coping mechanism, may be quite important to people when they are under stress for widely varying reasons. Christianity and its prime value of forgiveness, in combination with a preordained idea of the present, enable religious people to find peace in religion. For example, Evangelists handed out pamphlets stating Matthew 19:24 "(…) I say to you, it is easier for a camel to go through

the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." This was also preached in a church service we attended, where the pastor preached that one's status is preordained on this earth by God, and that if you struggle due to your status, God will always be there for you.

The different forms of social exclusion, present in the dimensions of livelihood and social capital, citizenship, and identity, are also prominent in the context of the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic games of 2016. In the next section, we will further examine the influence these mega sporting events exercise on social exclusion.

6. MEGA SPORTING EVENTS' CONTRIBUTION TO THE COUNTRY

Brazil is going to host the World Cup in the summer of 2014, right after our research period, and the Olympic games in 2016, yet many agree that the country isn't ready now and it never will be. While, at first, most of the population was glad with this opportunity because many perceived it as a way to improve the country's wealth, prosperity and social cohesion, as well as a way to modernize their image towards the world; every class in the social strata, including many residents we have spoken to in Lucas, now believe that it has only been chaotic and disastrous, making those ideas nothing more than an illusion.

Hiller (1998:47) explains how these types of mega sporting events are special cases, diverting from normality. They impact all aspects of society even before the games begin, and end with clear outcomes or legacies, which can either be positive or negative. In the case of Brazil, people are angry and frustrated. The image of modernity that the government is trying to convey to the rest of the world is coming at the expense of the population, particularly, the lower class. People are mostly outraged about the fact that people are dying in overcrowded and inefficient hospitals, as well as education deficiencies, government corruption and crime. Although Brazil is a democratic country, the universality of undemocratic practices, (Goirand 2003:18; Koonings and Kruijt 2007: 24), such as human rights violations, housing evictions and unequal distribution of rights prove otherwise (Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2012:347-348; Holston 2009:255).

6.1 Social Exclusion in the context of mega sporting events

These types of events can be extremely important when it comes to promoting inclusion, or its counter-part exclusion. What the government, and in our case the city of Rio, does or does not do clearly defines in which direction society is going to go. The people have loudly stated their opinion through protests and social media since many feel like the gap between rich and poor; fair and unfair; rights and duties have escalated. Three years ago, citizens in twelve cities around the country have set up comities designated Popular Committees World Cup, and Rio Olympics, in order to oppose against the violations, abuses and illegalities related to these events. Other independent social media initiatives, such as 'Viva Rocinha', 'Rio on Watch', etcetera, and existing newspapers like 'A Nova Democracia' and 'ANF – News agency of the slum' have dedicated their time with promoting issues around discrimination, exclusion, and abuses, which the mainstream media fail to mention. Many protests have

occurred in the past year in order to stop many of these transgressions, as well as, completely stop the World Cup from happening. Many ask themselves this following question: "World Cup for whom?"

The residents of Lucas are equally outraged with the expenditures of the government and the lack of improvement for its people. Maria states:

> "The money is being invested in the wrong things and there have been no improvements for the people, whereas lots of the money comes from our taxes."

Douglas says:

> "When the budget reports came out, we were all shocked! It was just absurd. This was wrong. Do you know how many hospitals or schools could have been built with that money? That is when the population entered a process of discussion and contemplation."

Esther adds:

> "At first I though it was great that the World Cup was going to be hosted here because we have lots of precarious things in our country. But now that it's almost here, and the government has invested in things that don't benefit the people other than infrastructure, I don't agree with it anymore. For example, we won't study the World Cup, we won't eat the World Cup, the doctor isn't the World Cup, so what do we gain from it? It is true that is has helped generate work for thousands of unemployed people in the construction sector, yet the downside is that places like stadiums are going to be of little use after the World Cup. There is even a city up north, Cuiabá, where they built a stadium costing millions of reais, yet they don't even have a professional football team there. Moreover, [this event] also promotes exclusion in the sense that it is a spectacle of high value, unreachable for a big part of society."

6.2 Infrastructure for the mega sporting events

The city of Rio has changed much in its infrastructure by building new roads, hotels, stadiums, etcetera. So many new roads are being built, without any temporary roads to 're-guide' the traffic elsewhere, that is has turned the city of Rio into a complete chaos and frustration for traffic. The public transportation is also not what many expected it to be; yet some improvements have been made. Esther states:

> "The one thing that the people are going to benefit from is the infrastructure. We now have more metro lines, which we didn't have before. And for us who live in the Northern Zone, we are going to benefit from the express bus line they are making from the North

to the South (beach area), even though it is now intended to get the tourists from the airport to the richer areas quickly. When this is all over, it will still be there for us to use."

Some residents are, furthermore, outraged about Macaranã's (Rio's biggest stadium) privatization since the stadium was once built out of the people's taxes. Douglas stated that the stadium was completely restored, even though engineers had advised the government that it would be cheaper to build a completely new stadium. Against the advice, the government restored the Maracanã, eventually costing them three times the expected amount. Rumors have also spread that the government was going to build walls around favelas so that they couldn't be seen. To this Maria said:

> "They didn't technically build walls, but next to the main highways they put up sound-proof panels. The argument was that the residents next to the highways, in this case the favelas, would not be bothered with the noise. Nevertheless, the people saw it as an attempt to shield them, which I think is ridiculous because most of the panels are transparent. Nonetheless, we can now see that many of the panels have been broken down by the residents as a form of protest."

Another important issue, which has affected the lower class, has been the housing evictions. This has not affected Lucas itself at all, since it is not located in a strategic area related to the mega sporting events: around stadiums, rich areas and airports. Nevertheless, according to Rhayssa, a journalist who live in the favela of Maré:

> "Five entire favelas have already been demolished, and many more have lost parts of their favela. Those who lose their homes go and live with relatives or friends, but the government often relocates them to completely isolated areas with no schools or hospitals nearby. Moreover, the people have to travel a long way to get to their jobs. This is how the government thinks: take them and dispose of them. They believe that the favelas are complicating the structure and idea of the city."

Although most residents in Lucas agree with this type of statement: 'the government does not look out for us and we are disposed of as trash', some people, like Esther, can look at the bright side:

> "On the one hand I agree, on the other I don't. It depends strongly on your point of view. The fact that the government is disposing evicted families in inhabited areas is because it is the only empty space we have to construct whole new neighborhoods. Sure it's bad because there are no schools, hospitals, highways and it is far away. People who used to

live in Mangueira had the perfect location for example and it is normal not to want to leave. Nonetheless, the quality of life does increase due to improved sewage systems, running water, decent housing. Thus, as a citizen within the city, progress has been made. And although it is far away from work and other services, gradually those will be improving as well. All in all, it is a work in progress."

Relocating entire families from the touristic center to the extreme periphery of the city is a way to "show a Rio de Janeiro to the tourists, which in truth doesn't exist: a Rio without poverty" says Renato Cosentino, from the Popular Comity in Rio.[12] Since the residents do not officially own their houses, the municipality is allowed to relocate them by warning them of an eviction and later the police forces come by to ensure a peaceful transition. Yet, sometimes they do not warn them at all, as has happened in the case of favela Vila Autódromo.

In other favelas, like the Complexo do Alemão, Rio's municipality decided to construct cable cars so that the tourists can admire the view from above. Ricardo, a resident of Complexo do Alemão who works at a local NGO called Barraco 55, is furious because:

"Many people have been evicted from their homes in order to build the cable cars, which will only promote further exclusion because now the tourists don't have to enter the favela since they can just hover above it. We don't need this. We need schools and clinics. Our complex has 250,000 people and we don't have a single school or clinic within the favela".

Clair, a friend of Ricardo's who works at the same NGO, states:

"The government doesn't want to build any schools or clinics here in order to promote integration. They believe that the cohesion of society will happen if the people of the favelas leave the favela for their basic necessities. Well, why can't the rest of the city come to the favelas for their basic necessities?"

The compensation given for each house is far below the minimum. The government has paid many people a small amount of 60,000 reais (€18,900), whereas their houses were often worth between 100,000/130,000 reais (€32,000/€40,000). The residents come out losing, whereas those who take advantage of the situation is the real estate sector, seen that with the removal of a favela, an immediate valuation of the land/sector/zone occurs. With the economic boost of the past years, many prices have increased, along with housing. Furthermore, with the upcoming World Cup, the prices have increased even more.

6.3 The 'pacification' program

Favelas like Complexo do Alemão have been restructured by Rio's prefecture through the implementation of UPP's (Pacifying Police Unit) policies. Pioneered as a law enforcement and social services program in the state of Rio, it was expected to drop criminality levels and improve the lives of favela residents. Nonetheless, they only exist in strategic places within the city, which are related to the mega sporting events: around stadiums, rich areas, airports, and the bigger favelas, so that the government can control them.

Although Lucas does not have a UPP station, since, as earlier stated, the drug gang TM has upper command, many people from Lucas with whom we have spoken to do not agree with the UPP's policies. Pedro explained:

"The UPP program was an initiative to completely restructure the favelas. Improving education and healthcare by constructing schools and clinics, as well as develop existing facilities; upgrading the local infrastructure; increasing the inclusion with the rest of the city and implementing local law enforcement to drive out the local gangs. The program would adapt conform to the each favelas context, yet the government decided to simply implement the law enforcement and forget the rest. Ever since, the locals have only been confronted with violence since the police are trying to eradicate the drug gangs. Moreover, many restrictions have been implemented as to their rights, such as, no more baile funk (local parties), no more noise at night, etcetera. They also have to pay for all their utilities and prices have risen, whereas no benefits come in return. This all has resulted in angry residents and unrest throughout the city."

Douglas says:

"The UPP program was supposed to bring citizenship rights, yet that never happened. All they did was bring the police (state organ) to run everything. They control everything that the people do. They supposedly 'got rid of the gangsters', but their methods are not acceptable. By using violence, you only generate more violence and frustration."

Esther adds:

"These invasions of the UPP are only a political stunt and don't seek to integrate the favelas into the city. Since the government doesn't provide them with any benefits, the residents prefer life how it was before because they had their liberties, their entertainments, and their ways to enjoy life."

While favelas are increasingly being recognized as a permanent part of the city (Holston 2009:249; Lefebvre 1996:157), the ways in which they are being integrated has not been the best approach. Firstly, the program was only implemented in a few selected favelas, which are highly linked to the mega sporting events. Moreover, more than half of the program was eventually left out, namely, the part that would benefit the favelas the most: healthcare, education and infrastructure. Hence, according to Madanipour's theory (1998:22), structural social, political, economical and cultural exclusion is manifested spatially within certain neighborhoods.

Nonetheless, we found it peculiar how the favela residents want to be included in the city, yet still want to live by different laws, specifically, the law of the favela. Pedro explained that people want to be part of the city, but they don't know how. They like the way the favelas are when it comes to entertainment and certain liberties, known as the 'law of the favela', yet this clashes with the 'law of the city'. The restructuring of the favelas through the UPP program was an opportunity to integrate the favelas into society and there is more than enough money to pay for it all, but it is all badly distributed. Now, with only police roaming the streets, the residents see it more as repression instead of security and opportunities.

6.4 Security within Rio and prevention measures for social exclusion

The UPP has also been known to be very repressive towards favelas all over the city, in an attempt to maintain security. Nevertheless, using violence to eradicate violence only has proven to generate more violence. Some examples are, the execution of the young trafficker in a near-by favela to set an example for the rest of the gang members, which generated a great uprising, to which 3 buses and 5 stores were set on fire; the torture and killing of a man suspected of being a gang member; the death of a young dancer from Pavão-Pavãozinho, allegedly killed by the UPP, which also caused a considerable revolt; just to name a few. A study by Amnesty International has shown that 80% of Brazilians are afraid of being tortured by their own police force on arrest.[13]

These incidents of repression towards the favelas and the acceptance of this type of repression by the other parts of society, has only polarized the two sides even more. NGO's like Barraco 55, which is located in one of the tensest favelas, namely the Complexo do Alemão, try to fight such issues. Ricardo states:

"Pacification does not exist without schools, pacification does not exist without health, pacification does not exist without basic sanitation, and pacification does not exist without leisure. The symbol of peace in Rio de Janeiro cannot be arms, guns, rifles and tanks."

When we asked our informants if they would prefer the UPP to the local gang, most of them answered without any hesitation: the local gang. It was obvious to them that no benefits would come from the UPP, whereas, how contradictory it may sound, the local gang does care for the residents whenever necessary.

Nonetheless, many people with whom we have spoken to in Lucas state that most of the people here hardly talk or think about the UPP's or housing evictions since it doesn't affect them directly. Is this some sort of denial? Esther says:

"As long as they have their house, their friends, their fish, meat and their beer, and as long as they are not bothered, people think life is ok. It doesn't influence people's lives and they prefer not to get involved. They are actually pretty excited for the World Cup."

Thais adds:

"I know horrible things happen in other communities: housing evictions, the police enforcements, etcetera. I'm really glad it is so peaceful here. I also don't agree with their expenditures, but I do look forward to it. I look forward to the spirit and fun we have in the community."

As for the other issues, such as healthcare and education, much complaining is done and once again, little is done to actually change anything. As we have explained in earlier chapters, few participated in the protests and few busy themselves with ways to change the quality of life and livelihood standards. There are also those who use religion as a coping mechanism to explain away their situations, as stated before.

Yet, what is the government doing to help prevent such negative effects? Nothing really, Douglas says:

"All they are doing is covering it up. They show to everyone the good things they do, in the hope that the bad things are not seen."

As for the FIFA, president Sepp Blatter has urged protesters to stop using this event to express their anger against the government, maintaining the country is going to benefit from all the investments in highways, airports and hotels.[14] The protesters, in turn, ask the government for 'FIFA standard' hospitals and schools; not stadiums and hotels. Maria states:

> "I have heard that there are going to be protests during the games right outside the stadiums. Soon enough the government will prohibit such manifestations."

Nationwide, more than 150,000 police officers, including military, will be employed to maintain security; this is estimated to cost the government €1 billion. Brazil now has a $14 billion bill to collect and the taxpayers are the victims.

All in all, outrage has been shown regarding the government's expenditures, the housing evictions and human rights violations. The country has proven itself unworthy of hosting such events and incapable of containing or diminishing violence. Moreover, the UPP program can be seen as a structural failure. Instead of social cohesion and social integration, the World Cup's true legacy may be a growing political and social consciousness, as well as a redefining and construction of a new notion of citizenship. As for the residents of Lucas, although they show their outrage through venting their emotions quite loudly, most people don't do much about it since it doesn't affect them directly.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter we will conclude our thesis by discussing the outcomes of our empirical data, as well as give an answer to our main question: *"How do the favela residents of Parada de Lucas, Rio de Janeiro, experience and cope with social exclusion, and, in particular, the exclusion effects of mega sporting events?"* From the end of January until the middle of April we conducted research in the favela Parada de Lucas, in Rio de Janeiro, in order to be able to provide an answer to this question. Using methods such as participant observation, informal conversations, structured interviews, mapping, life history interviews, visual data and the media, enabled us to get a in depth and broad approach to explain and understand the phenomenon of social exclusion within the previously mentioned favela, and how it is influenced by mega sporting events.

Slums, otherwise known as favelas, typify Rio de Janeiro. These are often located side-by-side with wealthier areas, demonstrating the enormous inequalities existent within Brazilian society. Marginalized and segregated, favela residents struggle daily with the lack of citizenship rights, and often with a decent standard of living. This, along with the fact that the lower class is often taken for granted by the elite, through 'old politics', corruption and clientalism, leads to social exclusion. Parada de Lucas is one of the many favelas existent within Rio and, although the residents have experienced many improvements in housing, transportation, and employment, many issues are still lacking any type of structure or development.

In our theoretical framework, we analyzed the concept of social exclusion, providing our own definition influenced by Madanipour *et al* (1989), and Walker and Walker (1997). Within this definition, we set out four prime dimensions, which we believed to be crucial, namely, livelihood, community and social capital, citizenship, and identity construction. The denial or non-realization of any of these dimensions constitutes social exclusion. Considered a multidimensional process, since it contains different attributes – like income, education, healthcare, employment, etcetera (Byrne 2005:74) – we analyzed how residents in the favela Lucas coped with these processes in five different ways, namely, active coping, venting of emotions, denial, acceptance, and turning to religion, adopting the model of Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989). According to Scheper-Hughes (2008:19), coping strategies are used in order to remain functional as an individual or a collectivity.

During our analyses, it became obvious that the lack of good education and the lack of good healthcare were the prime aspects our informants were dissatisfied about. According to

Perlman (2010:104), education is a key factor to moving out of poverty and obtaining certain social mobility. We have seen and analyzed that not much is done by part of the government or the state of Rio de Janeiro to improve the public educational system, enabling them to achieve good job opportunities. This can also be linked to identity construction, since, as stated before, each dimension of social exclusion is interrelated. The fact that our informants come from a favela is enough to stigmatize them as unworthy or unable to study or achieve any goals. This became visible when Pedro explained that nobody at his university believed that he lived in a favela, as well as Douglas' experience with his university application, where he was asked if he was mentally capable to study alongside the wealthier people. This points out that the urban social-spatial structures in Brazil's society are in some cases virtually synonymous to social exclusion in general (Madanipour *et al* 1998:8-9). Therefore, it is enough to exclude a person on the basis that they live in a favela, further emphasizing the social division between the favela residents and the rest, as Barth (1969:17) explains in his boundary model. This goes along with Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) notion of how a form of habitus or lifestyle can influence and legitimize social differences. Nonetheless, we gathered from some of our non-favela informants that the use of stigmatizing typifications is mainly out of convenience since they are no longer as harsh as they used to be. Using the insights of Goldstein (2003:37), the use of these stigmatizing typifications shapes the cultural and class capital of the middle and upper classes in Brazilian society. Hence, we interpreted it as a method that the non-favela residents use to structure society in their minds, even if it may no longer be so.

As for healthcare, it became clear to us how money played a key role in determining one's health. Although public healthcare is officially free and paid through taxes, it lacks any type of quality. Lucas' residents have access to a clinic, yet there is hardly ever a doctor on call, resulting in frustrations and venting of emotions. Nonetheless, we questioned ourselves to which extent they are sincerely frustrated since, as previously mentioned, they were responsible for the closing of a free clinic within the favela. This contradicts the extreme ways in which they vent their emotions.

When it comes to active coping mechanisms, the most prominent one is social capital in the form of social bonding, which refers to 'getting by' (Putnam *in* Leonard 2004:930). Lucas' residents make use of far extending networks to borrow or lend, exchange items, money or advice, or help with problems, as for example, if someone needs to be brought to the hospital, a person with a car will take up this responsibility. We have also seen Pedro's example of lending his television to a women who was pregnant. The idea of solidarity and

being there for one another prevails within the structure of the favela, seeking social support for instrumental and emotional reasons (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub 1986:269). Another quite obvious form of active coping is the fact that all their houses are auto-constructed, appropriating their 'right to the city' and claiming access to its resources as citizens of the city (Holston 2009:250). This form of coping alone is a strong way to display their resistance.

On the other hand, ideas of social bridging, essential for 'getting ahead' (Putnam *in* Leonard 2004:930), which can pave the way to achieve other types of capital or rights, are scarce within the favela. While there is a NGO (Afro-Reggae) in the favela, which organizes discussions and provides information for favela residents, making them aware of their rights and capabilities of achieving the same as the rest of society, it seems that most of the residents within Lucas are ashamed to obtain such information or are simply not interested. In our point of view, the reach that this NGO has within the community is limited compared to its facilities and employees. After talking to our informants, we soon realized that many people within the community weren't aware of their rights, let alone knew what citizenship meant. Nonetheless, it was clear to us that they knew that they had less compared to the rest of society. Some efforts have been made, through active membership (Janoski 1998:30), to change the situation within the community, through petitions and protests, and a handful of people joined the massive protests in 2013 and 2014. Yet, we soon realized that the residents prefer not to change anything due to three reasons. Firstly, there is a fear that if they speak up, things might get worse. Secondly, for every little thing they want to change, they have to organize a protest or sign a petition and the residents are fed up with that, since the changes are mostly temporary. Finally, people seem to prefer to ignore or accept the situation because they believe no one will listen to them anyway or no changes will be made. This last point goes in accordance with Oscar Lewis' (1998:7) culture of poverty theory, which explains that people believe nothing will change due to their feelings of marginality, helplessness and of not belonging.

As for the mega sporting events, Lucas' residents show their negative opinions and emotions, yet, once again, nothing is done since it doesn't affect them directly. There are namely no housing evictions within the community because the favela isn't located in a strategic place related to these mega sporting events. Nonetheless, they feel sad for those who are affected and state that Brazil's government is more concerned with the country's image than with the welfare if its citizens. The negative impacts are "either ignored or hidden under the table" (Hiller 1998:48).

So what are the main coping mechanisms used by Lucas' residents? These seemed to be venting of emotions and acceptance. When connecting this with McCrae and Costa (1986), acceptance exists during the absence of active coping strategies. The residents were always very keen in expressing their views, opinions and emotions, yet, after analyzing the data, we realized that little to nothing is done to actually change their situation. Hence, they simply accommodate to the situation and environment they find themselves in, while leaning on extended family networks to get by (Kabeer 2005:7). Nonetheless, we can acknowledge the fact that the favelas are much more heterogeneous than we previously thought. With the economic growth of the past few years, many residents have now become part of the middle class. This was obvious when we saw some houses with flat screens and plenty of cars within the community, in contrast to houses such as our neighbor Dona Clara's, which has only the essential to live with day by day. Hence, it could be a challenge to achieve unity while fighting for a certain goal since the struggle isn't homogenous seen that the socio-economic backgrounds vary immensely.

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11. APPENDIX

Appendix A: Research Summary in Portuguese

 Resumo em Português escrito pela Isabel Beijsens

Beijsens, I. & Van Dam, W.
2014 'Social exclusion in Rio de Janeiro: the daily struggles of favela residents and the effects of mega sporting events.'

Esta dissertação centra-se na exclusão social dos residentes das favelas do Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, nomeadamente, a favela Parada de Lucas, onde realizamos a nossa pesquiza, desde o fim de Janeiro até meados de Abril. Enquanto estávamos o nosso campo de trabalho utilizamos vários métodos, como por exemplo, observação participativa, conversas informais, entrevistas estruturadas, mapeamento, entrevistas das histórias de vida dos nossos informantes, dados visuais e a média para puder obter uma abordagem ampla do fenómeno da exclusão social no Parada de Lucas.

A imagem do Rio de Janeiro é caracterizada por favelas que estão localizados lado a lado com as áreas mais ricas da cidade, demonstrando uma evidência real das desigualdades enormes existentes na sociedade brasileira. As favelas dificilmente recebem intervenção municipal ou por parte do estado, além de policiamento, repressão e políticas designadas como boca-de-urna. Marginalizados e segregados, os moradores das favelas são encaixotadas em estereótipos negativos claramente definidos, maioritariamente associados à pobreza, violência e ignorância. Excluindo os moradores das favelas dos direitos básicos de cidadania, devido à extrema diferenciação social, tem fortalecido a posição da elite, demonstrando assim as falhas do sistema democrático em vigor. Este sistema é maioritariamente caracterizado pelas 'políticas velhas', corrupção e clientelismo. Parada de Lucas é uma das várias favelas existentes no Rio que sentem esta exclusão e, apesar de haverem melhorias quanto à habitação, transporte e emprego, muitas outras questões continuam sem qualquer tipo de estrutura ou desenvolvimento.

No entanto, apesar do seu estatuto marginal, as favelas são cada vez mais reconhecidos como uma parte permanente da cidade. Os moradores das favelas têm-se apropriando progressivamente dos direitos políticos, económicos, sociais/civis e culturais, legitimando o seu "direito à cidade", ao mesmo tempo recusando-se de serem excluídos por muito mais

tempo. Mega eventos esportivos, nomeadamente, a Copa do Mundo de 2014 e os Jogos Olímpicos de 2016, que serão realizados no Brasil, são uma ocasião para apresentar o país ao domínio internacional como sendo um país moderno e avançado, com a esperança de promover crescimento e coesão social. No entanto, inúmeros despejos de habitação, violações de direitos humanos e investimentos governamentais inadequados têm tido um efeito oposto ao que era suposto.

A nossa dissertação procura responder à seguinte pergunta: *"Como é que os moradores da favela de Parada de Lucas, Rio de Janeiro, experienciam e lidam com a exclusão social, e, em particular, com os efeitos de exclusão dos mega eventos esportivos?"* No nosso quadro teórico, analisamos o conceito de exclusão social, proporcionando a nossa própria definição influencidada por Madanipour (1989), e Walker e Walker (1997), nomeadamente, é um processo dinâmico de ser excluído, totalmente ou parcialemte, dos direitos sociais, económicos, políticos ou culturais, determinando a integração de uma pessoa dentro da sociedade. A falta de participação ou acesso a qualquer desses direitos mentionados anteriormente, como por exemplo, a falta de processo decisório, opinião política, a falta de emprego e recursos materiais, ou a falta de integração com a cultura da sociedade, são alguns exemplos que determinam a exclusão social de uma pessoa.

 Partimos esta definição em quatro dimensões que nós consideramos como sendo cruciais, ou seja, modo de vida, comunidade e capital social, cidadania e a construção da identidade. A negação ou não-realização de qualquer uma dessas dimensões constitui a exclusão social. Além disso, analisamos como é que os morados da favela Parada de Lucas lidam com estes processos de exclusão social com um modelo de cinco maneiras diferentes, adotado pelo Carver, Scheier e Weintraub (1989): empenhamento ativo, ventilação de emoções, negação, aceitação, e se voltar para a religião.

Durante a nossas análises, tornou-se óbvio que a falta de uma boa educação e a falta de um bom sistema de saúde eram os aspectos que os nossos informantes estavam os mais insatisfeitos. Segundo Perlman (2010:104), a educação é um fator crucial para puder sair da pobreza e obter certa mobilidade social. Temos visto e analisado que o governo e o Estado do Rio de Janeiro não faz muito para melhorar o sistema educacional público, permitindo os moradores da favela alcançar boas oportunidades de trabalho. Isto também é extremamente ligado à construção da identidade, uma vez que cada dimensão da exclusão social está inter-relacionado. O fato que os nosso informantes vêm de uma favela é o suficiente para puder estigmatizá-los como sendo indignos ou incapazes de estudar ou realizar qualquer tipo de objetivo. Isto tornou-se visível, por exemplo quando o nosso informante Pedro explicou que

ninguém na sua faculdade acreditava que ele vive numa favela. Isto indica que as estruturas sócio-espaciais urbanas na sociedade do Brasil são, em alguns casos, praticamente sinônimos à exclusão social em geral (Madanipour *et al* 1998:8-9). Portanto, viver numa favela é o suficiente para puder excluir uma pessoa, acentuando ainda mais a divisão social entre os moradores das favelas e o resto, como Barth (1969:17) explica no seu modelo de limites. Isto vai junto com a noção do Pierre Bourdieu (1984) de como uma forma de habitus ou estilo de vida podem influenciar e legitimar as diferenças sociais. No entanto, nós nos apercebemos dos nossos informantes que moram foram das favelas que o uso de tipificações estigmatizantes são principalmente usados por conveniência, uma vez que já não são tão duras quanto costumavam ser. No entanto, essas tipificações continuam a criar uma divisão social e a fortalecer a posição da classe média e alta. Por isso, nós interpretamos este mecanismo como um método que os morados fora das favelas utilizam para estruturar a sociedade nas suas mentes, mesmo que a sociedade não continua bem a ser assim.

Quanto à saúde, tornou-se claro para nós que ter dinheiro desempenha um papel fundamental na determinação da saúde de uma pessoa. Apesar da saúde pública ser oficial gratuito e pago através dos impostos, falta-lhe qualquer tipo de qualidade. Os moradores de Parada de Lucas têm acesso a uma clínica que se localiza logo ao lado da favela, mas é raro haver um médico presente, o que cria frustrações e ventilações de emoções bem negativas. No entanto, questionamo-nos a nós mesmos até que ponto é que os moradores estão sinceramente frustrados já que eles foram responsáveis pela fechamento de uma clínica gratuita dentro da favela. Parece que os moradores se estavam aproveitando da eletricidade da clinica, causando a falência do dono. Isto contradiz as formas extremas em que os moradores desabafavam as suas emoções.

Quando se trata de mecanismos de empenhamento ativas, o mais proeminente no Parada de Lucas é capital social, na forma de ligação social, que se refere à 'sobrevivência'. Os moradores utilizam redes sociais extensivas para pedir emprestado ou emprestar, trocar itens, dinheiro ou conselhos, ou ajudar com vários tipos de problemas. A ideia de solidariedade e estar presente um para o outro prevalece dentro da estrutura da favela. Esta ideia busca suporte social por razões instrumentais e emocionais (Carver, Scheier e Weintraub 1986:269). Outra forma de empenhamento ativo que é bastante óbvio é o fato de que todas as casas são autoconstruídas. Deste modo, os moradores apropriam-se do seu 'direito à cidade' e afirmam o acesso a recursos da cidade como sendo cidadãos. Este forma de lidar por si é uma das maneiras mais fortes de demonstrar a sua resistência.

Por outro lado, as ideias de 'social bridging', essencial para 'ficar à frente', e que podem

abrir o caminho para alcançar outros tipos de capital ou direitos, são escassos dentro da favela. Enquanto que há uma ONG (Afro-Reggae) dentro da favela, que organiza discussões e fornece informação para os moradores, tentando torná-los conscientes dos seus direitos e capacidades de alcançar o mesmo que o resto da sociedade, parece que a maioria das pessoas têm ou vergonha de obter esse tipo de informação, ou simplesmente não estão interessados. No nosso ponto de vista, o alcance que esta ONG tem dentro da comunidade é limitada em comparação com as suas instalações e funcionários disponíveis. Depois de conversar com os nossos informantes, apercebemo-nos que muitas pessoas dentro da comunidade não estavam muito cientes dos seus direitos, muito menos o que significava cidadania. No entanto, ficou claro para nós que eles sabiam que tinham menos em comparação com o resto da sociedade.

Alguns esforços já foram feitos, por meio de empenhamento ativo, para mudar a situação dentro da comunidade, através de petições e protestos, e umas poucas pessoas se juntaram aos protestos massivos em 2013 e 2014. Contudo, nós nos apercebemos que os moradores preferem não mudar nada devido a três razões. Em primeiro lugar, há um medo de que, se falaram e demonstrarem a sua insatisfação, as coisas podem piorar. Em segundo lugar, para cada coisa pequena que eles querem mudar, têm que organizar um protesto ou assinar uma petição. Os moradores estão fartos disso, uma vez que as mudanças são na sua maioria temporários. Finalmente, as pessoas parecem preferir ignorar ou aceitar a situação como ela é porque eles acreditam que ninguém os vai escutar de qualquer maneira ou nenhuma alteração será feita. Este último ponto vai de acordo com o Oscar Lewis (1998:7) e a sua teoria sobre 'a cultura da pobreza'. Esta teoria explica que as pessoas acreditam que nada vai mudar devido aos seus sentimentos de marginalidade, desamparo e de não pertencer.

Em relação aos mega eventos esportivos, os morados de Parada de Lucas mostram as suas opiniões e emoções negative, mas, mais uma vez, nada é feito para mudar seja o que for, já que não os afeta diretamente. Isto porque não há despejos de habitação dentro da comunidade, já que a favela não está localizada num lugar estratégico relacionado a estes mega eventos esportivos. No entanto, eles sentem-se tristes por aqueles que são afetados e afirmam que o governo do Brasil está mais preocupado com a imagem do país do que com o bem-estar dos seus cidadãos. Os impactos negativos são "ignorados ou escondidos debaixo da mesa" (Hiller 1998:48).

Então, quais são os principais estratégias que os morados de Parada de Lucas utilizam para lidar com a exclusão social? Estes parecem ser a ventilação de emoções e aceitação. Conectando isto com McCrae e Costa (1986), aceitação existe durante a ausência de estratégias de empenhamento ativas. Os moradores sempre foram muito interessados em

expressar as suas opiniões, pontos de vista e emoções, no entanto, depois de analisar os dados, apercebemo-nos que pouco ou nada é feito para realmente mudar as suas circunstâncias. Assim, eles simplesmente se acomodam à situação e o meio ambiente em que se encontram. Isto, enquanto que se inclinam sobre as suas rede sociais para sobreviver. Contudo, pode-se reconhecer o fato de que as favelas são muito mais heterogêneas do que se pensava anteriormente. Com o crescimento econômico dos últimos anos, muitos moradores já se torDeboram parte da classe média baixa. Isso era óbvio quando vimos algumas casa com televisões enormes e a quantidade de carros dentro da comunidade, em contraste com as casas, como a da nossa vizinha Dona Clara, que tem apensar o essencial para viver dia a dia. Por isso, pode ser um desafio para alcançar a unidade para lutar para um determinado objetivo, uma vez que a luta não é homogênea, visto que as origens socioeconómicas variam imensamente.