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The Role of Culture in Social Displacement: AfroReggae in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

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THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN SOCIAL DISPLACEMENT:

AFROREGGAE IN THE FAVELAS OF RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the work of AfroReggae, a non-profit, social organization that works within the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Unlike the state policies of the Police Pacification Units (UPP) that have existed in the favelas since 2008, AfroReggae is targeting the main cause of the favela's problems: their social displacement. The favelas have been socially displaced from the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro through decades of inequality and persecution. These stigmas create lived experiences of prejudice for favela residents, pushing them to the marginalized borders of their favelas in the hills of Rio, a phenomenon that repeats itself across other urban centers of Brazil as well.

AfroReggae directly combats social displacement by creating bridges of discourse and active communication between favela communities and the city of Rio. They use and exhibit acts of Afro-Brazilian culture as a means to ensure their citizenship within this city, while simultaneously working with a wide range of networks and partners to create opportunities in the civil society for favela residents.

The methodology of AfroReggae is effective in the favela because of their organic relationship to the communities they are working within. They also embody multiple characteristics of cultural influence that favela residents consider to be important in individual and communal development. This type of bottom-up, social organization is powerful in the favelas because it works with cultural empowerment and existing social perceptions of favela residents to directly influence and better their lives. AfroReggae is de-narcotizing the favelas while providing citizenship, and should be better analyzed to understand how best to develop areas of social displacement in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil.

I argue that by combatting social displacement, AfroReggae is engaging in the most effective methodology to improve the development of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. AfroReggae shows the relevance that local culture has in regards to creating public policy concerning development. In areas of social dislocation, policies have proven to be ineffective if made by institutional actors that do not understand the importance local culture. Top down policies, such as those of the Military Police and the UPPs perpetuate the cycle of social displacement and do not efficiently promote development in favela communities.

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INTRODUCTION

The city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil has become victim to a powerful social division within the society. The favelas that hold 22% of the city's population have been socially displaced for decades causing physical boundaries to restrict them from the city of Rio. Subsequently, favela residents now live under negative social stigmas that restricts them socially and economically from the opportunities provided to other citizens. This social displacement is the driving force behind the proliferation of social inequality concerning violence, poverty and the drug trade.

Areas of social displacement present unique situations pertaining to the effectiveness that different institutions can have when creating public policy. This research looks at understanding how AfroReggae, a Brazilian social organization, presents a novel way to combat social dislocation and foster effective development in the favelas. AfroReggae proves that culture is an effective tool to secure citizenship and promote positive self-identity in these communities. Unlike the current Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP) policing strategies in the favelas, and other policies that have come before that, AfroReggae shows that understanding local culture is important to creating policies in socially displaced locations. This research builds off of the fieldwork done by the London School of Economics in the favelas of Rio regarding the presence of marginalized societies that are forced to become invisible through displacement. It adds to it by enhancing the understanding of why AfroReggae is so effective in the favelas by providing the connections between the organization and the "anchors of life" that exist in

the favelas. It also contributes analysis regarding the effectiveness of local culture in aiding policy decisions and how this can disadvantage agents of the state.

As a country, Brazil has suffered from the lack of effective institutional planning, political corruption, and the absence of social structures in their transition from rural to urban modernity, resulting in marginalization and eventually social displacement. This has become the top social problem that has interrupted the nation's transition into a regional power. Brazil, also known as one of the BRIC[1] countries, has been one of the fastest growing economies in the world. The country currently has the seventh largest economy and the largest in Latin America (Taborda, 2013). During this time, Brazil has been going through a process of modernization in an attempt to create a definitive name for itself in the international economy. Under President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the country created and implemented a more proactive foreign policy to be able to assert themselves in areas outside of South America and show their capacity to negotiate with other developed nations. Brazil will be the home of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and Rio de Janeiro has been selected as the host city of the 2016 Olympic Games. These three years will put Brazil in the international spotlight and create an opportunity to show to the world that they are a nation that can play the role of a middle power. As a country trying to validate their modern presence, taking care of the decades of inequality that has affected large portions of the population has become a first priority. This inequality is readily seen in the favelas that fill cities such as Rio de Janeiro. These favela communities will pose a concern regarding the modernity of Brazil, because they are the visual confirmation of the decades of inequality that the city and state have ignored.

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[1] BRIC is a grouping acronym that refers to the countries of Brazil, Russia, India and China, which are all deemed to be at a similar stage of newly advanced economic development. It is typically rendered as "the BRICs" or "the BRIC countries" or "the BRIC economies" or alternatively as the "Big Four".

Ultimately, the objective is to reduce social inequality thus bringing an end to communities that suffer the consequences that the favelas do. Nevertheless this objective seems unlikely considering that social and economic inequality continue to grow in urban centers across Brazil.

This thesis explains the history and present context of the favela situation in Rio de Janeiro, with a close look into the role of the state government of Rio and the drug trade within the favelas. The two main roles taken up by the state government have been in terms of urbanization and security policies. Both roles have been inadequate and until the implementation of the UPP's, have been essentially ineffective. Yet, these two institutions have created and acted upon decades of stigmas and stereotypes that have facilitated the creation of boundaries for favela residents that have kept them marginalized in their favela communities. The marginalization has resulted in huge areas of inequality that have displaced favelas from the rest of the city of Rio. This displacement has created communities where favela residents have unique social and cultural perceptions that concern different aspects of their lives. These are assessed in chapter two as a way to understand how favela residents interpret their world in an effort to show that they are unique and have existing areas of influence in their lives that provide faith and hope.

Once there is an understanding of the history and present context of both the favelas and the residents whom live in the communities, AfroReggae is then presented in chapter three. There is history of their development to understand that this organization is organic to the favelas and is currently well known both nationally in Brazil and

internationally. Their methodology is discussed and an analysis of their characteristics shows how and why this organization has become so successful.

The research concludes by indicating that AfroReggae is proven to not fit the molds of other Brazilian NGO's or grass-root organizations similar to them, which provides insight to understanding the scope and capacity for bottom-up organizations. AfroReggae has the ability to combat the root of social and development problems in the favela communities, and should be acknowledged, analyzed and better understood to facilitate more effective policies for areas of social displacement in Rio de Janeiro and the country of Brazil.

Chapter 1: History and Present Context

"Cidade Partida" The Broken City

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil is one of the most naturally beautiful cities in the entire world. It boasts one of the seven natural wonders of the world- The Rio Bay, and one of the seven man-made wonders of the world- The Christ the Redeemer monument that sits high above, overseeing the inhabitants of this wonderful, yet broken city. Amongst the raw natural beauty and culture lies a stark amount of poverty, inequality and violence. The human experiences occurring in its neighborhoods are filled with suffering and displacement. The postcard images of Copacabana and Ipanema only stretch so far off the asphalt, as you look into the hills of Rio you can see where the opportunities end and the violence begins.

The notion of being a broken city, or a *cidade partida*, was proposed in 1994 by Ventura[2] and it sincerely captures the complexity of the segregation that has come to define Rio de Janeiro. The segregation is most accurately captured when looking into the social and economic divides within the city that draw boundaries between the favelas and the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The definition of a favela gives insight into how external sources view these communities and provides context when looking at the severe inequalities that have been prevalent there since their beginning. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), an agent of the Brazilian state, has defined favelas as "subnormal urban agglomerates, irregular settlements in areas considered inappropriate for urbanization", such as the steep hillsides of Rio de Janeiro. This definition that was used in their 2010 census, gives a negative connotation of favelas by claiming they are

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[2] Zuenir Ventura is a Brazilian journalist and writer, most famous for his book about the social and economic gap within the city of Rio de Janeiro published in 1994, "Cidade Partida".

"irregular" communities in areas that are deemed "inappropriate" by the government. This representation is carried on through discourse in English that has equated favelas with definitive terms such as a "slum", "shantytown" or "ghetto". This terminology adequately disassociates favela communities from the formal, urbanized, beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro and that is the beginning of the problem for *favelados*[3]. Defining a favela is particularly difficult because of how drastically they have changed over the years. Historian Bryan McCann asserts that the only thing in common with the same favela that existed 30 years ago, "is the continuing discrimination against its residents" (McCann, 2014). To understand the present context of the favelas that exist in Rio de Janeiro, there needs to be an analysis and description of their evolution overtime. Favelados live lives filled with inequality that has arisen from the social displacement created by the boundaries constructed through two opposing institutions. These two institutions have shaped perceptions, stigmas, and realities regarding the lives of favela communities and residents from the beginning of the first favela settlement in 1897. These institutions are: the state of Rio de Janeiro, in terms of urbanization and security policies, and the drug trade.

The State in the Favela: Failures in housing policy and urbanization

"Morro da Favela" (favela hill) was the name of the first settled favela community in Rio de Janeiro in 1897. It was formed after veterans of the Canudos war traveled to the- then capital- Rio de Janeiro, in hopes of acquiring the land they were promised by the government (Williamson, 2012). After arriving and finding that the land

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[3] *Favelado* is a Portuguese term for residents who live in the favelas.

they were promised was not available to them, they moved to a hillside and settled there. Eventually the name was changed to Morro da Providência, Rio's premier and most historic favela. Following this settlement, all other settlements in Rio that did not occur formally, became known as favelas. During this earlier period favelas existed almost completely without urban services (Arias, 2006). From the beginning, favelas were described in terms of what they lacked in comparison to the city, and their residents were judged and criminalized. A set of reports from the early twentieth century noted that "most houses on the Morro da Providência were built of wood with zinc roofs", and accused the "vagabundos e crominosos (vagrants and criminals) who lived there of being completely without gas service (Arias, 2006, p.22). Although these perceptions were held by city inhabitants, migrants to the city would have little choice in the matter if they came to the city looking for land in the 1930's.

Beginning in the 1930's, Brazil underwent an industrial period which led to unprecedented rapid urbanization. A migration began from the northern rural states to the industrialized southern cities of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in particular (Lacy, 2010). During this urbanization, multiple problems became apparent for Rio de Janeiro. Housing shortages escalated very quickly and there was an increasing population of migrants who could not afford city life after their arrival. The city of Rio de Janeiro became the breeding ground for a rapid spread of diseases such as plague, cholera and yellow fever. Mayor Pereira Passos wanted to evacuate the central city as much as possible and decided to restrict construction in the central areas of Rio, while still allowing construction on the hills. This policy acted, therefore, as a type of official incentive for the poor to migrate to hills of the city (Vas, 1994). Favelas became the

city's answer to questions of disease and housing shortages until the government stepped in just a few years later.

Ironically, just years after the beginning of this urbanization, the 1937 building code referred to favelas as "aberrations". The government refused to list them on city maps, and slated them for removal (Arias, 2006). Early 1940s mayor Henrique Dodsworth called them a threat to public health and as the official government response, removed the people living there to "proletariat parks." In these parks, residents were given identity cards and had to check in with guards before gates closed at 10pm each night. These parks were comprised of around 4,000 people (Osborn, 2012). This continued in the form of *conjutos*- which were public housing projects that were constructed on the periphery of the city and used for areas of relocation of favela residents. These housing projects differed in quality and composition, some being so high-quality that the residents could not afford rent or services which forced them to move yet again. Others deteriorated over time and became subject to the same type of demographics and statistics that the rest of the favelas were victim of- one of the most famous being the City of God[4].

Beginning in the 1960's this policy of removal was taken to an extreme under the dictatorship of Brazil. In 1968, the federal government created the Coordination Agency for Habitation in the Social Interest of the Greater Rio Metopolitan Area, (CHISAM) that "defined favelas as abnormal within the urban environment and considered removal of favela housing essential to the full integration of residents of these communities into the social and political life of the city" (Arias, 2006, p.25). During the most repressive years

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[4] Name of the iconic Brazilian film that presented the lives of the youth who lived in this housing project and how they operated their lives within the drug trade.

of the military dictatorship, 1968-1975, the government forcibly removed 70 favelas and 100,000 residents to other parts of the city (Arias, 2006).

In the late 1970's Brazil began to open up politically and the removal policy gave way to a very different approach that would seek to formalize and urbanize the favelas in the city (Melo, 2011). Leonel Brizola became the next governor of Rio de Janeiro on a pro-urban poor platform and oversaw the launch of the municipal *Projeto Mutirão* program which completed urbanization projects on 17 favelas (Osborn, 2012). Once the government turned back to democracy in 1985, favelados became one fourth of Rio's voting population and the pressure to promote urbanization programs continued. Larger programs known as *Favela-Bairro* and the *Programas de Aceleração de Crescimento*, (Growth Accelerated Programs) or PACs were implemented during this time period (Osborn, 2012).

The two phases of the Favela-Bairro program took place from 1994-2008. They were considered a leap forward by the government on behalf of the favelas, but they fell short because of the lack of efficient materials that were being used and the level of work that was being done[5]. Even after the urbanization of 168 sites within favelas across Rio, there were no immense or adequate improvements within the communities regarding social or economic factors of health or employment. Funding for projects in 2005 were slow moving and some lost momentum completely (Perlman, 2010). When the PACs were implemented in 2007, they faced the same issues of minimal quality of materials and lack of urgency of timelines, which lead to a great deal of backlogged projects (Osborn, 2012). Although these programs seemed to have good governmental intentions,

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[5] Reports show that wood was used over steel or concrete whenever possible, which proved to deteriorate rapidly over time. There were no construction codes that were implemented, nor were there any real construction designs, it was more of a patchwork development that was inadequate and relatively unsafe.

they seemed to again, lack urgency and efficiency needed to be successful in promoting communal and social development.

Once Brazil became the host of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and Rio the host city of the 2016 Olympic Games, state officials knew they would have to continually convince the Olympic Committee that they would be able to provide adequate safety to athletes and spectators from around the world. A large concern of the committee was the safety concern and negative perception of the favela communities throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro (Glenny, 2012). *Morar Carioca*[6] was part of a bold announcement made in 2010 by Rio Mayor Edward Paes who stated that as part of the "social legacy of the 2016 Olympic Games" all of the favelas in Rio would be upgraded by 2020 (Phillips, 2010). This new project would build off of the ones that came before it, learning from their failures and implementing their successes. The state would be allocating it a budget of R$8 billion[7] and issued a list of 815 favelas that could expect to see their communities upgraded. Morar Carioca guarantees the right to "the participation of organized society…in all stages, through assemblies and meetings in the communities" and through the "presentation of works and debates open to the participation of civil society and citizens" (Garamond, 2012).

On paper it is an exciting opportunity for Rio to promote the favelas through a proper handling of urbanization and community ownership. Yet, what has actually happened has been more similar to all of the urbanization projects that came before it. Morar Carioca- as it is written on paper- has barely been implemented at all. What the government has been doing is using the Morar Carioca name to describe work going on

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[6] *Morar Carioca* is roughly translated into "Living Rio" or "To Live Rio"
[7] Roughly 35 billion US dollars

currently that was left over from the PAC years ago. In areas that have seen some renovation there has risen a more pressing issue. Once houses and communities have been renovated, they have not been zoned properly as "ZEIS—areas recognized and maintained as affordable housing" (Osborn, 2012). Consequently this has led to gentrification of favela residents and in some cases a large amount of them. For example, in the Complexo de Alemão, one of the first favelas to receive PAC upgrades and urbanization, the rent rose over 300% leading to the displacement of 416 families who could no longer afford their houses (Osborn, 2012). Unfortunately it seems as though this incredible, exciting promise has turned into another source of displacement of favela residents. The city of Rio de Janeiro has also had a huge impact on the lives of favelados through their security and policing policies.

The State in the Favela: From the criminalization of the poor to the creation of the UPPs

As the government was pouring billions of dollars into investing in urban development, they were also cracking down on security issues within the favelas. Yet, to understand the complex relationship between the favelados and the Pacification Units that are currently at work, there needs to be discourse regarding the history of the military and police in Brazil. Through this historic context it is easy to interpret how favela residents have viewed the police and the state up until the first UPP in 2008 and how this has impacted the success of this hard hitting policy.

Even before the favela phenomenon of the 19th century, the military police have always been seen and used as a way to control the lower classes of Brazilian society. Penal policies were based on the 'criminalization of poverty' in which there was a long

list of minor offences that were punishable by prison that targeted the poor (Ashcroft, 2014). Brazil was the last country in Latin America to abolish slavery, in 1888, with four times the number of slaves as the United States, making it a country where the poor have felt the effects of discrimination profoundly since its very beginning. Over the years, Brazil has adopted a no tolerance policy in which they have given almost complete control of their society to their policing system. In 1990, Brazilian prisons held around 90,000 prisoners; by the year 2010 there were almost 550,000 people incarcerated, a growth of almost 600% which has resulted in Brazil becoming the 4th largest incarcerator in the world (Ashcroft, 2014). Half of these people are still waiting for their trial or verdict, while the other half is incarcerated because of a non-violent crime. Of these prisoners, the large majority are poor and uneducated: 5.5% are illiterate, 13% only have primary education and 46% have incomplete high school education (Ashcroft, 2014). The poor have always been the "dangerous class" within Brazilian society, and the policing systems and officers were educated and influenced under this cultural stigma that is clearly shown through the context above. With this stigma already in place, things worsened for the poor during the military dictatorship of Brazil that lasted from 1964 to 1985. It was this period of Brazilian history that the police grew into a militaristic regime. It became their role to take care of the internal enemies against the military dictator. The military police became the face of the dictatorship and were engineered to protect the elite class within Brazil from the poor and disenfranchised. Under this government, favelas were forcibly demolished, one was even "accidentally set on fire" (Perlman, 1967). The military forces were able to exude the amount of force they saw necessary without any worry regarding impunity.

Protecting or defending the public were notions that did not exist as they concentrated their police training on national security, anti-guerilla and riot control tactics (Ashcroft, 2014). After the dictator fell in 1985, the hope that the violence would diminish along with him disappeared as both murder and homicide grew sharply in the following 25 years. But this violence was more specific and it was confined to the new relations between the state and the favelas that began in the 80's and has been existent ever since. With absolute minimal state presence or security in the favelas at this time, organized gangs within the favelas were beginning to realize the huge amounts of money that could come from the drug trade. Brazil and more specifically, Rio de Janeiro was picked by the Colombian cartels and the Italian-American Mafia as a route of the cocaine traffic and turned out to be a new consumer market for the drug (Zaluar, 2002). Drug dealers began taking over favelas within Rio de Janeiro, accessing the control of public services and gaining political presence over the residents. The drug trade will be discussed more thoroughly in the next subchapter but it is an important context for the police force because this correlation between favelados and drug dealers created an intrinsic link between favelas and criminality that was initially promoted by the state through the implementation of violent security policies.

This link filtered into the social construction of Rio de Janeiro and helped in separating the city into two different spaces: the favela and the asphalt. In the eye of the public, the drug war should be taken care of where the criminals live- in the favelas. While only 2% of favela residents were actually participating in criminal activity, this social stigma allowed residents of the asphalt to feel more at ease knowing that the police were adopting a 'by any means necessary' approach (Jovchelovitch, 2013). With this

social groundwork existent, the violent incursions into the favelas began mostly by the branch of the BOPE (*Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais)* or the Special Police Operations Battalion. In 2007, Human Rights Watch reported that the violence within Rio's Military Police had reached an all-time high. Rio's forces killed 1,330 people, the large majority of these in the poorest parts of the city. All these deaths were registered as *autos de resistência,* the term used to describe a confrontation whereby the police responded in self-defense. However, HRW discovered that many of these cases were inconsistent with acts of self-defense: bullets in the back of the head, multiple (in one case 32) gunshot wounds (Ashcroft, 2014).

Favelados have come to refer to the BOPE as "The Big Skull", which can be seen in Appendix E[8]. The state has become a skull that allows its military to bring fear and intimidation into these communities through violent raids. Each raid ending with death, as well as the police leaving the communities again for the asphalt- a clear indication that favelas are a space completely excluded from the city (Ashcroft, 2014).

It is not hard to imagine how favela residents and communities have come to portray the police and the state within their lives. It makes sense that their relationship would be hostile and untrustworthy. The military regime had transformed the police in Rio de Janeiro into a military faction where human rights were all but disregarded, and the BOPE became part of a huge security problem within the city.

All of this military history and social stigma of criminalization was about to be challenged by the creation of the Police Pacification Units in 2008, who would look towards a change in the representation of state and security in the favelas of Brazil. The

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[8] See Appendix E*:* Official Badge of the Special Police Operations Battalion. The badge consists of two pistols and a knife underneath a skull.

Police Pacification Units (UPP) were designed and headed by Rio state secretary of public safety, Jose Mariano Beltrame in hope that these units would be able to "pacify" communities that were under the control of drug gangs. Beltrame is a refreshing public figure among Rio security officials as he has himself stated that: "Everybody in Rio knew- every taxi driver, every senator, every sociologist and every journalist. They all knew that Rio was a divided city. But for 40 years, nobody did a single thing about it" (Glenny, 2011). He understands that the favelas have been discriminated against by both the state and the police force up until now. He has argued that the favelas "were islands from which the state had just decided to absent itself. Their residents were forgotten and ignored, left stewing in a toxic juice of extreme poverty, domestic violence and the omnipotence of drug cartels or their vigilante alter-egos, the militias" (2011). His answer to this solution is comprised of two strategic policies: UPP Policing and UPP Social.

The first stage was implemented in the favela of Santa Marta in 2008 and involved a primary violent invasion of the favela in which UPP forces attempted to remove drug lords and firepower from the community. This was followed by the establishment of a large civilian police presence to remain inside the community for the very first time in history (Glenny, 2012). The aim is to build a new and positive relationship with favelas and, at the same time, to reclaim state control and expel drug bosses from these areas. Since 2008, the police have seen the pacification of 38 favelas across the city where the police have displaced the drug trade and have established a community policing presence (Goulart, 2013). But there is a flip side to this success within the favelas. Although the gangs have been displaced as a formal authority, they are still present within most of the favelas or have moved from one to another as the

pacification has continued. The degree of order that the gang bosses kept over crimes such as robbery and rape is gone, which has led to an increase in criminal activity that the UPP do not have the resources to control properly (Glenny, 2012). Similarly, there are now thousands of youth in the favelas who were involved in drug gangs that were used to making up to 5,000 reais a month, who are now unemployed or have menial low paying jobs. Again, the favela residents are being left in a complete state of abandonment from the promises their government has made them. There are still tensions among favelados and the UPPs because of the initial they used on the favelas. Some communities still feel that this is the face of the all intrusive skull, while others can see a change in the state for the better.

The second element of the UPP is the most important facet of this strategy- yet it has been left aside and not implemented at all. UPP Social is the second stage of the pacification program that Beltrame designed and it is responsible for ensuring the provision of all those services- education, health, sewage, and water- which the favelas have traditionally lacked (Daniels, 2010). Unfortunately the focus of the UPP has been on the pacification and has left residents in the favelas without a sense of order or any new chances for acquiring public services. There is little doubt that UPP Security has come a long way as far as the history of Rio policing, but UPP Social seems to be entirely out of Beltrame's control or sight. There has been no attempt to map the extent of the problem or to set targets of any kind concerning social services. Favela residents believe that if the government of Rio fails to deliver on these types of promises, then the UPP will have been in vain and eventually reach a tipping point where the community police reach their extensive limits and must leave.

These security and housing policies, show how the state of Rio de Janeiro, and subsequently, the government has been presented within the favela communities. The historical discourse provides reference needed to understand how favelados construct their interpretation of their marginality and how the state plays into it. Yet, there is one more element that has had an immense influence on creating favelado's perception of themselves and their state- the drug trade.

The Drug Trade in the Favela

The drug trade is arguably the most intrusive and constructive element that has shaped the lives of those within the favelas. For this reason an understanding of the development of the trafficking within Rio and the complexity of their relationship with the favelados is needed to understand the types of borders they create within the communities they operate within.

Drug trafficking in Brazil became a problem in the late 1970's and exacerbated itself within Rio de Janeiro very strongly into the 1990's (Melo, 2011). Partially as a result of geography and certain structural factors, Rio today is a hub for the retail and wholesale Latin American drug trade (Arias, 2006). Rio is the second largest port in Brazil, and the fourth largest in South America with a crucial tourist market that has aided in creating a major site of drug transshipment and, eventually, a large-scale consumer market for the drugs themselves. The city provided the perfect vacuum of state presence, where the drug traffickers were able to establish themselves and their gangs respectively. Rio drug traffickers organize "through loose, though sophisticated, institutional frameworks that make arrest and detection difficult but also help to co-opt

state and social actors who could undermine their activities" (Arias, 2006, p.31). The drug trade in each favela is controlled by a *dono* (owner) who then have appointed generals to control and manage day to day operations. Their structural hierarchy is strict and continues all the way down the chain of command. Above the favelas, the drug trade is structured in to four commandos, the Comand Vermelho (Red Command), the Comando Vermelho Jovem (Young Red Command) the Amigos dos Amigos (Friends of Friends), and the Terceiro Comando (Third Command) (Arias, 2006). The *donos* of the favelas can sometimes be imprisoned by these commandos and driven by the demands of the drug market in Rio and abroad. *Donos* get their drugs from *matutos*, whom are not associated with any comando and just service the narcotic economy indiscriminately. *Matutos* buy the drugs from wholesalers, who are believed to be connected to some of the most powerful aspects of Rio de Janeiro society (Arias, 2006). They have the financial means and resources to bring drugs in from international resources – such as cocaine from Bolivia, Peru and Colombia (Anderson, 2009). They also have the means to use Rio as a hub to transport these goods to northern countries such as the United States and Europe. Evidence has shown that the connections of these wholesalers might reach as far as the federal military or members of the Brazilian Congress (Arias, 2006).

This ability to use Rio and the favelas as a hub for the shipment and selling of narcotics transformed the lives of favela resident's permanently because it provided them with a career path with large a material incentive. Those who were once poor and powerless became rich and powerful almost overnight. The traffickers in the favela became associated with wealth, power, status, and women. It became increasingly difficult to avoid this lifestyle within the favelas with all of its immediate benefits and

over time it became increasingly more routine and common for favela youth. Many children enter the drug trade without really understanding that it is happening. They get involved with people who are in the gangs and begin to deliver messages inside the favela. At this point they become messengers on behalf of the comandos, what the drug dealers call aviõezinhos, "little messengers". This is the first level of hierarchy within the drug trade and once you are in and associated with one gang it becomes increasingly more difficult to escape. Drug trafficking generates an addiction similar to that of a drug user. The power, recognition, privileged information, hierarchy, rules, and fear of death are hard to give up (Soul Brasiliero, 2014).

Once these comandos established enough presence they began claiming favela territories as drug turf for their comandos. Within the favelas there was a complex political and legal pluralism that allowed for a different number of organizations to participate in constructing different aspects of favelado's lives (Arias, 2006). Each favela had a different structure but these organizations mostly consisted of NGOs, religious organizations, and favela community organizations, with little to no state security presence. Therefore the arrival of drug traffickers added another group to the plurality of political life in these communities, but this addition came with extensive resources that established their power and presence immediately.

The money from the drug trade created an extensive holding of firearms in the favelas that drug traffickers were not afraid to use or brandish as a threat. They established a hierarchy and set of rules that are feared and respected not just by those in the drug gangs but subsequently by the entirety of the favela. Still, they understand that they depend on the tolerance of favela residents for protection from the police and other

comandos and therefore try to conduct their management peacefully. The comandos enforced norms to solve and dispute common crimes such as robbery, theft or rape. They allowed favelados to come to them to plead their cases and they would then do what they deemed was "right", which usually involved physical punishment for a robber or death for a rapist. Also, the absence of the state left the drug gangs in charge of acquiring and distributing social services among the favela residents. Most of the time the acquisition was illegal or done by paying off corrupt police or politicians, but the gangs were able to keep their power in the favelas among the people by providing these benefits. They were also known for holding funk parties, a community party on their own drug turf that supported and promoted the lives of the drug leaders and their lifestyles.

Consequently, these drug gangs became the controllers of everyday life for the favela resident's and although they were able to provide some structure to these communities, they also were engaged in constant warfare with other drug comandos over drug turf and territories. The drug trade became synonymous with warfare as different factions would fight amongst each other for power over a specific area, for the monopoly of the drug trade or for authority over a territory (Zaluar, 2002). The favela residents have been left in communities where constant gun fighting and the power of the drug cartels have shaped their routines. The power of the gangs has completely limited the spatial mobility of the favelados. They are no longer allowed to leave and return to their homes freely or without reason nor consequence. The favelas have become closed spaces as the transit and access of the people to such areas is controlled by the criminal groups (Melo, 2011). Furthermore, these drug gangs have exacerbated the degree of marginality of these communities by limiting and preventing the access of the State into the favela territories.

The centrality of the drug trade is unequivocal. The huge demand for drugs in both the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and abroad has facilitated this growth of a hierarchical, narcotics based economy within the favelas that promotes material wealth and glory of drug traffickers. It has been provider, legislator and organizer of everyday life in the favela, offering a parallel system of behavioral codes as well as a 'career path' to the youth in the favela.

Along with the drug trade, the scarcity of representation and power of the state is another element that favelados have used to construct their perceptions and understandings. Both of these institutions have played crucial roles in creating boundaries for favela residents that have impacted their current contextual situation. These boundaries have created circumstances of marginalization and stark inequality that is apparent in the favela communities of Rio de Janeiro. The prevalence of the marginalization is important in giving influence to the stigmas that surround favela residents and communities. These stigmas create and perpetuate new instances of displacement and an ever growing inequality that is seen in these communities.

Inequality: the Present Context of Rio's Favelas

Currently, the 22% of Rio's population that live in favelas reaches a total of around 1 million people with a much higher percentage of population growth in the favelas than in the rest of the city of Rio (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Statistics of population growth taken from the state census in 1990, 2000, and 2010 show that the growth rate in the favelas has been and continues to be, higher than the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro[9]. The population growth is a result of a large favela population suffering from

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[9] See Appendix A: Rio de Janeiro Population Growth Rate 1990-2010, (IBGE)

minimal health and family planning education, coupled with a teenage pregnancy rate

that is five times higher than the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro (Dellamonica, 2011).

Despite the want or will of the country, favela populations are continually rising

and have begun to raise real questions concerning urban growth. UN projections indicate

that virtually all of the population growth in the world over the next 25 years will be in

the cities of the developing countries, meaning that the vast majority of this growth will

be in the favelas or equivalent informal communities. These subnormal agglomerations

currently account for 30-60% of the urban population in Asia, Africa and Latin America

(Perlman, 2007). In Rio de Janeiro, there are currently over 500 favelas spread

throughout the city that can expect to experience this type of continual growth.[10]

Therefore, over 1 million people in Rio de Janeiro are suffering the consequences

of what it means to live in a favela. Favela residents are not treated as "gente" (people)

outside of their communities. The stigma of living in a favela is more pernicious than that

of color, class or gender (Perlman, 2007). Even though they have been able to gain

considerable access to urban services and differing forms of education during the more

recent years, this has not affected their chances of employment or income. A recent

report done by the Brazilian think-tank, the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) compared

five of the low-income neighborhoods of Rio with its high income neighborhoods to try

to understand what factors were influencing the level of employment the residents

attained. The report found "that it is the variable 'favela' that explains more than half of

the differentials related to income per capita" (Neri, 2010). For example, the

unemployment rate in the favelas in 2000 was 12.3%, and 5.4% in the rest of Rio de

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[10] See Appendix B: Rio de Janeiro's favelas, 2010, created with information from the 2010 state census.
Favelas are depicted with the color red.

Janeiro. Favelado's are discriminated against economically, either by being refused employment or by not being paid similar wages as city residents for similar occupations (Jovchelovitch, 2013).

Similarly, numbers concerning death by homicide, poverty, and teenage pregnancy paint a picture where the discrepancy between the cities of Rio and the favelas of Rio could not be clearer (Jovchelovitch, 2013). The favelas have a large percentage of teenage pregnancy and illiteracy compared to the asphalt[11] neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro. Ipanema, Copacabana and the city of Rio de Janiero combine together to have a 5% prevalence of teenage pregnancy, while the City of God and Madureira both have a teenage pregnancy occurrence of 20% individually. Illiteracy is less of a problem in the favelas, but still is an extensive difference when comparing neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro[12]. These numbers are just a small portion of a more complex problem, but they provide the economic and political context of what life in a favela consists of.

Another important component that remains to be inseparable from favela life is the rate of violence that ensued along with the rapid urbanization. The Brazilian sociologist and former Rio security secretary Luiz Eduardo Soares traces a clear path between the process of urbanization and the explosion of urban violence in Brazil's southern metropolises. "In less than two decades [1960-1980] a country that had 70% of its population in rural areas, transferred itself, en masse, to the cities in a chaotic way and in extreme conditions of deprivation, exploitation and poverty," he writes. The result,

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[11] *Asphalt* is used to define the neighborhoods within the city Rio de Janeiro that are not physically located in the hills, like favelas. They are more affluent and located on the asphalt next to the beaches, for example: Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon are all considered asphalt neighborhoods.
[12] See Appendix C: Percentage of Teenage Pregnancy (15-19yrs) and Illiteracy in neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro

Soares continues, was "social, economic, political and cultural crisis" (Soares, 1991).

This evolution of violence which occurred during and after this urbanization can be seen

in the increase of homicides in Rio de Janeiro, in particular for their teenage population

and black population. In an interview, Professor Silvia Ramos, a Brazilian whose

expertise lies in human security and rights said:

> Brazil has the sixth larger index of homicides in the world for 19-24 year olds-
>
> 50,000 homicides per year. 50,000! In Rio alone, we are talking 7,000. The
>
> homicide rate is 26 per 100,000…Rio de Janeiro's state is 50 per 100,000, that is,
>
> twice as Brazil's; the index for young people in the city of Rio is 100 per
>
> 100,000…and my team calculated that if you are young and black living in a
>
> favela of Rio it is 400 per 100,000…Both in absolute and relative numbers the
>
> problem is big enough to be a national issue; but the distribution is so heavily
>
> concentrated that Brazil spent decades without responding, making it into
>
> something invisible. The problem went underground because the people dying all
>
> these years were black boys living in favelas (Jovchelovitch, 2013, p.44).

When you break down the homicide rate into race, it corroborates Ramos's

statement vehemently. Black Brazilians have accounted for more than half of the deaths

by homicide in 2002, 2005 and 2008.[13] Favelas are affected by these deaths more

prominently because they are where most African Brazilians live, favelados are 60%

black, while those who live on the asphalt are 63% not black (Inter Press Service, 2011).

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[13] See Appendix D: Homicides in Rio de Janeiro per 1000,000 separated by Color

It is evident through the data that inequality shapes the lives of favela residents. There are specific cultural and social dimensions that are constructing borders between favelas and the urban, middle and elite classes. The institution of internal and external borders circumscribes the experience of individuals and groups living both inside and outside these territories and these borders are created by a variety of elements within their lives. Two of the most prominent elements are the state of Rio de Janiero, represented by housing and security policies, and the all intrusive drug trade. These borders have been constructed through decades of policies and presence in the favelas. They have effected how favela residents view themselves and the lives that they lead. Favela residents have an important perspective of themselves and their lives that is imperative to analyze if individual, social, and community development is to take place in these communities.

Chapter 2: Social Perceptions and Understandings of Favelados

Within the favelas exists a social and cultural framework that is different than the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The favelas have been stigmatized for so long that it has influenced how favelados look and interpret the world they live in and subsequently how they look at themselves and their capacity for change. Policy makers, state officials, foreign NGO's, and other aspects of civil society have been defining favelas and their residents for decades. Yet, favelados see and define themselves very differently from the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Favela residents have a certain social and cultural perception of family life, violence, religion, leisure activities and the importance of the community. Their perceptions of the police and the drug trade are also crucial when trying to understand the best way to foster development in these communities. These

cultural dimensions have important relevance when considering how best to understand the people who live in these areas of social displacement, and how cultural and social perspectives can play an important role in advocating individual and communal development.

Family connection and fear of violence

One of the strongest social influences when considering life trajectories of favelados is the family. Although most family environments are considered to be unstable, the view that a loving family structure is needed to survive their environment is believed to be essential. The family is predominant in the lives of the favelados and is considered essential for positive life trajectories and experiences (Jovchelovitch , 2013). Similarly, according to a 2002 International Social Survey Program, 63 percent of Brazilians responded that people who did not have children, "lead empty lives" and the percentage increased as the level of education of the respondents decreased, suggesting that parenthood has a particularly high value in the lower classes of Brazil (Liza, 2011). In the favelas, a positive family structure is usually sustained through a strong female presence of either a mother or grandmother. These figures are the center of the family and create an environment that is separate and secure for their children. These mothers typically work and are the main source of income for their families. They are individuals who are likely to get involved with NGOs, try to secure some sort of education for their children, and are constantly looking to find support from their community or neighbors concerning childcare (Jovchelovitch, 2013). One female interviewee from the favela of Madureira explained her perception of her mother like this:

My mom…looked after us…my Mom took over the family, she worked so hard,

she taught us manners, educated us. She worked so hard, she was a clothes-

washer, she used to wash more than six baskets per day, washing, washing, my

vision was only work, she used to take us to school, cook, everything was good

and safe in my home, simple, humble, but so good…We were poor and humble,

but how can I explain this to you? Yes, we had the presence of a mother!

Directly related to their perception of family, is the fear of violence used against

them by both the drug traffickers and the police. The discussion of cross fire, stray

bullets, and the killing of friends and family is discussed normatively in everyday

conversation. This fear of violence is a huge social dimension of life for favelados.

Violence and firearms have become part of the experience of everyday life for these

residents and that demands a heavy emotional and cognitive toll. The fear and possibility

of familial loss to the crossfire is a concern within the favelas as the majority of residents

have been directly affected by violence and have had either a family member or a friend

involved with the drug comandos. While studying life in the favelas for over four

decades, Janice Perlman (2006) found that 60 percent of Rio's residents (up from 16

percent 35 years before) had come to consider violence and crime to be the worst aspect

of living in their city. This is not surprising given that 27 percent of her respondents

reported a homicide within their family. She believes this pervasive atmosphere of fear

has been the biggest change in the life of favelados that she studied between 1967 and

2006. A 29 year old male from Vigário Geral was reported saying:

> …My biggest fear, is my son to say: my father was…my father died in the drug
>
> trade, should I then…? Should I avenge my father's death? How I have seen

people doing just that! My biggest fear is that, to see my son dying

(Jovchelovitch, 2013).

This is an intense and ever-real feeling of fear that residents contribute to and participate in consistently. It has seeped into the framework of their daily lives, occurring frequently through discourse and experiences (Jovchelovitch, 2013). To combat this fear, some residents look to achieve support through their family structure, while others look towards religiosity and faith.

Religion and Faith

Brazil is an emphatically religious country. It is the largest Catholic country in the world, the home of spiritism, and has the largest community of practicing Pentecostals (Steele, 2011). This religiosity is carried over to the urban hubs of Brazil, and in particular, the city of Rio de Janeiro. Religion is an important facet in the lives of the favelados, as it stands as one thing that is not controlled by state presence or the capacity of the drug trade. Interestingly enough, the drug cartels respect the role of religion within the favelas, and are not bothered by religious services or churches (*Favela Rising*, 2005). If nothing else, the participation in religiosity shows that there is an aspect of the self that is both interested in and influenced by spirituality and faith.

The most prominent religions in the favelas are Evangelism and Catholicism and a good portion of favelados state that they have mixed religious beliefs (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Expressing mixed religious beliefs can be considered a normalcy within Brazilian culture as religious syncretism has existed in Brazil since slaves were brought over from Africa. Slaves that were brought to Northern Brazil would mask their African religions as Catholicism, disguising their deities under the names and pictures of Catholic Saints

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(Rossi, 2013). Since then, it has been relatively acceptable within Brazilian culture to describe your religion as mixed or be able to believe in God without devoting yourself to a specific faith or a Church. In the favela, Evangelist churches specifically have continually promoted an alternate route for youth who want to get away from the drug trade through religious observation and scholarship. And although the amount of favelados who declare they are religious is large, the socialization route through the churches is not as enticing or practical in comparison to what the drug trade offers the youth. It does not offer the "employment" that comes with entering the drug trade, nor does it provide any of the material luxuries that are plentiful in the lives of the drug dealers.

Religion in the favelas is enhanced by the strong belief in both a given destiny and that free will is given by God. In the interviews done by Underground Sociabilities, interviewees asserted their belief in the importance of free will more profoundly than that of a given destiny, claiming that they believed that they possessed the ability and capacity to make decisions for one's self and guide one's life. It is this belief in a given choice, of being the protagonist that opens the doors for the power of positive social action for these favelados. This type of cognitive capacity in the belief in oneself- even if it is not acted upon in everyday life, still allows the presence of hope and triggers positive constructive action, allowing their sense of self to live within the belief in their faith. This resource of their local favela culture carries the potential for individual, communal and social development (Jovchelovitch, 2013).

Leisure activities and the value of the Community

Favela dwellers are very social within the favela and enjoy interaction with one another. They have a strong historical connection with the festivity, music and the dance culture of Rio de Janeiro as the favelas are the original homes of both funk and samba. Better known as Baile Funk or *Caricoa Funk*[14] this type of hip hop based funk music originated in the favelas and became the genre of music at every street party in the neighborhood. It is filled with rhythmic drumming and emceeing, and since 2000 has been recognized as its own genre of music with its base in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro (Gonzalez, 2012). It has been globalized and spread through popular international demand, and now Carioca Funk has been composed and produced both in Europe and the United States.

Samba has similar favela roots, and is an old Brazilian style of dance that is said to have been brought over with the slaves from Africa. Samba has come to be a cultural stamp of Brazil and is showcased at Carnival and is common during street parties in the favelas. Carnival is considered to be very important to the favelados, and to support this event samba schools have been established throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro, including the favelas. These schools have come to represent the favela communities where they exist, and support a communal sense of belonging to their residents (Antebi, 2010).

Both of these cultural aspects of leisure have been impacted by the context of the favelas and have also provided outlets for conviviality that is expressed as being important to the self. These baile funk parties that are thrown in the favelas are

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[14] *Carioca* is a Portuguese word that refers to people who live in the city of Rio de Janeiro

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commonly thrown and funded by the leading drug comandos. They celebrate and promote the drug cartel lifestyle through this type of cultural connection that they have with their favelado communities. This has been one of the ways in which drug bosses have kept communal support from the favelados. As explained by one favela resident who enjoys emceeing at these types of events:

> Baile Funk is the music that is played at the dances put on by the drug gangs to sell drugs and make the favela residents happy (at least those who don't want to sleep!). It's hard to describe, but you know it when you hear it. The lyrics are very misogynistic. Like American rap, but worse (Antebi, 2010).

The lyrics have become recognized for revolving around violence, guns, and the drug lifestyle that is particular to the communities of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. These types of activities are important in experiencing and attaining social lives within the favelas. In Perlman's first work, *The Myth of Marginality* (1976) she emphatically states how socially established favela communities were and that kinship and community ties were important to the residents. When she interviewed favelados during her study and asked "where their best friends or favorite relatives lived", over half of the interviewees responded "within the same community" (1976, p.52). Two-thirds have daily or weekly social contact with these persons, all of her data pointing to the fact that the favela is a cohesive social complex where residents enjoy very valuable and well established kinship networks. This proved to be a community and culture based on sociability, with limited individualistic values and concepts.

Decades later, the results of the Underground Stabilities fieldwork[15] showed

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[15] The fieldwork that resulted in the book, Underground Sociabilities was conducted in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro in 2009-2011 by the London School of Economics and lead researcher Sandra Jovchelovitch.

similar results. Whereas leisure options were dependent on the favela location in relation to the city and the historical and present borders created by the comandos and the police, finding the time to enjoy oneself is central to favela life. Participants described "…an intense sociability inside favelas, which is expressed in the way people gather and come together to sing, dance or play football" (Jovchelovitch , 2013, p.52). Football is a particularly important outlet for favela youth who gather together to participate in street matches daily. It has become a large cultural component for favelas as they have become the birthplace of some of the largest Brazilian national soccer stars of all time, including Ronaldo, Zico (white Pele), Romario and Jairzinho (Seif, 2013). Many favela youth dream of becoming soccer stars and use this outlet as a source individual pride and hope.

Despite the differences that have affected favela life in the time between 1976 and 2012, the pleasure of sociability has not disappeared from favela life and it is still highly valued by favelados. These kinship and community ties within the favelas combined with the cultural significance of funk and samba are all expressed in the methodology of the AfroReggae Cultural Group[16]. They utilize all of these influential parts of favela life in an effort to create and support their own community through promoting these aspects of culture as positive for one's self.

Being of or from a particular favela has a different construct of value for those who are favelados. Although it is stigmatized and used as a marker of inequality, favelas mean something to the people who live there. Research over many years has shown that

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The research was done in coordination with partners in AfroReggae, CUFA, the Itau Social Foundation and Cultural Institute, and the UNESCO Office in Brazil. It focused on developing the understanding of the favela life world, favela organizations, and the view of elite external observers in the wider city.
[16] The Afro Reggae Culture Group or Grupo Cultural AfroReggae (GCAR) is a Brazilian non-profit organization that developed in the favelas as a way to move the youth of the favelas away from the drug trade

there is a strong social capital in the favelas for their residents (Perlman, 1976, 2010; Jovchelovitch, 2013). There is a sense of belonging within the favela communities that is driven not only by the people that live there but by a strong attachment to the physical place as well.

The Drug Trade and the State's Response

The drug trade is the central institutional organizer of everyday life for favelados. In regards to the important influence on the value of the community as a place for social stability and a space for leisure, Perlman states that the pervasive presence of the dealers has had devastating effects on community life. Compared with her first study done 30 years prior, there is considerably less "hanging out" in public space, less participation in community associations, and even less visiting among friends and relatives. Membership in every kind of organization, with the exception of churches, has declined drastically. Regardless of age, the internal space of the community is hardly ever used for leisure or recreation. The view and intense fear of violence that the drug comandos have brought to the favelas seem to be the main cause of this huge limitation in conviviality in the favelas. Residents are afraid to leave their houses and interestingly enough, find little to no comfort of a police presence as they associate them with the presence of violence as well. The residents are caught between the drug comandos and the police often in paradoxical situations where if they follow the rules of the drug trade, they are breaking the rules of the state, and if they follow the rules of the state they are very likely to put themselves and their family at risk of immediate danger or even death. It doesn't help that until the recent implementation of the UPPs, *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*s, (the Police Pacification Units) the police have been associated with the drug trade by a system

of bribes and corruption. Police often confiscate arms and drugs in one community and sell them in another (Perlman, 2011). They receive payoffs to turn a blind eye to drug sales to supplement their own meager wages, and they do not risk answering calls for help at night (Perlman, 2011). Favelados also directly associate the police, and the subsequently the state government as a force of persecution. They are a source of aggression and crime that homogenize favela residents until there is no distinction between a resident and a drug gang member. In August of 1993, military police swarmed into the favela Vigário Geral where they massacred 21 innocent favelados. The attack was called an "inadmissible act of revenge" by the Rio governor Leonel Brizola, for the death of 4 state police officers who were jumped by the drug command just days before. The violence the military police showed the favela residents was brutal. In one house they shot and killed 8 of the 10 adults inside. Turning to a neighborhood bar, they threw a stun grenade inside and then sprayed patrons with gunfire. Seven of eight men inside died, according to the survivor, who was wounded in the chest (Brooke, 1993). These types of experiences have shaped the perception that favela residents have of the police, and subsequently the state of Rio de Janeiro. This level of violence was lived and experienced by many favelas that have made it clear that these experiences will not be soon forgotten.

Since the beginning of the UPPs in 2008, there has been a division in thinking about the police, where the UPPs are separated into their own category within the perception of the favelados. This is because the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro have finally realized that policies that focus on confrontation and war simply are not effective in these communities. In the interviews done with Military and UPP commanders by

Jovchelovitch, there is a bold, new ideology that does not focus on the homogenizing of

the favelados and recognizes the mistakes that have been made in the past. They have

raised the salaries for the civilian police in Rio, implemented a new training program and

have hired younger officers who are less likely to be affected by the negative social

stigmas that ran rampant during the dictatorship of Brazil (Goulart, 2013). As one

community UPP commander stated in an interview with Jovchelovitch:

> The police of Rio had a history: favela people are all the same, nobody is good,
>
> they are a seed for evil. Yes, they will become a seed for evil if no one looks after
>
> that seed. It will be evil because they are in a medium where there is evil and
>
> because evil has nice looking women, has clothes, has gold, has power, evil is
>
> good. Now this is changing, this will change because there is another view
>
> coming in, there is no point in just criticizing them. My vision today I acquired
>
> here, I did not have it before...Today I see that in a community of 10,000, I will
>
> find perhaps some 80 who are no good...all others are workers, people I applaud
>
> because if I were in their condition I don't know if I would have been able to
>
> achieve what they have

There is a view that shows that the UPP are not interested in homogenizing these

communities anymore, but rather interested in asserting rights and protecting the

community. Still, although this seems to be apparent in all of the interviews that were

conducted with commanders within the Military Police and the UPPs, it is hard to say

how far down this optimism seeps. Especially when these views are juxtaposed with a

very clear uncertainty that is held by favela residents regarding the police. Regarding the perception the favelados have of the UPP, only around half of the participants portrayed them positively, and 21% referred to them negatively in their interview[17] (Jovchelovitch, 2012).

When looking at how the favelados think about the police in general, the perception is a lot more negative than hopeful. The four most common representations of the police that came out during the interview process of Underground Sociabilities were that of: violent, stereotyping, corrupt and untrustworthy, in that order (Jovchelovitch, 2012). There are parallels drawn between the police and the drug comandos that refer to the amount of violence they exude and the fear they inflict on favelados. These perceptions are constructed through lived individual experiences that these residents have endured. They are not popular opinions handed down, or a "word of mouth" that convinces people to feel a certain way. The police have caused real damage in the lives of countless people which still creates fear and rejection of the police within the favelas, regardless of if they are the civilian police of the UPPs or not. It would be difficult to say that the policing strategies of the UPP are not a positive change or have had any positive influence on these communities. That is relevant to where and how these pacifying units were implemented and how the favelados of that community had been affected by the police previous to the implementation. Yet it is unfair of the state to think that residents would be able to stand firmly behind these new policies after they have suffered decades of violence and fear from the police. The state is battling a social perception that has been ingrained in the favelas for decades through constant abuse and discrimination. Favelados have shown that they will not forget about their experiences with the police of Rio

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[17] See Appendix F: Representation of the UPPs by Favela Residents

anytime soon, which poses a major challenge in the overall effectiveness that the UPP policing strategy will have over time.

These social and cultural perceptions of the police carry over to how favelados view the state government. Favelados have recognized the Military police and the Civilian police as representative of the state government in their communities because policing policies have been the most intensive contact the state has made with the favelas (Ashcroft, 2014). Subsequently, favelados hold the government of Rio accountable for enforcing, promoting and allowing the violence to exist and continue in their lives. For these reasons, Rio is equated with the police and the social perception of both of these institutions becomes both negative and inseparable.

The Realization of the Physicality of Borders

Favela residents are aware of how they are portrayed throughout the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro. They are aware of the stigmas that represent them and the community that they live in and what that means for their individual lives. These are constructed through the historical and present borders and limitations created through the institutions of both the drug trade and the police. When they leave their favela community to enter the city of Rio, they experience the reality of what these institutions have done to constrict their lives physically. They have been marginalized by the state, which can be seen through both the neglect of favelado's human rights of security and protection, and the neglect of citizen rights through the complete absence of both public and social services. Favela residents have been marginalized by the drug trade, used and exploited as a source of labor and means of protection for their drug turf. Lastly, when favelados leave their communities, they experience prejudice by the citizens of the

asphalt, who perpetuate the cycle of marginalization on an individual, social and economic level. They are avoided in public places, stared at, and regarded by many residents of the city of Rio to be unworthy of their time, help, or employment (Glenny, 2012). A 28 year old male from Cantagalo describes his constant experience with this kind of prejudice:

> It happens all the time in the streets. We are walking in the street and a person sees us and moves away. They see us...they discriminate. We pass by, they hold their bags, they change the way, they think we will steal...this is horrible! Because people think that all blacks are thieves, that will do evil, will steal, will kill.

This type of prejudice becomes an individualized experience that negatively impacts self-identity, self-esteem and community pride. It also heavily impacts the economic lives of favelados as they are restricted from most employment in the formal city and are then not able to earn an acceptable living. The city of Rio de Janeiro offers many more resources than the favelas, in terms of opportunities for education, experience and employment. Yet, favela residents are constantly looked over or simply not considered as employable because of the communities that they live in. One 24 year old female from Vigário Geral experienced this discrimination in relation to finding employment in the city:

> Once I went to look for a job, and a woman said: here is the money for your ticket. Where do you live? And I said, Vigário Geral, so the woman goes: Vigário

Geral? You will not work here, you will not! And I asked, but why? And the

woman said: because you live in Vigário. And I said: but tell me the reason?! And

she said, people there are very angry...Many cannot get a job and sometimes do

not work because they live in Vigário.

This huge stigma concerning favela residents directly promotes favelado's

contribution in conceptualizing Rio as a divided city. They experience marginalization

from the state, the drug comandos and the inhabitants of Rio, which dislocates favelas

from the rest of the city and restricts them to adhere to the physical barriers of the formal

city and those of their favela communities in the hills. These residents have narratives

that are dominated by the experience of human pain, hardship, suffering and difficult

work. They are constantly struggling to stay on a positive path and live a positive life,

without giving into what favela residents call the threat and perils of the context

(Jovchelovitch, 2013). They understand the stigmas that are held against them and also

seem to fully grasp how these stigmas have formed over time and how influential they

are on the favela's environment and their individual lives.

Although this marginalization has negatively diminished the view of one's self in

the favelas, these are communities that still hold images of hope and joy. Areas of

positive influence, such as: family, religion, leisure time and community pride, have kept

hope alive in these communities by helping the individuals maintain a sense of positive

self-identity. These "anchors of the self" as Jovchelovitch describes them are key to

understanding the best way to help these residents escape their situation and better their

lives. The AfroReggae Cultural Group (GCAR) takes these elements a step further by

promoting each of them in a culturally positive light. GCAR has been able to do what few organizations of any kind have been able to do effectively before: Effectively diminish the root cause of the favelado's problems. The problems of violence, gang control, drugs, and unemployment are all underlying consequences of the major problem for favela residents. What needs to be eliminated is the social displacement and marginalization that was highlighted in this chapter. If residents of Rio de Janeiro were able to reconstruct the presence of borders that exist where the asphalt meets the hill, favelado's lives would be considerably better. AfroReggae has proven that it has an effective methodology in working with favela residents and changing the pre-conceived notions of those who live in the city. What they have done in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro should be acknowledged and analyzed to better understand how change can be propelled by the power of culture in areas of social displacement.

Chapter 3: The AfroReggae Cultural Group

AfroReggae: The beginning

Grupo Cultural AfroReggae or the AfroReggae Culture Group (GCAR) grew out of the violence and marginalization of Rio de Janeiro's favela Vigário Geral. In August of 1993, Vigário Geral was victim to a police massacre that saw 21 innocent favelados dead. The slaughter was an alleged revenge killing, arranged by the Military Police (MP) who stormed in and shot people indiscriminately (Yúdice, 1999). This was the event that sparked the emergence of AfroReggae. One of the victims murdered that day was the brother of Anderson Sa. Sa is one of the founders of AfroReggae who grew up in Vigário Geral himself. Similarly, current AfroReggae coordinator and co-founder, Jose Junior,

was a former participant in the drug trade of the favelas, and also a favelado. They experienced and lived within this violence their entire lives, until they began to do something about it.

AfroReggae is not easily defined, nor does it securely sit under one label. It is a non-governmental organization, but operates in a way unfamiliar to the scope of most NGO's. This organization combines elements from different sectors of civil society without losing its powerful social and cultural drive. GCAR "combines elements of NGOs, social movements, business and cultural entrepreneurs; they are agitators, artists, social workers and partners of the Brazilian state" (Jovchelovitch, 79). It would be detrimental to put them under a label that already exists, as they have shown a new and powerful way to empower and procure citizenship through culture. The have effectively implemented a local strategy to combat a local problem. The AfroReggae Cultural Group first and foremost, offers alternatives from crime and drugs to youths from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. What they have succeeded in doing since their creation in 1993 is extensive in the terms of eradicating social displacement in these favela communities. They are political actors as well, defining and determining new social agendas within the Brazilian political context. They use and promote Afro-Brazilian culture while working with favela residents, citizens of the city of Rio, and the state of Rio de Janeiro. They generate their own income to maintain themselves as financially independent from their sponsors and the government, but still engage with different markets and networks through the media and their personal connections. They are dynamic, effective, and receive praise from those who have begun to acknowledge their impressive success.

After the slaughter in Vigário Geral, Jose Junior, Anderson Sa and their friends decided to start a newspaper, which they called AfroReggae Noticias, "AfroReggae News". This paper was created with the intention to promote and disseminate black culture. It targeted young people who were interested in reggae, soul and hip hop music (Favela Rising, 2005). Junior says himself, "We were a bunch of people without education, unsuccessful in life, without experience, but very utopian. The newspaper had neither announcements nor advertising" (Rufin, Pinto, 2009). The newspaper began a community movement that called for an analysis of their current situation. The group promoted a demand for justice, and showed that there was a need to enhance citizenship values and access to social services. It took on the "task of demonstrating to the rest of the city that the people who live in shanty towns are honest; that we exist, that we can also be intellectual, that we can also produce culture" (Yudice, 1999; Columbo 1996).

Just one month after the slaughter, the AfroReggae Cultural Group opened its first Núcleo Comunitário de Cultura, a cultural community center in Vigário Geral. They began providing Afro-Brazilian dance, percussion, soccer and *capoeira* [18] workshops to the youth in the community. Without any real means of income or experience the first few weeks proved to be difficult for Afro Reggae. When asked about their beginnings, Junior's own words give light to the complex dynamics they were facing:

> We rehearsed in the street, borrowed instruments, everybody was a volunteer. I didn't know how to play, that is, I began to teach the guys things that I didn't know. We learned as we taught. There were shootings, police invasions, and gang members around us all the time. Until that point, the gangstas just stopped

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[14] *Capoiera* is a martial arts inspired dance that was brought over from African slaves who lived in the favelas of Brazil.

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shooting because we were rehearsing in the middle of the shootout, but the police

continued firing. At last, even the police held their fire because they saw us there.

That was the first time that the community cried with joy for freedom- when the

police noticed that something good was happening there (Junior, 2006).

These classes continued within the favela and started to gain eventual popularity

and communal prominence. In 1995, a band was formed by the leaders of AfroReggae

with Anderson Sa as the emcee. They performed throughout the favela at schools or other

community centers to promote their work (*Favela Rising*, 2005). Their concerts gradually

gained attendance and AfroReggae began to acquire legitimacy. The band grew and

performed reggae concerts throughout Vigário Geral and other favelas within Rio. The

band became the face of the AfroReggae Cultural Group and with their success; their

cultural centers and programs took off as well. In 1996 they opened another cultural

community center in the favela of Cantagalo Hill and in 1998 the band made its first

international tour, playing in France, Holland, England and Italy (Rufin; Pinto 2009). It

has since played in Carnegie Hall in New York City and recorded a CD under the label of

Universal Music (Gonzalez, 2014). AfroReggae has inspired international documentaries

including, *Favela Rising* which won "Best Feature" in 2005 from the International

Documentary Association (Zimbalist, 2005).

To maintain its nonprofit status as an NGO and to manage its income-producing

activities, AfroReggae created a parallel for-profit corporation, AfroReggae Produções

Artísticas (ARPA) that is now its own production company (Yúdice , 2000). In 2007,

GCAR created thirty percent of their budget from the commercial activities of the band

AfroReggae, while the rest came from charitable donations and sponsors (Rufin; Pinto 2009). They have been funded and received sponsorship from prominent Brazilian companies, as well as international organizations. The Ford Foundation, Santander Bank [19] and Brazilian Petrobas [20] are among the leading contributors that have made AfroReggae's activism a profitable business reflected in the organization's 5 million Reais headquarters and 20 million Reais [21] annual budget (Gonzalez, 2014). As of 2012, GCAR was taking part in over 75 projects and had around 6,000 members in the state of Rio de Janeiro (Gonzalez, 2014).

While these statistics showcase success, prominence and importance, they do not entail what AfroReggae was physically doing in the favelas of Rio, or how it was accomplished. AfroReggae was using the power and perpetuance of culture to earn their right as citizens of the formal city of Rio. This movement that started as a newspaper in the favelas began as a way to give the youth a different, positive route of socialization without a life in narcotics. What it grew into, was a way to combat the root cause of their present situation. AfroReggae became the organization that would eradicate the boundaries created through their social displacement.

AfroReggae eventually became a movement that would be able to effectively combat and diminish the social displacement of favela residents. Although this was not the intention of the group in the beginning, they understood what this displacement meant for themselves as well as their families and communities. With a firm understanding of

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[15] Formerly Sovereign bank, bought out by the Spanish Santander Group. It is one of the most prominent banks in Brazil (BN Americas, 2014).
[16] Brazilian Petrobas is the largest energy company in Latin America, one of the largest multinational companies in Brazil (Petrobas, 2014)
[17] A headquarters equal to 11 million US dollars, and an annual budget of 47 million US dollars

this imperative problem, AfroReggae aimed at both creating communities where favela

youth could find a more protagonist, positive, self-identity through culture, and at

eradicating the boundaries that spawned their social displacement through creating

crossings for favelados into public spheres of civil society. They propose new ways of

combatting social displacement and suggest a broadening of capacities and discourse for

NGOs or grassroots groups in similar situations.

AfroReggae and the Drug Trade

AfroReggae first established itself under the idea and promotion of creating

alternative lifestyles for youths who were involved in the drug trade. All of its social

activities first targeted favela youth as it openly challenged the socialization and

expansion of narcotic traffickers and their comandos in these communities. Growing up

in favelas enabled AfroReggae activists to have an inherent understanding of what

attracts youth to the drug trade, and as they succeeded in gaining popularity they made

sure that they addressed these concerns. Jose Junior explains some of the strategy behind

GCAR's ideas about what attracts youth to the lifestyle of narcotics:

> What interests these young men and women is precisely the glamour and the
>
> concepts of the drug culture. AfroReggae uses the same techniques that the drug
>
> dealers use to seduce them: to stop being invisible to society, the desire to belong
>
> to a structured group, to have status, self-esteem, and, not least, money. Today
>
> AfroReggae pays better than the *boca-de-fumo*[22] (Junior, 2006).

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[18] *Boca de fumo,* "mouth of smoke", is what favelados use to refer to meeting spots used by the drug gangs, or used as a synonym for the drug gangs themselves.

They empower the youth through the teaching of skills and empowerment of the mind that opens up their ability to realize their own self-worth and potential. Being a part of AfroReggae gives them recognition, status, a label to promote and participate within that shows society that they are not invisible and that they are worth something. At the same time, thanks to partnerships, networks and various sponsors, there are material incentives involved with joining AfroReggae. These material incentives are usually small grants, clothes and food that are distributed in various favelas by CGAR leaders and activists (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Clothes, in particular, promote a symbolic presence of wealth and status that many youth in the favela are attracted to. AfroReggae knows and understands this incentive that the drug trade holds and challenges it by creating and establishing partnerships to respond to this demand (Jovchelovitch, 2013). For example, their partnership with Nike is extremely helpful in destabilizing this material incentive control that the drug trade has over the youth. Nike is a sponsor of AfroReggae and regularly offers clothes and garments to the organization (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Similarly, this is the thought behind the organizations 5 million Reais headquarters in Vigário Geral. AfroReggae knows they are competing with the drug trade, and built something they could use to impress and show off to young people. They are attempting to attract and recruit favela youth earning, sometimes, fifty thousand Reais a week[23] (Gonzalez, 2012). These tools of material incentive are used wisely and methodologically to promote these aspects of GCAR in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

AfroReggae can offer favela youth everything that they can get from drug trafficking, and one thing more: the ability to live without constant fear. Favelados experience violence and loss of life frequently in their communities. It is not unlikely for

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[23] Roughly 27,000 US dollars a week

individuals to know someone, or be related to someone, who died as a victim of gun or gang violence in the favelas. This instills a large amount of fear in favelado's perception of violence, something that a career in the drug trade exacerbates completely. AfroReggae takes youth out of this situation by giving them the same empowerment and self-identity, through the power of a culture that is relevant and influential in the daily lives of these youth.

At first, Jose Junior and other AfroReggae activists were not afraid of becoming a target for the drug dealers because they felt as though their impact on the narcotics economy was fairly minimal (Junior, 2006). Junior says that drug dealers in Vigário Geral tolerated and even took a liking to GCAR because the group helped keep other members of the drug dealer's families, such as younger siblings, out of the drug business (2006). Drug dealers did not want to be role models to their own family members, and wanted a better life for those that they cared for. This toleration put AfroReggae in a unique spot in between the police and the drug trade. They began to intercede in the mediation of conflicts in Vigário Geral and other favelas. GCAR had an in-depth knowledge of the rules and systems created by drug trades in the favelas, and used this information to be an effective mediator for conflicting sides. In 2004, there were AfroReggae activists present at a conflict negotiation between police, community, and members of the drug gangs (Rufin, Pinto, 2009). These mediations proved to be successful; GCAR was even able to prevent bloodshed during an incident between two rival gangs in one of the favela communities. These types of negotiations continued for a while until a few years later when the drug trade realized that AfroReggae was working

with the police and state in aiding the pacification units that were dismantling drug bosses in the favelas.

Late 2013 saw a turning point between the drug trade and AfroReggae as they were attacked numerous times at different locations. They were specifically targeted in the Complexo do Alemão, one of the most dangerous and largest favela complexes in Rio de Janeiro, and the previous stronghold of the Red Command. GCAR participated in the pacification of this favela in 2010, helping Brazilian military officials and the state install the UPP. After the pacification was established, AfroReggae began to implement their workshops in the favela and were met with the most violence they had seen yet. July 2013, their headquarters in the Complexo do Alemão was burnt down by an arsonist shortly before it was said to open (Elliott, 2013). Jose Junior began receiving death threats from traffickers in the favela and they were forced to shut down their operations for a short time. In August, the GCAR headquarters in another favela close to the Complexo do Alemão was subjected to gunfire from assailants on motorcycles, an attack perpetrated by the drug trade (Elliott, 2013). These attacks and threats against Junior have inspired an outcry of support from prominent Brazilian names and companies who do not want to see AfroReggae's work stop in the favelas. AfroReggae has the police and multiple organizations from civil society behind them promoting their protection as they continue their work in these communities.

Even if AfroReggae has not put a large dent in the amount of gang members they have saved from the drug trade, it would be difficult to say that they have not had any impact. They currently have organizations in 5 favelas, (Vigário Geral, Parada de Lucas, Cantagalo, Cidade de Deus, and Complexo do Alemão) that have over 75 projects

underway that effect 2,000 youth daily and have 6,000 members in Rio de Janerio alone

(Gonzalez, 2012). In regards to the drug trade, they have influenced the way outsiders

correlate the criminality of the drug trade with the favela communities in Rio de Janeiro.

They have associated the favelas with culture and have undermined their criminal

identities. GCAR is actively and effectively de-narcotizing the favelas by showing the

city, the country and the world that drug dealers are a minority in these communities.

They use languages coming from theatre, music, cinema and dance to express ideas and

perspective of favela youth and seek to counteract dominant representations that

stereotype favelas as sites of criminality and failure (Jovchelovitch, 2013). This de-

narcotizing has had an effect as far as public awareness and support for the work that

GCAR does.

Methods and Presence in the Favelas: Life trajectories

The life stories of leaders and activists of AfroReggae are showcased as examples

and used as commodities to offer lessons, guidance, and role models that favela youth

have inherent relation to. This method of using life trajectories is the basis of all

conversation and projects implemented by AfroReggae (Jovchelovitch 2013). They use

the life stories of their leaders to exemplify how someone can be affected by one's

society, and how society and individual both combine to define an identity. These

trajectories "go around as resources that are told again and again as examples of survival

and determination, as warnings, as containers of hope and potential futures, as

alternatives to what is the case and guidance for choices and decision-making"

(Jovchelovitch, 2013, p.81). They are so effective because they reflect and express

situations that are lived daily by favela residents. There is an inherent understanding and connection between the stories of AfroReggae leaders and the residents of the favela. This relationship is something that cannot be broken, or deteriorated over time. AfroReggae is firmly rooted in the favela worldview because it was created within the favela by favelados who inherently understand the context of what these situations mean to favela residents. This organic nature of AfroReggae is perhaps the most influential and important characteristic of this organization. This characteristic is seen to be influential and of great importance from external observers as well, which can be verified through an interview with one of the largest sponsors of AfroReggae, the Ford Foundation:

> Why are there millions of projects working with youth in Brazil, loads, but these are different? What point of society they touch and make vibrate? This is the image I have of them; their leadership seeks to cross borders, cross limits, break segregation, their work does not stay in, they want to go out, and with a leadership that belongs there, this is the difference. It is not a leadership that comes from the middle classes and went to Vigário Geral or City of God. They are young, black, hardly have completed secondary education and they represent the place, they are the place (Ford Foundation, 2012) (Sponsor of AfroReggae).

This connection between AfroReggae and the favelas proves to be invaluable when trying to promote new ideas about self-identity through their stories. Within the life trajectories of AfroReggae leaders and activists, there are common descriptions of hard lives, the loss of loved ones, being close to death, even cases of attempted suicides. These

are leaders who know first-hand poverty, failure, and exclusion. These narratives continue until they transition into discussing how they were able to "stand up thanks to a positive encounter that provides intersubjective help and support, offering a positive model for relating to others" (Jovchelovitch, 2013, p. 82). These positive interactions through collective action come to mirror the support and help that AfroReggae provides to the activists. Within the life stories, these are the moments of discovery that spark the creation of a mindset that provides awareness of the self. Being aware of the self, wanting to protect the self, transforms the self into a valuable asset and creates a more protagonist emotional being.

Resilience is seen as a resource that is provided through this process of being able to actively cope with adversities (Jovchelovitch, 2012). AfroReggae exemplifies this resilience simply by existing. It is proof that individuals can defeat hardship, and even more importantly, not just any individuals, but those who share the psychological and social identity of belonging to favela communities. The stories are essential assets that provide AfroReggae with a methodological tool that inherently connects them with their target population

Methods and Presence in the Favelas: Classes and workshops

The projects constructed by AfroReggae show attention to the development of skills and development of the individual self with the intention of creating alternate routes of socialization and employability for its participants. It actively frames daily routines for favela residents, developing a sense of structure that Jovchelovitch has termed 'psychosocial support' (2012). Other than the set skill set, workshops teach favela

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residents different aspects of schooling such as focus, discipline, attention, self-value and self-expression. All workshops and projects are provided in the context of care and support, which is indicated in the response from a 17 year old female resident of the City of God:

> It helps me professionally, as it is something that further ahead I can use to find an occupation, no doubt. It helps me culturally because here I can get to know different things, go to events, to meet different people, things I would not have the opportunity if I was not here (Jovchelovitch, 2013).

Favela residents see AfroReggae as a central role in everyday life where they are able to participate in meaningful activities. They provide favela residents with "something to commit to, an opportunity to be responsible, to establish markers in the week and in the day so as to from everyday life" (Jovchelovitch, 2013, p.84). The classes and workshops are usually based around a skill or activity taken from Afro-Brazilian culture, which have included classes of capoeira, samba, percussion, emceeing, and other forms of dancing. The second community center in Cantagalo Hill trains teenagers in circus acts with subsequent help from its partnership with Cirque de Soleil (Rufin; Pinto 2009). They also have workshops in other areas of the arts such as graffiti and theatre. These have grown into classroom experiences that provide communal psychosocial support in which health care, family planning, recycling or community development are the main topics addressed or taught. These projects, classes and workshops run by AfroReggae are effective in attracting participants and support among favela residents

because this organization uses and embodies the areas of influence that exist within the social perceptions of the favela world view that were presented in chapter two.

Family Connection and Fear of Violence

In the discourse between participants of AfroReggae there is a huge correlation relating the organization to family roles or support systems. They are considered to be 'like a father' or 'like a mother' or, 'they are like family' (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Through the psychosocial support and connection that is made with favela residents, AfroReggae is able to act like a family through proxy, where they can provide familial support and structure that might be absent. A 20 year old male from Madureira stated:

> They are like a home, a family, as if they were a home. I get here, people know me, I am respected here. You see? I have to have responsibility here, as I would at home (Jovchelovitch, 2013).

AfroReggae acknowledges the importance of familial stability to favela residents and is able to provide this structure to its participants. This shows the recognition and connection to the cultural importance of family that exists in the favela.

AfroReggae also addresses the pervasive fear of family members becoming victims of violence. They openly express their belief that they are the youth's alternative to life in the drug trade. AfroReggae takes youth out of the violence surrounding drugs, which is a relief to every mother or family member in the favelas who long for a better life for their children. Even drug dealers are known for wanting a better life for their

siblings or children if somebody could give them that ability and hope (Junior, 2006).

This shows the huge social perception of the fear of violence against an individual's own

family. The favela world view of the importance of the family and the fear of violence

are both implemented in AfroReggae's methods inside the favelas. They protect, promote

and provide familial structure, while combatting the fear of violence in a way that

promotes culture and not firearms.

Religion and Faith

The founders of AfroReggae, particularly Anderson Sa and Jose Junior discuss

the organization's beginning being called the 'Shiva effect" (*Favela Rising*, 2005). Shiva

is the Hindu goddess who achieves transformation and creation out of chaos and

destruction (Eller, 2011). Also known as the Destroyer and the Transformer, the deity

exemplifies both the destruction of favela communities and the redemptive creation that

inspired the movement that is now AfroReggae (Zimbalist, 2005). AfroReggae is the

embodiment of this religious faith as both Sa and Junior believe that their organization is

a life-affirming movement that brings hope and renewal directly out of the chaos and

destruction of the favelas. This intense connection with spirituality and religion provides

an element of faith in the life trajectories of the leaders and activists of Afro Reggae.

They not only believe in the cultural and individual stimulation of the organization, but

also believe that AfroReggae provides an enhancement of spirituality, that is seen below

in an interview with an AfroReggae leader:

We have this aspect. It's an aspect…spiritual aspect. But it is spiritual without

being a religious movement. It is Shiva and it is Ogum, you see? It's Ala. It's Our

Lady of Fatima. It's Jesus. It's a mixture. It's a mixture…They're cultural influences from many beliefs. It is a thing a bit…because when you are in AfroReggae, people end up having an enhanced spirituality without necessarily having a belief (AfroReggae leader, 2013).

AfroReggae provides the support and spiritual faith that many favela residents have always considered to be a hugely important area of influence in their lives. This influence has been especially important when looking at favelado's belief in the ability to create their own destiny. This spirituality exuded through AfroReggae allows an enhancement of religiosity to appear next to forms of psychosocial support that enable a more protagonist way of viewing their own self-identity and life.

Leisure Activities and the Value of the Community

AfroReggae has created community centers where leisure activities, workshops and classes can all take place. Friends and families can safely convene there, socialize, watch their children perform and actively take part in their community in these centers. AfroReggae promotes conviviality and positive socialization within the favelas. Providing free concerts throughout the favela, encouraging the participation of percussion, dance, and music are all ways that AfroReggae claims back the territory of its neighborhoods from both the police and narco traffickers (Yúdice , 1999). Having AfroReggae present in a favela means that there is less control of physical space by the drug comandos and the police, giving favela residents more autonomy and control over their socialization and leisure activities.

The organic nature of AfroReggae makes it directly connected to the value and positive perception of the community. GCAR leaders were always careful to take care of the relationship with the favela communities as a whole, always working with approval from community leaders (Rufin, Pinto, 2009). They would not work in favelas outside of Vigário Geral without discussing priorities and capacities of the specific favela community with its leaders and activists first. AfroReggae possessed this inherent understanding that every favela is unique and a uniform policy or workshop would not work effectively across community borders.

The value of the favela community is a strong, powerful characteristic of AfroReggae that can be seen in the lyrics of its songs and music. Specifically, the favela Vigário Geral, the birthplace of AfroReggae, is the source of inspiration for countless lyrical references in the music of the band AfroReggae. They are constantly promoting the value and image of the favelas and the residents within them. In the song "Som de V.G" (Sound of Vigário Geral), the struggle of presenting this new image or 'new face' of the favela to the rest of society is identified:

E através da música e da cultura

está aqui mais um movimento

que luta em prol da paz, pode crê

Pow, pow, pow, pow

tai o meu racado, o recado de Vigário

(Through music and culture

this is more than a movement

that struggles for peace, believe it

bang, bang, bang, bang

that's my message, message from Vigário Geral)

Even here, the presentation of the favela and the message of peace from Vigário Geral are being shown "through music culture". AfroReggae believes that music, "as the practice that best characterizes fusion or sampling, could serve as the platform which favela youths would be able to dialogue with their own community and the rest of society" (Yúdice, 1999, p.56).

Even if AfroReggae is able to provide favela residents with the appropriate means of employability and self-identity, it will prove insufficient if they are restricted to the physical borders of favela communities. Favelados are socially displaced from the city because of the stigmas that have marginalized their communities for decades. Being aware of these problems of marginalization, AfroReggae began to promote a positive favela culture outside of the favela communities. They used their music and sociability to promote positive favela representation in the state of Rio de Janeiro, effectively fighting the stigmas that create their social displacement.

Methods and Presence Outside of the Favelas

AfroReggae began to have success with the popularity of its band in the late 90's. They used this growing popularity as a way to integrate themselves into the civil society of the city and state of Rio de Janeiro. They reached out and formed a dense working of connections with anyone and everyone who was willing to listen, participate or help.

Other local and international NGOs, human rights organizations, politicians, newspaper reporters, writers, academics, and entertainment celebrities is where coordinator Jose Junior started creating their support networks (Yúdice, 2000). As it expanded, there was a clear prioritization to develop its communication programs in an attempt to keep this networking functional and effective. They currently network with people through newspapers, TV shows, e-mail, a community radio program in Vila da Penha[24], and their own internet web page (Yúdice, 2000).

These connections and networks were created by opening public spheres through music and cultural performances of AfroReggae. To counter the stereotypes that they face, they use their networks and connections to promote themselves and their message as much as they possibly can. They understand the importance of good media and propaganda: "the trick is to take advantage of the exposure, for example on MTV, intelligently, all the while making sure to promote those artists who can get their message across" (AfroReggae DJ T. R., 2000). They are both building a larger AfroReggae community and advancing a range of causes that will get further exposure among the youths with whom the group works. They use their music and use spectacle to both attract young youth and to entertain the local and foreign middle classes who are the target of their transformative agenda.

Marketing is a key element to ensuring the effectiveness of their social policy agenda. AfroReggae continually uses its presence in the media to create awareness among the citizens of the city and state of Rio. They have developed programs where they sponsor visits and exchanges with schools in Rio to show the youth from outside the

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[19] The radio program "Baticum" is broadcasted in partnership with the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, The State University of Rio de Janeiro.

favela what reality looks like in the favelas, while creating opportunities for favela youth

in schools throughout the city (Rufin, Pinto, 2009). Similarly, they facilitate projects with

police officers in the state of Minas Gerais to help break the mutual prejudice that create

discrimination between the favelas and the police officers. GCAR organizes theatre,

percussion, painting, and dance courses for police officers that put them next to favela

youth. This project was so successful that it initiated the creation of a police officer's

band that performs alongside AfroReggae in certain shows (Rufin, Pinto, 2009). It

facilitated a new cognitive model for both groups of the project concerning the

representation of the other in their daily context. As one AfroReggae member said:

> I confess that, in the beginning, I had to overcome this anti-police feeling which
>
> was very strong among us. Afterwards, when I saw the percussion instruments,
>
> these drums that had saved our lives, in the hands of the policemen, when I saw
>
> them playing with joy and happiness, very motivated, dancing, working their self-
>
> esteem that really moved me (Ramos, Ochoa, 2009).

They also further legitimize their own organization through these projects which is seen

in a UPP commander's evaluation of AfroReggae and its projects: "they are institutions

that help us a lot, I see AfroReggae with the same objective as ours, they want citizenship

for people here. They are a great partner, they help us with crime prevention,

conscientisation, to get people out of the drug trade, education, jobs" (UPP commander,

2013). This project implicitly shows AfroReggae's ability to use music and cultural

activities to connect favelados with other groups in society that otherwise would not have

interaction with them. In doing so, they engage residents of both the favelas and the city in circumstances that generate communication and foster the ability to create mutual respect. A positive outlook on establishing a wide range of connections is a characteristic that can also be seen in an analysis of the partners and organizations that AfroReggae works with to put on these types of projects.

Their range of sponsors and partners shows that the outlook of AfroReggae is much wider than just the favela communities. They are interested in establishing a stable channel of communication between the favelas and the rest of the outside world[25]. Their project partners range from actors that include municipal, state, national and transnational organizations to the private sector, social movements, the media and academia (Jovchelovitch, 2012; Yúdice, 1999). The private sector is responsible for supporting their work through sponsoring projects, or extending business services to favela areas where they would normally not operate. In Rio itself, AfroReggae is linked to the citizen action initiative Viva Rio, CEAP (Centro de Articulacao das Populacoes Marginalizadas)[26], IBASE (the Brazilian Institute of Socio and Economic Analysis) and many other grass root groups and NGOs (Yúdice, 1999). The state of Brazil plays a large part in funding and state owned companies such as Petrobas provide large sponsorships for projects. Even at the national level, GCAR is in partnership with Comunidade Solidaria, a semi-governmental agency that serves the needs of the poor (Jovchelovitch, 2013).

Such coordination on the behalf of AfroReggae to be able to have effective receptivity in the outside world shows their ability to engage with a multiplicity of

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[25] See Appendix G: Sponsors and Partners of AfroReggae, 2011-2012
[21] "Linkage Center of Marginalized Populations"

languages, codes and social and cultural forms. It shows an innovative courage and a capacity to relate without fear to the state, media and diverse markets. AfroReggae "uses the idea of mixture and combination of differences productively bringing together actors, activities and institutions that would rarely operate together otherwise" (Jovchelovitch, 2013, p.90). AfroReggae is an important innovator, of cultural performance and of political action that will not engage in one without forgetting the other. They collaborate with larger, more powerful corporations without being absorbed or co-opted into top-down policies or initiatives. GCAR "skillfully practices" an agency within these networks that allows for negotiation of a multiplicity of agendas while remaining firm footed in their purpose in the face of co-optation (Yudice, 1999).

A New Political Actor for Brazil

AfroReggae represents a new type of social actor in the Brazilian public sphere that represents young, black, favela youth. They have legitimized themselves into a political actor with a strong agenda against racism and displacement. They have given favelados a name and representation in a diverse range of political and social agendas. One of their sponsor representatives from the Ford Foundation has said:

> I think AfroReggae is in the process of Brazilian democratization: they are a new wave of cultural production and at the same time a very strong leadership, which can put itself in the agenda as new political actors. Today there is no way for the Ministry of Social Development to create a program of action without listening to AfroReggae. Whether they decreased the drug trade I am not sure, but they are

certainly constructed themselves as political actors. This is what has changed

(Ford Foundation, Jovchelovitch, 2013, p.92).

They are viewed as a unanimously positive organization across the board from their partners and sponsors. They are considered to be developing a new context regarding the spheres of Brazilian social movements and civil society (Jovchelovitch, 2013).

As explained in both Ramos (2006) and Jovchelovitch (2013), there are four characteristics that separate AfroReggae from the traditional considerations of discourse concerning social movements and NGOs in Brazil. First, the range of partnerships, sponsors and networks of AfroReggae do not display the traditional reluctance of other Brazilian NGOs in participating in the private sector, the state or the media. Engagement in the media is a particular element that separates AfroReggae, because this is something that is usually considered to be dangerous by traditional social movements (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Second, they are more focused on growth of the individual than on collective matters that usually conscribe traditional movements of this kind. Life trajectories are immensely important to their methods and projects as they seek to promote protagonists and an awareness of the individual self. This can be seen through the use of the activists and leader's life stories as tools for self and community development. Third, they put a huge emphasis on the importance of place and territory, there is an intense and repeatedly affirmed love for their community that counteracts negative stigmas about favelas, "E sou favela" (I am favela) is proudly shouted regardless of where they are presenting (Jovchelovitch, 2013). Finally, they own their black

Brazilian identity and present a strong anti-racist ideology. Being black and from the favela are common themes found in their song lyrics, and even in the name of their international band and cultural group: AfroReggae. They are promoting awareness to the often unacknowledged issue of racism in Brazilian society by being proudly explicit about their black culture and bringing it into all that they do. By effectively eliminating the tensions between race and class they are opening up different aspects of civil society to all Brazilian citizens.

AfroReggae accomplishes and exhibits these characteristics through a language that does not claim or call for the victimization of favelados. They efficiently cross borders of dialogue and context, not by claiming to be victims, but by claiming to be victors. It is a language that attracts and resonates with Brazilian citizens and public spheres because it is connected to a cultural appreciation for the arts and music that is already profoundly present. Brazil's national cultural appreciation and celebration of joy in the arts is an important aspect that enables AfroReggae's ability to trigger cognitive and emotional solidarities both inside and outside the favelas (Jovchelovitch, 2013). This movement has been able to create channels of contact and discourse between the two halves of the divided city. It has brought the reality of the favela's to the city and opened the city to favelados.

The Future of AfroReggae: Risks and Challenges

AfroReggae is determined to continually exist for the long term. There are future risks and challenges facing this organization that need to be addressed and controlled if

they are going to be able to continue their success into the future. Sustainability and co-optation seem to be the two largest risks when considering the future of AfroReggae.

Sustainability and capacity building will be a future challenge for GCAR in the terms of creating and sustaining a leadership base that is able to promote and secure favelado's inspiration. They have begun training new leaders and activists who are from the favela communities that they work within. The idea is that they will be able to secure and continue their success through creating a sustainable base of activists and leaders. AfroReggae's methodology concentrates on the life trajectories of these leaders as a commodity and tool to connect with favela communities. Therefore, there is a large influence and importance on locating individuals who are able to become the type of leaders that they need. Those within GCAR understand and realize this importance, as do those who are partners of the organization. A representative from Globo Network, a private sponsor who works with promoting AfroReggae through the media has said:

> I cannot imagine what would happen to AfroReggae if Junior decided to live in Jamaica. This is a problem. But of course, AfroReggae exists because of Junior, but cannot be a project that will only exist thanks to Junior. I think that the challenge, when you talk about a base, they have to be self-sustainable (2013).

As AfroReggae continues to grow in the Brazilian public sphere, their leadership styles and abilities will have to evolve along with them. The establishment of a continual presence of effective leadership to use as life trajectories is essential to their future in the favelas.

Co-optation through their presence in networks with the state is an area of their development that AfroReggae has been criticized for. It is seen as a concern for the organization because of the probability of the state negatively impacting the social or cultural drive that is the essence of AfroReggae. Even more dangerous, a type of dilemma that most nongovernmental organizations find themselves in is the risk of facilitating the state's retreat from social programs entirely (Yudice, 1999). This could also occur through preventing activity from the private sector. AfroReggae is aware of this risk completely and have articulated through interviews and newspaper publications that as an NGO, they do not aim to take over state functions. The ideal is to establish an interface between civil society and the government (Yudice, 1999). AfroReggae does not intend to work against the state of Rio in anyway. They look to create positive social stereotypes for favelas that open the communities up to state services and the private sector simultaneously.

As they have developed over time, they have been able to successfully transfer their organization from Vigário Geral to 4 other favela communities. This ability to transfer successfully allowed them to build and develop new projects in new areas, expanding their influence and initiatives. Besides cultural activities surrounding music, dance, and circus, they have developed a program in which they train youth in acquiring the skills to become new entrepreneurs, since viable businesses can keep young people away from crime as well (Rufin, Pinto, 2009). Another possibility that they have been dealing with during their development has been transferring their ideas, methodology, experience and knowledge to other organizations that could develop their own projects in other slums of Rio and Brazil. Jose Junior believes in the ability and capacity for other

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organizations to develop their own projects in the favelas. He has said that AfroReggae "does not want to be McDonalds" (Junior, 2007) and would rather work with other organizations with limited participation. It is crucial to GCAR that every member personally knows every activist and leader. As this is the groundwork for their effective presence and methodology, they need to be aware that too much expansion could limit their ability to provide effective leadership. It is clear to GCAR and to external observers that they cannot risk this type of impersonal expansion when continuing to develop their organization.

> The limit to GCAR's growth would be set by the ability of any member of the group to know all other members on a personal basis, thus avoiding the creation of an impersonal bureaucracy (Rufin, Pinto, 2009).

As AfroReggae has continued to develop and expand since 1993 they have not lost their personal and cultural uniqueness that characterizes their presence. They have grown and organized professionally to fit different favelas and different contexts in various situations, but still succeed in being able to use life trajectories and personal experiences of their leaders as influential commodities that emit hope and self-identity. They have shown that their methodology is transferable to various communities and has potential in terms of national and international development in areas of social displacement. This effectiveness is juxtaposed to the top down, state driven policies implemented by the State of Rio and the Brazilian government in an effort to deal with the favelas on their own terms. The urbanization policies of Rio, the security policies of

the Military Police and even the current strategy of the UPPs are all examples of institutional actors applying a policy in an area they don't understand and therefore are unable to effectively help. AfroReggae shows the importance and relevance that local culture has when making public policy and the success that can be won by local, grass root organizations like themselves.

Conclusion

Social displacement has created favela communities that suffer from high levels of poverty, violence, and an avid narcotic economy. The city of Rio de Janeiro has been ineffective in enabling the inclusion of these communities, which can be seen through their inadequate urbanization programs and through their impartial and corrupt security strategies. Both of these facets of state presence in the favelas have been compromised by the state's participation in the negative social stereotypes concerning favela communities and their residents. Urbanization and infrastructure programs have diminished and lost funding, were completed with inadequate materials, and have caused displacement by the gentrification of favela communities. Currently, Morar Carioca[27] has received adequate funding with the hopes of cleaning up the favelas for the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Village in Rio de Janeiro. It is too soon to say if this program will provide effective infrastructure needed desperately by these communities.

Security policies in the favelas have been compromised by the homogenization of favelados into criminals by the Military Police of Rio. There were decades of brutal

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[27] The Morar Carioca Program, also called the Municipal Plan for the Integration of Informal Settlements, aims to provide integrated development and services through the Municipal Secretary of Housing (SMH) to incorporate these areas into the more formal communities that they generally border. Through holistic urban planning, re-zoning, infrastructure upgrading, housing improvements, regularization of land tenure, City services extensions, and concentrated monitoring, this priority of the Rio de Janeiro city government aims to formalize all of the City's favelas by 2020, improving living conditions for up to 232,000 households (Rio de Janeiro: Morar Carioca, 2013).

police violence and unfair criminalization by the police in these communities. They became an inhospitable force that provoked a fear of violence from the favela communities. The Unidade de Polícia Pacificadoras (UPPs) that were implemented in 2008 have trained new officers in an attempt to discontinue the existing criminal stereotypes associated with favelas. They are forcing drug dealers out of favelas and creating pacification through the implementation of a permanent community police force. This policy has come a long way from the brutalization of the Military Police, and seems to be effective in its attempt to create a police presence that does not operate under the negative stigmas of the past. Yet, it is in the favelas under the assumption that the residents of the communities understand that the UPPs are a different breed of policing. There is no reason that favelados would come to this assumption on their own, and it will take time to create a sense of trust and security in these communities. Even if the UPPs are able to dismantle drug trafficking and lower levels of violence, the residents will still be left within the borders of the favela community, dependent on the state for their protection. As there are over 500 favelas in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the actuality of a permanent civilian police presence in every one is not feasible and they will need to leave the favelas at some point. This is where the UPPs will be deemed as unsuccessful in initiating long term stability and community development within the favelas, and this is where social organizations such as AfroReggae are needed to fill this void.

AfroReggae is so effective within the favela communities because of their organic nature. Favelados are hardworking, determined and brave individuals who face the difficult circumstances of their communities on a daily basis. They have unique perceptions of their context that shows that these people have areas of positive influence

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and survive on their social capital. AfroReggae has an inherent connection with this social capital, which they use to present the life trajectories of their leaders and activists. Their leaders are favela residents that have resisted the temptation of the drug trade, and show the youth that there is a better route of socialization that has more to offer them. AfroReggae understands the attraction of the drug trade and uses this understanding to effectively combat them in attracting youth by providing material incentives and creating a label under which they can gain positive status and self-worth.

AfroReggae plays the role of family, state and even the private sector as they develop favelado's skills through classes that teach skills usable for employment. They invest in positive self-development that enables a realization of the importance of the self. This investment opens up favelados to social development as it facilitates an individualistic understanding of themselves as protagonists with the ability to make decisions in their own lives. The development of the self allows for a capacity for change in these lives and communities.

AfroRggae's ability to combat social displacement is most effectively seen through their capacity to work legitimately outside of the favela communities. They work in unconventional partnerships that open up civil society to the favela residents, recreating borders and regenerating territories of exclusion. A flexible border into the city of Rio de Janeiro gives favelados a better ability to form a positive self-identity and develop their sense of citizenship. This promotes inclusion into the city and counteracts the displacement that creates favela communities of inequality. They are able to bring the strong, vivid culture of the favelas to the city of Rio through the dialogue of their music. AfroReggae sings about the favelas and the lives of favelados in a voice that is listened to

by the state of Rio, the country of Brazil, and the world at large. This voice and dialogue is inviting, inclusive, and sparks an emotional connection between the favelas and the city of Rio. Through this voice AfroReggae proves that there exists a resilient, powerful culture that deserves respect and acknowledgement from those around it. It shows the world that there is more to the favelas than drug trafficking, and inspires this recognition with their extensive relationship with the media. By promoting their culture and changing the images related with favela communities, they effectively de-narcotize the favelas. They work with the state and the police to actively promote positive identities for favela communities while also pushing the favelas into the public and political agendas of organizations. AfroReggae has established itself as a legitimate, social organization that works in a multitude of networks and has created a new political actor within the Brazilian public sphere.

AfroReggae has redefined the scope and capacity of bottom-up organizations and grass root movements. It proves the potential of these types of organizations that are derived from the culture and identity of the communities they represent. Their methodology has proven to be transferable to different favela communities within Rio, showing the capacity for their work to be applied in other areas of social displacement within Brazil, and possibly Latin America.

Understanding how AfroReggae directly combats social displacement is crucial to aiding policy issues concerning employment, health, transportation and security for the favelas and the entire city of Rio de Janeiro. To fully realize the potentials of the favela economy, culture, and identity, there needs to be policies committed to social inclusion and not separation. The Brazilian and Rio elite affect the status and proliferation of

favelas through participating in the global consumption, marketing and distribution of drugs. Through their participation, favelas are constantly restocked with drugs, firearms, and are in need of drug traffickers. As long as there exists an elite class that receives no punishment for the consumption and spending of their money on illegal drugs, favelas will be in danger of persecution and the degradation of social status and marginalization. Keeping this narcotic economy in the favelas will make it much more difficult for favelados and organizations like AfroReggae to be able to conduct their work and maintain a legitimate representation in Rio society. If the Brazilian upper status continues to spend money on narcotics in Rio, it will allow for the proliferation of social displacement by reinforcing the borders between them and the favelas, allowing for the exacerbation of violence, poverty, racism and classism.

AfroReggae is a great example for the state of Rio because they have a political ideology that promotes and fosters inclusion in every agenda that they become a part of. But, it is very important for themselves and the government to remember that they are not the state, and cannot take the state's place in creating policy. Public policy officials will need to answer to the favelas and continue to develop opportunities that promote social inclusion into the city, while still respecting their history and culture. AfroReggae needs to be aware of the risks of depending on large contributions from foreign donors that have as much power and influence as is the case with the Ford Foundation. Though they have been able to resist co-optation throughout their work previously, their continual expansion might make foreign sponsors a greater risk for them. They cannot lose sight of their organic nature, and becoming fully sustainable and independent from sponsors

would allow them to secure the ideology of their work throughout their methodology and presence.

Grupo Cultural AfroReggae's work in the favelas has given the state of Rio a base to promote and grow off of. Aiding AfroReggae in the civil society of Rio will help to continue the breaking down of the boundaries holding together the divided city. Brazil needs to continue to aid AfroReggae, and other organizations from these communities to show the favelas that they are accepting of their culture, and that they consider them citizens worthy of the rights of their government. AfroReggae has finally given the favelas their avenue to attain citizenship within Rio de Janeiro. It has provided more for favelados than any other organization or institution in Brazil. It has shown that directly combatting social displacement is the most effective way to generate social, individual and communal development in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

Nevertheless, the favelas of Rio de Janeiro will continue to be exposed to the pressures of globalization which perpetuate poverty, international narcotic trafficking, international arms dealing, structural corruption, and exposure to paternalistic models of international development aid. As Brazil continues to struggle with these pressures from the international system they will need to remember the important role that culture can have in development policies. AfroReggae is proof that local culture can foster progressive, inclusive development in the most divided urban areas in the country. This is a lesson that Rio de Janeiro and Brazil cannot afford to ignore in the upcoming years.

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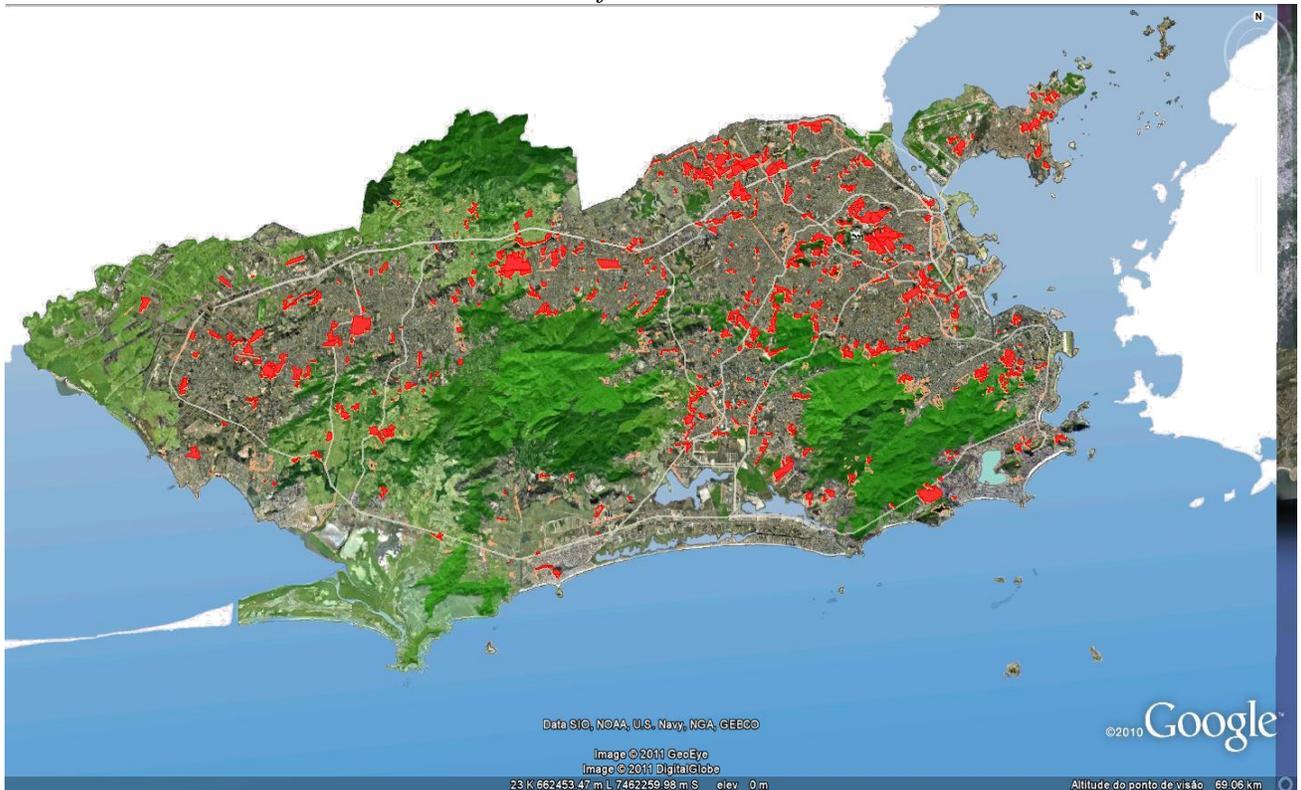
APPENDICES:

Appendix A

Population Growth from 2000-2010 in Rio de Janeiro:

Year	Favela's Population	Rio's Population	% of population	% Population Growth in Favelas	%Population Growth in Rio
2000	1,092,958	5,857,879	18.66%	23.9%	6.9%
2010	1,393,314	6,288,588	22.16%	27.5%	7.4%

Source: IBGE, (2010).

Appendix B

Rio de Janeiro's favelas, 2010

Source: *Secretaria Municipal de Habitação* (Municipal Department of Housing), (2010).
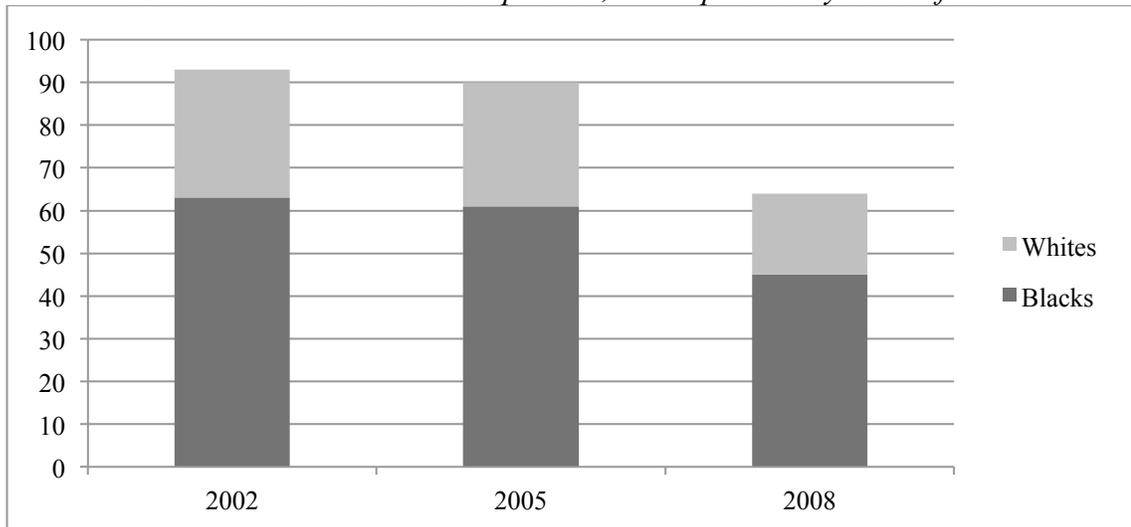
Appendix C

Percentage of Teenage Pregnancy (15-19yrs) and Illiteracy in neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro
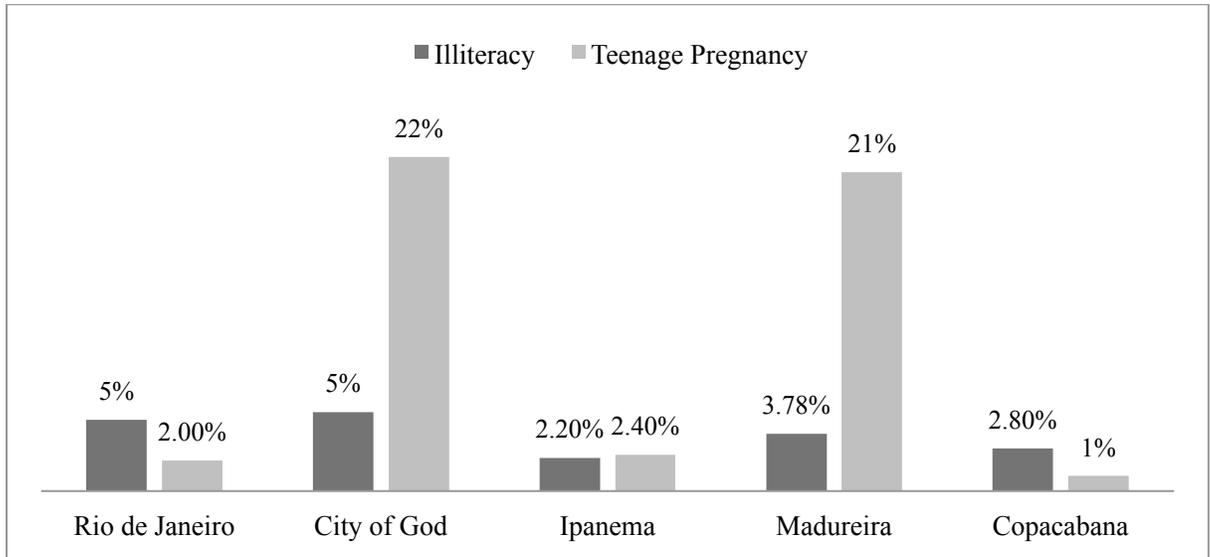
Source: IBGE, (2000).

Appendix D

Homicides in Rio de Janeiro per 100,000- separated by color of skin
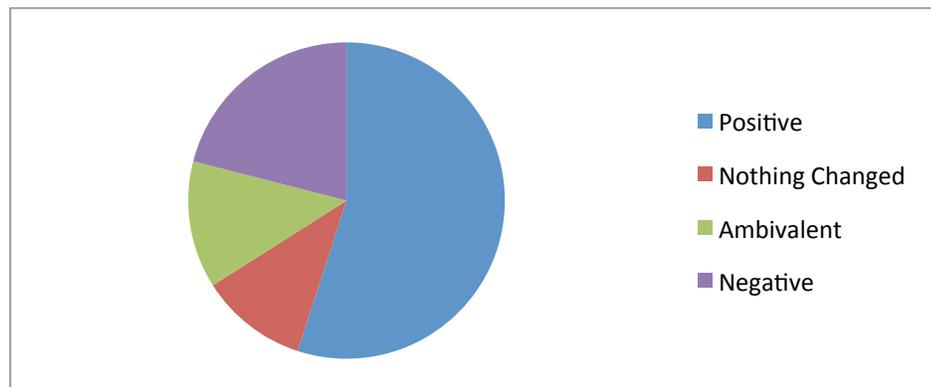

Source: IBGE, (2002, 2005, 2008)

Appendix E

The Official Badge of the Special Police Operations Battalion, (BOPE)
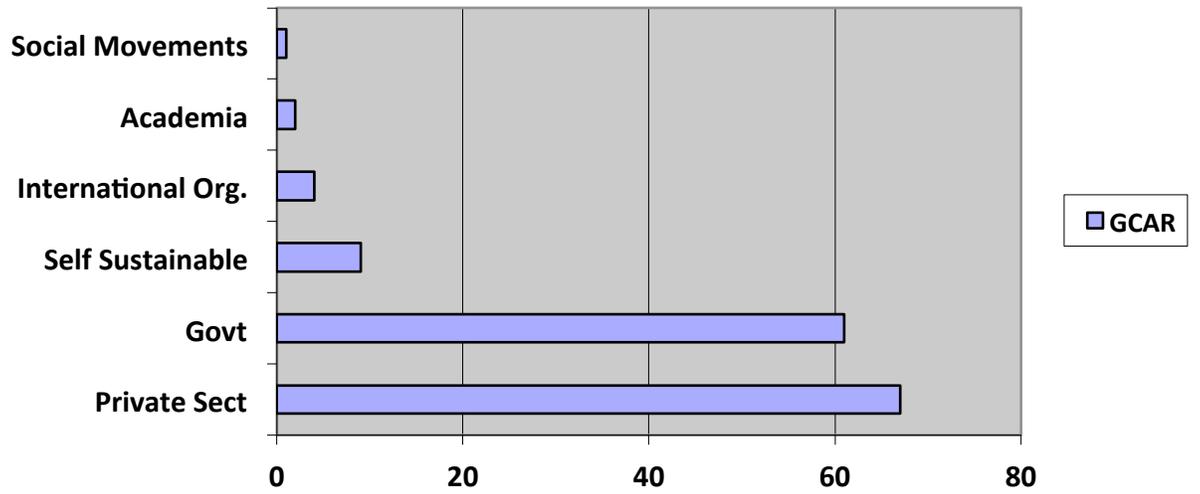

Source: Human Rights Watch, (2014).

Appendix F

Representation of the UPPs by Favela Resident's

Source: Jovchelovitch, (2013).

Appendix G

Sponsors and Partners of AfroReggae, 2011-2012

Source: (Jovchelovitch, 2013)

AUTHOR'S BIO

The author, Brianna Duhaime, was born in the small town of Hull, Massachusetts and graduated from Hull High School in 2009. She graduated from the University of Maine in May 2014 with a degree in International Affairs, a concentration in Anthropology and a minor in Religious Studies. She was a member of the Women's Rugby Club for five years and served as both captain and President her senior year. She enjoyed her classes without much conception of her future until she studied abroad in Brazil during her junior year. During this time she fell in love with the Brazilian culture and people. Upon returning she knew she wanted to continue to learn as much as she could about the development of Brazil and Latin America. This trip and her travels were the inspiration for this thesis topic and her perusal for graduate study. She will attend the University of Pittsburgh in the fall of 2014 to work towards a Masters in International Development with a major in NGO's and civil society and an area concentration in Latin America.