

A literature study on Favelas, Social Exclusion and Participation in Brazil: The cases of Rio de Janeiro (Southeast) and Recife (Northeast)



Source: Revista Humanum, Brazil

**WAGENINGEN UNIVERSITY AND RESEARCH
THE NETHERLANDS**

BY

**FRANCIS MICHAEL HAULE
REGISTRATION NO. 850218312060**

2019

**Supervisor: Sven Da Silva
Second Reader: Joost Jongerden**

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Place of Publication: Wageningen University and Research, The Netherlands,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis wouldn't be successful if it wasn't for the support I received from many individuals and institutions who in one way or the other helped me to accomplish it. There are so many individuals who went extra miles to help me succeed even when it seemed hard to pursue.

I would like to sincerely thank the Almighty God for giving me strength and courage during the time when hope seemed to have lost. HE kept my health stance and strong, focused and empowered me with energy to accomplish this work.

I would also like to sincerely give thanks to my supervisor, Sven da Silva for accepting my request to supervise my thesis research. Working with him has been a blessing, he taught me not only how to be a good researcher, but also how to focus into what I matter most. I have learned a lot from him during the six of my research. I know at times I was going astray, but he still accommodates my weakness and guide me through to the end.

I would also like to thank the second reader of the thesis, Dr. Joost Jongerden for accept to be the second reader of my thesis. Without your kind support this work wouldn't be a success.

I would like to take this chance to present my deep appreciation to study Advisors Dr. Sudha Loman and MSc Lieke Van Der Zouwen for being such wonderful inspirations and advisors. Your time and advise played a great role for my accomplishment. I couldn't thank you enough.

ABSTRACT

According to the UN-Habitat (2003), slums can be defined as an area characterized with overcrowding and insecure with inadequate access to basic needs such as water, infrastructure and poor housing. In the big cities, most residents often have negative perceptions towards slums. They see slums as poor, violent, unmodern, backwards and unorganized (Beijersens and Van Dam; 2014). The slums (favelas) of Rio de Janeiro for instance, are some of the world well known favelas outside of Brazil. Yet, in all state capitals of Brazil, it is possible to observe numerous favelas (Xavier and Magalhães; 2003).

Different policies came up that aim at alleviating social exclusion, but more often such policies create further damage rather than solve key problems. There are a number of participatory programs aimed at improving living standards and challenging the social exclusion among slum dweller. More often, such programs aim at promoting social inclusion through participation of slum dwellers in decision making processes. As a pioneering program, in Recife, the PREZEIS participatory slum governance program was designed as a mechanism for local co-governance in which local authorities and community-based entities participate in favela upgrading (Montambeault; 2015). In Rio for instance, participation led to the building code (Código de Obras), a policy which introduced an official document to recognize favelas (Frisch T; 2012) which initially were excluded areas.

On the other hand, however, Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014) argue that, the term social inclusion does not necessary means dwellers participate in social, economic or political programs. They said, surprisingly there are people in slums who are more included in socio-political and economical activities than those living in developed and big cities. They argue that some people are more included in social systems in slums than those who live in rich neighborhoods.

This thesis aims at revisits the literature, reviewing how scholars describe and analyze the relation between social exclusion, participation and favelas. I compare the two Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife. By revisiting the literature, I am answering three key research questions. (1) How do scholars describe, characterize and define favelas, social exclusion and participation? (2) In what way do scholars discuss the relation between the *favelas*, social exclusion and participation in Rio de Janeiro and Recife? (3) What are the similarities and difference between the Rio de Janeiro and Recife in relation to participation, social exclusion and favelas?

I use a descriptive method to review literatures provided by scholars and give a descriptive analysis. I use internet to search and identified different articles with the three key words i.e. favelas, participation and social exclusion. Later on, I draw conclusion and recommendations by identifying similarities and difference between Rio and Recife favelas. Through such analysis I show how scholars explain the way social exclusion in slums contribute to the shaping of lives of many slum dwellers in Rio and Recife. Scholars have used different theoretical frameworks to create an argument on social exclusion and these theories have been tools to build my arguments. Here I show how social exclusion in slums is defined differently by scholars and how it affects slum dweller's daily lives. This thesis found several similarities and differences between Rio and Recife in terms of

participation, exclusion and favelas. Both cities have violence and drug trafficking, as such, both cities experience fragility (Xavier C. H and Magalhaes F 2003; Rodet C; 2016). In both cities, participation exists in different levels and approaches. For instance, solidarity among member of the community is organized through meetings and dialogues and freely contribute to community development. Both in Recife and Rio de Janeiro favelas harbor participatory movements to tackle social exclusion. Dwellers respond to their challenges through social movements and protest against authorities (Dias Simpson 2013, p 9). There are advantages to call upon more participatory approaches in slums, such advantages will enable dwellers and leaders to participate in key decision makings and as a steppingstone to improve and empower the poor to help themselves and overcome social exclusion (Dias Simpson 2013, p 9).

On the other hand, there are some differences. Some of the differences include, in Rio for instance, most of the crimes are organized crimes while in Recife most crimes are unorganized ones (Wolff; 2015). In Rio, most drug gangs and factions (drug loads/masters) are aware of the social exclusion in favelas. They use neglect by the state as an advantage to subsidize and provide social services such as food, electricity, they repair roads etc. and then exercise power. For instance, referring Perlman's argument, we can see how residents in places like Rio *favelas* suffer from stereotypes, and prejudice (Perlman; 2010). Dwellers in Rio are normally seen as violent, involve into drugs, disorganized, dirty, lazy as Mainwaring (1987; 139). On the other hand, in Recife, where there is no organized crime, there is less hegemony and power control by the gang. Here, gangs do not provide social services such as water supply.

Participation does not always means involving everyone in slums to take part in decision making processes. Sometime, participation can be through providing small things like a zebra cross near the school areas (Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy; 2014). To dwellers, such small things are seen as a steppingstone for extensive inclusion which will evolve to participating into decision making. Here, what I mean is that, to reach to the bigger participation level which involves sensitive issues such as gender balance, overcome crimes and economic empowerment through job creation, planners need to start with small things. In short, such small things like zebra cross influence and encourage dweller's participation to participate into bigger projects. Lara (2010) explained the importance of participatory interventions as a key aspect for successful urban planning and social inclusion. Participation has also led to conflicts of interest in places like Rio favelas. For instance, leaders resist some programs which seem to be less participatory. In this context, some of the local leaders saw the importance of having participation in the process of planning and housing (Dias Simpson; 2013). With such view, scholars such as Dias believe lack of participation could force dwellers to react and protest against the low-quality constructions and appalling conditions forced upon them. Ivo Imparato and Jeff Ruster (2003) describe participation in terms of the role it plays in different cases in favelas. They claimed that, participation in favelas is part of strengthening democracy and enabling democratic communities. They said, participation does not use forces to provoke people to get involved onto something or working many hours. But rather it's a process in which dwellers participate by presenting their will, responsibility, abilities and dignity (Imparato and Ruster; 2003).

There are different perceptions among scholars in regard to participation in Rio. This description and perception sometimes differ from one scholar to another. For instance,

Xavier C. and Magalhaes (2003) describe favelas by dividing them into illegal subdivisions, invasions and irregulars. Their characteristics differ based on where they exist i.e. on the hills, private/public space or in city centers or types of infrastructures they have. On the other hand, participation and exclusion has been associated with other factors such as authority bureaucracy in development interventions whereby the local authorities take longer periods to offer services and other important needs. This also hinders local participation of the slum dwellers in development activities which is another exclusion. Scholars have also described how social exclusion can be minimized, for instance, Saglio Yatzimirsty and Landy (2014) claimed that, sometimes for a community to be socially included, they need small things such as gardens and zebra crossings in places like schools, this means not necessarily big things such as roads construction and other social services such as water. Thus, such arguments show in which ways scholars link between participation and social exclusion in places like favelas.

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CHAPTER ONE

FAVELAS, SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Introduction

The world population is growing fast and yet the resources to sustain its inhabitants decline in an unbelievable pace. According to Un-Habitat, the world population is 7.4 billion, of which 4 billion live in urban areas. About 1 billion people live in slums. UN-Habitat term the word slums as “an area that combines, to various extents, the following physical and legal characteristics inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, insecure residential status.” (Un-Habitat; 2003, 2006/7; page 1)

Many people in mega cities tend to have negative attitudes towards slum dwellers. To most of those who live in wealthy neighborhoods, or even some government organs, slum (*favelas* in Brazil) are considered non-modern societies which are not supposed to be within the cities. To most of us, the word ‘slum’ means an isolated urban area which is socially, economically and politically excluded. We think they are dirty, covered by extreme poverty, crimes and violence (Beijens and Van Dam; 2014). More often we tend to think, slum dwellers are less educated and thus can’t afford good jobs or they can’t be good leaders in public spheres. With such marginalization, stereotypes and prejudice, slum dwellers continue to feel isolated and socially excluded (Beijens and Van Dam; 2014).

According to Oxfam Brazil, the poverty, inequality and social exclusion in Brazil is rampant. Six individuals have the same amount of money as the 100 million poorest Brazilians combined (Georges and Maia; 2017). They continue saying; “The richest 5% earn the same income as the other 95%. In Brazil, it would take 19 years for a worker earning a minimum wage to get what a super-rich earns in just one month” (page 21). As Georges and Maia (2017) put it “The extreme concentration of income and wealth at the top of the social pyramid remains unchanged” (page 6).

According to a census conducted in 2010 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) 6 percent of all Brazilians lived in slums¹. Favelas are some of the oldest and well-known urban slums in the world located in different cities of Brazil. They have very distinct features and unique socio-economic characteristics. Most of the favelas in Brazil are located within the urban neighborhoods, with most found in Rio de Janeiro (Xavier and Magalhães; 2003). In Rio de Janeiro the largest favela is known as Rocinha. In the Northeast state of Pernambuco several favelas such as Brasilia Teimosa (Recife) and Ilha do Maruim (Olinda) can be found².

Based on the data provided by the Human Development Report developed by the (UNDP), over 140 countries studied, Brazil is said to be the 10th world’s most unequal country. There, is a great connection between policy implementation and the emergence of social

¹Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics or IBGE, **Social Communication December, 21, 2011**
https://web.archive.org/web/20120915065927/http://www.ibge.gov.br/english/presidencia/noticias/noticia_impressao.php?id_noticia=2057=1

²https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_favelas_in_Brazil (25/08/2019)

classes and inequalities within the communities. Social inequalities are not only based on economic terms, but it crosscut a number of aspects within the community. One of the major aspects as far as social inequality are power relations. According to William Bueno Reboucas,

“Through the claims to be meritocratic and morally legitimate, the class structure shows individual failure or success as a result of someone’s effort, when in fact is the result of incorporation of long-term class dispositions, required to act as expected (Souza, 2009). According to this, the social classes cannot be seen only by its economic features, but also by its social and symbolic characteristics” (Reboucas; 2018, page 57).

Madanipour et al (1998) define social exclusion as a multidimensional process which comprises a combination of forms of exclusion such as “participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes” (page 22). When such forms work together, they often create a configuration or set of exclusions which in their holistic affects individuals as a community (Madanipour et al. 1998: 22). Most of those who are excluded are poor people lives in marginalized communities and lack enough income to run their lives. Income is one of the most important material resources as far as poverty is concerned. Generally speaking, lack of income or source of income such as reliable employment in one way of the other may lead into social exclusion. As a result, lack of such material resources closed fully participation and inclusion in most important social, political, economic and cultural structures of the society (Walker and Walker;1997:8).

A number of government programs aim at confronting inequality and social exclusion, often by including slum dwellers in decision making processes or through conditional cash transfer programs. For instance, soon after Brazil enacted its constitution in 1988, they started to organize several comprehensive initiatives such as the Programa Bolsa Família (Family Stipend Program), that aimed at minimizing if not completely demarcating the social inequalities (Reboucas; 2018). This program entails social welfare against poverty and inequalities which covers the majority of poor people in slums and with progressive impact. The program disburses about 80% which are paid to the poorest people including slum dweller who make up to 40% of the population. The program covers up to 20% of the poor people’s income as it is said to be one of the important programs for reducing poverty in Brazil (Georges and Maia;2017). These inequalities were either income inequalities i.e. economic inequalities and/or social inequalities which involves different social services. Partly, the initiatives aimed at fair distribution of services and resources throughout the societies to foster public and social inclusion, often in the form of participatory slum governance programs. With or without the support of government programs, one might be positioned in a social challenge, but manage to overcome poverty and move towards middle class standards. However, the exclusion of the majority of marginalized population is still unattained.

The current world inequality situation seems rather extreme, yet a lot of initiatives have been done. Apparently, only one percent of the world population, the richest, own over 95% of the world total wealth (Georges and Maia; 2017). The rest is divided to the poor and mid-classes where extreme poverty affects millions of people. About 700 Million people live in poverty i.e. 1.9\$ per day (Georges and Maia; 2017). Georges and Maia put it this way: -

“Today, the richest 1% of the world’s population owns as much wealth as the other 99%, and just eight billionaires own as much as the poorest half of the planet’s people. Meanwhile, poverty rule the lives of more than 700 million people worldwide”. (page 11)

According to Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014), the connection between slums and social exclusion can be questioned and debated. The term inclusion for them does not necessary connect with spatiality, or a space someone holds, or a region someone exists. There are people in less developed countries who could be more socially included than those in developed countries. They point out that not all slum dwellers are by definition socially or economically excluded. There are people in slums who are more included in social systems than those who live in rich neighborhoods. Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014) assert that, in some cases, when compared to those who live in rich neighborhoods, slum dwellers might have more political powers such as voting power or participate in decision making processes. They also emphasized that it is very common to find someone with relative high income who lives in slums compared to someone who is jobless or earn less in urban areas. From this point of view, spatiality is not a proxy for social exclusion. Spatial exclusion by itself does not necessarily limit individuals from being included in social, political, cultural or economic structures. We thus see a thin line between social exclusion and inclusion.

In this chapter I provide an overview of three concepts — favelas, participation and social exclusion — around which this thesis is structured. This chapter also contains problems statement, research questions and the objectives of this literature study. I also describe the literature search strategy and how I compared the cases of Rio de Janeiro and Recife in Brazil.

Aims and Research questions

After years of public policy reforms, the inequalities in Brazil still prevails. Some of the attempts taken by the Brazilian government were to introduce tax reforms. However, such an imposition of a new taxing system, had created an excessive burden to the poorest urban dwellers and the middle-class societies. More often, such imposition of heavy indirect taxes has led to the lowering of the progressive income tax rates among the wealthy individuals (Reboucas; 2018). In many *favelas*, such inequalities are common compared to other residents in the city (rich neighborhoods). Apart from that kind of inequalities, there is another form of inequalities which involves race and gender among the inhabitants in slums. In the Brazilian perspective, gender and race have demonstrated some sense of obstinate which prevent the total inclusion of poor individuals within the communities (Georges and Maia; 2017).

In Brazil, the regional inequality can be viewed in terms of gender, race, income level which show how social groups are affected by exclusion and injustice (Georges and Maia; 2017). This gender issue has also affected socio-economic prosperity in most slums. For instance, 47% of the women is not included in the economically active population, despite all other social burden in their communities, women continue to be victims of patriarchal social system which is one of the greatest barriers to a severe reduction in gender inequalities (Georges and Maia; 2017).

All of these come back to the issue of participation in favelas and how lack of participation among social groups in favelas lead to further exclusion. For instance, UN-Habitat (2012),

argued that the process of urbanization and slum upgrading in most slums across the world is determined by gender, power, privilege, and discrimination. In its article, UN-Habitat claimed, “Since women participate less in decision making and have less access to assets and resources, they also have less access to land and housing” (UN-Habitat; 2012, page 1). In most countries in the world especially in the Global South, the process of accessing decent houses in slums, is still affected by gender equity and discrimination against women (UN-Habitat; 2012).

There are limited studies done to analyze the relation between participation, social exclusion and favelas, signaling an urgent need to fill academic gaps on social exclusion in relation to participation and slums. This research therefore intends to analyze the relation between participation, social exclusion and the existence of favelas in Rio de Janeiro and Recife, Brazil. This will be done by analyzing and comparing different scholarly arguments on how they tackle, raise, analyze and present their theoretical frameworks on different social implications of social exclusions. By understanding, unfolding and illuminating academic gaps, this research will serve the purpose of contributing towards broader understandings of the policies, structures, agency and necessary reforms on social exclusion.

The main objectives of this minor research are; to analyze, enlighten and contemplates different theoretical framework through literature review in order to fill the academic puzzles. The following are the three objectives, (a) to get different perceptions on the phenomenon of favelas and (b) to understand why they exist and (c) to learn what authors suggest regarding social exclusion for future research or policy reform.

This literature review aims at answering the following three key research questions:

1. How do scholars describe, characterize and define favelas, social exclusion and participation?
2. In what ways do scholars discuss the relation between the *favelas*, social exclusion and participation in Rio de Janeiro and Recife?
3. What are the similarities and differences between Rio the Janeiro and Recife in relation to participation, social exclusion and favelas?

Methods

The methods used in this research is literature review approach to provide a descriptive analysis. Through the review, I search and identified different articles with the three key words i.e. “favelas”, “participation” and “social exclusion”. I compare the two Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife. I have grouped the three theoretical concepts of favelas, social exclusion and participation in a search terms in order to identify them. This also helped me to inter-relate the terms. Through a comparative review, I identified the link between social exclusion and favelas and participation and social exclusion in favelas. The gender violence and prostitution are also part of social exclusion in most *favelas*; however, I will not focus on these topics in the current thesis.

The literature reviews helped me to find out what are the favelas, their history and

background, why did they come into existence and what was the driving forces according to the history. Also, through literature review I was able to describe when the favelas came into existence.

The search of the articles has been one of the important methods of literature collection. Through searching engines such as Google Scholar, I was able to look for different literatures. This was done by typing a key word(s) on the searching engine and narrow it to a specific focus. For instance, when I search for words such as 'participation, favelas or social exclusion in Recife', a number of articles appear. In general, searching for articles relating to the topic of social exclusion, participation and favelas has been difficult since there are limited literatures on the topic. This thesis compiled an average of forty-five articles as reference. Due to large number of articles, it was not easy to read and capture all details, some of these articles were too long with a lot of details. Some of such details were irrelevant to my study, hence I use a skipping and scanning reading techniques to search for key words in a document. For instance, in an article with 300 pages, I search for word participation, the document highlights all words with key word participation, and from then I read few paragraphs to get the author's concept and argument. At times, I focus on a sub-topic in an article especially those headings with key words i.e. participation, exclusion and favelas. The articles were organized in a logical to capture the argument. Each thematic theme i.e. participation, exclusion or favela had a separate session and heading in each chapter. This was done to make distinctions and reduce confusion to the reader. In each chapter, themes like participation or exclusion were arranged based on their arguments, and they were compiled in few paragraphs. In the back of my mind, I have specific questions whether there is a link between social exclusion and participation and favelas.

Conceptual descriptions of Social Exclusion in favelas

Different scholars have defined the term social exclusion and bring different context and meaning. What could be defined as social exclusion in Bolivia may have different meaning and presentation in Angola. In this section, I analyses different ideas about social exclusion as written by different scholars. Through such analysis I show how scholars explain the way social exclusion in slums contribute to the shaping of lives of many slum dwellers in Rio de Janeiro and Recife. Scholars have used different theoretical frameworks such as social capital to create an argument on social exclusion.

Here I show how social exclusion in slums is defined differently by scholars and how it affects slum dweller's daily lives. In recent years, the majority of poor households in urban areas are said to live in or near slums, majority of such groups live in temporary shelters and lack the necessary means to make a living. Over the past decades, as the government authorities struggle to provide social services to poor communities, rapid urban growth has continued and deepened poor people's vulnerability. The lack or inability of state authorities to provide such services has resulted into social exclusion which more often has resulted into social cohesion whereby individuals in the society depend on each other (interdependence) to fostering human development and prosperities. Furthermore, through different literature review, scholars have shown the distinctive explanations between social exclusion, participation and *favelas*.

In some rare cases, social exclusion has created favorable impacts to the community. For instance, when people in urban areas, or those who migrate from rural areas to urban areas fail to get jobs and other basic social services from formal sectors, they can get them in slums through informal means. Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014) following Baud et al.(2009) put it this way “True, we do not contend that slums are an exact indicator of urban poverty — they only indicate “housing poverty”, since, at least in Indian megalopolises, the hotspots of poverty hardly correspond to slum areas (page 2)”. They contended that, social exclusion may occur in non-slums areas or in big cities as well and yet there are some slums which have people who are more socially included. Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014) say “Social exclusion does happen in non-slum areas, and some slum dwellers are rather well and truly “included”” (page 2).

According to Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014) social and economic exclusion do exist but should not be equated to the exclusion in places like *favelas* slums. They put it this way,

“This situation also exists in developing countries but should not be confused with the common situation of people living in slums. Strictly speaking, “social exclusion” means being excluded from social relations. Now, most slum dwellers do have an income (be it a daily informal income, a *bico* as it is called in popular Brazilian Portuguese), a family, roots, neighbors and some social capital. In India, slum dwellers vote more often than citizens in affluent areas. They are “useful”, often necessary, to the working of the city and the national economy. As such, not only are they not destitute, they are not excluded since their complete exclusion would mean the extinction of the public services, economic growth and urban metabolism that they help to produce.” (Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy ; 2014, page 5)

In most cases, *favelas* have been considered as a threat to urban planning and development. Most scholars have written considerably negatively about *favelas*, yet it is surprising to learn that *favelas* also harbor advantages for dwellers and the cities in which they are located. Xavier and Magalhaes (2003) argue that, *favelas* have social, political and economic advantages. They argue that, for most poor households in *favelas*, the low life standards have brought blessings to dwellers themselves and the population at large. For instance, *favelas* sometimes bring cheap labor force to the dynamic economies, socialization of infrastructure, and service, slums provide guidance to the authority for planning and at times to solve social conflicts, promote cultural diffusion through samba musical exhibitions, and most importantly, Xavier and Magalhaes emphasize social capital through participation and citizenship.

Participation and Its impact on Social Exclusion in Favelas

Development practitioners and social actors come up with different policies that aim at alleviating social problems such as social exclusion. But more often such policies create further damage rather than solve key problems. In places like *favelas*, there has been a number of urban policy and interventions that took place since 1980s to alleviate social exclusion, poor housing, urban concentrations, unemployment etc. However, less impacts have been seen due to a number of reasons one of which is low levels of real participation by key stakeholders, in particular of slum dwellers. Participation among other advantages, also makes best use of resources especially human capital, it also helps achieving more realistic outcomes and at the end incorporates everyone on board which creates a holistic change. Participation is the key element in any social intervention, it is very important for the beneficiaries to have a feeling of belonging and ownership of such

mega project, this not only guarantee a successful project, but sustainability due to its legitimacy.

In some cases, scholars claim such policies have failed to achieve its goals not only because of poor inclusion and participation of the poor and the most affected individuals, but also because projects and politics increasingly take the form of mega-projects such as the World cup and the Olympics that serve the desire of a rich minority to create a world class city (Beijens and Van Dam; 2014). A good planning especially that affects people's lives, need to cover different aspects of lives i.e. jobs, education, health, social security, infrastructures etc. Hence, a poor planning which does not involve and participate the key local players and stakeholders, most of the time tend to fail. Most of *favelas* face this policy challenges which led to little participation among the local actors. One of the crucial questions one might ask is, which between the policy and exclusion lead to the other. Saglio Yatzimirsty and Landy (2014) ask

“do urban policies always alleviate social exclusion, or do they sometimes aggravate it? Is social exclusion a cause or a result of urban policies? Our main hypothesis is that, far from always alleviating social exclusion, urban policies often increase it — as do policies officially designed to eliminate it.” (Page 18).

Saglio Yatzimirsty and Landy (2014) continue, it should be known that, exclusion is not only caused by poverty or job unavailability, but also it occurs when there is less 'participation' in public decision making and policy formations. This means, to address the issue of exclusion in slum areas, one need to incorporate a holistic picture of the situation in a participatory manner. There is different level of participation that might be considered by the policy makers when they plan for social development and inclusion in places like *favelas*. For instance, participation at grassroot level through dialogues or at the top level through engagement in planning and execution of the projects.

Inclusion or participation in other words, does not necessarily means creation of jobs or provision of health centers in slums areas, but small things like creating a garden in slums neighborhood or establishing a bus station, or a zebra cross near the school areas is as important as participating in policy making (Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy; 2014). In *favelas*, there has been a number of local initiatives established to intervene social problems and solve local challenges. In different occasions, several, meetings have been convened by *favela* inhabitants together with local authorities to discussion issues such as housing problems. Through participation in dialogues and public meetings, people have not only played a role of an agent to rectify a broken social structure, but also, they have used the same platforms to hold those in power responsible for embezzlement and bureaucracy. For instance, several demonstrations have been arranged in *favelas* through such meetings. From my own point of view, one of the major administrative issues most people in *favelas* facing today is the issue of bureaucracy among the policy makers and the states organs. To solve such social problems, residents reacted in different ways, one of the movements organized by the inhabitants in *favelas*, was on how to get their rights and fight bureaucracy in public offices.

Fernando Luiz Lara (2010) referring to Belo Horizonte and Curitiba, demonstrates the importance of participatory interventions as a key aspect for successful urban planning and social inclusion. In Brazil, the emergency of participatory model came after the change in Brazilian constitution in 1985 immediately after government was handed over

back to the civilian who later changed the constitution which emphasized on decentralization of power. Lara (2010) asserted that, beyond the state centralized planning initiatives which existed since the 1970s, a new prototypical of urban intervention has advanced which focus more on the participatory interventions and involves the *favela* dwellers. Lara refers to the success stories of Curitiba, he admitted that, in most urban planning literatures, scholars have put less discussion about the issues of participatory, but he confessed that the issue of participatory is quite familiar in other disciplines such as political science and sociology.

In Brazil, the participatory model has been implemented by a number of political administrative agency such as city administrative organs, workers Party (PT) in Porto Alegre and other social movements (Lara; 2010). Lara explains how most literatures especially in the western world hail the success of modern planning in cities such as Curitiba. However, he later on shows how such success resulted into unmanageable problems of rapid growth of informal housing and shanty settlements in favelas. From his article, Fernando argued, as much as the city of Curitiba has been celebrated as one of the successful initiatives in third world country which reinforces twentieth century paradigm, the project was also used to soften the population, (most of whom are favela dwellers) so they can stop challenge the political status quo.

Lara's argument is that sometimes participation of the marginalized groups does not necessarily remove social exclusion, but rather fosters it. Analytically, from same literature, I noticed how participation and representation of the poor people in favelas might results into different forms of social exclusion. Being involved or participate in public planning and projects, does not necessarily means someone is full included. From what I captured from Lara's work and analysis, a full participation needs a full conscious mindful, a sound and vibrant cognizant participant who actively involve, and who is well informed about the core intentions of their participation and the overall project under execution. This is one factor to achieve a participation which means an inclusion. When people or their representatives are less participating in development project or in social development processes, they are automatically excluded from vivacious development projects that affects their lives. Hence there is a direct link between participation and social exclusion.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 describes the general background of Rio De Janeiro particularly on the favelas, participation and social exclusion. The literature has been presented and discussed through descriptive analysis of the three concepts and how they lead back to the research question and most importantly, to provide and insight from different scholars. Chapter 3 introduces the viewpoint and background of the role of participation in favelas. It also presents how the social exclusion in Recife is described and analyzed by different scholars. Chapter 4 presents a conclusion on how the ideas of social exclusion and participation in favelas could affect future planning in urban areas. Recommendations are presented based on what has been discussed by different scholars.

CHAPTER TWO THE CASE OF RIO de JANEIRO:

Introduction

In this chapter, I am concerned with the question of how scholars characterize the relation between favelas, social exclusion and participation by reflecting the livelihood of slum dwellers in Rio de Janeiro (hereafter at times simply named Rio). A descriptive analysis of the factors for participation and how they lead to social exclusion/inclusion will be of paramount in this chapter. Through literature review from different scholars, I explain different phenomenon, activities, interactions and maneuvers by the dwellers that lead into exclusion and the role played by participating in such phenomenon.

Rio de Janeiro is one of the major four cities in Brazil. In recent years its GDP has declined due to a number of reasons including the decentralization of major economic facilities. In 1920 Rio had a wealth of 534 million which was 12.23% of the GPD according to Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014). In 1959 Rio has 20,827 million which is 13.2% of the national GPD. While in 1980 Rio has 73,704 million which is 9.6% compared to the year 2007 which has 79,868 million GPD equal to 5.2% said Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014). There has been a decline of the GPD from 1920 to 2007 according to Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy (2014).

An Overview of the Rio's Favelas

Most residents in Rio favelas are unified with a common bond that bring them together with a desire to overcome common challenges within their settlements (Brewer and Silver 2000; Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Kabeer 2005). In most cases, human beings are inherently made with an active coping strategy. They naturally tend to solve their day to day problems. For instance, in *favelas*, community members have involved into constructions of pathways, shelters and other informal houses without approval from the government authorities or the municipalities. This strategy, however, leads into rapid and improper urbanization and poor urban planning in mega cities such as Rio de Janeiro. This results into more exclusion and struggle among the *favelas* in places like Rio due to the fact that urbanization tends to push poor households away from the city centers which creates new *favelas*.

There are four types of favelas as identified by Xavier and Magalhaes (2003, page 8). These include (1) squatter settlements, (2) illegal subdivisions (*loteamentos irregulares*), (3) invasions (*invasões*) and (4) *Cortiços*. - damaged and overcrowded buildings in the centre. Xavier and Magalhaes (2003) asserted that, most favelas in the western zone of the Rio de Janeiro normally occupy the empty areas of the city. Favelas according to Xavier and Magalhaes are characterized by high invasions by the public who self-acquire public land or private lands to construct low standard houses. Most of poor and isolated people in urban areas do such invasion since they have nowhere to go. As Xavier and Magalhaes (2003) say, in a Municipal Planning Institute (IPP, PCRJ) a total of 605 favelas were recorded in 1996 only with an estimate of 100 favelas by 2002. On the other hand, the illegal subdivisions occupy public spaces. The illegal subdivisions are normally characterized by lack of proper infrastructures and do not follow the urban planning regulations set by the municipals but with slightly physical order. Xavier and Magalhaes

say they normally considered irregulars (illegal) because such planning is submitted to the authority, but with less compliance with the set rules by the authority. The situation (irregularity) is even worse when they are not submitted to the authority at all (Xavier and Magalhaes; 2003). The other two types i.e. *invasões* and *Cortiços* existence are subjected to a number of community intervention and urban planning and policy formation. For instance, the *invasões* (invasions) are the irregular occupancy by the public to the private or public lands without permission in the process of consolidation. Such occupation normally happens in areas which are environmentally vulnerable (fragile) such as riverbanks and swamps or hills areas and other risk areas such as near electricity plant or railways. Lastly, the fourth type -- *Cortiços* involves “social housing formed by one or more buildings located in a single plot or shared rooms in a single building” (Xavier and Magalhaes; 2003). *Cortiços* are normally allocated in the central areas of the city and port regions.

Most of *favelas* in Rio are located in areas which are vulnerable to floods and land-sliding. In most cases, marginalized population have suffered many misfortunate events, for instance majority are said to have occupied (invaded) land illegally. Events such natural disasters for instance land sliding and floods in hill and high lands, has caused a number of misfortune events. In most cases, when such disasters occur the government attempts to resolve the disaster fails. Some dwellers in most events refused to evacuate from their localities. With all of these distressing events, there has been a number of government attempts to revoke the situation, however, many of such attempts have failed or backfired (Beijnsens et al; 2014). With the great desire to change urban patterns in Cities such as Rio de Janeiro and eradicate major slums, the Brazilian government since 1930s launched a number of public housing interventions to deal with housing problems in Brazil (Koster and Nuijten 2012). Some of the most notable programs and institutions include the Foundation of Popular Housing (Fundacao da Casa Popular) created in 1946 to promote public housing.

Participation in Rio’s favelas

From 1937 onwards, the authorities in Brazil recognized the actual existence of such favelas and became the central point of urban planning and building in Brazil. This led to the building code (Código de Obras), a policy which introduced an official document to recognize favelas (Frisch T; 2012) which initially was regarded as excluded areas. Here, we see how participation or involving favelas in the national policy mark the beginning of a new era in Brazil. From being socially and economically excluded to be recognized by the state, has been a great push toward inclusion of such urban localities.

However, such policies and official recognition of favelas, could not stop the emergence of housing crisis in 1940s which led to slum dwellers to build many slums and shanty houses due to poor policy and lack of proper slum management and organization. Between the year 1940 - 1970, there was great industrialization taking place in Brazil especial in Rio former federal districts something which resulted into rapid expansion of slums to the metropolitan peripheries (Pino; 1997). Following the rapid Brazilian urbanization in early 1970s, there was massive migrants’ movement from rural areas to urban areas something which led to the emergence of the contemporary *favelas* (Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy; 2014). The majority of this huge migrating population from rural areas could not find jobs and shelter in urban areas, they moved to *favelas* instead. Over

time, there has been a shift in wealth between individual from different classes and background and among cities. This wealth distribution of some of the Brazil major cities and the changes came with it can be seen between the year 1920, 1959, 1980 and 2007 Saglio-yatzimirsky and Landy; (2014).

In Rio's *favelas*, there has been a number of local initiatives to intervene and find possible solutions that would solve dweller's livelihood challenges. In different occasions, several meetings have been convened by *favela* inhabitants to discussion issues such as housing and challenge that they face. For instance, through dialogues and public meetings, people have not only played a role of an agent to rectify a broken social structure, but also, they have used the same platforms to hold those in power responsible. For instance, several demonstrations have been arranged in *favelas* through such meetings. There are a number of evidences from different scholars that show how bureaucracy attributes to social exclusion and hinder participation.

In most *favelas* in Brazil including both Rio and Recife, one of the major administrative setbacks of social inclusion and full participation in *favelas* facing today is the issue of bureaucracy. There were several movements which were organized by the inhabitants in *favelas* on how to get their rights and fight bureaucracy in public offices. Such bureaucracy has contributed to the slowing down of the development process in urban areas which in turn over stress social exclusion. According to International Labor Organization (hereafter ILO; 2004), between 1980s and 1990s, many neighborhoods in the world were considered excluded and facing serious housing and social problem. According to the ILO (2004, page 120), this was considered as a symbol of 'paralyzing inertia of bureaucracy' together with the inability to engage in dialogue and the formal legalism. Through this, social exclusion has manifested as well as constrains to define the splitting lines of the responsibilities by the central and local authorities. This was clear sign of lack of clear participation of the public which led to social exclusion as explained by the ILO "For more than a decade, these people were pretty much left to fend for themselves" (ILO;2004; page 120). However, ILO conversely explains, if the bureaucracy is simplified, it can quickly facilitate participation especially among most isolated residents in places such as *favelas* which is a quick way to develop such isolate community. Most positive results can be seen with the notion of improving living standards of poor and excluded household if most local governments and state departments make decisive and significant decisions.

Rio de Janeiro's slum upgrading initiatives and urbanization programs have been the main priority over every other aspect of development (Dias Simpson; 2013; page 3). The slum upgrading programs aimed at urbanizing all of Rio's *favelas* through the housing improvements, resettlements, public spaces and services, accessibility promotion, reduction of density, waste management, environmental protection and eco-efficiency (Dias Simpson; 2013; page 19). The Brazilian constitution clearly stipulates that, citizens have the rights to participate in different popular (community) engagements and program. Apart from that, the Brazilian constitution also clarifies the right of citizen on housing as explain here by Dias "The right to adequate housing and the right to participation are present in of the Brazilian Constitution and international treaties signed by the government" (Dias Simpson, 2013; p 21). Dias Simpson (2013), said this has been since the mid-1990s when Rio *favelas* have been at the forefront of urban slum upgrading initiatives.

Dias Simpson (2013) also claimed that such development initiatives should reflect the interventions and a number of programmes that aim at pursuing the “urbanization of favelas” to integrate favelas into the city fabric. However, with such great development ambitions, the level of community participation has been low and obstacles to achieve such upgrading (Dias Simpson 2013, p 3). In such acts of slum upgrading, Dias Simpson questions whether the authority has forgotten the housing development and community participation. Dias Simpson said, “the lack of citizen participation in decision-making as the main reason for failure” (Dias Simpson; 2013; page 3). Community Participation in such development according to Dias Simpson seems to be an important aspect for such attempt. However, despite Rio’s progressive urbanization programmes, it is clear from the literature, the authorities did not emphasize on participation and they saw the housing development program through regressive lenses which led into failed approaches. The expectation she said is that the arrival of urban infrastructure could be a channel to incorporate favelas into appropriate and regular neighborhoods. Dias Simpson (2013; p3) put it this way;

“Interventions must combine and address the tense demands and aspirations emanating from slums and the city as a whole, allowing housing to be an on-going process that happens in the city and the urban poor to be the protagonist of the process.” (Dias Simpson; 2013; p3)

Viewing such initiatives more analytically, the slums upgrading program has been somewhat successful especially on the removal of favelas dwellers, however, due to poor participation, it has been a total failure in terms of eradicating the sources of growth in Rio’s favela. Dias put it this way “At the core of interventions’ failure lies the lack of citizen participation” (Dias Simpson; 2013, p 21). For instance, such initiatives removed dwellers from slums, and as a result dweller posed a resistance and decided to go to other favelas which led to unplanned family growth and rural-urban migration (Dias Simpson; 2013, p 8). For example, the National Housing Bank (BNH) was established to finance the construction of low-income housing faced similar challenges when it lends money to dwellers to construct and improve their houses (Dias Simpson; 2013, p 8). The BNH was not able to recover its investments due to the fact that many dwellers refused to repay their loans and mortgages. Dias asserts also, in some cases, some projects have limited outcomes and were far from completion, but they were inaugurated by the presidential order (Dias Simpson; 2013, p 16). She claimed this led a serious complaint due to lack of participation and transparency.

The issue of participation has emerged in several context in Rio favelas, one of them is how leaders as well resist some programs which seem to be less participatory (Dias Simpson; 2013). In the same BNH case with dwellers, local leaders who are dwellers representatives found it important to have participation in the process of planning and housing or even removal of the dwellers. Dias Simpson explained it further “Nevertheless, amidst politicians’ petty favors, organized leaders still found ground to resist and demand for participation and the improvement of living conditions in favelas” (Dias Simpson; 2013, p 8). This was another manifestation of lack of participation as dweller react and protest against the low-quality constructions and appalling conditions forced upon them.

The World bank initiated a program of ‘site-and-service’ for incremental construction. Such project varies from one place to another, and from one favela to another in most cases, they offered a small serviced land in the sub-urban areas of the city, help dwellers

to access credit and other important technical assistance for construction. However, such initiatives, despite its good intentions, are often poorly managed, poorly located and very expensive for dwellers (Dias Simpson 2013, p 9). Dias Simpson claims that the program could not last long before it collapsed, and it was short of scale. If all such good initiatives considered the strength participation carries, it could have changed the whole scenario and produce positive results. People tend to be antagonistic when they are not involved in decision making, especially on sensitive issues that affect their lives directly or indirectly. And lack of participation in most of favelas' project, could have resulted into such great failures.

Ivo Imparato and Jeff Ruster (2003) in their work talk about participation and its strength as a road leading to democracy. Imparato and Ruster (2003) claimed that, participation does not involved forcing people to get involved onto something or working many hours, but rather it's a process which people or dwellers are enabled to participate and engage willing by presenting their will, responsibility, abilities and dignity (Imparato and Ruster; 2003). From their perspectives, Imparato and Ruster, assert that, for a productive participation to be validate and effective, people's thoughts should be considered, and they should not be forced or tricked to participate without clear understanding of the situation. They also claimed participation in places like favelas is vital since it affects people daily livelihood, it can either contribute to improve better life or worsen it, they put it this way "It is a vital participation, because it affects much of what makes for a better life in a poor neighborhood: water supplies, sanitation, electricity, roads, drainage, public spaces, housing." (ibid). However, Imparato and Ruster (2003) further clarify that, participation does not always necessarily provide same interpretations and views among dwellers or community in that matter.

To some people, participation creates risk and challenges such as popular protest, mismanaged conflicts of interest, or mounting expectations that are difficult to meet as what I explained earlier. On the other hand, they further explained that, above all, participation can also be a good factor to create variety of opportunities within favelas (Imparato and Ruster; 2003, p ix). According to them, participation can be useful in many social movements and at times it can also favors civic learning among dwellers and empowerment vulnerable groups such as women. They claimed "It opens the way to alternatives. It enhances the quality of projects and the continuity of development. It enables an escape from rigid control or populist clientelism into a practice of strategies of negotiation" (Imparato and Ruster; 2003, page ix).

Participation can also be useful for various political activities within favelas, as a political tool say Imparato and Ruster. Participation and decentralization can be important instruments for negotiation and a source for new ideas within the favelas. As such, different positive results can be seen such as tenure friendly regularizations and policy which in most places are the precondition for infrastructure investments. They said "Participation, undertaken as a continuous process, should lead to the continuity and sustainability of initiatives-to social, institutional, technical, and financial sustainability" (Imparato and Ruster; 2003, page xi).

Social Exclusion in Rio de Janeiro Favelas

Referring Perlman's theoretical concept, we can see how residents in places like *favelas* suffer from stereotypes, and prejudice (Perlman; 2010). They are normally seen as violent community, disorganized, dirty and lazy. As Mainwaring (1987; 139) puts it, they are "portrayed as thieves, as violent, dishonest, dirty, and lazy, and are excluded from participating in a common quest for material goods and dignity on those grounds". Framing the *favelas* inhabitants as lazy and disorganized community, has created some sense of resistance among the people living within such settlements. This in turn made them unite together to fight one common enemy i.e. social and economic exclusion. It is also known, within such solidarity to cope with social exclusion, people do not only seek emancipation from material resources, but its more often they seek emotional support as well, according to Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1986).

According to Cort Rodet's work, due to a great level of discrimination, exclusion and poverty most favelados experience criminal and violence which make Rio's favelas some of the world renown violence and corruption places in urban settlements (Rodet Cort; 2016). Rodet argued that, most of the time, these residencies create drug groups (factions) which run huge number of enterprises. Such groups and enterprises normally defend such factions which sometimes include law enforcements. Such acts, Rodet says, normally account for fragile states. Rodet also argued "in spite of this fragility, order has evolved in a form that is unique to these hillside communities." (Rodet Cort; 2016). In such scenario, these factions normally exercise social order, in case the police or law enforcement do not participate in drug business, they are normally considered enemies not only for such groups and enterprises, but for the community in favelas as a whole. To make matter worse, such groups exercise a certain hegemony and a de facto monopolistic power to exercise law and order. Rodet says "The de facto monopolists of force within each community, rather than the constitutionally recognized one, supply law and order" (Rodet Cort; 2016, page 11). It is common also to these factions to seek for a full control and power over all aspect and livelihood of such marginalized communities. This power to some extent, reaches the stage of allowing humanitarian agencies and other development partners that defend the interest of poor residents in favelas. Rodet put it this way

The factions administer social order, while the police are largely viewed as the enemy even by those favelados who do not participate in the drug trade. Moreover, humanitarian efforts are widespread and are permitted by the ruthless factions that defend their territories and their enterprises. The prominence of the factions is due to government failure. (Rodet Cort; 2016, Page 11).

Walker and Walker (1997) highlighted that, there is great connection between poverty existence and social or economic exclusion. Most of those who are excluded are poor people lives in marginalized communities and lack enough income to run their lives. Income is one of the most important material resources as far as poverty is concerned. Generally speaking, lack of income or reliable employment in one way of the other leads into social exclusion. As a result, lack of such material resource closed fully participation and inclusion in most of important social, political, economic and cultural structures of the society (Walker and Walker;1997:8). When the state or the local governments fail to provide basic social services like water, electricity, health service etc. people often find their own ways to deal with such exclusion and the informalities such as unemployment

and poor social services. At times, the exclusion gets so intense to the extent that it creates tension and grumbles and revenges which eventually lead into violence and crimes in places like *favelas* (McCarthy and Zald 1977).

In order to fight social exclusion, there has been a number of social activists who organize different social movements. Such movements allow people especially the marginalized to express their feelings to the authorities and perhaps to the world. Such movements and a search for inclusion among people in *favelas*, somehow have portrayed a different picture of autonomous and a search for freedom among *favelas* residence (Cardoso 1989; Foweraker 1995; Mainwaring; 1987). Social movements are common not only in places like *favelas* in Brazil, but elsewhere in the world. Despite positive results from such movements to pressurize the state to provide social services as a way of inclusion, such movements remain to be heterogeneous as they don't share the same strategies, don't have same activities, have different behaviors and don't share same interests. Mainwaring (1987) explains further, some NGOs tend to differ from one place to another and may they carry their goals and different projects despite of the fact people suffer same exclusion. "It can often be a challenge to achieve unity, except, for brief and particular objectives." (138).

Conclusion

From the literature review on participation and social exclusion in Rio *favelas*, this conclusion answers the research questions. There are different perceptions among scholars in regard to participation in Rio. This description and perception sometimes differ from one scholar to another. For instance, Xavier C. and Magalhaes (2003) describe *favelas* by dividing them illegal subdivision, invasion and irregulars. Their characteristics differ based on where they exist i.e. on the hills, private/public space or in city centers or types of infrastructures they have. On the other hand, participation and exclusion has been associated with other factors such as authority bureaucracy in development interventions whereby the local authorities take longer period to offer services and other important needs. This also hinders local participation of the slum dwellers in development activities which is another exclusion. Scholars have also describe how social exclusion can be minimized, for instance, Saglio Yatzimirsty and Landy (2014) claimed that, sometimes for a community to be socially included, they need small things such as garden and zebra crossing in places like school, this means not necessarily big things such as roads construction and other social services such as water. Thus, such arguments show in which ways scholars link between participation and social exclusion in places like *favelas*.

CHAPTER THREE THE CASE OF RECIFE

Introduction

Majority of people in Recife *favelas* are living below the poverty line, with poor housing, unemployed and illegally hold the land. Koster and Nuijten (2012) put it this way “*favelas* lack basic services, such as piped water, sewage, drainage and garbage collection, and illegally tap electricity and water from the official system” (page 178). Most of my argument in this thesis, will base on the project that happened at Jacarezinho, at the riverside. Near the river, people use to fetch water to wash themselves and their cloths, fishing and other livelihood uses such as drinking and cooking. Conversely, the water was unsafe for human use and thus put majority in danger of diseases.

The ,majority of the people are unemployed, many of those who work, are working in informal sectors or are self-employed or making “a living with *biscate*” (Koster and Nuijten 2012), doing additional jobs, often small and odd, for an extra income at the end of the month jobs. Environmental pollution is one of the common problems in *favelas*, due to concentration of poor housing and unplanned shelters, it has been hard to manage waste especially when there are limited sewage systems. With limited latrines within the *favelas*, people use plastic bags as toilets. Koster and Nuijten (2012) put it this way;

“many people sleep together in the same room or in the same bed. The shacks are built next to each other, with thin walls. People answer nature’s call outside or inside on a piece of paper which is thrown into the river or on a toilet behind a curtain” (page 178).

A brief Overview of Recife

Recife City covers 217 km² with an estimated population of 1,562,000 according to (IBGE; 2009). It is the center of a metropolitan area with almost 3.75 million inhabitants and the capital of Pernambuco state which has population size of 8,810,256 people and situated at the North-east region of Brazil (IBGE, 2009). By the year 2008, Recife’s life expectancy at birth was estimated to be around 68.8 years whereby women cover up to 72.3 years compared to men who cover up to 65.3 years (IDB 2009). According to the DIIESE 2009, Recife’s total unemployment rate as per the 2009 was 19.2% whereby man covered 16.3% and women covered 22.7% of unemployed population (DIIESE 2009). By the year 2008, it is estimated that, 42.39% of the inhabitants in Recife metropolitan area were marked as low-income earners. This means they earned 415 Reais in 2008 (U.S.\$ 210) which is less than half the minimum wage (IDB 2009). Recife has GDP per capita of 13,510 reales with high level marked on the North-eastern areas of the City (IGBE 2009). Recife’s population composition is made up by youth between 0 – 14 who make up to 26.16% of the total population. While the age of 15 to 64 make 67.33% of the entire population. And the rest make only 6.51% of the population according to (IGBE 2009). The illiteracy rate is 8.92% in the population who are 15 years of age in the Recife metropolitan area (IDB 2009). This is somewhat lower than the general average range. However, there are substantial disparities amid the diverse areas of the city (IDB 2009).

Koster et al; (2012, page 179) wrote “Many housing programs followed, such as the Plan for Popular Housing (Plano de Habitac,ao Popular—PLANHAP) in 1973 and the Program for the Eradication of ~ Sub-habitation (Programa de Erradicac,ao da Subabitac ~ ,ao—

PROMORAR) in 1979.” With the great desire to change urban patterns in Cities and eradicate major slums, the Brazilian government since 1930s launched a number of public housing interventions to deal with housing problems in Brazil (Koster and Nuijten 2012).

Participation in Recife

Recife has a long history of participatory governance and community engagement (Koster M; and Nuijten M; 2012). During the slum’s rehabilitation project in Prometropole, there has been a great participation between public offices and private companies. To a larger extent, the local residents in *favela* slums in Prometropole, were somewhat involved in the project through constructions companies. Prometrópole was a slum upgrading program initiated in 2007 with the aim to bring urban development in slums in Recife such as Chão de Estrelas. The program cleared the slums and shacks households which were located near the Beberibe rivers (Koster, 2009; p 7). This created an initial rapport between those the project intends to serve and the service providers. This level of participation Koster and Nuijten (2012) say played a great role for the success of the project at the end. In this case, Jacarezinho which is one of the Recife slums upgrading project which aimed to improve infrastructure to resettle the population and eradicate slums (Koster M; and Nuijten M; 2012). The project was executed through close participation of key players from both sides i.e. construction company and municipal directors who responsible for participation. Together they were able to organize public engagement and participation programs to engage with the public. The involvement of the community in development projects in slums, has a more positive impacts than otherwise, people know their challenges better than any of the policy makers. Sometimes, they are in better position to understand most innovative solutions which will minimize cost. In Prometropole, for instance, participation had great impact and influence towards achieving the goals.

One of the setbacks of this participatory method is that, despite of its intention to fight social exclusion, dwellers saw such initiative as less participatory since it less considered their interest. It was proposed, organized and decided solely by the Municipal authorities who were backed up by the Chao de Estrelas residents. In fact, majority of households within the slums opposed the project, but also, majority accepted the project. This means, there are dwellers who see the slum upgrading projects as blessing since the projects brings new opportunity such as labor, new and modern housing as a way to be included in the city. On the other hand, there are some dwellers who see the projects in negative perspective because, new and modern housing changes their way of life. For instance, dwellers who live along the river, could do fishing as way to survive or make a vegetable garden in their shanty backyard. With new project this is impossible.

Jacarezinho, is one of the slums located in the northern part of Recife (Koster and Nuijten; 2012; page 180). During such slum’s rehabilitation project in Prometropole, there has been a great participation between public offices and private companies. To a larger extent, the local residents in *favela* slums in Prometropole were somewhat involved in the project through constructions companies. This created an initial rapport between those the project intends to serve and the service providers. Different ways of participations were used such as consistently visiting slums household, organize meetings and dialogues to discuss the way forwards, and the doors were open for anyone

wish to visit municipal office for further discussion. However much, there was a good representation of the population in the initial stage of project planning. One major characteristic of community participation is how it portray social solidarity among member of the community. It would be hard to organize such meetings and dialogues in public if the public itself is divided. This means, before the start of the project, the slums community had already established solidarity among themselves to be able to come together easily. This solidarity can be seen in this case as (Koster and Nuijten 2012, page 183) put it “they all wore T-shirts in the same red color. As such, they resembled a “red army”, a term one of us coined and that was gratefully adopted by several people.” With longstanding participation history, community members in Recife has good reputation to get involve in the community projects and initiatives.

In most cases, people in slums are less considered when it comes to community development, this is why they were socially excluded at first place. But, in Recife, the municipality has been involving its subjects for quite some time, this has happened since 1980s such good participatory reputation has influenced a good and enthusiasm among residents in *favelas*. This good participation reputation among residents in favelas, perhaps was the reason why World Bank suggested a creation of participation manual which will guide the project and municipal team. This might seem to have rather small influence, but when an institute like World Bank proposes such a (hybridity) public-private partnership, this has a huge impact on the neoliberal market.

The world bank through that manual, proposed a local representative/supervision committee which will be responsible for the designing and execution of that mega project. This was great success at the beginning of the project even before the project achieved its goal. Through those committees, many local people (slums residents) could have been employed which at some point creates employment to locals. In such situation, the participation creates far more inclusion, or at least could act as the beginning of social and economic inclusion of many isolated in slums (Koster and Nuijten 2012).

There is a direct connection between social exclusion and participation especially in crucial decision making. For instance, through participation in Recife local leaders were created by selecting member from the community who later become leaders. This is great improvement in *favelas* and a great deal for social inclusion, most particularly the political inclusion. These leaders are normally mobilizing the community for inclusive engagement to participate in planning, implementing and managing community projects.

Social Exclusion in Recife

For Montambeault Françoise (2015) the notion of social exclusion and participation for the urbanization of the favelas (PREZEIS) was adopted in 1987 by the Jarbas Vasconcelos from PMDB in Recife. She claims that, “the PREZEIS has been an important precursor for social participation at the community level in Recife, breaking with the authoritarian tradition of social exclusion and repression” (Montambeault; 2015). For instance, the special zone of social interest (ZEIS) led to initiating, which is called PREZEIS, a participatory slum governance system.

The PREZEIS program was designed as a mechanism for local co-governance in which local authorities and community-based entities participate in favela upgrading

(Montambeault; 2015). In such response towards social exclusion, there are currently 67 ZEIS in Recife. These ZEIS were under the 'Commission for Urbanization and Legalization of land titling' (COMISSÃO de Urbanização e Legalização da posse da terra - COMUL) which were regulating and controlling land uses. Here, Montambeault describes participatory approach used by such program whereby the composition of each ZEIS was made up by representatives of the joint social movements, municipal authorities and elected representatives of the slum's dwellers.

Recife took a further step and improved ZEIS and came up with PREZEIS -- Plano de Regularização das Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social or (Plan for Regularization of Special Zones of Social Interest) to advance safeguard ZEIS. PREZEIS had one major role to play, which was to protect the interest of the slum dwellers by prioritize rights to housing over rights of property. Again, here scholars incorporate the importance of participation in fighting for dweller's interests. Despite such intervention and state participatory methods, there are still some shortcomings facing the program in Recife slums. For instance, on 34 of the 65 ZEIS were registered in land regularization process (Koster and Nuijten; 2012). Key aspects of social inclusion in a community do not only involve the availability of resources such as land for human survival, but also a right to live freely in an area as a citizen. In the absence of such basic needs (right to live freely), people in favelas are excluded in many aspects including socially, politically and economically. Based on Koster (2009), the local community leaders in slums are the ones who bridge the gap between the authority and the dwellers by bringing up community development ideas and tap such resources. They normally establish connections as they play a great role to organize public resources and meet community demands by identifying such demands to fight deprivation, poverty and exclusion. Furthermore, Koster (2009) explains that, above all, despite the presence of such resources in slums areas, another key aspect i.e. citizenship is as important as availability of such resources. Despite the fact that, the state rules does not openly exclude anyone based on where they live (people in slums), he asserted that the state uses citizenship as a tool to promote security, thus for those who are excluded from citizenry (non-citizens), or as he called them de-facto citizens, this notion by the state poses a great threat and a feeling of social exclusion among slum dwellers.

Koster (2009) says "Although the rule appears to treat everybody equally, in practice it discriminates against slum dwellers – especially against the unemployed, colored men from the slum" (page 307). Koster (2009) as he quotes De Carvalho, said that, people in slum are considered guilty until they proven otherwise. In such a scenario, socially excluded slum dwellers need to present their identity cards to be socially included in the community. "Those who are obliged – always and as a tenet of the state system – to testify that they are citizens and not criminals, are in practice always approached as non-citizens" (Koster; 2009; page 307).

Here, social exclusion manifests itself through citizenship or de-facto citizenship among slum dweller which is tested through dual standards. This exclusion says Koster (2009) as he quotes (Gordillo 2006:162) can be seen as "sites of exclusion to citizenship, characterized by the 'contradictory immersion of slum dwellers in the Brazilian nation-state.'" In the same context we can see patterns of social exclusion in slums as Koster explains how Agamben (1998:170) shows the position in which a normal institution act as an organ of indistinction between outside or excluded (slum dwellers) and inside,

exclusion and inclusion, exception and rule, licit and illicit, whereby juridical and subjective right (protection) can no longer make sense. He continued “to the police, a slum dweller without an identity card is both de facto – because he is a slum dweller – and de jure – because he has no card – stripped of his citizenship rights” (Koster 2009; 307)

Conclusion

The issue of social exclusion and participation as discussed by different scholars above, has given a wide range of perspectives. Social exclusion in Recife according to the scholar review can be presented more based on programs such as PREZEIS and ‘Commission for Urbanization and Legalization of land titling’ (COMissao de Urbanizacao e Legalizac,ao da posse da terra - COMUL) which were regulating and controlling land uses (Montambeault; 2015). This form of exclusion can be categorized mostly on spatiality. On the other hand, scholars such as Koster M (2009) have also described it based on citizenship. Some scholars have touched the issue of community leaders and the role they play in the community to minimize social exclusions in their respective areas. Based on such scholarly presentation of theoretical views, it answers my question on how scholars describe social exclusion in Recife. With such notion, the literature used has also helped me to answer the second research question which ask on the link (the relation) between social exclusion and participation. Based on arguments made by Luiz Lara F. (2010), being involved or participate in public planning and projects, does not necessarily means someone is fully included. Luiz’s theoretical analysis, a full participation needs a full conscious mindful, a sound and vibrant cognizant participant who actively involve, and who is well informed about the core intentions of their participation and the overall project under execution and solidarity among slum dwellers. Such presentation and review provide an insight on how Recife favelas experience exclusion and in which way participation play role to reduce or increase social exclusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this report, based on a literature review, I have explained some of the key issues contributing to social exclusion and nature of participation in favelas. This research is therefore contributing to the academic puzzles and social puzzles simultaneously. I have set a theoretical analysis on different ways such as descriptive analysis and argumentative literature review through revisiting what scholars have written and understand about social exclusions to contribute on the academic research. This report is therefore not only identifying different social implications of social exclusions, but also raises a need for understanding the academic grounds to understand and contribute to the policy and recommendations.

With the use of different literature reviews, I have contributed to the academic research. The findings at the end of this report shall contribute to what has been written before by different scholars and add value to the urban development and policy formation. For further urban planning, poverty eradication as some of the key factors for slum development in global south, more studies are needed by scholars to further fill both academic and social puzzles such as how do people in slums included while those in non-slums area are not. By understanding, unfolding and illuminating academic gaps, this research will serve the purpose of contributing towards broader understand of the policies, structures, agency and necessary reforms on social exclusion.

Similarities between Rio and Recife Favelas

One of the similarities between Rio and Recife is the violence and insecurity. In both cities, there is great deal of violence and drug trafficking is one of common characteristics between the two. As such, both Rio de Janeiro and Recife have experienced some sort of fragility. However, this study shows that this fragility is different in both cities (Xavier and Magalhaes 2003; Rodet; 2016). For instance, in Rio, the level of fragility has been relative higher compared to Recife. In Rio fragility can be seen through high level of drug activities and how drug lords present some sort of autonomy and hegemony within slums residence.

There are a number of evidences from different scholars that show how bureaucracy attributes to social exclusion and hinder participation, and this can be experienced from both Recife and Rio favelas. As mentioned earlier, in both favelas, participation exist although with different level and approach. In Recife for instance, solidarity among member of the community is organized. People have been involved in meetings and dialogues and freely contribute to community development. It would be difficult to organize such meetings without strong participation background. Most community leaders establish solidarity feelings among themselves and the community to be able to come together for a common cause (Koster and Nuijten; 2012). With longstanding participation history, community members in Recife has good reputation to get involve in the community projects and initiatives.

Through such a link between social exclusion, favelas and participation according to the World Bank (2003), marginalized communities are included (social inclusion) through various means, for instance this could be accessing their local knowledge (local

technologies and skills) which could put all relevant ideas and solutions into account. At the end, such initiative may lead into project sustainability (World Bank; 2003). Another important link between the three concepts is that, a proper participation can improve good governance and promote democratization which reduce social exclusion by building local capacity when dwellers interact with local authorities such as municipal authorities (World Bank; 2003). Participation according to World Bank can create proper channels for community that eventually facilitates decision making at the local level and creating opportunities such as employment and influence dweller's actions to shape their lives (World Bank; 2003).

The link between bureaucracy, exclusion and participation can be seen in a triangular lens. Bureaucracy affects proper participation, when there is bureaucracy especially in public office, most people especially powerless and poor people, tend to miss their basic needs such as right to make decision and participation in public affairs. Through bureaucracy, leaders hold more power and as a result they override and underestimate the importance of dwellers' voice in development initiatives. This eventually creates some sort of social exclusion in favelas.

Another similarity is that, both Rio and Recife favelas depend on informal sectors such as informal economies. Such economies are a result of neglect by the state which is the primary service provider. Due to their exclusion from other parts of the cities, dwellers in favelas find it hard to get proper (formal jobs) within the favelas. As such, illegal businesses such as drugs, human trafficking and gun selling businesses take over the local economy in both cities.

Both Rio and Recife have experienced and benefited from different slum upgrading projects such as Plano de Regularização das Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social or (Plan for Regularization of Special Zones of Social Interest) to advance safeguard ZEIS in Recife and serviced sites for incremental construction by the World Bank in Rio. Such upgrading programs, despite the fact they seek to fight exclusion by use different mode of participation, they normally evict and remove dwellers from such places. This seems rather a double standard project, as at one hand involved the community in planning and at the other evicting them.

Participation in both Rio and Recife is used as a tool not only to foster participation and improve social inclusion, but also as a way to decentralize power to the local communities. State authorities in both Recife and Rio have used participation as means to negotiate with slum dwellers. Since both cities (states) have a good number of dwellers who hold land illegally, the state use participation as a democratic way to negotiate without necessarily creating social movements.

The differences between social exclusion in Recife and Rio de Janeiro

As scholars write about similarities about Rio's favelas and Recife favelas, there are also some noted differences between the two. Rio's and Recife's crime have slight difference. In Rio for instance, most of the crimes are organized crimes while in Recife most crimes are unorganized ones (Wolff; 2015). In Rio, most drug gangs and factions (drug lords) notice the level of social exclusion in favelas, they use the advantage of neglect by the state to subsidize and provide social services such as food, electricity, they repair roads

etc. which are not provided by the state (Wolff; 2015). In most places in Rio, such faction establishes some sort of participation through hegemony and exercise power with strong influence on the community (Rodet Cort; 2016). In return, the residents give support and welcome them due to their social support. In other words, they have an autonomy to run all aspects in favelas. Such factions are well-armed with heavy arsenals and at times confront the law enforcements such as police (Wolff; 2015). On the other hand, in Recife, most criminal and drug dealers have less influence on the community. Normally the gangs in Recife have small guns and they are very rare to provide social services such as road repairing and supply electricity to the residents.

One of the key differences between Recife and Rio favelas in relation to participation and social exclusion is that in Recife, participatory model was implemented by political parties and administrative agencies eg Workers Party (PT). In Recife again, participation was done through partnership between public offices and private companies. This form of public-private partnership (PPP) was influenced by the world bank as a hybridity approach in which neoliberal systems take place. This case was not clearly seen in Rio's literatures, however. In Recife, dwellers seem to pose little resistance to the public compared to Rio.

There is a link between community participation, policy implementation and successful or failure of the projects in favelas. As such context, participation stand at the central point for success of such initiative and upgrade programs in favelas. Due to such protests and resistance resulted by lack of participation, different stakeholders had responded to call for more participatory approaches which will enable dwellers and/or their leaders to participate in key decision makings and as a stepping stone to improve and empower the poor to help themselves "responding to calls for more participation and still aiming to "help the poor to help themselves"(Dias Simpson 2013, p 9).

What do these cases tell about the concept Of social exclusion?

One of the major things I learned from these cases is drawn from, Saglio Yatzimirsty and Frederic Landy; 2014 ideas. They explained it should be known that, exclusion is not only caused by poverty or job unavailability, but also it occurs when there is less 'participation' in public decision making and policy formations. This means, to address the issue of exclusion in slum areas, one need to incorporate a holistic picture of the situation. There is different level of participation that might be considered by the policy makers when they plan for social development in places like *favelas*.

One of the crucial questions one might ask concerns the relation between policy and exclusion. Saglio Yatzimirsty and Landy (2014) asked whether policy in urban areas and mega cities alleviate or aggravate social exclusion, they asked if social exclusion is caused by or it is a result of urban policies. According to Monica Raileanu Szeles and Ileana Tache (2008), there are several key determinants that can be used to identify whether certain policies in a community leads to socially exclusions. According to their analysis, for a community to be socially excluded, there should be policies which lead to a great level of unemployment to favela dwellers, low income households, poor housing and living conditions, lack of adequate supply of basic needs etc (Szeles R. M. and Tache I; 2008). Most of *favelas* face this policy challenges which has little participation among the local actors.

Before discussing further about the link between policy, social exclusion and its link to participation in favelas, it's important to understand the key determinants of social exclusion. According to John Hills, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud (2002) "Social exclusion refers to the state of multiple deprivation or "lack of participation in key aspects of society" (Hills et al; 2002).

On the other hand, I have learned that it is not generally right to generalize that all people in slums are more socially excluded than those in wealth neighborhood. Moreover, it is theoretically incorrect to argue all urban planning and policies leads into exclusion. In some cases, people in slums have jobs and more political power than those in non-slum areas. To further analyze the relationship between the policy, participation and social exclusion in favelas, I review the work of Dorsner (2004) as she reviews the work by the Human Development Report (UNDP 1993).

According to UNDP; (1993) there are several components that should be tapped for an effective participation to be attained. These components include individual skills, proper knowledge, good health and existence of human rights. The existence of such components contributes to the social inclusion in places such as favelas. However, UNDP claimed, there are also obstacles that might hinder smooth and effective or reproductive participation. Such hindrance are the legal systems, income distribution, social norms/values, administrative rules and procedures. Plummer (2000) also pinpoints some core issues that in most cases affect proper policy to facilitate participation and reduce social exclusion. According to Plummer (2000), poor skills and knowledge (education and literacy), lack of employment, inappropriate cultural/beliefs, gender marginalization, political and social disregarding are some of the key dynamics that can influence the level of participation in places like favelas.

After a careful review of the literatures on different theories on social exclusion and the role of participation in favelas, in this paragraph, I analyze concepts linked to the participation and how it positively and negatively contributes to the social exclusion in favelas. Through a brief assessment of the literatures on the current debate about the three concepts, I show how the three concepts interlink. Here, I present the levels and degrees of interaction and how participation promote or alleviate social exclusion. Participation is considered one of the key aspects for collective community development. In most cases, the participatory technique seems to produce a community with a sense of ownership and inclusion. However, at some point, in favelas, participation has resulted into social exclusion and slowing down of the development project. The exclusion normally happens when there is no or less consultation of the community, or when there is no survey done to capture dweller's perceptions on the community planning projects. In Rio de Janeiro, according to Elizabeth Riley, Jorge Fiori and Ronaldo Ramirez (2000), participatory approach has shown some weaknesses. They argue that, "despite Brazil's impressive record of government decentralization, the state remains extremely powerful and top-down in its approach to government." (Riley E. et al; 2000, page 529). It is considered that, for favela residents to fully participate in such initiatives, they should be involved in all level of participation, from the meeting, input stage to the implementation phases (Riley E. et al; 2000).

From a report written by the World Bank (2003), there are many ways in which the three concepts (i.e. participation, social exclusion and favelas) interlinked. For instance, participation can reduce social exclusion through effective-collective planning, implementation and supervision of social projects in places such as favelas. Through that participation, there is a sense of inclusion of individuals in the community development planning. In most cases, when people participate in planning and policy formation, they express their demand which in turn include their thoughts of the type of development they want to see.

Recommendation

Social exclusion and participation are multidimensional concepts that take different forms and levels. Social exclusion can be reflected from the decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources among others (Madanipour et al 1998). My recommendation on this, more inclusive policies should be incorporated in development programs such as Prometropole, need further participatory engagement especially to the dwellers. They need to take part in making decision on issues that affect their daily lives and livelihood.

On the same time, participation plays great role good governance and community engagement (Koster and Nuijten; 2012). According to Claire Dorsner “If participation is understood as inclusion at different stages in the development process, then exclusion relates to the mechanisms through which participation is hampered” (2004, page 369). This means, participation remains as one of the most fundamental aspect for project success. When it happens that people are excluded, or not participate in such initiatives, then they are regarded as excluded automatically. I would recommend more efforts and research on how the local authorities, development agents such as World bank to emphasize more bottom-top approaches in development initiatives. Ideas, planning, and to a large extent implementation of projects should involve local dwellers.

A participatory security approach should also be considered in places where insecurity plays great role of exclusion and act as a factor to push favelas further from the community and law enforcements. In some places in Rio, drug loads have control of the favelas. They provide services that the authorities should have provided, but a more participatory and corporative methods should be considered. This goes in line with the gender issues which I have touched briefly. Gender exclusion especially in socio economic aspect should be revisited. A clear policy and empowerment programs should be introduced in excluded places where dwellers especially women can be educated on their rights to participate in decision making. For instance, UN-Habitat (2012), argued that, the process of urbanization and slum upgrading in most slums across the world, is determined by gender, power, privilege, and discrimination.

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