

Vidigal: Favela Fad?

A case study on gentrification in a favela in Rio de Janeiro

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## ABSTRACT

My thesis examines the process of gentrification of low-income residents in Vidigal, a *favela* located on a hill adjacent to the most touristy and desirable area in Rio de Janeiro. *Favela* is the Portuguese term to refer to slums in Brazil. Recently, those *favelas* adjacent to the city's wealthiest neighborhoods have become attractive locations for tourists, foreigners and young middle-class Brazilians due to their geographical location, and their majestic views of the city and ocean. The sudden attractiveness of Rio's *favelas* emerged in the context of the city's economic growth, and the local government's plans to brand it as a global metropolis and tourist destination catalyzed by the preparation for the 2016 Olympic Games.

As in many other cities around the world, Vidigal has been experiencing the first signs of gentrification: new middle-class Brazilians and foreign residents recently have been opening high-end businesses, leading to rapid rise in housing prices and, consequently, displacement of its original low-income residents. Through mixed-research methods combining official data, participant observation, and in-depth interviews, I investigate the extent to which global factors that enable gentrification in different localities around the world manifest themselves in Vidigal as well as the role of local factors in this particular case. Emphasizing the particularities of this case can enrich further research on gentrification as it becomes a global phenomenon.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the process, dynamics, and determinants of gentrification in Vidigal's favela, a favela located in the most affluent and touristy area of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Favela is the Portuguese term to refer to unplanned, informal settlements self-built by their residents, who, for the most part, tend to be low-income and often migrants from impoverished rural areas. In Rio de Janeiro, 22% of the population resides in the 1035 favelas spread throughout the city (Cavallieri & Vial, 2012).

Favelas are not homogenous territories. They differ in demographics, location, and patterns of land occupation (Meirelles & Athayde, 2014). For example, in central areas of Rio de Janeiro, favelas are generally located on the hills adjacent to planned neighborhoods, such as Vidigal's favela<sup>1</sup>. In these areas, favelas have more access to basic infrastructure, such as electricity, water supply, sanitation, and garbage collection than in areas located in the peripheries of the city.

Gentrification in Vidigal has been fostered by rapidly increasing housing prices and economic development, in great part linked to the city's intense investments and preparation to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. The combined effects of its location, access to public services and infrastructure, and its affordability made Vidigal an attractive place for middle-class foreigners and Brazilians. As in many other cities around the world, Vidigal has been experiencing the first signs of gentrification: new middle-class Brazilians and foreign residents recently have opened high-end businesses, leading to rapid rise in housing prices, and, consequently, displacement of its original low-income residents.

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<sup>1</sup> Vidigal is a neighborhood that comprises two sides: one is a planned neighborhood formed by single-family homes and apartment buildings; the other is the favela. In this thesis, I will refer to Vidigal's favela as Vidigal because this is how the favela is known for.

In this thesis, I investigate some of the global processes that led to favela gentrification in Rio de Janeiro, seeking to contribute to a better understanding of this phenomenon in cities of the Global South. My interest is to analyze how the effects of uneven capitalist accumulation at the global and national level manifest themselves at the local level and are contingent on local particularities.

Specifically, this thesis investigates the local context in which Vidigal has become an attractive place despite the fact that favelas have been historically illegal and unregulated places, and negatively associated with poverty, violence, and criminality. Through the analysis of the representations of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, my research will shed light on the discursive elements in the process of gentrification.

In this regard, the process of gentrification in Vidigal is not just related to the physical aspects of the territory, such as location, infrastructure, and affordability of the housing market but is also related to representations and perceptions of Vidigal that residents and non-residents socially constructed over the history of Rio de Janeiro. During the process of gentrification, new emerging representations of Vidigal overlapped with the old ones, producing and reproducing social tensions and dynamics in Vidigal between better-off newcomers, and long-term residents.

Through a mixed-methods approach, comprising interviews, participant observation and analysis of academic literature and media, my thesis follows recent scholars who investigate gentrification using a multi-level analysis to better explain it as an outcome of multi-causal processes (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Schlichtman, Patch, & Lamont, 2017). This is particularly relevant in understanding gentrification in Global South cities in which the particularities of each case enrich the debates on what is now a global phenomenon.

I organized the thesis as follows: My first chapter reviews the literature on gentrification and discusses the use of the concept in Global South cities, particularly in Brazil. In my second

chapter, I discuss the methodological strategy used in my case. My third chapter examines the Brazilian literature on favelas. I analyze the representations of favelas in Rio de Janeiro by also providing a brief history of favelas in the city. In my fourth chapter, I examine the process of gentrification in Vidigal, stressing the similarities and particularities of this process, and then provide an analysis of the case in my last chapter.

## CHAPTER I: LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis aims at investigating the global and local factors that enabled the process of gentrification in Vidigal. In order to understand the global factors, my work follows critical urban theories as defined by Brenner (2009). These theories challenge the market-driven and market-oriented forms of urban knowledge through the critique of ideologies, including the social-scientific ones, and the investigation of relations of power, inequalities, and injustice (Brenner, 2009). Critical urban theorists understand the urban space as a space that is continuously constructed and reconstructed through uneven patterns of capital accumulation and mediated by different levels of power relations (Brenner, 2009).

My argument here is based on one of these critical urban theorists, David Harvey. His work allowed me to understand the role of capital and power relations in the process of urbanization of Rio de Janeiro, specifically the effects of market-driven urban development shaped by the uneven distribution of resources and investments across the city. As I will discuss in the following pages, Harvey's critique of the global dominant form of cities' governance also allowed me to investigate the global factors in the context in which gentrification in Vidigal unfolds.

Furthermore, in order to investigate the local factors, specifically the transformations in the dominant discursive representations of Vidigal, my research is also based on theories that understand the urban space through both its material and symbolic dimensions. Following Massey's work (2005), I see space as constituted through social interrelations. For instance, a favela is understood as informal settlement not just because its physical form, but also because of the identities and representations associated with it. As Van Gent&Jaffle (2017) put it: "as various critical geographers have argued, uneven development and the material-spatial expression of

inequalities must be understood within the discursive frames that serve to produce and justify these inequalities” (p.556)

However, as Lefebvre (1991) emphasizes, because space is the product of different levels of interrelations and daily interactions, it is also socially contested. It is in everyday life that alternative practices and resistance can emerge, giving shape to new urban forms and configurations. The expansion, maintenance, and improvement of life conditions in favelas have been the consequence of a history of resident’s mobilization and resistance against favela’s marginalization and removal. Vidigal is representative of this history since residents have fought for its maintenance and improvement of their life conditions.

In the following chapters, I investigate how the same ideas and discourses that have emerged from the fight for permanency of favelas are the same that have played a role in making favelas an attractive place in some parts of the city. Specifically, the fight of favela dwellers to improve their life conditions and build new favela’s representations – associated with culture, sense of belonging, and a specific way of life – gave shape to new imaginaries on favelas.

I first will present an overview of the concept of gentrification. Gentrification has lost most of its analytical power, as it has been overused in academia and the media. I will thus discuss how gentrification is understood through the lens of critical urban studies. I will close this chapter with a discussion on how gentrification have been conceptualized in Rio de Janeiro in order to localize the analysis at the local level.

### 1.1 Gentrification: definitions, concepts, and theories

Gentrification is a broad term used in different urban reconfigurations (Schlichtman et al., 2017). The term gentrification was first coined in 1964 by British Urban Sociologist, Ruth Glass, when describing changes in inner city London during the post-war period (Slater, 2009). She defines gentrification as the process of social and economic changes in traditional working-class

neighborhoods due to upper and lower middle-class in-movers (Glass, 1964). Her analysis focuses on the social and economic structural changes that lead to displacement of low-income residents who, for the most part, have grown up in these neighborhoods (Glass, 1964).

Gentrification continues to be defined as a process of transformation of low-income neighborhoods as upper- and middle-class residents move in, attracted by its affordability, central and historic location, attractive architecture, and access to amenities (Palen, 1988; Slater, 2009; Schlichtman et al., 2017). However, the frequent use of the term gentrification not only in academia, but also in the media has somewhat devalued its analytical power leading scholars to further analyze its meaning and produce explications of its causes and consequences (Palen, 1988; Leeds et al. 2008; Slater, 2009).

Palen (1988) emphasizes how the meaning of gentrification is also linked to ideological beliefs, political positions, and imaginaries, influencing the assessment of the consequences of gentrification as either a positive or negative process. Negative accounts analyze gentrification as the product of uneven development of cities. Gentrification occurs at the cost of displacing poorer and less advantage neighborhood residents due to the increased cost of housing and services. Residents who have lower incomes than new in-movers are thus forced to move to cheaper, albeit less accessible areas.

Positive accounts focus on gentrification's role in neighborhood revitalization through private housing market activity, leading to physical upgrading of the neighborhood, decrease in housing codes violation (i.e., fire hazards), improvement of municipal services and maintenance, decrease in criminality, and increase in tax revenues for city governments as property values increase.

Slater (2009) and Wacquant (2008) highlight the increasing presence of these narratives, specifically in the beginning of the twenty-first century, that celebrate gentrification as a natural



and positive aspect of development of cities. These positive narratives align with neoliberal approaches that defend the entrepreneurial attitude of city governments in order to attract private capital and boost the development of cities in the post-industrial era (Harvey, 1990; Harvey, 2001).

Lees et al. (2008) contrast the dominance of these emerging narratives with a study on the production of theoretical and empirical literature on gentrification that has focused on multiple perspectives and cannot be limited to one specific view of the process.

Lees et al. (2008), describing the experience of cities of the Global North, place theoretical and empirical literature on gentrification into consumption theories and production theories. Consumption theories explain this phenomenon as a “consequence of changes in the industrial and occupational structure of advanced capitalist cities” (Lees et al., 2008, p.90). One important change was the increase of service employment, occurring concurrently with the loss of manufacturing jobs. This change led to the expansion of middle-class professional occupations in cities. These theories investigate the consumption preferences of these emerging middle-class through the analysis of their behavior and cultural values, seeking to understand the individual motivations of gentrifiers who prefer to live in central city rather than suburbia (Lees et al., 2008).

However, these theories lack the structural analysis of how the capitalist system influence the uneven distribution of resources in cities. Production-side theories is a response to this gap by focusing on the role of the capitalist system in producing class inequalities and uneven development in cities (Lees et al., 2008). For instance, Neil Smith (1979), one of the most influential scholars who studies gentrification, explores the conditions that make some disinvested places profitable and others not. Through his Rent Gap theory, Smith (1979) investigates the process of disinvestment and reinvestment in neighborhoods through the analysis of the economic

return that landowners can potentially gain in disinvested neighborhoods if this place becomes gentrified. In places where the potential economic return is higher so is gentrification.

Furthermore, consumption theories lack a deeper analysis of the class dimension of the gentrification process, specifically displacement of low-income residents who live in under-served central neighborhoods. Peter Marcuse is one of the most prominent scholars who took a closer look at the relationship between gentrification and displacement. In his work with Rasmussen and Engler (1989), they specifically define displacement caused as a result of gentrification as off-site displacement which they characterized as follows:

Off-site displacement occurs when changes produced by a particular development affect the neighborhood surrounding it, whether by increasing prices so that housing becomes unaffordable, by changing the social composition of an area to make it unattractive to former residents, or by creating blight in the physical environment that makes continued occupancy hazardous. (...) Off-site displacement becomes more frequent in a period of gentrification when there is a high level of new investments in existing neighborhoods without protection for current residents (Marcuse, Rasmussen, & Engler, 1989, p. 1353, 1354).

Marcuse et al. (1989) emphasize not only the quantitative impacts of displacement, such as the number of people displaced in a certain area, but also the qualitative impacts on households, such as discrimination against original residents, disruption of social networks, and emotional and psychological impacts caused by evictions and, consequently, displacement.

Lees et al. (2008) and Slater (2009) also identify themselves as part of this group of scholars who focus on the social costs of gentrification. All authors emphasize the theoretical link between gentrification and displacement in that it relates to the original definition of the term first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2009; Schlichtman et al., 2017). They also stress the political and analytical use of gentrification as a way to stress social and economic inequalities that are cause and consequence of the gentrification process (Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2009; Schlichtman et al., 2017). This thesis, using the empirical case of Vidigal, engages with this critical literature that analyzes gentrification in relation to displacement, power relations, and inequality.

## **1.2 How is gentrification understood by critical urban studies?**

In the context of rapid economic globalization enabled by the deregulation of the financial market, and advancement of informational and economic technologies, some cities around the world have emerged as strategic territories that articulate this globalized system, such as New York, London, and Tokyo (Sassen, 2005). Through her concept of “Global Cities”, Saskia Sassen (2005) explains how the global flow of capital and people gets territorialized in cities where the headquarters of transnational corporations are concentrated. These new geographical clusters of global corporate capital attract not only high-skilled and high-valued professionals, but also workers to work as low-skilled service providers catering to the everyday needs of the high-paid, high-skilled labor force. Sassen (2005) stresses that “a focus on the city in studying globalization will tend to bring to the fore the growing inequalities between highly provisioned and profoundly disadvantaged sectors” (p.27).

Not surprisingly, global cities - such as London and New York – have been experiencing intense gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods and have become the most significant examples of gentrification. The attraction of young, well-educated, and well-compensated professionals combined with their preferences of housing were critical factors to deepening this process (Sassen, 2015; Marcuse, 1985). These emerging upper and middle-classes have preferred to live in central areas, generally located in historical neighborhoods inhabited by a diverse population and close to amenities, such as public transportation and places of entertainment (Marcuse, 1985; Schlichtman et al., 2017).

Associated with this process, since the nineteen-seventies, the loss of manufacturing jobs in major cities in the United States and Europe was mainly caused by offshoring and outsourcing of industrial plants to countries in the Global South. For the working-class, most of the manufacturing jobs have been replaced by low-skilled and low-paid positions in the service

industry in those urban areas (Harvey, 2001; Sassen, 2005). This resulted in reduced purchasing power for the working-class, specifically less capacity to afford housing rents. In cities experiencing gentrification, the inequality between the new in-movers and long-term residents has resulted in displacement of low-income residents, especially renters (Marcuse, 1985; Schlichtman et al., 2017).

This context of deindustrialization has also reflected on the emergence of new city government's attitudes towards governance and urban planning (Harvey, 1990; Harvey, 2001). Harvey (1990, 2001) emphasizes that, since the nineteen seventies, city governments have acquired an entrepreneurial attitude that focus on strategies to attract investments as the main factor to boost urban economic development. This new market-centered developmental standpoint was embedded in neoliberal ideas of governance, which concentrated on fiscal austerity, privatization, and deregulation of the economy, as well as understood as eliminating official interference with free-market forces.

Following these neoliberal guidelines, a central element of this new entrepreneurial attitude has been the partnership between the public and the private sectors in order to finance and develop new projects. (Harvey, 1990; Harvey, 2001). In the context of deindustrialization, the increase in unemployment rates, abandonment and degradation of inner cities and decrease in the city budgets, city governments had to compete with other cities in the global arena to attract new private capital, mostly related to the financial and service industry.

From this entrepreneurial perspective, gentrification has been considered a positive phenomenon since it promotes private reinvestment of central areas (Harvey, 1990; Harvey, 2001; Slater, 2009; Marcuse, 1985). The arrival of new residents in gentrified neighborhoods is followed by the opening of restaurants, cafes, shops catering to upper and middle-class customers. Furthermore, newcomers can also afford renovation of old houses, many of them historical houses,

and maintenance of gardens and yards. This process of reinvestment combined with physical upgrading of amenities and infrastructure by the city government is understood as a successful strategy to revalorize previously degraded areas.

Another strategy used by cities to incentivize development is to renovate degraded zones through the construction of areas for entertainment, consumption and, tourism, such as the Harbor Place in Baltimore or the Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco (Harvey, 1990; Harvey, 2001). Along with renovation of degraded industrial and port areas, other examples include the construction of museums with modern and innovative architecture, such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain.

As highlighted by Harvey (1990, 2001), cities have also used the organization of mega-events – fairs, exhibitions, international sports competitions – as strategies to boost local development through the attraction of tourists and businesses. The Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1984 and in Barcelona in 1992 are considered successful examples of cities that used financial and economic resources through these mega-events to renovate degraded areas, attract new investments, and become tourist destinations. Following these examples, Rio de Janeiro has adopted an entrepreneurial form of governance since the late nineties with the organization of mega-events as a central strategy, the most significant of them being the hosting the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games (Santos, Medeiros, & Vasques, 2013; Vainer, 2000).

The central aspect of this entrepreneurial attitude is to use these areas as focal points of attraction for visitors and businesses and as engines for local development. The belief is that once degraded areas are re-signified through art, modern architecture, and restoration of historical places, they become the epicenter of a continuous movement of revitalization of surrounding areas, mainly through private investments. With the attraction of residents and tourists to visit the area,

companies will be interested to open hotels, restaurants, stores, leading to a continuous revitalization and appreciation of the real estate market.

Rio de Janeiro is one example of a Global South city that has adopted this form of governance. In the context of economic and financial globalization, Global South cities have also been competing to attract private investments, many of them through the aforementioned strategies. Following the strategies of Global North cities, city governments in the Global South use renovated urban areas to rebrand their cities and build a positive image that is associated with dynamism, creativity, and economic development (Harvey, 1990; Harvey, 2001).

As a result, Global South cities are experiencing gentrification in cities where these strategies have been advanced and put into effect. For instance, in South America, the redevelopment of Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires, Argentina, promoted tourism, leading to gentrification and displacement of low-income dwellers who used to live in the area.

Tourist-led gentrification is an important component of the transformation of traditional low-income neighborhoods not only through redevelopment projects, but also through the “discovery of hidden places” by tourists and young middle-class in-movers who are searching for places which can give an authentic experience of the local culture (Schlichtman et al., 2017). For example, in Santiago, Chile, Bellavista, a historical neighborhood who used to be inhabited by low-income residents, is experiencing the advent of gentrification as boutique-hotels and young middle-class professionals move to the area (López-Morales, Shin, & Lees, 2016; Janoschka & Sequera, 2016). Working-class neighborhoods of Buenos Aires, such as Palermo and La Boca, have become tourist destinations. (López-Morales et al., 2016; Janoschka & Sequera, 2016). In Rio de Janeiro, favelas, located in tourist areas, are the most prominent example of tourist-led gentrification in the city (Gaffney, 2016).

The identification of various processes of gentrification around the globe has raised questions on how this phenomenon can be analyzed in multiple contexts worldwide. In the next section, I will discuss the use of the concept of gentrification in cities of the Global South.

### **1.3 Gentrification as a Worldwide Phenomenon**

Gentrification is no longer a phenomenon particular to cities located in the United States or Western Europe. Atkinson and Bridge (2005) and Lees, Shin, and López-Morales (2016) describe cases of gentrification around the world, identifying various types of gentrification, such as gentrification in rural areas and slums. Through these new types of gentrification, studies can expand to cases that do not focus solely on the process of transformation of inner-city neighborhoods as middle-class residents move in (Clark, 2005; Lees et al., 2016).

Power relations in these studies have also been emphasized by Atkinson and Bridge (2005) who identify elements of colonialism in contemporary gentrification. At the neighborhood scale, elements of colonialism can be identified in the process of change of the built environment as new residents with higher socioeconomic status invest in housing and business for their own use. This changed built environment express identities, cultural values, and preferences of the new residents. In many cases, the gentrifiers are predominantly white and have preferences of urban living based on the Western use of urban space. (Atkinson&Bridge, 2005).

Furthermore, Lees et al. (2016) problematize the use of the concept of gentrification in Global South cities because the knowledge production on gentrification has focused on cities in the United States and Western Europe. The authors disagree with the idea that causes of gentrification are mainly related to an expansion of neoliberal practices around the world. Studies on gentrification cannot uncritically assume that the phenomenon has had a similar trajectory around the globe but needs to acknowledge the uniqueness of each place (Lees et al., 2016, p.376).

Lees et al. (2016) emphasizes the particularities of each process to deepen comparisons among cities either in the Global North or Global South. As discussions on gentrification become influential in urban studies, elements found in gentrification processes in the North or South can enrich theories and concepts that investigate this phenomenon (Lees et al., 2016).

This is particularly important to my research on gentrification in Vidigal, a slum in Rio de Janeiro. Slums are usually identified as a characteristic of the urban areas of the developing world cities and has acquired pejorative meanings since it is often related to illegal occupation, lack of infrastructure, and poverty (Roy, 2005; Roy, 2011; Roy, 2016). In urban studies, there has not been debates on the existence of slums in Global North cities since slums are seen as a problem that these cities have solved in the past through slum clearance and redevelopment (Mukhija, 2012; Roy, 2011).

Gentrification in Vidigal has not occurred due to redevelopment and slum clearance as is the case in many places in the Global South (Lees et al., 2016). By contrast, in Vidigal, new in-movers, who have higher socioeconomic status than long-term residents, are attracted to and choose to live in the slum. Furthermore, tourism has also played a role in fostering gentrification in Vidigal with the increase of young tourists who prefer to stay in one of the hostels and boutique-hotels in the area. These hostels advertise their location as an opportunity for the tourist to experience the view and the unique way of living in favelas.

Gentrification in Vidigal sheds light on a new type of gentrification. I thus analyze gentrification in Vidigal through local, national, and global lenses in order to see how this global phenomenon has particularly unfolded there.

#### **1.4 Studies on gentrification in Rio de Janeiro**

Brazilian literature on urban studies has not used the term gentrification to discuss the configurations and reconfigurations of Rio de Janeiro's urban fabric (López-Morales et al., 2016;



Gaffney, 2016). From 2010, specifically in the context previous to the 2016 Summer Olympic Games, foreign academics and Brazilian graduate students have published articles, master's thesis, and PhD's dissertations on gentrification in different parts of Rio de Janeiro (Lacerda, Salles, Novaes, 2016; Mayrink, 2017; Cumming, 2013). Gaffney (2016), for example, investigates different processes of gentrification in the city of Rio de Janeiro that occurs at different rates and leads to different outcomes. He analyses the period previous to the Olympic Games in which state investments in infrastructure and security have changed real estate dynamics and residential profiles in different parts of the city (p.1134).

Although the term gentrification has not been used or translated to Rio de Janeiro's context until recently, Brazilian scholars have studied the effects of the adoption of an entrepreneurial mode of governance on Rio de Janeiro's urban fabric and the consequent changes in the real estate market (López-Morales et al., 2016; Gaffney, 2016).

The city of Rio de Janeiro has adopted an entrepreneurial type of governance since the early nineties in the context of acceptance of neoliberal guidelines by national and local elites (Santos et al., 2013; Vainer, 2000; Ribeiro & Santos Júnior, 2017). In Rio de Janeiro, local elites have since tried to reposition Rio as a global metropolis through the adoption of the same strategies and policies of other world-class cities (Santos et al., 2013; Vainer, 2000). Vainer (2000) highlights the consensus on this mode of governance among public administrators and the continuous influence of multilateral agencies, especially the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, United Nations Development Program, on promoting a strategic planning for Rio de Janeiro based on this entrepreneurial view of the city.

One of their most consistent strategies has been nominating the city as host of international events like the 2007 Pan American Games, the 2013 World Youth Day, the 2014 World Cup, and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games. The belief was that hosting a mega-event

would provide quick return on investments and would put the city on the top of the most competitive cities in the world.

This consensus on this mode of governance enabled the consolidation of a coalition of political forces at the three levels of government and major corporations in public works that carried out massive infrastructural projects in order to remake the city and prepare it to host these events (Ribeiro & Santos Júnior, 2017). Through these projects, the city has strengthened the centrality of areas that have higher potential for capital accumulation: the South Zone, the West Zone (Barra neighborhood), and the Port district (Ribeiro & Santos Junior, 2017; Gaffney, 2016).

Brazilian scholars have contested this model of development and have emphasized the detrimental effects of the entrepreneurial attitude taken by the city of Rio de Janeiro, specifically displacement of low-income residents who live in these areas (Vainer, 2000; Ribeiro&Santos Junior, 2017; Gaffney, 2016). These effects have reproduced and exacerbated the historical patterns of spatial segregation and social inequality of the city.

Gentrification in Vidigal emerged in this context. Through a mixed-method approach, which I will explain in my next section, I investigated how the process of gentrification in this favela, although praised as an example of pro-market solution, produced historical patterns of spatial and social segregation in this community.

## **CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY**

For the development of this study, I used a mixed-method approach in order to investigate the process of gentrification and, consequently, displacement in Vidigal. I used a combination of in-depth interviews, participant observation, and analysis of academic research, official data, governmental reports, and Brazilian and international media.

As a qualitative researcher, my research agenda, approach, findings, and conclusions were mediated by my own positionality as a white Brazilian scholar. I had to acknowledge that the knowledge produced here and the very act of research are socially situated (Luker, 2008). They are influenced by my background, experiences, and relationships created with the people I met during the research process. Recognizing the significance of my own positionality for the study underlines the importance of doing a reflexive research (Burawoy, 1998) in which a continuous dialogue between my experiences and my research subjects are part of the whole development of this research. As a researcher, I need to be aware that the knowledge I am producing is constructed intersubjectively with participants and it represents my own view of the case.

### **2.1 Positionality**

I am a white Brazilian woman who was born in Rio de Janeiro. I was raised in one of the planned neighborhoods in the South Zone of the city, and I have never lived in a favela. However, I was fortunate to have a family who encouraged me to engage with people from different backgrounds. During my adolescence, my mother worked for one of Rio de Janeiro's local governmental agencies, focusing on the promotion of development at the local level. Most of her work focused on developing partnerships with non-profit organization in favelas in order to create projects to improve education, job qualification, and access to culture. Visiting these social

projects, as a teenager, I had the opportunity to meet *favela* residents who were incredibly engaged and committed to promote social change in their communities.

In 2003, I also volunteered to work on a social project whose objective was to create a collection of images about life in the *favelas*. For three weeks, I assisted one of the photographers who worked in *Rocinha*, the largest *favela* in Rio de Janeiro. I organized pictures for the collection and accompanied the photographer to meetings with community leaders.

When, in 2016, I decided to study the process of gentrification in Vidigal, my first question was why Vidigal has become an attractive place to visit and live in if it was considered dangerous and undesirable just a few years prior. In my own mind, a significant increase in housing prices in the South Zone and the improvement in security in the favela were not convincing enough reasons to explain gentrification in Vidigal. I was convinced that other factors were at play. In this research, thus, I wanted to explore the multiple layers that exist in this process and the new social dynamics it creates. For this reason, the use of interviews and participant observation were significant methods during my research process.

However, I am aware that my own socioeconomic background and race affect the very act of doing research in Vidigal. I am a white woman coming from one of the planned neighborhoods of the South Zone. In Rio de Janeiro, the wealthiest neighborhoods are majority white while favelas are multiracial. According to the 2010 Brazilian census<sup>2</sup>, Vidigal's community comprises of 40% white, 45.3% mixed-race, 13.7% black, and 0.9% Asian, and 0.1% indigenous.

My daily interaction with residents and the relationship with long-term interviewees sometimes reflected the dichotomous relationship that exists between favelas and planned neighborhoods including the stereotypes associated with it. As an example, one day I was walking in Vidigal when an Afro-Brazilian elderly male resident sang the chorus of a very famous and

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<sup>2</sup> In the Brazilian census, race is self-defined.

critical song<sup>3</sup>: “The Haiti is here, the Haiti is not here.” While I passed, he looked to his friend and said: “Apparently, Haiti is not here anymore.” From his comments, it was clear that many residents see me as an outsider and, in the context of gentrification, as an outsider, symbolically representing the impacts on their community.

As an outsider, I recognized that my positionality affected my research and the information gathered through my interviews. I was also aware that residents would not always disclose information that they would share among themselves, the type of information Chavez (2008) describes as hidden transcripts.

Yet I am a researcher who, like many other researchers, wanted to understand the process of gentrification in low-income neighborhoods from the inside, from the perspective of the old and new residents. I feel that some residents were hesitant to speak to me, and many interviewees mentioned to me that there were a lot of researchers who came, collected data and then disappeared. Personally, I did not want to be like one of those researchers. During the whole development of this research, I have been thinking how my work can be meaningful to Vidigal’s residents, and how I can give back to the community.

For this reason, I decided to get involved in one of the projects of ColetivAção, an activist group that have been working to strengthen the social memory and culture of Vidigal. I came to know this activist group by chance while conducting interviews with three members of the group during my first three weeks in Vidigal. The project ‘Emplacando a Memória’ (Putting memory on street signs) had the aim to invite local artists to paint street signs from the most important reference points in Vidigal. I will further explain this project in my findings chapter. The project was in progress but needed more funding to continue. I decided to use part of the funding I had received from the UC Davis Blum Center to support this project and work with the group. This

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<sup>3</sup> “Haiti,” composed by Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, describes the racial and social inequalities in Brazil.

was one of the most significant experiences I had during my fieldwork<sup>4</sup>. Thanks to my engagement, I could spend more time in Vidigal, meeting residents and local artists, and closely observing how communities develop creative ways to resist gentrification.

## **2.2 Participant Observation**

Although significant for my research, my observation was limited by time constraints. I did my fieldwork during August-September 2017, and, then, fifteen days in December 2017. I decided not to live in Vidigal while doing fieldwork because I thought that would have transformed me into a gentrifier myself, which would have led me to a completely different thesis. Instead, I decided to stay with family members near Vidigal and go there on a daily basis.

Generally, I used to schedule all interviews in Vidigal, spend part of the time walking around the favela, taking the local transportation, and sitting on the plaza where the main entrance is. A significant experience I had in Vidigal was taking a five-hour tour that I had arranged with a local tourist guide<sup>5</sup> who was born and raised there. We walked through different areas of Vidigal while he was telling me the history of the favela and anecdotes of the community. Spending time in Vidigal was an important way to understand the new social dynamics created by gentrification.

During my fieldwork, I took notes of these experiences on a daily basis. These notes form the basis from which I built my perception of Vidigal's everyday experience as I describe in Chapter IV.

## **2.3 Interviews<sup>6</sup>**

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<sup>4</sup> As part of the project, I met all the group, participated in two meetings while I was in Brazil, participated in their project's Whatsapp (online chatting group) group. I had meaningful discussions with the members of the group about the history of Vidigal, past individual experiences in the community, and resistance to gentrification.

<sup>5</sup> Favelas have become a tourist destination in Rio de Janeiro, especially in the context of the 2016 Summer Olympic Games.

<sup>6</sup> See on appendix a table with basic information of residents.

I did fifteen in-depth interviews with long-term residents, Brazilian and foreign newcomers, hotel owners, and hostel party's attendees. I selected these informants through personal connections and recommendations from other interviewees. Interviews with long-term residents, short-term residents, and foreigners were done during my fieldwork between August and September 2017. Interviews with a hotel owner and three non-resident women who had partaken in at least two parties in Vidigal were conducted by phone during the months of March and April 2018. Interviews had a duration that ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then translated into English<sup>7</sup>.

Of the nine residents I interviewed, two were females and two males with ages ranging from 32 to 42, who were born and raised in Vidigal; one 55-year-old male who moved to Vidigal when he was five; one 37-year-old male foreigner who has been living there for seven years; one 38-years-old Brazilian male and one 60-year-old Brazilian female, who have been living there for more than 10 years. I also interviewed the husband of one of the residents who was born and raised in Vidigal.

I also did two interviews with former short-term residents. One was a British man who had lived in Vidigal for two years, and the other was with a 29-year-old Brazilian, middle-class woman who was born in Rio de Janeiro and had lived in Vidigal for eight months.

Interviews were semi-structured using open-ended questions about (1) the perception of long-term and new residents about the process of gentrification; (2) their perception of the community and sense of belonging; (3) their perceptions about the changes in the community; (4) reasons to move to Vidigal in case of new residents.

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<sup>7</sup> There were three interviews that I took notes instead of recording. One was with a tourist guide, a resident born and raised in Vidigal, who took me for a five-hour tour in Vidigal. The others were during interviewees' work break in which we did not have much time to spend with the interview.

Interviews were done in an informal setting, five of them at the resident's house, in which I tried to let the interviewees talk unrestrictedly about the issues at hand, only interjecting to pose follow-up questions when necessary. This approach allowed me to explore and discover new issues that I had not previously thought about asking.

During the months of April and May 2018, I conducted four interviews by phone. During these interviews, I took notes instead of recording. One was with a hostel owner in Vidigal who opened his hostel in 2014. The other three were conducted with upper middle-class women, two in their thirties and one in their twenties, who went to at least two parties in Vidigal. I decided to interview them after the first analysis of my data. Through these interviews, I could gain a better understanding of customers' motivation to go to these parties.

Due to time limitations, I could not conduct more interviews, specifically with hostel owners. Most hostel owners that I contacted were not responsive, but, eventually, I was able to interview one of them. Furthermore, I did not have enough time to conduct interviews with more residents that would reflect on the diversity of Vidigal in terms of age, level of education, and level of income.

As I found my interviewees through personal connections and recommendations, almost all my interviews ended up with long-term residents that had at least completed high school, with the exception of one who had completed up to middle school. Three had completed undergraduate degrees and one was pursuing a masters' degree. According to the 2010 Brazilian Census, 35% of Vidigal's population has completed high school and only 5% had an undergraduate degree. This was one limitation of my interviews in that they did not encompass the full demographics of Vidigal. With the exception of three residents, most had similar levels of income that ranged around the average income of 50% of the population of Vidigal, from one to three minimum wages



(Brazilian Census, 2010). During my thesis, I will preserve the anonymity of my interviews by using pseudonyms.

#### **2.4 Analysis of academic research, official data, and governmental reports:**

The aim of this research is to investigate the process of gentrification in Vidigal from a local and global perspective framed by rigorous theoretical analysis and sensitive to the historical specificity of the local. Therefore, an important part of my methods included the analysis of academic books and papers published mainly in peer-reviewed academic journals. I also included the analysis of official data and governmental reports mostly found through internet searches, and the University of California Library System.

Knowledge about urbanization in Rio de Janeiro and, specifically, favelas have generally been produced in universities and governmental agencies. Because of deep inequalities in Brazilian society, most people who work for these agencies and universities are not residents from favelas (including myself). In the last twenty years, there have been changes and some favela's dwellers now have had the opportunity to attend universities and become academics conducting studies and research about their own neighborhoods (Barbosa & Silva, 2013).

According to Barbosa and Silva (2013), new academic work produced by 'insider' residents or former residents from favelas contributed to new perspectives to the study of favelas, critically analyzing the city of Rio de Janeiro as a divided city. These works highlighted the heterogeneity of favelas and criticized the stereotypes of favelas as a place of poverty and violence. In my research, I prioritized these publications and used them in addition to other publications.

#### **2.5 Brazilian and international media:**

Since a significant aspect of my research aims to investigate how favelas are perceived and represented by the international and Brazilian media, I also reviewed newspaper articles published in International and Brazilian press, and analyzed advertisements from businesses located in

Vidigal. I reviewed public multimedia campaigns related to the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, popular movies about favelas and social networking influences to help inform my understanding of the major dimensions of global and local imaginaries on favelas.

### CHAPTER III: CONTEXTUAL CHAPTER

In 2009, Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the 2016 Olympic Games. The candidacy to host this sport event was embedded in the national foreign policy to strengthen Brazil's role as a global player as well as in the market-oriented strategy to promote local development through the attraction of private investments. In order to prepare for these events, the city encouraged the partnership of the public and major private corporations in public works to develop areas of the city that would meet the needs of private investors, especially the real estate sector (Santos et al., 2013; Ribeiro & Santos Júnior, 2017).

Most of these development projects, including the improvement of the transportation system, were located in the West zone of the city that has been sprawling over the last thirty years with rapid construction of new residential and mostly gated communities catering to the upper and middle-class. For instance, the Olympic Park, located in this area, was developed to concentrate most of the Olympic Venues together in a public-private partnership between the federal and Rio de Janeiro's state, city governments, and consortium (RioMais) formed of three major developers. After the Olympics, the companies used 40% of the land for the construction of commercial buildings and higher-income housing (Capelo, 2016).

Furthermore, the city of Rio de Janeiro explicitly used this event "as a vehicle for the physical redevelopment of the city through investments in arts and cultural amenities and a series of symbolic place-making projects" (Jaguaribe & Salmon, 2016, p.34). The most remarkable example was "Porto Maravilha<sup>8</sup>:" a redevelopment plan to renovate the degraded zones of downtown and the port district based on other urban renewal projects that were undertaken in

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<sup>8</sup> The name, Porto Maravilha (Marvelous Port), was given in reference to the city's nickname, Cidade Maravilhosa (Marvelous City).

degraded port districts and considered successful ones, such as Baltimore, Barcelona, Bilbao, Boston, and Buenos Aires (Jaguaribe & Salmon, 2016).

As in other cities around the world, the goal of the revitalization of the port district was to renovate a deteriorated area into a dynamic and creative area on par with the most innovative urban renewal projects worldwide. In keeping with this vision, it promoted mixed-used zoning with commercial, market-rate and affordable housing in an area that was pedestrian-oriented and connected by public transportation. From the historical and cultural side, the city not only revisited the past through the restoration of historical sites but also merged with the world of modern and contemporary art through the construction of two museums, one of which “The Museum of Tomorrow.” It was designed by the world-famous architect Santiago Calatrava whose projects include the new World Trade Center Transportation Hub in New York City. They also worked with local urban artists to commission large graffiti paintings on the walls along the shoreline. (Jaguaribe & Salmon, 2016).

This project had a symbolic significance in that “Porto Maravilha” played a central role in rebranding Rio de Janeiro for the Olympic Games. By rebranding, I follow Jaguaribe and Salmon’s definition as the process of fabricating an alternate urban reality that includes capitalist goals and local expectations (Jaguaribe & Salmon, 2016, p.33). It also includes the creation of imageries and narratives that are able to attract tourists and visitors. As Urry and Sheller (2004) discuss, “places are viewed as economically, politically, and culturally produced through the multiple networked mobility of capital, persons, objects, signs, and information (especially via various globalizing media)” (p.6).

In this sense, the city of Rio de Janeiro used the Olympic Games as an opportunity to reinvent the global imaginary about the city. The “Marvelous City” – Rio de Janeiro’s nickname named in reference to its natural beauty – was already a world tourist destination. The global

imaginary of the city was formed through the astonishing images of its tropical landscape with its urban forests and white-sandy beaches. It was also known for the friendly and joyful nature of its population that loves samba music and celebrating Carnival (Jaguaribe & Salmon, 2016).

However, images of criminality, police violence, and violent drug-dealing gangs in favelas have also permeated the global imaginary, especially after the release of the Oscar nominated movie “City of God” which described the story of two friends living in a violent favela in Rio de Janeiro (Jaguaribe & Salmon, 2016; Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Freire-Medeiros, 2016). How would Rio de Janeiro reinvent itself as a city that maintains its characteristics of the “Marvelous City” at the same time overcoming its violent imaginary in order to become a world-class city prepared to receive international private investments and global tourism?

This was achieved by rebranding Rio as an inclusive city that had been working to integrate and accept the favela as part of the city. One example of this discourse was in 2012 when the former mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, in his speech “The four commandments of cities” for the TEDtalk<sup>9</sup>, stated: “Favelas are not always a problem. (...) Favelas can sometimes really be the solution.” Eduardo Paes posits how a city of the future becomes socially integrated. According to him, in Rio de Janeiro, favelas had to be integrated into the formal city by providing basic infrastructure (sewage, electricity, water) and social rights (such as education, health, housing).

The city launched programs to improve infrastructure and security in favelas that claimed to be the most important social legacy of this mega-event. The significant rapid improvement of security in favelas, especially the ones located in the South Zone, reinforced this discourse of social integration of favelas in Rio’s urban fabric. With improvements of security, these historical

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<sup>9</sup> Retrieved from: [https://www.ted.com/talks/eduardo\\_paes\\_the\\_4\\_commandments\\_of\\_cities](https://www.ted.com/talks/eduardo_paes_the_4_commandments_of_cities)

segregated territories saw a sudden attraction of tourists and new residents with a different socioeconomic status, such as in Vidigal.

Conversely, gentrification of these aforementioned favelas, interruption of essential phases of many of the social projects, and forced evictions of favela residents from redeveloped areas contrasted with this discourse of “an inclusive city”. In reality, the process of remaking Rio de Janeiro has reproduced historical patterns of urban segregation. In Vidigal, improvement in security along with market-oriented strategies to develop its territory led to an affordability crisis for its low-income residents. In order to analyze this process in my research, I also investigate why this favela became attractive to private investors and new residents from a higher socioeconomic status. Improvement in security alone does not explain the attraction of foreigners and new residents to visit and live there. The analysis of different perceptions, representations and imaginaries about favelas in Rio de Janeiro is essential to understand the sudden attraction to live and visit this favela.

In the next section, I will discuss how favelas have been formed in Rio de Janeiro and how they have been conceptualized in relation to the urban fabric of Rio.

### **3.1 The “Invention of the Favelas:” How were the perceptions about favelas constructed throughout the history?**

Brazilian scholars studying favelas have emphasized the construction of a public imaginary of favelas that has been produced and reproduced during the twentieth century. As Valladares (2005) emphasizes in her book “The Invention of the Favelas”, representations about favelas have become a consensus, almost “dogmas,” that have led to the idea that all favelas are homogenous with similar problems and, consequently, in need of the same solutions.

Brazilian scholars have emphasized how these representations formed in the beginning of the twentieth century have persisted throughout the years, creating a public imaginary about favelas and informing public policies (Valladares, 2005; Alvito & Zaluar, 2006; Silva & Barbosa, 2005). The dominant representations of favelas reduced the plurality of these self-built territories into a homogenous view of favelas: an informal, illegal and disorganized form of occupation of urban land without infrastructure and social services, and self-built by low-income population. The term “favela” not only designates the main locus of housing the poor, but also has become an adjective in the daily vocabulary that describes disorganization and chaos. It is also a verb, “favelizar” (to favelize), which means the process of disorganization of a certain space (Pamuk & Cavallieiri, 1998; Burgos, 2005).

Brazilian and foreign scholars have also emphasized the agency and capacity of favela dwellers to mobilize local resources, trying to deconstruct, in this way, stigmas associated with *favelados* (favela dwellers), also a pejorative word to refer to the population who live in favelas (Burgos, 2005).

Therefore, these authors have stressed how favelas are not separate spaces of the city (Valladares, 2005; Silva&Barbosa, 2005) but are structurally an integral part of the social, economic, and cultural life of the city. Residents from favelas are also diverse in terms of race, birthplace, religion, level of income, and level of education (Meirelles & Athayde, 2014). They also constantly circulate across the city to go to work, to buy goods and services, to attend schools, to deal with state-related issues, or simply to have fun. Moreover, federal, state, and local government agencies work in favelas through multiple programs, including infrastructure upgrades and the provision of social services. In addition, favela dwellers are 22% of the Rio de Janeiro’s population and represent a significant voting power that may exert important influence in determining some electoral decisions. For these reasons, it is essential to emphasize the inter-

dependent, dialectical relationship between the favelas and the city (Alvito & Zaluar, 2006; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernandez, 2013).

Furthermore, favelas constitute an important part of the cultural identity of Rio de Janeiro and its landscape. They have been celebrated as the epitome of Rio's identity: its celebration of music, dance, and diversity forming a unique urban landscape. It was in the favela that samba music first appeared and where the Carnival block parties were first organized (Schwarcz, 2013).

In brief,

“the separation between morro – ‘hills’ – and asfalto – ‘roads’— (the other way people from Rio refer to favelas and the “formal” city respectively) is deeply intertwined with the process of urbanization in Rio de Janeiro, which kept apart and yet grew dependent on the favela communities it marginalized” (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernandez, 2013, p. 22).

### **3.2 The expansion of favelas in Rio de Janeiro**

There are historical accounts about settlements in the late 1880s in Rio de Janeiro. Morro da Providência was known as Morro da Favella (Favella's hill) and is considered the first favela in Rio de Janeiro (Valladares, 2005; Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Zaluar & Alvito, 2006). One cause for the expansion of Morro da Favella was soldiers returning home after fighting a war against a socio-religious movement – Guerra de Canudos - in the northeastern Brazil in 1897. These soldiers camped behind the Brazilian Ministry of the War, where Morro da Favella is located, to pressure the government to pay their salaries and provide them housing. In fact, favela is the name of a plant in the northeast of Brazil that was brought by the soldiers. With the expansion of this settlement, other settlements around the city with similar characteristics – i.e., self-built housing on irregular lots with no infrastructure – started to be named favelas.

Another reason for the expansion of settlements in Morro da Favella, as well as in other uninhabited hills across the city, was the reform of downtown. Pereira Passos, the mayor of Rio de Janeiro from 1902 to 1906, redesigned downtown based on the European model of urban



planning with wide boulevards and streets, large squares, and new buildings inspired by the “Belle Époque” architectural style (Robinson, 2006).

Pereira Passos was also driven by the doctrines of hygienism that sought to eliminate diseases, especially yellow fever, from the city through the destruction of tenements, overcrowded spaces, and narrow streets located in downtown (Robinson, 2006). This promoted the development of racialized and exclusionary policies that resulted in displacement of low-income residents, mostly of African descent, who used to live in these spaces (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006; Robinson, 2006). The displaced residents moved either to uninhabited hills near downtown, like Morro da Favella, or to the suburbs of the city where they could take the train to downtown or work in factories located nearby (Silva & Barbosa, 2005).

Furthermore, at the turn of the twentieth century, Rio de Janeiro was rapidly growing due to a high influx of migrants from rural areas (especially northeastern Brazil) and Europe. The lack of housing and official housing policies, that was not accommodating the rapid increase in population, prompted unregulated and self-built settlements on uninhabited lots to spring up as a viable housing option for these newcomers. These areas, dubbed as “favelas,” became a public concern and a perceived threat to the realization of the transformation of Rio into a modern city (Silva & Barbosa, 2005).

It is worth emphasizing that racist theories, based on the superiority of the white race, shaped hygienism and the view of the elites of a “modern” city (Schwarcz, 2013). The goal of Pereira Passos’ reform was to transform Rio de Janeiro into a “whiter” and, as reported by the press from the period, a “civilized” city (Carvalho, 2016; Robinson, 2006). Therefore, favelas were contrasted with this modern project for the Brazilian capital and seen as rural and uncivilized enclaves in the city that threatened the ideal of the government and the elites to design Rio de Janeiro as a Paris-like city (Robinson, 2006). As such, favelas were characterized as disorganized

territories lacking all the characteristics of a modern urban area: lack of paved and planned streets, modern sanitation, access to potable water and electricity systems.

Favelas also contrasted with the idea of Rio de Janeiro as the “marvelous city:” a city characterized by its natural beauty nestled between the ocean and the mountains (Barbosa, 2012). They were seen as a “break” in the landscape, informing state interventions that aimed to “clean” the cityscape (Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Valladares, 2005; Pamuk & Cavallieri, 1998).

“Regardless of the spatial pattern displayed by favelas, the prevalent view among non-favela residents is that they represent a “break” in the city scape and that this fact reflects the characteristics of social groups living in them” (Pamuk & Cavallieri, 1998, p.6).

Thus, the physical space of favelas was understood as determinant of the social behavior of favela dwellers (Valladares, 2005). The Passos’s government, following hygienist policies, characterized favelas as a threat not only to public health, but also to the moral behavior of the city (Valladares, 2005; Alvito & Zaluar, 2006). In this view, the disorganized space of favelas was seen as the main determinant of resident’s behavior, contributing to its immoral behavior and continuous state of poverty. For this reason, favelas were seen as a social blight that needed to be contained through removal. Favela residents, who were mostly non-white, became target of a civilizatory pedagogy – inferior people in need of moral guidance in order to become part of the modern and civilized society (Burgos, 2006, p.28).

In response to the continued expansion of favelas in 1937, the local government developed a plan to beautify and reorganize the city’s urban fabric, called the Agache Plan (Valladares, 2005; Barbosa, 2012). Among other things, the plan proposed to eliminate all the favelas from the city.

As a result, the government decided to remove residents from favelas and house them in so-called Proletarian Parks (Valladares, 2005; Burgos, 2006). Proletarian parks were non-permanent complexes of popular housing built to house displaced families. The goal of this governmental project was not only to house displaced favela dwellers but was also disingenuous

as it had a moral and civilizatory mission. Indeed, the official perception of favela dwellers was that they were inferior and passive people in need of civil guidance (Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Valladares, 2005).

It is important to emphasize that the Proletarian Parks were developed during the emergence of Getúlio Vargas' populist dictatorship (1937 to 1945), when the government targeted popular classes as their main political support. During this period, the government expanded national labor and social rights. The Proletarian Parks were constructed with the idea that the improvement of the quality of life of the poor was a social responsibility of the government. However, the hygienist and aesthetic elements of the discourse persisted either through removal of favelas or imposition of strict rules in the housing complexes seeking to improve resident's behavior (Valladares, 2005; Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Burgos, 2006).

During the nineteen forties and fifties, favelas continued to expand due to the rapid industrialization of Brazil and the consequent increasing labor migration from rural to urban areas across the country. With the expansion of favelas, there was also the strengthening of debates about "solutions" to the favela "problem." Forced removal from central areas of the city continued to be the prevalent governmental approach during the following decades of the twentieth century (Valladares, 2005; Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Burgos, 2006; Brum, 2013).

### **3.3 Resistance movements against the state's removal policy**

With the intensification of removals, favela dwellers started to organize themselves against this governmental policy. For instance, in 1945, three favelas located in the South Zone of the city formed resident commissions to fight against their removal to Proletarian Parks (Burgos, 2006). Favela leaders also started to become involved with communist and socialist parties in order to gain representation in politics and fight against the forced evictions.

In 1947, the Catholic Church, as part of its increasing involvement in favelas and seeking to counter communist and socialist influence, created the Leão XIII Foundation in partnership with the city government. This was the first non-governmental institution to provide assistance directly in favelas. Led by the conservative wing of the Church, the foundation provided favela residents with access to basic services (water, sanitation, electricity) seeking to keep them in situ. Between 1947 and 1954, the foundation was involved in fifty-four favelas, providing basic services and building social centers in order to create community bonds based on Catholic values (Burgos, 2006)

In 1960 along with the involvement of the Leão XIII foundation, the city also created a special governmental body (SERPHA<sup>10</sup>) with the goal to increase dialogue with favela dwellers and improve their access to services. Through this new agency, favela dwellers were encouraged to create resident associations, which were supposed to become the main representative organization in favelas and the main point of contact with the city (Valladares, 2005; Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Burgos, 2006).

Although SERPHA and Leão XIII Foundation had a conservative and paternalistic approach to favelas, these two initiatives played an important role in the organization of favela residents (Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Burgos, 2006). Resident associations became the most important institution in favelas to fight against removal, but also to demand improvements in physical infrastructure and access to public utilities.

The removal of favelas remained the dominant official policy during the nineteen sixties and seventies. The removal policy was intensified in 1961 with the election of governor Carlos Lacerda, who introduced an official project to build popular housing in the periphery of Rio de

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<sup>10</sup> SERPHA: Serviço Especial de Reabilitação das Favelas e das Habitações Insalubres (Special Service for the Rehabilitation of Favelas and Unhealthy Housing)

Janeiro funded by the USAID (Brum, 2013). As a reaction, in 1962, favela residents created FAFEG<sup>11</sup>, an association that represented all favela dwellers to fight against removal and demand infrastructure and social services in favelas (Valladares, 2005; Silva & Barbosa, 2005; Burgos, 2005). FAFEG played an important resistance role in the following decades as the removal policy became hardlined.

In 1964, the new military dictatorship regime<sup>12</sup> in Brazil centralized the housing policy in the federal government and created a Housing National Bank (BNH,<sup>13</sup> in its acronym in Portuguese) to fund the construction of “popular housing” (Rolnik, 2011). In Rio de Janeiro, the federal government controlled the decisions over removal and construction of popular housing in the periphery of the city. Between 1968 and 1973, 175,000 residents from 62 favelas were forcibly removed and rehoused into “popular housing” at the outskirts of the city (Perlman, 1976). Unsurprisingly sixty percent of these removals occurred in the Southern area of the city, where housing prices were increasing rapidly, and the real estate construction industry had increased investment. (Perlman, 1976).

In 1978, the city decided to remove the Vidigal Favela in order to replace it with oceanfront apartment complexes in Vidigal’s hills (McCann, 2013). The Vidigal’s resident association created a few years before, actively mobilized residents against removal. The Vidigal Resident Association was supported by Pastoral das Favelas, a left-wing Catholic organization influenced by liberation theology that encouraged priests to participate in favela organizations, such as FAFEG (Brum, 2005). Pastoral das Favelas joined the resident association in organizing protests

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<sup>11</sup> FAFEG: Federação das Associações de Favelas do Estado da Guanabara (Federation of Favelas Associations from the Guanabara State). During 1960 to 1975, the current Rio de Janeiro municipality was also a state, called Guanabara State.

<sup>12</sup> The military dictatorship regime in Brazil lasted from 1964 to 1985.

<sup>13</sup> In Portuguese: Banco Nacional de Habitação

and bringing litigation against the city to repeal the decision. The successful resistance against removal influenced other favela resident associations to fight against removal and demand upgrades to infrastructure. As McCann (2013) puts it:

“Vidigal’s successful self-defense set off a wave of favela mobilization throughout the city. By the end of 1978, dozens of favelas had joined the struggle against removal and for infrastructural upgrading. Basing their strategy on that of Vidigal, they founded new favela residents’ association or revived stagnant ones.” (p. 5)

Consequently, the nineteen eighties and nineties opened up new policies for state intervention focusing more on upgrading the physical space through infrastructure improvements, bringing social services to favelas, regulating land use and issuing property titles (Pamuk & Cavallieri, 1998; Brum, 2013). In 1979, the city created the Social Development Department which was in charge of developing social services in areas such as education, public health, sanitation, and legalization of land tenure. The key action of this department was the organization of joint efforts among residents to improve infrastructure. In 1983, the newly elected governor, Leonel Brizola, continued these improvements as well as the regularization of land tenure in favelas (Burgos, 2006; McCann, 2013).

These initial governmental actions paved the way to a new governmental approach that moved away from removal as the main policy. However, during the following decades, the increasing influence of drug trafficking gangs exacerbated the same representations about favelas due to the increase of violence and criminality in the city. Favelas continued to be represented as enclaves of poverty and violence. In response, government intervention focused on a combination of police enforcement and physical upgrading as the main approach to favelas. In the next two sections, I will explain the emergence of the domination of the drug dealing gangs and the governmental approach to favelas in this new context.

### **3.4 The “Divided City”: The emergence of drug-dealing gangs’ control in favelas**

The nineteen eighties were marked by the beginning of the domination of drug dealing gangs in favelas. With the strengthening of transnational drug trade and its organizations, especially those trafficking in cocaine and weapons, Rio de Janeiro became part of this new network and favelas became strategic selling points. This complex network not only brought the cocaine market to Rio de Janeiro, but also extreme violence perpetrated by a criminal complex network (Zaluar, 2006).

From the 1980s onwards, three major drug gangs had come to dominate almost all favelas in Rio de Janeiro, including Vidigal. By domination, I mean controlling the territory and every aspect of social life in favelas: policing, imposing social rules and collecting taxes on local businesses, organizing social events, providing medicines and food for residents in need, and imposing harsh punishments for the ones who did not follow their rule. However, the level of domination was not homogeneous throughout the favelas. This level of domination would depend on the personality of the leader, his or her relationship with the community, and the stability and size of the drug market in the favela (Leeds, 2006). For instance, a factor that would influence the relationship between residents and drug dealers was the level of stabilization that a certain gang would bring to the neighborhood. If a gang felt threatened about losing its territorial control to another gang, it would generally unleash violence and abuse against residents to forcibly retain their support.

Particularly with the police, this new context in favelas started a complex relationship of corruption, cooperation, and antagonism between the police and drug dealers. Shootings between drug dealers and the police became part of daily news in Rio de Janeiro, and police brutality and massive human rights violations became commonplace in favelas.

For instance, in August of 1993, Rio de Janeiro experienced one of the worst cases of police brutality against favela residents. During one night, police officers randomly killed 21 people in

Vigário Geral, a favela in the Northern zone of the city. The motivation behind this crime was vengeance against drug dealers who controlled this favela and killed four police officers a few days before. This episode became the background of a famous book, *Rio: Cidade Partida*<sup>14</sup> (Rio: the divided city), which describes the daily violent routine of favelas (Ventura, 1994). The title of book became a popular way to define Rio de Janeiro's urban fabric: a divided city.

Rio's new moniker, "divided city," reflected the exacerbation of the dichotomous relationship between the favela and planned neighborhoods. Favelas were then represented as dangerous enclaves in which the presence of the state and the rule of law were absent (Zaluar, 2006). In this new context, favela dwellers were dichotomized and represented either as potential criminals or as victims of social, economic, and political exclusion (Zaluar, 2006).

Silva and Barbosa (2005) emphasize that one of the most common ways to think about favelas is to associate them with the idea of absence: lack of infrastructure, lack of order, lack of formality, lack of social and physical resources. As such, favela dwellers are seen as victims of their own situation and, consequently, always in need of help (Silva & Barbosa, 2005).

This view has become one of the main consensuses about favelas that Valladares (2005) pointed out in her book "The invention of favelas." The 'solution' for the favela 'problem' is the increase of the 'presence' of the state in favelas. As discursively created as spaces of chaos, informality, immorality, and violence, the control of the state in favelas is seen as the only solution for this 'problem.'

This consensus was the basis of the emerging governmental approach to favelas during the nineteen nineties, one that combines physical upgrading with enforcement of the police control in

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<sup>14</sup> This book was written by a well-known Brazilian writer and journalist, Zuenir Ventura, in 1994.



favelas (Cavalcanti, 2013). In the next section, I will explain the emergence of this new governmental approach to favelas.

### **3.5 Favela upgrading: state's changing responses to favelas**

With the transition to democracy in 1985, urban movements took a new turn in Brazilian cities as they demanded the regularization of favelas including the provision of infrastructure and social services in favelas (Rolnik, 2011; Valladares, 2005; Burgos, 2006; McCann, 2013). On the national level, the organization of social movements for housing and improvements in favelas led to the creation of the National Movement for Urban Reform. This movement pressured and influenced the creation of a chapter in the 1988 Brazilian Constitution regarding the right of every citizen to housing.

As part of the constitution, favelas became part of special types of zoning that would be reserved for social housing, called Special Zones for Social Interest (ZIES<sup>15</sup> in its acronym in Portuguese). Through this law, local governments could not justify anymore the lack of investments in favelas due to its illegal nature (Gonçalves, 2009). The ZIES required local governments to provide basic infrastructure and regularize the land through the provision of land of tenure (Rolnik, 2011; Gonçalves, 2009, Pamuk & Cavallieri, 1998).

Furthermore, in the 1988 Constitution, municipalities were given more power to formulate its urban policies through its Master Plan, mandatory to every city with more than 20,000 inhabitants (Articles 182 and 183, Brazilian Constitution, 1988). This enabled cities to elaborate its housing policies, local public services, collect taxes, and make its own laws at the local level.

In Rio de Janeiro, the 1988 Constitution and the elaboration of the city's master plan in 1992 provided the legal justification for the implementation of "Favela-Bairro", a new project

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<sup>15</sup> In Portuguese: Zonas Especiais de Interesse Especial

seeking to improve living conditions in favelas' residents through infrastructure and social services, integrating favelas into the planned neighborhoods. (Pamuk & Cavallieiri, 1998).

According to Pamuk and Cavallieiri (1998), the three main goals of Favela-Bairro were: (1) furnish the favelas with basic sanitation services; (2) spatially reorder the favelas by connecting their streets to the surrounding city streets and creating areas for collective use, and (3) provide social services aimed at various low-income segments of the population, such as legalization of land tenure (Pamuk & Cavallieri, 1998, p.8).

It is worth emphasizing that the creation of “Favela-Bairro” was embedded in the context of adoption of neoliberal guidelines based on market-oriented strategies to foster local development. Regarding the favelas, the prevailing view was that favelas would only be integrated in the urban's fabric if favelas dwellers were included into the formal market (Ribeiro & Santos Júnior, 2017). Therefore, Rio de Janeiro's government should provide infrastructure, regularize the access to electricity and water, and, most importantly, provide land of tenure to favela dwellers in order to include them into the formal housing market.

“Favela-Bairro” reflected and introduced this new approach of governmental programs towards the favelas. As removal became residual and no longer the main approach towards favelas, favela residents could also invest in their own homes, such as improving the quality of housing materials or expanding the house (Silva & Barbosa, 2005).

On the other hand, this new approach also became the main response to the domination of drug dealing gangs along with intensification of police force. According to Cavalcanti (2013), the institutionalization of favela urbanization policy was legitimized in the public sphere as a response to the territorial dominance of drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro. In other words, the underlying logic is that violence justifies improvements in the infrastructure of favelas. Thus, paradoxically, the violence and stigma associated with these areas end up creating the conditions for material

improvement and also for the political recognition of its residents, while, at the same time, reproducing as stereotypes and supporting the power relations that reinforce the idea of cultural alterity in relation to the so-called formal city (Cavalcanti, 2013, p.194).

In the following decades, the official consensus that the main cause of violence and drug trafficking domination was due to the lack of state presence solidified these policies as the key strategies to “solve” the favela “problem.” The combination of security policies with improvement of infrastructure in favelas is not a novelty but sets the context for the pre-Olympic period and reflects and repeats the historical project of consolidation of favelas (Cavalcanti, 2013, p. 201).

### **3.6 The Pre-Olympic period**

In the context of preparation for the Olympic Games, Rio de Janeiro’s state and local government launched two main programs to favelas: *Morar Carioca* (Carioca Living); and UPP (Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora – Pacified Police Unit).

The Pacified Police Unit (UPP in its acronym in Portuguese), created in 2008, had the aim to reclaim the territories dominated by drug-dealers. In order to accomplish this goal, the first step of UPP was the occupation of the police, the special police operation staff, and, in some cases, the military forces in designated favelas. This occupation was followed by the construction of fixed police stations with a fixed team of police officers that also had the goal to create a better relationship with residents. The establishment of the UPP would also be accompanied by a set of social policies and works of infrastructure. There are two hundred and eight favelas that received UPPs. This corresponds to approximately twenty-seven percent of the total number of favelas in Rio de Janeiro. However, some of the social policies and infrastructure project proposed have not yet been accomplished in most favelas, including Vidigal (Osborn, 2013).

*Morar Carioca*, established in 2010 as Rio prepared for the Olympic games, was a continuation of *Favela-Bairro* goals and aimed at improving the physical infrastructure of 226

favelas. It was a large-scale project that aimed to upgrade infrastructure, improve social services, and be participatory during the whole process of implementation in favelas. However, Vidigal did not receive this project because of a new form of categorizing the favelas in Rio de Janeiro.

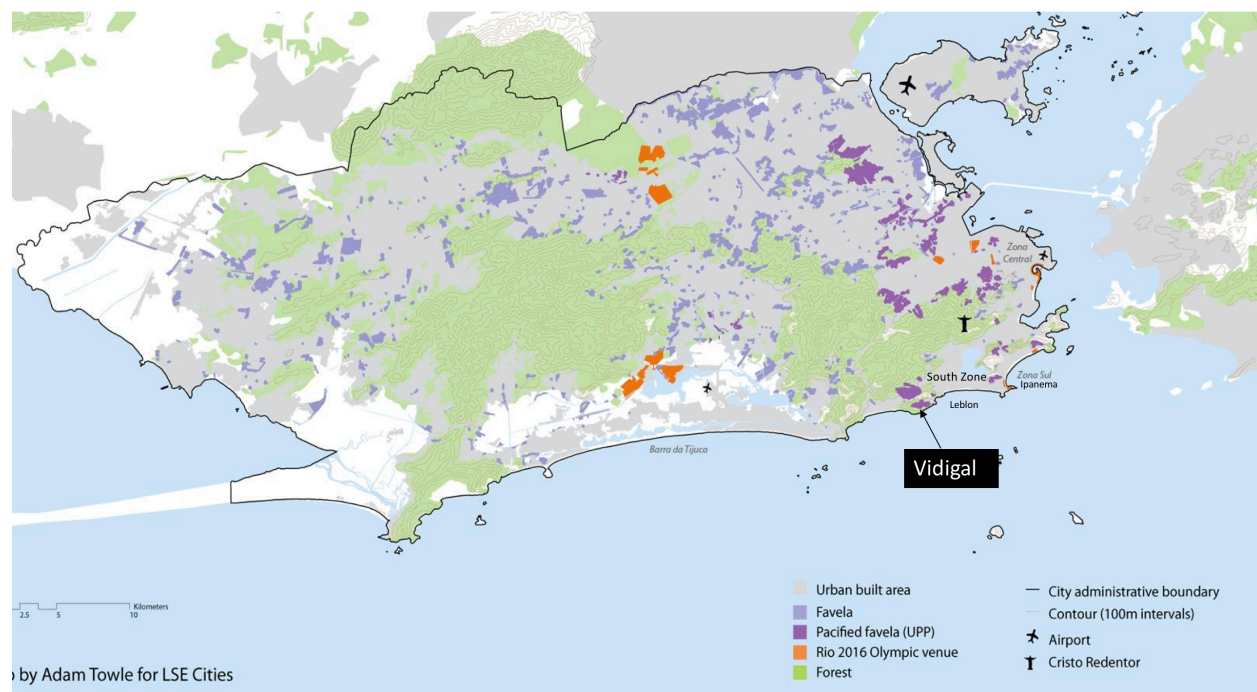
During the development of *Morar Carioca*, the city created new categories to favelas in terms of their size, type, and level of infrastructure. Within these new categories, favelas that have a satisfactory level of basic infrastructure, accessibility, and social services were considered ‘urbanized communities’ (Cavallieri & Vial, 2012). As a result, Vidigal was considered an ‘urbanized community,’ and was not included in the first list of favelas to receive *Morar Carioca*.

According to Cavallieri and Vial (2012), one fifth of the favela population in Rio de Janeiro was living in ‘urbanized communities’ in 2010. In the South Zone, which had the lowest proportion of people living in favelas (17%), one third of the favela population was living in ‘urbanized favelas.’ In comparison, the favelas in Barra and Jacarepaguá neighborhoods, part of the West zone, had the lowest percentage of favela residents living in ‘urbanized communities’ (6%) although 26% of Rio’s favela population lived in this region of the city. This is the same region where most of the Olympic venues were to be built.

*UPP* and *Morar Carioca* were a response to the International Olympic Committee’s demands to decrease criminality rates for the games and to the internal criticism that this mega-event would not benefit the carioca’s society as a whole (Brum, 2013). However, *Morar Carioca* did not completely follow its participatory guidelines, was only partially implemented in some favelas, and was interrupted in 2017 due to lack of funding (Osborn, 2013). *UPP* also did not accomplish its initial project as well, such as connecting *UPP* with other governmental institutions, improving infrastructure and access to social services in favelas. Instead, in many favelas, the *UPP* extended its role beyond policing to include the domination of the daily living in the favelas, by controlling permits for local transportation and for holding social events (Oliveira, 2012).

The interruption of both projects reinforced the criticism that *Morar Carioca* and *UPP* were closely associated with the entrepreneurial attitude of the city that prioritizes private investments and capital speculation, instead of for the overall benefit of Rio's society (Brum, 2013; Cavalcanti, 2013; Gaffney, 2016).

For instance, most of the favelas that received UPP were concentrated in areas adjacent to tourist attractions and wealthier neighborhoods or in access areas that connected downtown to the international airport (Brum, 2013).



*Figure 1 RIO DE JANEIRO CITY MAP SOURCE: ADAM TOWLE/LSE CITIES*

Furthermore, the UPP was widely introduced in the media (Cavalcanti, 2013). In one of the largest favelas, Rocinha, Brazilian television companies broadcasted the action live, covering the military tanks entering the favela with heavily armed police and military soldiers. Army helicopters were shown flying over the favela while, on the ground, mobs of journalists, wearing bullet-proof jackets were broadcasting every detail of the operation. The next day, newspapers

were celebrating the “conquest” of one more favela. “We are now free and safe!” That was the message.

In the South Zone, favelas which received UPP services did experience an improvement of security in their communities, specifically a significant reduction of shootings between drug dealers and police officers. In this new context of rebranding Rio de Janeiro, this improvement of security also brought a sudden attraction to favelas, most notably tourism.

Brazilian scholars have highlighted how tourism in favelas is confined to a specific area of the city and with a specific kind of geography: Most often favelas located on the hills of the South Zone with views to the city and ocean. eg Vidigal. Conversely, they have pointed out the return of removal policies in areas, such as the West zone, where there has been interest on the part of developers to build high-end housing and office spaces (Brum, 2013).

In the next section, I will explore to what extent the attraction for Vidigal, that led to gentrification, is linked to the use of favelas as part of rebranding Rio de Janeiro as an “inclusive city.”

### **Favelas as a brand?**

With Rio’s increased visibility in the global media due to hosting mega events including the World Cup and Olympics, tourism had generally increased in the city. However, tourism in favelas is a newer phenomenon that had started in the late nineties particularly in favelas where there were improvements in security although Jaguaribe (2004) and Freire-Medeiros (2009) note how favelas as a global imaginary have been present for a much longer period of time.

Images of favelas have been spread globally through cinema and media, displaying the uniqueness of their landscape and architecture. In the sixties, favelas were depicted through

Cinema Novo<sup>16</sup>, a movement created by Brazilian movie directors that was inspired by the Italian Neo-realism (Jaguaripe & Salmon, 2016). However, it was after the nineties that images of favelas reached a worldwide audience through television, cinema, soap operas, music, and social media. For instance, in 1996, Michael Jackson's music video "They don't care about us" directed by Spike Lee, was filmed in Dona Marta, a favela located in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro. In 2008, Louis Leterrier filmed the first scenes of "Incredible Hulk" in Rocinha, considered the largest favela in Latin America (Freire-Medeiros, 2009).

Brazilian productions, many of them exported to other countries, have also been focusing on favelas. Increasingly, soap operas, very popular in Brazil, have dedicated part of their subplots to characters who live in favelas. Films like "City of God" and "Elite Squad", launched in 2002 and 2007 respectively, were globally acclaimed Brazilian movie productions that touched on depictions of favela life. Both movies focused on the daily struggle of favela dwellers to live in a place with poor infrastructure, lack of resources, and dominance by violent drug dealing gangs (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). In fact, Freire-Medeiros (2011) argues how "City of God" has specifically influenced the increase of tourism in favelas as it has showed to a world audience life in favelas within narratives already disseminated by the transnational cultural industry (Freire-Medeiros, 2011).

The opening of the night clubs "Favela Chic," first in Paris in 1995, then London, Glasgow, and Miami exemplifies how "Favela" had become a brand (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Restaurants with "Favela" in their names also followed, including "Club Favela" in Sydney, Tokyo, and Munster, and "Miss Favela" in Brooklyn, New York. What all these venues were trying to emulate

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<sup>16</sup> Cinema Novo is a Brazilian film movement dedicated to create new film narratives that depict Brazilian social inequalities.

was not necessarily to focus on Brazilian food or music but rather to exemplify a sense of coolness, creativeness, and to represent a counter-cultural vibe.

All these images, reproduced worldwide, have created a specific imaginary of favelas that combine the tropical landscape, unique architecture and culture. The films helped objectify the “favela” as a place for and the most adventurous and thrillseekers. They produced an anticipated experience in the potential tourist. As Freire-Medeiros (2011) observes,

“through mobile technologies, which include both physical and virtual travels, the favela becomes capable of offering international visitors a most interesting package: controlled risk combined with a deep sense of adventure, the opportunity of acting as a concerned citizen (...) and, beautiful view of the city.” (p.22)

This connects to a growing trend in the tourism industry whose aim is to expose tourists to the local culture and realities of a place (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Slums tours are part of this new form of tourism that promised to give to tourists unique experiences through contact with locals while visiting areas not commonly considered tourist attractions. Slum tours are not just particular to the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, but have been offered in other countries, such as India and South Africa. The Slum tours in Dharavi, one of the largest slums in Mumbai, is another example of this emerging industry that claims to be more socially responsible and promises to provide tourists an authentic experience (Freire-Medeiros, 2009).

In the context of 2016 Summer Olympic Games, Vidigal became a tourist attraction as hostels opened in the community, leading to a gentrification process. Vidigal was a perfect fit for the “imagined favela” that tourists were looking for: a favela located on a hill with astonishing views of the ocean. Furthermore, the significant improvement in security with the establishment of UPP along with the arrival of new residents and businesses made Vidigal a successful example of the “social legacies” of the games. In the next chapter, I explore the process of gentrification in Vidigal.

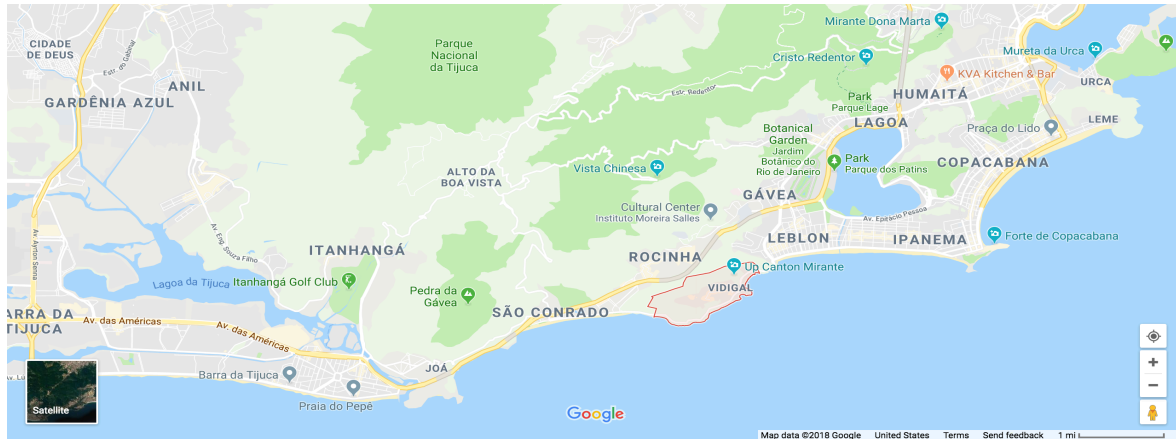


## CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS



*Figure 2: View from Vidigal / photo credit: author*

The history of Vidigal is connected with the urbanization process of Rio de Janeiro's South Zone, the city's wealthiest and most desirable area. The South Zone was developed in the nineteen twenties with the expansion of tram lines and the construction of planned neighborhoods, such as Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon. Soon after, low-income workers started building their houses on the surrounding hills, many of them migrants from the Northeastern states of Brazil and Minas Gerais. Vidigal, one of these hills, is located at the end of Leblon, on a slope where the hill meets the ocean.



*Figure 3: Vidigal's location / Source: Google Maps*

Unplanned Vidigal has since co-existed alongside with the planned neighborhood of Vidigal formed by single-family homes and apartments buildings. Housing for the upper and middle-class residents were mostly built during the nineteen seventies, with famous Brazilian singers, filmmakers, and artists among its residents. Many of these artists joined the successful resistance movement against the decision of the state to remove the unplanned favela, a story that residents proudly shared during my interviews.

Most of Vidigal's history has been verbally communicated from old generations to young generations. In this chapter, I highlight narratives from residents and complement them with information gathered from official documents, newspapers, academic research, and books. I start the chapter with a brief history of the resistance movement against the state decision to remove the favela, and its consolidation process through infrastructure improvements. My aim is to draw a parallel between the history of state interventions in favelas and how these interventions are reflected on the mainstream image of favelas.

In the following section, I analyze Vidigal's gentrification process from the UPP (Pacifying Police Unit, in its acronym in Portuguese) implementation in 2012 until after the Summer Olympics Games held in Rio de Janeiro in 2016. In this section, I argue how Vidigal's

gentrification was represented as a success of the city's market-oriented strategy and how Vidigal became a brand itself.

I finish the chapter with long-term resident perceptions on their neighborhood transformation in order to shed light on how favelas are represented in mainstream society, and the detrimental effects of Vidigal's gentrification, especially displacement.

#### **4.1 State interventions in Vidigal**

The state has regarded favelas as “problems” since their original inception, leading to state intervention and removal policies. As I discussed in the last chapter, favelas contrasted the city's project to become a modern and therefore planned city. This rationale led to state interventions to remove Vidigal and many other favelas in Rio de Janeiro's South Zone. The nineteen sixties and seventies were the period in which many favelas in southern Rio de Janeiro were removed as part of the state policy to relocate favelas's residents from the city's central areas to its outskirts, and place them in social housing (Perlman, 1976; Valladares, 1978).

The state's decision to remove Vidigal's favela led to a successful resistance movement, which was based on the formation of an organized resident association, a vocal and supportive artist community, and a legal case against state interventions. As a response to removal policies, Vidigal's residents created a resident association in 1967. During interviews, José<sup>17</sup>, currently one the Resident Association's directors, remembered its first organization headquarters as a small wood shack located at the bottom of the hill.

The fear of removal became realized in October 1977, when the president of the Resident Association, Armando Almeida Lima, received an eviction notice against 320 Vidigal families. On October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1977, the newspaper “O Globo” reported that the first fifteen families had eviction orders to leave with less than 48 hours' notice. All the families were required to

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<sup>17</sup> José, 54 years old, long-term resident. He has been living in Vidigal for 50 years.

relocate to Antares Public Housing, near an isolated part of Santa Cruz, thirty-five miles west of Vidigal. As reported by this newspaper article, the government's reasoning for the eviction was to ensure the safety of the residents from mudslides (O Globo, 1977).

The Resident Association received support from Pastoral das Favelas, a left-wing Catholic organization created in 1977, inspired by liberation theology and dedicated to supporting favela dwellers (Brum, 2005). Pastoral das Favelas connected lawyers and engineers to repeal the decision. The Brazilian Architect Institute, some councilmembers and state representatives also joined the efforts to repeal the decision. These lawyers uncovered a development project to build luxury ocean-front apartments in a privately-owned part of the favela (Zuazo, 2017). They discovered a deed made between Yvette Palumbo, the land owner, and the group Rio Tours Hotels promising to sell the land. The condition for the purchase was the removal of 316 shacks installed in Yvette Palumbo's land. (Deagle, 2015). Eventually they were successful in repealing the decision since the risk of mudslides could not be used as a justification for the removal of the entire favela (McCann, 2013).

As McCann (2013) argues, this successful resistance movement in Vidigal strengthened other resistance movements in many favelas and helped inspire solidarity from a diverse sector of Rio's society, including artists, professional organizations, intellectuals, university students, and the church. Residents remember that Sergio Ricardo, a musician, filmmaker and resident, organized a music concert, called "Tijolo por Tijolo" (Brick to Brick), to raise funds to help residents in the community. The concert had the participation of famous musicians, such as Chico Buarque and Gonzaguinha, and took place in a venue located at Rio de Janeiro's State University in the same year (Lessa, 2016).

During another interview with Ilan<sup>18</sup>, tourist guide, he explained that, in 1980, the visit of Pope John Paul II to Vidigal solidified the victory of its residents against removal. He remembered that during the morning of July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1980, the Pope walked through the favela to greet residents. In a sign of solidarity with the residents, he then inaugurated the new Vidigal's Chapel and donated his gold ring to the favela (Ilan, personal communications, September 6th, 2017).

The main alley where the Pope walked through is now known as "Rampa do Papa" (Pope's ramp). Today the ramp is paved, and all the surrounding houses have electricity and running water. This is a far cry from the 1980s when Vidigal had no paved streets, limited electricity, and no running water. Back then, residents relied on a few collective water spigots from where they had to carry water in buckets to their houses.

However, the successful resistance movement and subsequent infrastructure improvements in the eighties and nineties was not able to change Vidigal's mainstream image as an enclave of poverty and violence in the South Zone. The increasing dominance of drug dealers in Vidigal exacerbated Vidigal's image as dangerous place separate from the formal city. As discussed in the last chapter, the dominance of drug dealers in favelas opened up a new debate on "solutions" to the favela "problem" (Valladares, 2005). The main consensus on the "solutions" was the need to increase state control in favelas through police enforcement, infrastructure planning, and social services programs (Valladares, 2005; Cavalcanti, 2013).

### **Favela upgrading and police enforcement: the new state's approach**

In Vidigal, the most significant infrastructure improvement only occurred in 1997 with the implementation of Favela-Bairro. Some of the most important goals of this program were: to furnish the community with basic sanitation services, build mudslide contention structures, transfer houses from risky to safe areas. The program also focused on improving road infrastructure

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<sup>18</sup> Ilan, 32 years old, resident born and raised in Vidigal.

through the construction of sidewalks and paved alleys, the construction of a sports center, the designation of spaces for collective use (e.g., square at the main entrance), and set up a public clinic and daycare (José, personal communications, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

Favela-Bairro also included the regularization of land in Vidigal. In 1998, the city included the unplanned side of Vidigal as a ZIES (special zones of social interest, in its acronym in Portuguese), which resulted in land use formalization. ZIES restricted land to residences and small commercial businesses (Deagle, 2015). The ZIES also aimed to regularize land through the provision of titles of concession for use by residents. However, in Vidigal, only a minority of residents received their titles due to the slow pace of the regularization process.

These infrastructure and regularization programs undoubtedly benefited some residents but did not promote the supposed “integration” of Vidigal into the formal city as increasing violence impeded it. The increasing dominance of drug dealers in the favela also followed a heightened police presence in Vidigal, resulting in regular gun battles between drug dealers and police officers. Additionally, there was spreading police brutality against the residents.

According to the residents<sup>19</sup> I spoke to, Vidigal experienced one of its worst periods of violence known as the “*war period*” between 2004 and 2007. The “war period” started when drug trafficking bosses in Vidigal, along with support from drug leaders from other favelas, invaded the Rocinha favela in a power grab to take over its drug market. The Rocinha drug gangs retaliated and fought back for control of Vidigal which worsened the violence against residents. For reference, Rocinha is located adjacent to Vidigal in the South Zone of Rio.

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<sup>19</sup> It is worth emphasizing that I did not ask any particular question about the time when drug dealing gangs were dominating Vidigal since my focus was on the process of gentrification. However, conversations about this period came naturally, especially when residents were comparing the current period with the “war period.”

During interviews, some residents shared traumatic memories of drug-related violence and how it impacted their daily life. They recounted times when they were unable to return to their homes after work because of intense shootings. They witnessed young heavily armed children and adolescents shooting at and being shot and killed by rival drug gangs and police officers. Some of them had seen firsthand the extent of unrestrained police brutality where people were being tortured and killed. They recalled that some of their relatives, friends, and acquaintances were victims of stray bullets which was confirmed by a 2007 survey of fifty local women, 65% of whom said they had lost a friend or acquaintance to gun battles. (Kerstenetzky & Santos, 2009).

Drug violence also led to resident displacement. During interviews, it was detailed that many of the long-term residents decided to leave Vidigal because of perceived and actual threats made against them. They described how numerous houses were abandoned during this time which caused plummeting real estate rental and purchase prices. Gabriela<sup>20</sup>, who moved to Vidigal in 2005, said that she rented an apartment that had been abandoned for three years. Another resident pointed at other abandoned houses during the “war period,” including those belonging to some of her relatives:

*“It was very strange to live here because my neighbors and relatives left. In favelas, not just in Vidigal, there are these bonds and connections. When someone comes, other relatives will come too, then another, and another. If someone is not your [blood] relative, then is your godfather or godmother”* (Eliana<sup>21</sup>, personal communications, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

The “war period” in Vidigal ended in 2007 when one drug gang gained control over both Rocinha and Vidigal. Ironically, this created some stability as it reduced the number of shootings

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<sup>20</sup> Gabriela, 60 years old, long-term resident.

<sup>21</sup> Eliana, 37 years old, born and raised in Vidigal. She is a teacher at the Vidigal’s public high school and is currently doing her master’s thesis on history and memory of Vidigal.

between rival drug gangs. It also paused some of the fighting between the drug dealers and the police.

In January 2012, Vidigal was the nineteenth UPP to be implemented in Rio de Janeiro. By 2012, UPP was already regarded by the general public as a successful policy because of the significant improvement of security and negotiated truce with drug dealers limiting their control in the favelas. Vidigal rapidly became a successful example of the government's approach to include the favelas into the "formal" city. With the reinforcement of state police control, infrastructure improvements, and land use regularization, local entrepreneurs and private investors arrived to transform Vidigal into a prosperous community.

#### **4.2 The pre-olympic period: gentrification process in Vidigal**

By 2013, in the mainstream media, stories of violence and crime became part of the past and Vidigal was seen as a thriving community ready for tourism and investment. Vidigal's ocean views, relative well-functioning infrastructure, and its "charming" history (i.e., being a place of resistance and home of artists during the seventies) were some of the main factors attracting new transplants to the favela.

This view of Vidigal as a successful and thriving community is well documented. As the most popular newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, O Globo, reported on May 18<sup>th</sup>, 2013: "Vidigal attracts famous residents and gains status of chic favela: transformations driven by the UPP have accelerated" (Garçoni, 2013). This newspaper article described the construction of two upscale hostels which were to be built at the location of the former headquarters of Vidigal's drug leaders.

The article also reported on the emergence of new private parties hosted by hostels and included interviews with famous actors, singers, and other luminaries who had decided to move into Vidigal. "All the paths of gentrification lead to Vidigal because it possesses one of the most



beautiful landscapes in South Zone, it is like a picture postcard” the journalist concludes (Garçon, 2013).

My personal interviews in 2017 confirmed the well-documented view of Vidigal as a successful favela. I asked long-term residents why Vidigal became a trendy favela. Daniel, Eliana, and Ilan, all born and raised in Vidigal, mentioned the breathtaking ocean views, the location in the South Zone, but more importantly they praised the cultural attitude of its residents. They described how Vidigal not only became famous during the seventies when well-known artists moved to the favela, but also because of “Nós do Morro”, a successful non-profit artist school for children created in 1986. Some of these children who graduated from the school became popular actors in Brazil (Daniel, personal communications, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

Daniel<sup>22</sup> who became a movie director started his career in this school. He told me that more than half of “City of God’s” cast were part of the school. After the movie became a hit, three of them became celebrities, finding regular acting roles in popular Brazilian soap operas. But even now because of their deep connections to Vidigal, all three of them continue to live in Vidigal. In his opinion, this is one of the reasons why Vidigal has found intrigue by the media:

*“Besides the location, the view, there are famous people living here. Where in the world do you have a favela that has acclaimed actors that were born there and still live there? Vidigal has this advantage. When I traveled to different places around the world, I realized that nowhere in the world has a place where socially disadvantaged residents live on the same place as famous people”* (Daniel, personal communications, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

This characteristic of Vidigal was also highlighted by Marcos<sup>23</sup>, a hostel owner, who stated that Brazilian tourists want to stay in Vidigal because they are curious to visit a favela where celebrities live. In his opinion, it has been a boom for his business as tourists are willing to stay in this unique place.

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<sup>22</sup> Daniel, 38 years old, born and raised in Vidigal.

<sup>23</sup> Marcos, new resident and hostel owner. He is an advertiser who has moved to Vidigal in 2013.

Vidigal not only has the image as one of the most desirable favelas to live and visit, but more recently it has found brand recognition. A famous high-end store in Rio de Janeiro, Osklen, designed a t-shirt with Vidigal written on it. Bars and hostel owners leverage Vidigal's image to advertise local parties. In São Paulo, the largest city in Brazil, has started a Vidigal funk (modern music from the favelas) parties for upper and middle-class *paulistas* (people from Sao Paulo)

However, Vidigal's pacification from UPP and branding awareness have triggered a rapid gentrification process, which I will explain in three sub-sections. First, I investigated the new transplants/in-movers who primarily are foreigners. Secondly, I described the new businesses including the organization of hostel parties that have arrived to cater to these new residents who most often come from a higher socioeconomic background. Thirdly, I evaluated the consequences of Vidigal's gentrification, particularly in regard to displacement of its long-time residents. Finally, in the last section of the chapter, I analyzed resident's reaction to this process.

### ***The New In-Movers***

Research shows that, not different from other neighborhoods experiencing gentrification, new in-movers to Vidigal are generally younger professionals from a higher socioeconomic status than the long-time residents. These new transplants come looking for more affordable places to live. Schlichtman et al. (2017) provide an analytical multi-tool to investigate the motivations of this new-middle class residents to move to disinvested neighborhoods. According to the authors, the early gentrifiers are motivated by the central locations and affordability.

My personal interviews with local Vidigal residents confirmed this view. Earlier gentrifiers tend to be mostly young middle-class Latin Americans and Europeans looking for affordable places to live in the exclusive South Zone. In 2014, the Resident Association in Vidigal estimated that there were more than 1,000 foreigners living in Vidigal, equivalent to 10% of Vidigal's

population<sup>24</sup>. I interviewed three gentrifiers, two foreigners and one Brazilian, who moved to Vidigal. The three of them, Michael, Liam, and Alice<sup>25</sup>, rented units on the upper level of the owner's house and emphasized that their motivations were the affordability, the central location, and then the view.

I interviewed Michael, a forty-year old German who moved to Vidigal in 2010. He decided to move when the rent of his Leblon (wealthy neighborhood in South Zone) studio was raised by 50% without any upgrade for repairs and maintenance. He then moved into an upper two-bedroom unit for half of the cost of the studio. He credits this move to as much about affordability as it was about his familiarity with Vidigal because he regularly brought his car here for maintenance. As he told me:

*"The gringo came to Vidigal because prices were affordable, and the gringo does not have prejudice against favelas. Cariocas, like you, have grown up hearing about all favela's misfortunes. Since your childhood, you have a trauma of favelas because you grew up listening to all the negative stories about them. Gringos don't feel like that. Even when people say, 'it's dangerous', gringos come here, see everyone smiling, having fun, and think: 'I want to live here'. However, they haven't experienced the 'war period.' I haven't experienced it either. When I got here in 2010, it was wonderful"* (Michael, personal communications, September 6th, 2017)

Foreigners represent a disproportionate number of in-movers to Vidigal because of the carioca's prejudice against favelas and the desire of these newcomers to experience the favela's culture. Michael's view that cariocas have prejudice against favelas is commonly shared by other foreigners (Balocco, 2014). Foreigners are also drawn to Vidigal because of the favela's culture and way of life. This particularity goes beyond of what Schlichtman et al. (2017) emphasize as a general characteristic of early gentrifiers. Because they are the first, they accept the social rules of the community and want to give back by doing for instance, volunteer work.

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<sup>24</sup> According to the 2010 Brazilian Census, the population of Vidigal is 9678 residents (Cavallieri & Vial, 2012)

<sup>25</sup> Alice is Brazilian and lived in Vidigal for 8 months in 2015. Liam, British, lived in Vidigal from 2013 to 2015. Michael, German, has been living in Vidigal since 2010.

In Vidigal, foreigners want to experience the local culture. They often go to local bars, support local businesses, and actively engage with other long-term residents. Furthermore, they overlook the poorer infrastructure and access to public services because they are motivated to challenge the general perception of favelas as places of only poverty and violence.

However, these new arrivals do have their struggles. Michael, Liam, and Alice mentioned the difficulties of adapting to the poorer infrastructure of Vidigal. For instance, Alice emphasized the irregular garbage collection and the lack of public lights on the alleys. Michael and Liam pointed out the informal transportation systems to travel to the upper part of the hills utilizing mini vans and the mototaxis (motorcycle taxis) instead of regularly buses. Despite these difficulties they highlighted that the advantages of living in Vidigal, especially their interaction with the mostly welcoming long-term resident community.

Foreigners are also engaged in volunteer work to give back to their new community. Liam, a British citizen who lived in Vidigal between 2013 and 2015 moved to a two-bedroom unit in Campinho, one of the highest areas of Vidigal. He quickly became involved in the community and taught English classes for free at a local nonprofit organization. Michael recalls how he became involved in the community. The official maps as well as Google maps failed to accurately delineate Vidigal's streets, so Michael decided to develop a mapping project. "Sometimes there was a grey or green square on the location where the favela is." (Michael, personal communications, September 6th, 2017)

He told me that it was very difficult to move around the favela when he first moved in, and first drew a simple map to help people find his house:

*"I always had a lot of questions: What is the name of this street? What is the name of this store? Where are the street signs? Where are the van stops? There were no signs of any of these. Nothing. There are a lot of reference points in Vidigal, but you have to ask where they are."* (Michael, personal communications, September 6th, 2017)

*“As only half of the favela were mapped, I had to rely on satellite images and draw the alleyways myself. During the creation of the map, I used to walk around the alleys with a clipboard, drawing the connections with other alleys, the names of them, the businesses. (...) I wanted to depict Vidigal as it really is: with all the streets, businesses, culture. I wanted to draw a map like an official map because I thought I could join the effort to push the city to recognize the names of streets in Vidigal.”* (Michael, personal communications, September 6th, 2017)

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Michael's social work highlights the positive changes that early gentrifiers brought. At the same time, these groups' movement to the community not only accelerated the gentrification process by increasing rents for low-income and long-time residents, but also signaled to investors and lenders that this place had a new social status, and was potentially a profitable place to invest in.

### **New Businesses**

Breathtaking views, security improvements, and the welcoming community brought tourists and more wealthy cariocas to visit the favela. Investors were encouraged by these newcomers to open businesses catering to them, a common aspect in the process of gentrification worldwide (Schlichtman et al., 2017; Lees et al., 2016). In Vidigal, investors, mainly foreigners, opened hostels and boutique-hotels in anticipation of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympic Games. The games as well as the "slum tourism" attracted people to the favelas. As Michael states, "When I did the first map [2012], I think there were two or three hostels. Last year [2016], there were more than twenty."

In some ways, the gentrification process in Vidigal is closely related to gentrification processes in working-class neighborhoods throughout the Global South (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016; Lees et al., 2016). Michael and other residents emphasized how the most successful hostels were mostly owned by foreigners who brought more resources and expertise to run the business. As Michael explained, these hostel owners understood the allure of selling an experience rather than just a room. They relied on compelling marketing and foreign-savvy aesthetics to attract guests seeking the favela experience with creature comforts. They complemented lodging with airport shuttles, all-inclusive guided day trips and food. Michael remembers one particular hostel owned by an American advertising "The Favela Experience", offering the ability to volunteer at a local nonprofit.

The success of these hostels exemplifies Freire-Medeiros' discussion (2009) on a new tourist's profile. These tourists want a differentiated experience to set them apart from mass tourists, focusing on "hidden places" that more truly reflect the local culture. However, they want a "controlled" experience, which combines "new adventures" with accessibility and security. They want the unknown framed with the already known experiences of what it means to be a tourist (Freire-Medeiros, 2009).

During my fieldwork, I was unable to interview tourists or foreign hostel owners. However, I did manage to interview a Brazilian hostel owner who shared his experience of setting up a hostel with a small budget. Marcos<sup>26</sup> and his wife bought the property in 2012 and decided to pursue the hostel project because of higher demand of tourists looking to stay in Vidigal. Because they did not have much experience building and running a hostel, they hired a group of architects including a Norwegian, a Cape Verdean, and a Brazilian who already lived in Vidigal. They opened the hostel in June 2014 with a party hosted by local Vidigal musicians. As he said:

*"My wife and I had never stayed in hostels when we were building ours. I had no idea how the experience was to share rooms with other people. Personally, I didn't know if I would share a room with a stranger. For this reason, I wanted to build a place where I would stay. The place was very small, so we had to build all the beds and furniture. We built beds with more privacy. They are higher and have small curtains." (Marcos, personal communications, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Marcos also shared with me his initial project to open a small bar in his hostel and sell expensive craft specialty beers that he believed the wealthy tourists would prefer. However, within a short period of time he did not have enough clients and had to close: "While the local small bar with cheaper beers would be full of people, mine was completely empty" (Marcos, personal

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<sup>26</sup> Marcos is a new resident and hostel owner who moved to Vidigal in 2013.

communications, May 9<sup>th</sup>). Michael<sup>27</sup> also mentioned that fancy restaurants and bars would open for brief period of time and then would close due to lack of regular patrons.

In other ways the gentrification process in Vidigal is distinct as is highlighted in the observations above. The tourists and transplants that visited Vidigal were looking for experiences that more closely resembled the presumed favela culture.

### **Hostel Parties**

Another distinct element of gentrification in Vidigal is the organization of hostel parties targeting upper-middle-class consumers. Hostel and bar owners leveraged Vidigal's image to promote high-end rooftop parties. These investors advertised their parties using Vidigal's particularities to attract these consumers. In their websites and party flyers, they suggest that party goers will get to experience the local flavor of the favela including what is considered the favela culture, such as samba and funk music, feijoada food, or *laje*<sup>28</sup>. Party flyers often say, "come to the most beautiful view of the South zone."

These parties came into the media spotlight as well. On August 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014, "Estadão," a Brazilian newspaper reported: "Vidigal replaced crimes with cool parties: UPP has stabilized and consolidated the hilltop as a meeting point for youth and celebrities" (Pennaft, 2014). The newspaper described that parties took place every weekend at the two most famous venues. One was located on the deck of a boutique hotel, Hotel do Arvrão, which opened in 2013. The other venue, Bar da Laje, opened in 2014 as a hostel and bar (Pennaft, 2014).

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<sup>27</sup> Michael, 40-year-old German, is a new resident who moved to Vidigal in 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Laje is what is called the rooftop of favela's houses. Favela dwellers use their laje to organize social gatherings, such as barbecues and parties.





Figure 5: Bar da Laje's website Source: <http://bardalaje.rio/>

The two venues were located in Arvrão, the highest part of the favela where ocean views are considered the most beautiful. The parties charged as much as \$70 per ticket, a price only afforded by high-income customers<sup>29</sup>. During my interviews with customers, Patricia<sup>30</sup> pointed out how almost all the patrons were mainly foreigners and more wealthy cariocas.

As Patricia said:

*“When I arrived at Hotel do Arvrão, I was shocked. There were only gringos and people from the South Zone<sup>31</sup>. It was very expensive and very elitist. They ignored the fact that they are in a favela. It looks like you open a door and you are transported to any other venue in the South Zone.” (Patricia, personal communications, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

<sup>29</sup> In Vidigal, the median household monthly income in 2010 was R\$1500 (approximately U\$500) and 50% of the population earn monthly between one and three minimum wage (approximately between U\$330 and U\$ 990) (Oliveira 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Patricia, 24 years old, is an advertiser who lives in one of the planned neighborhoods of the North Zone.

<sup>31</sup> The South Zone is the wealthiest area of Rio de Janeiro. When cariocas refer to the “people from the South Zone,” they are referring to the upper-middle class cariocas, who generally live in this area.

In this regard, all interviewees mentioned the expensive entrance price to the parties as the main factor excluding local residents from entering contributing to the homogeneity of the audience.

Based on my interviews, the main reasons for attending parties at Vidigal included the view, the music genre, and meeting friends who would be there. However prevalent stereotypes continue to persist with the attendees. Paula, a thirty-six-year-old lawyer who was the only interviewee not originally from Rio stated that normally she would not feel comfortable going to parties in a favela: “There were many other parties in favelas that I did not go because I was afraid. I just went to the ones in Vidigal because my friends were going to” (Paula, personal communications, May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2018).

Although the other two interviewees mentioned that they enjoy going to parties in the favelas, a common characteristic among the three of them were how afraid they were to walk around the favela. They would always arrive and depart the parties with a group of friends, never alone. For this reason, they generally preferred attending the parties in Vidigal as there was a fairly safe arrangement to be dropped off at the entrance of the venues either by shuttle services<sup>32</sup> or taxis.

My interviews and observations have corroborated the prevailing stereotypes. Because of the history of segregation between favelas and the rest of the city, affluent Brazilians have been afraid of favelas. For the few who do visit the favelas, these Brazilians are tourists in their own city looking for the same “imagined” favela brand that is propagated worldwide. They want the experience but framed in an already familiar expectation. These hostel parties sell this experience.

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<sup>32</sup> The shuttle services pick customers up in surrounding neighborhoods and take them to the parties. They use the same type of minivan as the ones used by the informal transportation service in Vidigal. However, parties’ mini vans are reserved for customers and are customized with colorful patterns and images of the view.

In this manner, they are consumers of favela's global imaginary that Jaguaribe and Salmon (2016) and Freire-Medeiros (2009) describe in their studies.

Criticism against these parties, such as elitism were also a common feature of my interviews with residents, including long-term residents and new residents. They also complained about the influx of party goers during the weekends causing traffic jams on the main roads and noise pollution throughout the night until the early morning when the crowds left.

*"In the past, favelas were not accessible for people from the outside. There were barriers and people were afraid. Ok, I get that. But now people forget that residents live here. When people leave the parties up there, they come down talking loudly, peeing around, with no respect. Why? Because if it's a favela, you can do it. The claim is: We do exist!"* (Gabriela<sup>33</sup>, personal communications, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

Gabriela's quote expresses the dissatisfaction of many residents. The increase in the number of visitors, tourists, residents, and hostels brought changes to Vidigal and have impacted the daily life of residents. In the next section, I will explore in more detail some of the impacts that gentrification has brought to Vidigal, specifically focusing on displacement.

#### **4.3 Displacement**

As with other cities around the world, the most detrimental effect of gentrification has been displacement of low-income residents who cannot afford or keep up with the rising cost in housing and services. Displacement is particularly more intense in cities where low-income residents are mostly renters, such as Oakland, California, and Brooklyn, New York (Field, 2015). Displacement in Vidigal is distinct from this most common effect on the gentrification process in that most long-term residents have built their own houses. In Vidigal, according to the 2010 Brazilian census, only 24% of households were renters while 73% were owners.

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<sup>33</sup> Gabriela, 60 years old, is a long-term resident who has been living in Vidigal since 2005.

For this reason, I investigated displacement in Vidigal through multiple lenses: How did the rise of housing prices affect residents individually? How did it affect the community as a whole? How did the informal nature of the housing market influence this process of displacement?

During my interviews with long-term residents, they explained to me the positive and negative sides of the rise of housing prices in Vidigal. According to them, on the positive side individual long-term residents could sell their houses and buy better homes in cheaper area or they could supplement their income by building extra-rental units in their houses.

For instance, as Gabriela<sup>34</sup> told me, housing prices had appreciated more in higher areas of Vidigal, especially Arvrão and Sobradinho. Eliana and Ilan, both long-term residents born and raised in Vidigal, highlighted that these areas were originally occupied mainly by migrant workers, who came from the Northeastern Brazil during the late seventies. They both said that many of these migrants were selling their houses and returning to their place of origin.

*“I do not think it is negative that someone sells his house to go back to the Northeast. In fact, they came here to become financially settled. Many of them continue to send money to their families and, once they can return, they do. For instance, if I knew that my house is worth R\$ 50,000, then someone came and offered me R\$ 300,000, I would sell it. In the Northeast, this is a lot of money. I can live there. I do not think this is negative. For the same reason, I do not think it is negative someone who is coming back to Vidigal. Many people returned to Vidigal after the war period.”* (Eliana, personal communications, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

Furthermore, interviewees discussed that other residents built extra units usually on top of their houses to supplement their income by renting for short or long-term periods. For instance, one interviewee, Fabiano<sup>35</sup>, built a studio to rent out and used this extra income to supplement his

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<sup>34</sup> Gabriela, 60 years old, is a long-term resident who has been living in Vidigal since 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Fabiano, 38 years old, is from Paraíba, a state located in Northeastern Brazil. He has been living in Vidigal for 10 years

salary as a doorman in a building in Leblon. In fact, the three new residents that I interviewed, Alice, Michael, and Liam<sup>36</sup>, all were renting units similar to Fabiano's studio.

On the negative side, displacement remained a concern shared by long-term residents due to its impacts on the community. During interviews, all of the residents knew families who were displaced from Vidigal.

Here I distinguish displaced residents in three groups: the first group are homeowners who sold their house due to a lack of knowledge of the housing market in Rio de Janeiro; the second group is low-income renters; the third is homeowners and renters who moved due to inability to afford the increased cost of services.

This first group of displaced residents sold their properties mainly to investors and foreigners who offered the low-income residents much higher values than they ever imagined they could receive. According to interviews with residents some of the offers were five times the value of the property

*After 2012, there were a lot of different people who started coming to Vidigal and buying. There were so many people selling. Rent prices went up, and housing prices became ridiculous! With the real estate speculation, people started to sell their houses because they believed they would become rich. Foreigners were the ones who were buying the most, especially in the higher area of Vidigal, where the view is more beautiful. (Gabriela, personal communications, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Echoing Gabriela, these homeowners were unaware of the housing prices in other areas of Rio. The cheaper housing was located much further away from the South Zone where many of them worked. As a result, their commute time increased three to four hours.

The second group is low-income renters. With the attraction of new residents and tourists to live and visit Vidigal, homeowners saw the potential to increase their income by renting their

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<sup>36</sup> Alice is Brazilian and lived in Vidigal for 8 months in 2015. Liam, British, lived in Vidigal from 2013 to 2015. Michael, German, has been living in Vidigal since 2010.

units either to new residents who were willing to pay higher rents or to tourists through short-term rentals. For instance, in 2018 on the Airbnb.com website<sup>37</sup>, I was able to search for and find a fair amount of single rooms, shared rooms, and independent housing units available for a short rental in the favela listed in euros and dollars.

The third is homeowners and renters who moved due to inability to afford the increased cost of services. With the implementation of UPP, service providers regularized electricity, water, and cable TV. Although in Vidigal, almost 100% of the favela households have these services, many of them still have them through informal connections. This is not unique to Vidigal but is the present in most favelas in Rio de Janeiro. As a result, many residents, who have never paid bills for these services, could not afford the fees and were forced to leave.

It is worth emphasizing the informal nature of Vidigal. Most homeowners in Vidigal do not have a title for their properties. Since the 1980's, the State and local government have initiated multiple programs to regularize the land of Vidigal and give home owners titles of concession of use. The last program was in 2012, following the UPP, where the State Housing Department launched a program in Vidigal, "Nossa Terra," to give titles of concession of use to residents (Deagle, 2015). This department was supposed to give titles of concession of use to five thousand households that were living in state land in three phases. The first phase gave these titles to 1469 households (Governo do Rio de Janeiro, 2013). José<sup>38</sup>, one of the directors of the Resident Association, confirmed that the program was interrupted. His wife and Fabiano<sup>39</sup> were one of the beneficiaries of the program.

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<sup>37</sup> See: [Airbnb website](#)

<sup>38</sup> José, 54 years old, is a long-term resident who has been living in Vidigal for 50 years.

<sup>39</sup> Fabiano, 38 years old, is from Paraíba, a state located in Northeastern Brazil. He has been living in Vidigal for 10 years

Receiving a title of concession of use facilitated the sale of houses. However, this does not mean that the lack of titles hinders homeowners to sell their properties. During my interviews, I was surprised to see how some long-term residents characterized this issue as a detail. Their perceptions resonate the academic discussions on the role of informality in cities and, particularly, in favelas in Rio de Janeiro (Roy, 2005; Roy, 2012; Gonçalves, 2009). In favelas, the informal housing market exists in parallel with the formal one, and has its own market logic, such as regular variation of prices. However, Gonçalves (2009) stress the lack of attention of public authorities to this special market. In fact, regularization of land has continued to be one of main public policy guidelines to favelas.

These guidelines were also the basis of the programs that followed the implementation of UPP in 2012. The Rio de Janeiro's state and local government not only launched "Nossa Terra" to regularize land, but also facilitated the process to regularize services in Vidigal, such as electricity, water, and cable TV. During the interview with José<sup>40</sup>, he emphasized that the consolidation of the UPP in Vidigal was followed by the entrance of private service providers that aimed to improve the quality of services through regularization.

There are undeniable benefits in integrating favela dwellers through regularization of land and services. Yet these same benefits left them vulnerable in the context of gentrification in Vidigal and left many residents in an affordability crisis. Many low-income residents, homeowners and renters, had to move out because they could not afford to pay for these services.

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<sup>40</sup> José, 54 years old, is a long-term resident who has been living in Vidigal for 50 years. He is one of the directors of the Resident Association.

Although long-term residents recognized individual benefits that gentrification brought to Vidigal, they were critical with the negative impacts of this process on the community, specifically displacement. As Daniel<sup>41</sup> put it:

*“But the guy who stayed here, who faced the war, who lost family members, who suffered the curfew in worst moments, this guy lost his house when Vidigal became pacified. This is unfair.”* (Daniel, personal communications, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

Residents also mentioned that the construction of new units, houses, apartment buildings, and hostels have significantly impacted the infrastructure and communal living of Vidigal. During my interviews, all residents mentioned the heavy traffic on the main road, the deterioration of the electricity network, water system, and garbage collection. They mentioned blackouts during summer because of the overuse use of air conditioning, and lack of water supply during parts of the days.

Finally, long-term residents also shared their concern with an emerging sense of non-belonging. As many of them explained to me, in general, residents in favelas have relatives and long-term friends living in the community. For this reason, they all had similar responses when I asked, “What do you like the most about Vidigal?” The most common response among residents who were born and raised in Vidigal was the fact that they all know each other, have family members, and friends who they grew up with. Then, the view. Furthermore, they all mentioned how they feel attached to Vidigal. When I asked, “Have you ever thought of leaving Vidigal?”, they all smiled and said: “Never!”

Therefore, activist residents have been organizing against displacement in Vidigal not only because of sense of belonging but also to combat the decline in affordability. In the next section, I will explore how residents are reacting to this process.

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<sup>41</sup> Daniel is a long-term resident born and raised in Vidigal



#### 4.4 Residents' reaction to gentrification

Research on gentrification discusses the emergence of community engagement to react to gentrification in their neighborhoods in the context of financialization and neoliberal governmental policies. (Defillips, 2004; Slater, 2009; Gonzalez, 2016; Field, 2015). Gonzalez (2016) emphasizes the challenge to do research about communities' reactions to gentrification as they can take multiple forms that, in many cases, cannot be categorized as an anti-gentrification movement *per se*. Gonzalez (2016) also argues that another challenge for the researcher is that resistance to gentrification can take the form of "everyday life micro-practices of contestation" (Gonzalez, 2016, p.1249)

During my field work, I observed the emergence of three forms of community reaction to gentrification. Drawing on Gonzalez (2016), one was these everyday practices of contestation. The second was the creation of an informal group aimed at organizing social events and actions related to the history and social memory of Vidigal. The third was the reemergence of the role of the resident association.

Walking around Vidigal, I observed some of these everyday responses to gentrification. These reactions emerged organically through graffiti, art, music, and daily interaction with long-term and new residents. For instance, the identity of residents who have been born and raised in Vidigal was strengthened through a social hierarchy of who is from Vidigal and who is not. The Vidigal's "crias" (slang which literally means offspring) have the power to determine the social rules which should be followed by new incomers (Rosa, 2017).

During one interview, Eliana<sup>42</sup> mentioned one creative response to the UPP's prohibition of community funk parties. The youth has been organizing social events where they collectively compose and sing music. As she says: "As a teacher, I have hope on the youth. The music they

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<sup>42</sup> Eliana, 37 years old, born and raised in Vidigal. She is a teacher at the Vidigal's public high school and is currently doing her master's thesis on history and memory of Vidigal.

sing in these events is protest music that focuses on our realities. Through the song, they propose solutions to the community. They are so creative!” (Eliana, personal communications, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

The second form is ColetivAção. It is an activist group who have been trying to keep the history and memory of Vidigal alive. ColetivAção has the goal of promoting cultural events in Vidigal that would create awareness about the history of Vidigal and strengthen sense of belonging. They believe that creating a feeling of attachment to the community can be a powerful tool to engage and mobilize residents against the recent transformation of their community, such as displacement.

This group is informal and formed by six group members who are all involved with other organizations in Vidigal, including the resident association. I interviewed three members of ColetivAção, Eliana, Gabriela, and Michael<sup>43</sup>, but also met the three others. Recently, they organized an event to celebrate the 40 years of the resistance movement and developed a project whose aim is to collect stories and memories from the community through interviews with older residents.

‘Emplacando a Memória’ is a project in progress which consists of inviting local artists to paint street signs to mark the most important reference points. According to Eliana and Michael<sup>44</sup>, Vidigal’s street names and reference points are the names of people who have done something important for Vidigal. However, the city does not recognize these names because there is a federal law that forbids streets to be named after living people. However, ColetivAção believe that keeping the original names on the street signs is a way to maintain the history of Vidigal. As all of them

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<sup>43</sup> Gabriela, 60 years old, long-term resident who has been living in Vidigal since 2005. Michael is a 40-year-old German who has been living in Vidigal since 2010.

<sup>44</sup> Michael is a 40 year-old German who has been living in Vidigal since 2010.

mentioned that they want these residents to know that Vidigal is Vidigal because they built it and they fight for it.



*Figure 6: Example of a street sign / photo credit: author*

The third form is the Resident Association which experienced a revival of their historical role in the community. The current group who is running the Resident Association was elected in 2012. This was considered an important election for the community because there were many years without an election. During the years of drug dealer's domination, the gang's leader used to nominate the president. This led to a lack of representation for residents. In this most recent election, non-profit organizations that are based in Vidigal participated and helped organize debates with the seven candidates prior to the election day. There were 2000 voters in the election, which corresponds to 20% of Vidigal's population. Even with the small turnout, community organizers viewed the election as a success as it was a democratic process. Gabriela, who participated in the organization of the elections said:

*Until 2012, there was no effective community engagement in the selection for the new president. Many times, they were indicated by someone from the community. In 2012, it was the end of the last president's mandate. This is why we decided to organize the*

*elections so that the new president would not be selected without community participation. We organized the debates between the groups running. It was a truly democratic process with a large number of residents voting for the new president (Gabriela, personal communications, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017).*

Since then, the resident association has been pressuring the city to make improvements in Vidigal, especially to the electrical and water systems, garbage collection, and transportation. As the resident association director, José, stated: *“Vidigal is cool, that’s ok. There is film footage, it is on trend, but this is not a bubble. We still have open sewage, unemployed people, and people living in poverty. It’s a favela!”*

He also told me that the resident association has been trying to raise awareness about gentrification and the consequences of selling properties: *“The role of the Resident Association is to create awareness. We tell residents: Look, your life is here, your child studies here, your work is here. If you sell, you are not going to be able to come back”* (José, personal communications, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

In 2014, the nonprofit Comunidades Catalisadoras<sup>45</sup> in partnership with the activist group Intersectoral Forum<sup>46</sup> and the Resident Association organized a series of four debates on gentrification. The debates took place in a public amphitheater at the entrance of Vidigal. Sociologists, urban planners, community leaders, and entrepreneurs in Vidigal were invited to discuss the economic, political, and cultural transformations that gentrification causes. They also discussed displacement of low-income renters who could not afford to live in Vidigal anymore.

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<sup>45</sup> “Catalytic Communities (CatComm) is an empowerment, communications, think tank, and advocacy NGO working since 2000 in support of Rio’s [favelas](#) at the intersection of sustainable community development, human rights, local-global networks, communications, and urban planning. CatComm supports and empowers residents of informal settlements, evolving strategically to support their needs as they arise” (<http://catcomm.org/about/>)

<sup>46</sup> Local community organizing group formed by residents

During interviews with long-term residents, a common aspect was the acknowledgement of the important role of the resident association in creating responses to the recent impacts on the community, such as traffic, blackouts, and expansion of construction of new units.

Furthermore, the other two forms of reactions to gentrification emerged as a response to the commercial representations of Vidigal. They also revealed the new social tensions and dynamics that emerged during the process of gentrification.

### **Same favela representations?**

My interviews on long-term resident's perceptions of gentrification revealed the historical stigmas about favela's dwellers. Daniel, Eliana, and Ilan, who were born and raised in Vidigal, emphasized the permanence of stigmas in their own favela. New internal dynamics that emerged during the period of gentrification maintained the same divisions between the favela and the formal city.

Two residents, Eliana and Daniel<sup>47</sup>, both very active in the community, used the word appropriation to describe how new businesses are using Vidigal's space. They are appropriating their space, their view, their culture, but most residents are excluded from it. Daniel used this analogy to describe the parties: "white people arrive at an indigenous village. There is a wonderful 'oca' [Brazilian indigenous dwellings] there, the best one. They organize a party in this 'oca.' They enjoy the party, and all indigenous stay outside. That's it!" (Daniel, personal communication, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

As Eliana states:

*For these people, Vidigal is nothing more than a scenic point. They do not want to go to Pedrinha or 14 [bottom areas of Vidigal]. They are not even interested in poverty as an exotic thing. No, they want the view and the view up there is more pleasant. It is totally an appropriation of our space. Let's be clear: they do not want to know the reality of a favela*

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<sup>47</sup> Eliana, 37 years old, born and raised in Vidigal. She is a teacher at the Vidigal's public high school and is currently doing her master's thesis on history and memory of Vidigal. She also one of the members of Coletivação. Daniel, born and raised in Vidigal, is a movie maker.

*further away. They want to know the reality of this favela, which is in the South Zone and has the view. It must be some psychological issue because they want to come here but to see themselves. They want to talk about being in the favela, but it is all among them. I say it is yes for the favela but no to the favelado” (Eliana, personal communications, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Furthermore, the additional security afforded by UPP allows these parties for upper-middle class outsiders to end in the early morning but, ironically, does not allow any community event to end after midnight. Community events, especially parties, need to have a special permit from the UPP. The police justify this rule as one of the measures to restrain the drug dealers’ control because they used to organize social events in favelas, especially the Brazilian funk parties.

For these reasons, Daniel, Eliana, and José criticized how unfair and discriminatory the application of this rule is:

*“The parties target a group who has money. These are capitalist parties that use our geography and our fame to make money. Parties exclude the locals.*

*This was a very strong thing here. Why? Because with the pacification the police prohibited our entertainment, our parties, our funk parties. It’s over!!!” (Daniel, personal communications, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

*“Everything is very cruel. The funk parties used to be next to my house. It was like hell! I could listen to the music from my room. I don’t like to go dancing anymore, but it was the entertainment of the youth. They [UPP] prohibited the entertainment of the local youth. But the same songs continue to play on the parties for the rich people, because they want to have the favela experience” (Eliana, personal communications, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

*Locals complain about new residents, hostels, and bars. For instance, they complain about the noise and parties that end at 6am. They say to me: I cannot have a party in my rooftop, but they can.” (José, personal communications, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Besides these discriminatory regulations, residents also complaint about the excessive control by the police. In Vidigal, the headquarters of UPP is located on the main road. Signs for the UPP headquarters are found at many points in the favela. Police officers, armed with rifles, regularly make their presence known. At the two entrances to Vidigal, it is not unusual to see police cars parked there. When I visited Vidigal, it was visually very clear that the state was present to impose law and order.

The UPP reproduces the historical police treatment in favelas. During my interview with Sam, the British foreigner who lived in Vidigal between 2013 and 2015, he observed stark differences in the police treatment between residents and foreigners. He witnessed police officers targeting young afro-brazilian men who are still treated as potential criminals, inspecting resident's belongings for no apparent reason in many cases, and in general using force to show power.

Police control in Vidigal reflects the stigma that non-favela cariocas have had against favela dwellers. Although residents acknowledge the significant decrease of shootings and drug dealer's control, these perceptions also uncover the conclusion that the benefits of the UPP policy have been more to investors in Vidigal than to the residents themselves. In this regard, the gentrification process in Vidigal, facilitated by the securitization approach of the state, has not integrated Vidigal, as the mainstream media promoted, but has exacerbated the historical patterns of social segregation and divisions between who is and who is not a favela dweller.

## CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

This thesis follows recent scholars who investigate gentrification using a multi-level analysis to better explain it as an outcome of multi-causal processes (Lees et al., 2008; Schlichtman et al., 2017). In this thesis, I investigated the extent to which global factors that enable gentrification in different localities around the world manifest themselves in Vidigal as well as the role of local factors in this particular case.

From a global perspective, gentrification in Vidigal is one more example of how this phenomenon has become global. Similarly, with other cities around the world, gentrification in Vidigal has been praised in the mainstream media and official statements as a successful example of market-oriented strategies to develop degraded neighborhoods. As I have described in the findings chapter, newspapers have praised Vidigal, calling the favela “chic,” and celebrating the arrival of foreigners and upper and middle-class as a positive change not just there but also in Rio de Janeiro.

Gentrification in Vidigal has also similarities with tourist-led gentrification in places considered “authentic” expressions of the local culture, especially in the Global South. Drawing on the analysis of Freire-Medeiros (2009) on tourism in slums, Vidigal has emerged on the confluence of a global tourist phenomenon, in which the tourist seeks a differentiated experience from mass tourism, with global circulation of images that frame the local into popular mediatic narratives.

In Vidigal, the opening of hostels was one of the most important engines of gentrification followed by the movement of young foreigners. Tourists and new-in movers were seeking the experience of favela living rather than just a more affordable place to stay and live. In this sense,



I examined how the specific architecture of Vidigal, the community living, and the ocean view played a major role in their decision to visit and live there.

However, my research in Vidigal have also shown distinctions with the process of gentrification in general. For instance, in most cases of gentrification, the arrival of new residents from different socioeconomic status are followed by the opening of businesses that expresses these new resident's culture, such as sophisticated restaurants, art galleries, and coffee shops. In Vidigal, this type of business was not successful as my interviews revealed. Rather, businesses catering to upper middle-class foreigners and cariocas use the particularities of Vidigal culture to advertise themselves. The organization of hostel parties was the most prominent example of this imagery that my research uncovered.

The attraction to Vidigal led me to a deeper investigation of the confluence of global and local factors of Vidigal's process of gentrification. For this reason, I delved into the question of why the perceptions of Vidigal have evolved from a place of violence to one of being welcoming and attracting newcomers.

From one side, change of perceptions is related to the positive images of favela's culture: the music (samba and funk) and the creativity of its residents. But the changes have also been influenced by the role of grassroots movements that have assimilated these positive representations and have helped it contrast and combat the negative stereotypes of favela dwellers as either powerless victims of poverty and violence or potential criminals. I learned in my interviews about the "Nós do Morro" movement which helped empower children and young adolescents from Vidigal by offering them alternatives to drug dealing through performing arts, especially music, and acting with many of these children finding success in Brazilian films.

Community organizing, specifically through resident associations, have had a historical role in fighting against removal and demanding improvements in infrastructure and social services

in favelas. The resident association in Vidigal is a remarkable example of a resident association that fought against removal in 1978. The change of the state's approach from the removal as the main policy to improvements in infrastructure and social services was a response to favela's dwellers demands. More importantly the state's conceding removal policies consolidated the rights of favela residents all over Rio de Janeiro.

On the other hand, this state's approach also reproduced some of the same historical negative associations of favelas with the proliferation of drug dealers and poor security. This response was met with increased police enforcement and violence that reinforced the main consensus that the "solution" to the favela "problem" was the need for more control by the state.

During the pre-Olympic games, the launch of infrastructure programs and, most importantly, UPP reflected the continuation of this same state's approach. They became a mediatic tool as the city prepared to host the Olympic Games to further its goal to rebrand Rio de Janeiro as a global city that was accepting its favelas. In Vidigal, transformation in the favela with the opening of new bars, hostels, and the arrival of new residents, especially foreigners, was considered a measurable positive impact of the UPP. However, the exclusionary nature of these changes revealed the detrimental effects of gentrification in Vidigal.

The promotion of hostel parties combined with tourism, and the arrival of middle-class foreigners to live in Vidigal signaled to investors that the place had a new social class appeal and, therefore, may be profitable to invest in. As my research has investigated, the intensification of gentrification in this favela led to land speculation, construction of new units without proper regulation, deterioration of services (e.g. garbage collection, electricity), and displacement of low-income residents.

Branding Vidigal as a “chic” and urbanized overshadowed the continuous lack of basic infrastructure in some parts of the favela for the poorest residents. As I have indicated in previous chapters, Vidigal has not received any major infrastructure programs since Favela-Bairro in 1997.

Furthermore, Vidigal’s UPP’s ultimate goal was interrupted: pacification of the favelas through the construction of a respectful and peaceful relationship with favela residents as well as through the provision of social services. In fact, UPP officers have continued the securitization, almost militaristic approach, of favela’s territories. In Vidigal, heavily armed police officers in different parts of the favela continue to demonstrate a violent attitude towards long-term residents including the targeting of Afro-brazilian men.

The UPP’s approach towards long-term residents have also reinforced the marginalization of the residents in their own neighborhood. The creation of different rules and treatment between investors and long-term residents reproduced the same negative stereotypes by normalizing who is or who is not a favela dweller.

Therefore, transformations in Vidigal do not express the integration between favelas and the “formal city” as the mainstream media has represented them. Instead, they reflect the structural social inequality of Rio’s society as Vidigal became a place for the entertainment of the better-off, non-favela residents, greatly impacting the daily life of Vidigal’s residents.

As in other cities around the world, gentrification has strengthened patterns of social and spatial segregation. In this research, I examined how global and local factors played a role in the process of gentrification in Vidigal. I believe that emphasizing the particularities of this specific case can enrich further research on gentrification.

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## APPENDIX I: INTERVIEWEES INFORMATION

Pseudonyms	Resident	Gender	Age	Nationality	Level of education	Occupation	Years in Vidigal
<b>Alice</b>	new	F	29	Brazilian	Undergraduate level	Fashion industry and actress	8 months
<b>Bruna</b>	Yes	F	42	Brazilian	middle school (incomplete)	Receptionist	born and raised
<b>Carlos</b>	yes	M	28	Brazilian	Associate degree	Hospital administrative staff	2 years
<b>Daniel</b>	yes	M	38	Brazilian	Undergraduate level	Movie director	born and raised
<b>Eliana</b>	yes	F	37	Brazilian	Graduate level	High School teacher	born and raised
<b>Fabiano</b>	yes	M	38	Brazilian (Paraíba)	High school level	doorman	10 years
<b>Gabriela</b>	yes	F	60	Brazilian	Undergraduate level	massage therapist	12 years
<b>Michael</b>	new	M	38	German	Undergraduate level	designer	7 years
<b>Ilan</b>	yes	M	32	Brazilian	Graduate level	Tourist guide and photographer	born and raised
<b>José</b>	yes	M	54	Brazilian	High school level	Resident Association director	50 years
<b>Liam</b>	new	M	35-45	British	Graduate level	English teacher	2 years
<b>Marcos</b>	new	M		Brazilian	undergraduate level	Advertiser and hostel owner	5 years
<b>Natalia</b>	N/A	F	32	Brazilian	Graduate level	lawyer	N/A
<b>Paula</b>	N/A	F	36	Brazilian	Graduate level	lawyer	N/A
<b>Patricia</b>	N/A	F	24	Brazilian	undergraduate level	advertiser	N/A

## APPENDIX II: TYPE AND DATE OF INTERVIEWS

<b>Pseudonyms</b>	<b>Type of interview</b>	<b>Location of the interview</b>	<b>Duration of the interview</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>
<b>Alice</b>	phone	N/A	45 minutes	July 31st 2017
<b>Bruna</b>	in person	resident's home	30 minutes	August 26th 2017
<b>Carlos</b>	in person	resident's home	30 minutes	August 26th 2017
<b>Daniel</b>	phone	N/A	1 hour	August 4th 2017
<b>Eliana</b>	in person	resident's home	3 hours	August 26th 2017
<b>Fabiano</b>	in person	Resident's work	30 minutes	August 30th 2017
<b>Gabriela</b>	in person	resident's home	2 hours	September 6th 2017
<b>Michael</b>	in person	resident's home	2 hours	September 6th 2017
<b>Ilan</b>	in person	Walking tour	5 hours	September 7th 2017
<b>José</b>	in person	Resident Association	1 hour	September 8th 2017
<b>Liam</b>	in person	Restaurant	30 minutes	September 13th 2017
<b>Marcos</b>	phone	N/A	1 hour	May 9th 2018
<b>Natalia</b>	phone	N/A	1 hour	May 4th 2018
<b>Paula</b>	phone	N/A	1 hour	May 3rd 2018
<b>Patricia</b>	phone	N/A	1 hour	May 6th 2018