
Urban Regeneration in Rio de Janeiro Favelas during the Olympic games of 2016

Master Thesis in Development & International Relations



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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	7
Keywords.....	7
1. INTRODUCTION.....	8
2. PROBLEM STATEMENT	10
3. METHODOLOGY	12
3.1. Research design	12
3.1.1. Case Study.....	14
3.2. Research method	14
3.2.1. Sources	15
3.2.2. Data Processing.....	15
3.3. Theoretical considerations	15
3.3.1. Neoliberalism.....	16
3.3.2. Urban Regeneration.....	16
3.3.3. Mega-event & Urban Regeneration.....	16
3.3.4. Sustainability & Sustainable Regeneration.....	17
3.3.5. Urban Upgrades	17
3.3.6. Community participation.....	17
3.3.7. Gentrification.....	17
4. LITERATURE REVIEW	19
4.1. Neoliberalism	19
4.2. Urban Regeneration.....	23
4.3. Mega-event & Urban Regeneration	25
4.4. Sustainability & Sustainable Urban Regeneration.....	27
4.5. Urban Upgrades.....	32
4.5.1. Bidding Process	32
4.5.2. Architectural Competition Process	33
4.5.3. Participation process.....	34
4.6. Community Participation.....	36
4.7. Gentrification.....	38
5. FAVELAS	42
5.1. Definition and description.....	42
5.2. Favelas as the centre of debate about Olympics 2016	44
6. CASE STUDY	45
6.1. Programmes as urban regeneration “Framework”	45
6.1.1. Favela Bairro.....	46
6.1.2. Morar Carioca.....	47
6.1.3. Minha vida, Minha casa	49
6.1.4. The PAC in the slums.....	50
6.1.5. Conclusion of programs.....	50
6.2. State plans for the Rio’s future outlook.....	52
7. CASE ANALYSIS.....	55
7.1. Embed event strategies within wider urban regeneration programs	55
7.2. Use the event as a coherent theme and effective stimulus for parallel initiatives and more diverse regeneration projects	57

7.3. Ensure that regeneration planning is fully incorporated into the initial stages of planning for an event	59
7.4. Promote shared ownership and responsibility among all partners of the legacy and event programs	61
7.5. Design effective organizational and structural arrangements between event regeneration agencies and event management representatives to ensure joint working toward clearly defined and shared goals	62
7.6. Allocate sufficient human and capital resources throughout the lifetime of event regeneration projects to achieve sustained effects	64
7.7. Design event regeneration projects to prioritize the needs and engagement of the most disadvantaged members of the target community	65
7.8. Try to ensure an event geographical dissemination of positive impacts among targeted areas	68
7.9. Ensure that event-themed social and economic regeneration initiatives build upon, and connect with, any physical and infrastructure legacy	69
7.10. Ensure community representation from the planning stage onwards to promote community ownership and engagement	71
8. CONCLUSION	73
9. APPENDIX	76
10. WORKS CITED.....	78

List of Figures, Tables and Pictures

Figure 1: Deductive Approach of the Thesis	- 13
Figure 2: Sustainable balance	- 27
Figure 3: Bidding Process	- 33
Figure 4: parallel prices of m ² in Leblon and Vidigal neighbourhood	- 39
Figure 5: Average price for apartments	- 65
Figure 6: Planned Olympic zones	- 65
Figure 7: Homicide Rates in Rio	- 66
Table 1: neoliberal strategy's towards Olympics outcome	- 20
Table 2: Sustainability Management Plan	- 28
Table 3: People: games for everybody	- 68
Table 4: Constructivism/Pragmatism methodology	- 76
Picture 1: Vila Autodromo before an eviction	- 40
Picture 2: Vila Autodromo after an eviction	- 41

Definition of terms

Favelados	Citizens living in favelas
Cariocas	Citizens of Rio de Janeiro

List of abbreviations

IOC	International Olympic Committee
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
UPP	Police Pacification Units
MDSW	Municipal Department of Social Welfare
IBA	Institute of Brazilian Architects
SMH	Municipal Secretary of Housing
CEPAC	Certificate of Additional Construction Potential
FGTS	Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
MCMV	Minha casa Minha vida
SMP	Sustainability Management Plan

ABSTRACT

Rio de Janeiro is an interesting and famous city of Latin America due to its many relations concerning the international world. This city has recently hosted several global events such as the Sustainable Development summit in 2012, the World cup in 2014 and now the Olympic games of 2016. Rio de Janeiro is also world known for its gigantic carnival, its beaches and its favelas.

During the development of this thesis, the relation between the favelas and the elaboration of the new Olympic games in Rio de Janeiro 2016 will be investigated. The advantages and disadvantages of hosting this type of mega-event for the city of Rio de Janeiro and more precisely for the inhabitants of its favelas will be identified and evaluated. Favelas being in the epicentre of this controversial event are the most affected ones during its development. The Urban Regeneration plan and process coming from this event will be evaluated in order to understand the outcomes affecting the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

This thesis will start with introducing the situation and explaining the main research question. Further on it will then list the different theories to help the reader understand the development of this thesis. The context of this mega-event and the explanation of the favelas will be stated as part of the analysis, and a case analysis will end up the investigation. The conclusion will come at the end to summarize the findings.

Keywords

Rio de Janeiro, Favelas, Urban Regeneration, Gentrification, Olympic games, Mega-event, Sustainability,

1. INTRODUCTION

In August 2016, 10 000 athletes and more than half a million tourists are expected to gather in Rio De Janeiro in order to participate in the Summer Olympics 2016. It will be the first time that the Olympics games will be hosted by a South American city. This fact brings the host city and the country itself to have very high expectations towards the final outcome of the event. Politicians, just like the ones in Brazil, proclaim that the opportunity to host a mega sport's event will provide economical benefits to the population (Rio prefeita, 2014, s. 10). Olympic games' are well known to create demand-anticipation effects, which are expected to stimulate current output, public spending, consumption and investment. There is a focus on the benefits of macro economical development, whereas the roots and the most sensitive ones of the country- the poor, are just being evicted in order to make the city look aesthetically beautiful and safe for visitors (Schlotterbeck & Hilderbrand, 2016). Even though the Olympic games are a short-term event, its preparations and city upgrading took seven years to finalize. Numerous policies are being applied, which may affect the citizens both short term and long term. The city as a whole, especially the citizens living in the favelas may feel drastic changes due to the introduction of new policies and infrastructures.

Significant amount of literature and articles are available to help to get an insight of how Olympics are affecting Rio de Janeiro inhabitants, including many other aspects such as recession, corruption or president's impeachment. Besides the focus on research and analyses, topics on current and temporary events, it is also of analytical relevance to look at the favelas' deprived citizen's future, while connecting it with coercive urban regeneration.

Hereby, by focusing on police pacification and developmental policies, we will critically look for the effects of these in Urban Regeneration plans. Slightly but still visible, favela gentrification and urban regeneration have created a short-term vision that uplifts Rio de Janeiro's global image. The world seems to blindly accept the

increasing fragmentation of this city, which only increases costs and inaccessibility of public areas and goods.

The intent of this research is to show how, historically supported political struggle of favela democratisation, upgrading and now the Olympic's strategy towards favelas, have displaced favela communities and its effects.

2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Ever since the favelas have been on the political agenda, it has been of interest to urbanize or to remove them in order to improve the security of its people and others as well as its infrastructure. Since the twentieth century favelas were seen as transnational, cultural phenomena whose eradication would be the only one and natural process of city's development. (Simpson, 2013, s. 7)

Favela and strategies about how to develop and transform them to an urban and well functioning apparatus is highly covered topic by many researchers. Many old and new policies' impacts have already been analysed. But, there is no research that argues that there is currently present community gentrification that came from these policies and that favela inhabitants are facing urban regeneration with uncertain outcomes.

The 2016 Olympics games promised to deliver benefits and profits to Rio as well as to make it shine internationally (Rio prefeita, 2014, s. 11). To make sure that the city is ready to host large amount of foreigners till the fixed deadline, required to initiate certain policies and distribute money accordingly to make sure that the planned projects are concluded. Favela upgrading, evictions from favelas that are nearby games' venues and infrastructure building were the main projects politicians have focused on (Rio prefeita, 2014, s. 16). The Olympic games may be beneficial to the middle and high-class society as the quality of public goods and services increase. But it is not sure that this mega-event will be beneficial for the low class society as it includes many changes in their community with the construction of four different Olympic parks affecting 18 different favelas of the city (Rio prefeita, 2014, s. 42-47).

Since it isn't the first time that government tries to restructure favelas, we are able to sum up the previous attempts to do it and compare it with policies that are on the spotlight during the period of Olympics preparation. Any restructuring, development goal and/or policy should be sustainable, meaning that it has to improve the favela and assure that new changes are positive and long term lasting. We carefully selected ten key principles for sustainable event regeneration basis (Smith, 2010), and will

combine it with current policies and impact they created, in order to analyse if the Urban Regeneration resulting from the Olympic games will be sustainable or not for the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Our research question will then be:

“Will urban regeneration coming from Olympics games be beneficial for Rio de Janeiro favelas inhabitants and why?”

Learning from the actions taken by the politicians; organising such a large-scale event in Rio has to become a part of its urban policy strategy in order to foster local economic growth, and put a hosting city on the global agenda at the same time. Rio has been trying to achieve urban regeneration for many years (Simpson, 2013).

It seems normal that the government is hoping to urbanise and economically upgrade the city. The consequences of the policies taken to reach this goal might have a different outcome for the population. As we will explain further in the analysis, Rio De Janeiro has put a strong pressure on new jobs creation, massive and fast investment in infrastructure, environment cleaning and improvement, tourism marketing and favela cleaning since the bid for Olympics (Rio prefeita, 2014, s. 15). This shows that Rio de Janeiro is using the Olympic games to stimulate a more intensified Urban Regeneration.

Local government's investment disruption towards infrastructure rather than public goods that are accessible to the whole population, increased local taxes, environmental issues and disruption of existing communities are already acknowledged shortcomings. Hereby, we will go deeper to analyse the disruption and the displacement of communities. Since favela inhabitants are the most vulnerable and stigmatized in this situation, they will be in the centre of our analysis.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present and explain the perspectives and methods used to answer the research question stated above. The aim of this chapter is to describe and clarify the reasoning behind the methodological approaches made, to give the reader a better understanding of the conclusions drawn in this thesis. The methodological chapter consists of three parts. Firstly, the research design will plan the overall scientific approach; the nature of the problem formulation and research question, and the reflections behind a case study will also be explained. Secondly, the research method will describe how the empirical material has been collected and what kinds of sources have been used. This section will also explain the reliability and validity of the sources used for the thesis. Thirdly, theoretical considerations will be explained and the relevance of the theory used in this thesis will be justified.

3.1. Research design

The problem to be investigated during the whole process of the thesis is mostly explanatory as it seeks to investigate why will the urban regeneration coming from Olympics games be (or not) beneficial for Rio de Janeiro favelas inhabitants. This problem will also be exploratory, as the different reason leading to the conclusion of this question will be explained in the analysis chapter.

The research approach used in this paper has been a bit complex to identify. Two main approaches have been opposed to find the right philosophy of the thesis. This opposition can be seen in **Table 4** of the appendix chapter. Due to the nature of the research question, which investigate if “Urban Regeneration coming from Olympics games be beneficial for Rio de Janeiro favelas inhabitants and why?” The thesis was adopting both qualitative and quantitative lines of inquiry. This mixed method have led to Pragmatism as potential philosophical assumption and interpretive frameworks for the paper, as it allows the researcher to use both methods. Pragmatism approach also answered to both open and closed-ended question like the one of this thesis.

However, after more research, some clues were showing that Pragmatism is not the appropriate paradigm, as the approach would collect data (quantitative and/or qualitative) in order to find solutions and solve problems. Whereas the Constructivism approach would try to uncover meanings from data collected. This led the thinking to shift to a Constructivism approach since most of the work will be explanatory as well as exploratory. (Research-Methodology.net)

The research based on reasoning will follow a deductive approach, also called top-down approach. This procedure is similar to an experiment: a hypothesis is formulated, and testable consequences are resulting by deduction. The theory is verified or falsified by comparing the finding deduced from a theory and a case with the empirical findings. (Johansson)

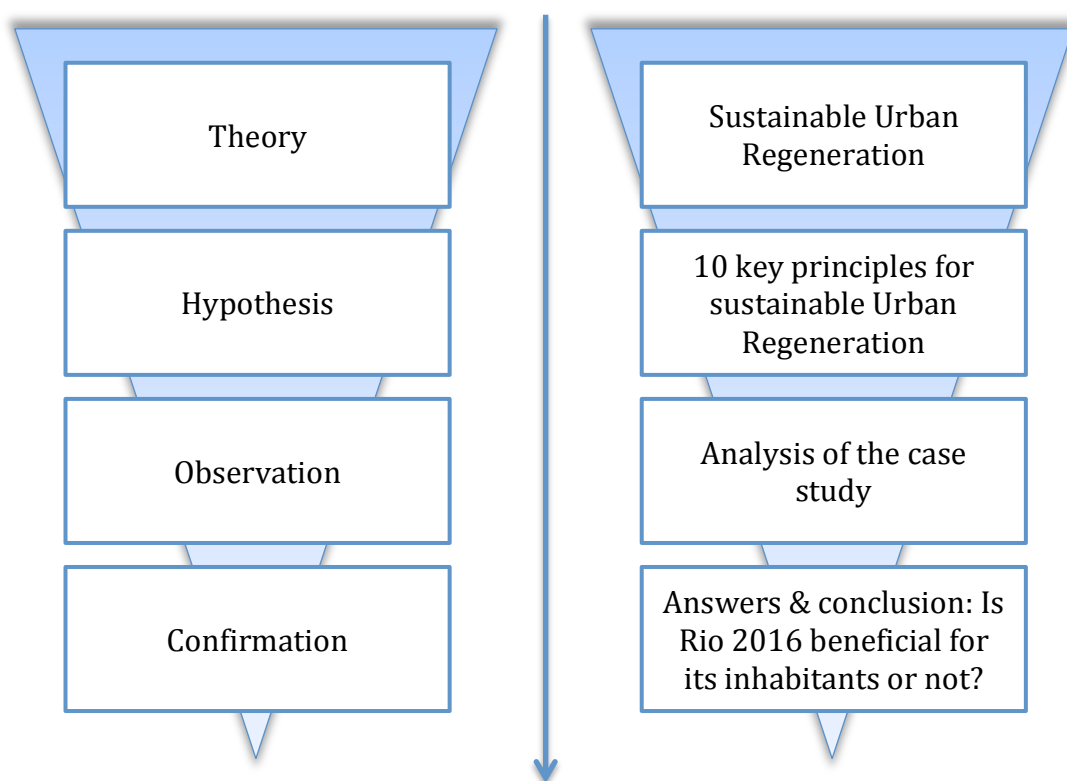


Figure 1: Deductive Approach of the Thesis (Own creation)

In order to conduct this study, theories related to the project will be stated. These theories will help understand the situation of the Mega-event taking place in Rio de Janeiro. The ten key principles for sustainable event regeneration from Andrew Smith

(Smith, 2010) will be used as hypothesis. By validating or not these hypothesizes, the research question will be answered.

3.1.1. Case Study

This thesis will be carried on using the case study research method. A case study method should have a “case” which is the object of study. It is defined as a phenomenon specific to time and space. Cases studies can be either single-cases or multiple-cases object. A multiple-case object gives more credibility to the transferability of the findings to other cases but when the case is a single-case design, it gives the possibility of a more thorough in-depth study. The case study chosen throughout this paper concerns the favelas’ inhabitants during the Olympic games 2016 in Rio de Janeiro. This case is a single case design to allow the researcher to study the phenomenon more in depth. The interesting fact about this chosen case is that it is really contemporary, as the preparation of the event will take place during the writing of the thesis.

According to the case study methodology paper from Rolf Johansson, it exists different type of case studies. The type of this paper would be a correlative case study, as it shares with qualitative research a focus on naturally occurring circumstances, but is dependent on quantitative data. A correlative study uses many units of analysis and this will be shown in the analysis chapter of this thesis where ten different units of a theory will be analysed. (Johansson)

3.2. Research method

This thesis will use mostly qualitative data, but some quantitative data will be used to help support the findings and give a clearer understanding. Using quantitative data will strengthened the credibility of the research, as it will make the arguments of the thesis more objective.

3.2.1. Sources

This thesis builds on a wide range of secondary sources, from different academic and institutional backgrounds, to give a more objective and nuanced analysis. The qualitative literature used include, but are not limited to, academic articles, books, official reports from the Olympic organization, news media, and publications from governmental organizations. A big part of the sources of this thesis will be coming from the news site “RioOnWatch.org” which is a program made from Catalytic Communities (NGO) and Rio de Janeiro based NGO, to bring visibility to favela community voices in the lead-up to the 2016 Olympics. (Rioonwatch, 2016) This has been complemented by quantitative data from statistical reports from national and international organizations.

3.2.2. Data Processing

During the completion of this thesis, a considerable amount of literature has been collected about the subject area and the theories related to the problematic to form an understanding of the context and problem. This will help to know what is the best way to approach it. To formulate the problem and research question, an extensive amount of literature has been studied. This literature also helped to guide in the process of choosing the best theory to analyse the signification from the data. During the second phase of the making of the thesis, the research question has driven the collection of data needed for the further analysis.

3.3. Theoretical considerations

This section will explain the considerations behind the theories used in this thesis. In order to analyze the context and the problem of this thesis, theories stated below, will need to be explained to the reader.

3.3.1. Neoliberalism

To be able to understand the context of the 2016 Olympics games in Rio de Janeiro, the political influences in place in the country need to be reviewed. Neoliberalism can be the part of the explanation to the many changes in terms of economic development and Urban Regeneration in Brazil. This is why an explanation of Neoliberalism is given to the reader in order to build the link between the politics in place in the country and upcoming events.

3.3.2. Urban Regeneration

The 2016 Olympic games in Rio de Janeiro are mostly going to be a big change in the urban environment of the inhabitants of Rio. The Urban Regeneration theory is a way to explain the urban changes in the landscape but also in the habits of the local population. The concept of Urban Regeneration needs to be defined to understand some of the impacts of this Olympic event.

3.3.3. Mega-event & Urban Regeneration

In order to understand the effects and impact of hosting a mega-event for the host city, the relation between mega-events and Urban Regeneration needed to be explained to the reader. The act of hosting the Olympic games 2016 for Rio de Janeiro might generate a special type of Urban Regeneration in the city. It is important to keep this relation in mind during the whole development of the thesis to apprehend and answer the problem statement.

3.3.4. Sustainability & Sustainable Regeneration

To be able to answer the problem statement, and delimit the word “beneficial” from the research question “Will urban regeneration coming from Olympics games be beneficial for Rio de Janeiro favelas inhabitants and why?”, it is essential to understand the term “sustainability”. This thesis will analyze the advantages and disadvantages of the Olympic games for the favelas inhabitants. Evaluating the sustainability of the mega-event Rio 2016 in an Urban Regeneration point of view will be used to define the word “beneficial” and carry on the analysis. The study from Andrew Smith (Smith, 2010), which presents ten key principles for sustainable event regeneration, will be used to conduct the analysis section of this thesis. These ten key principles will be seen as hypothesis, and their validation or non-validation will answer the research question of this thesis.

3.3.5. Urban Upgrades

Many practices answer to Urban Regeneration policies. It is interesting to analyze the different situations to understand the transformations in the urban life of the favelas inhabitants, and why those type of practices are chosen instead of others.

3.3.6. Community participation

This section will complement the previous section about Urban Upgrades by focusing more into the importance of the local community to succeed Urban Regeneration. This section will help answering some of the hypothesis during the analysis chapter.

3.3.7. Gentrification

Gentrification is one of the possible consequences of Urban Regeneration. The Gentrification theory will be used in the description of the Favelas, as well as in the

analysis. It is important for the reader to understand the scope of this theory and its positive or negative impact on local communities.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1. Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a theory of political - economic practices that advocates an advancement of human well being by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills (Harvey, 2007). Market-led economic and social restructuring coming altogether with neoliberalism produce orientation of economic and social policy to the private sector's needs (Palley, 2004). Therefore neoliberalism promotes structures and objectives for community development and structure how public goods should be delivered. It's a state's government that creates and maintains institutional framework for such practices.

Mega sport event- Olympics created a particular vision of boosting community development as well as city's global economic standpoint in a short period. To be able to host this event, Rio de Janeiro government and international organisations employed particular strategies and measurements to produce idealistic atmosphere for the athletes and tourists. This was intended to be done by modern public development.

Olympics became as a central element to urbanise the city by using neoliberal policy elements (A. MacLaran, 2007):

- There is a need to build and develop infrastructure that is going to become beneficial resource for further economic development,
- Hosting mega sport event is a contribution to business vitality and entrepreneurial spirit,
- The city should look aesthetic and feel secure,
- Less economically active areas, in this case favelas, should be exploited for economic potential,

Olympics coming to an end, show that it was the poor that have been affected the most by this part of neoliberal market strategy - hosting mega event. Here are the

neoliberal strategies' outcomes, description of how it was applied alongside with Olympics planning and outcomes towards favelados:

- Being evicted on behalf of more economical developments,
- The resources have been invested in public goods that favelados don't have access to use.

In the table below we can see the neoliberal strategies towards Olympics outcome, how the strategy was implemented and finally its impact:

Overpraising socio-economic impact	Overestimating positive short and long term effects of mega-events	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Misallocation of resources from investment to favela urbanisation to investment to infrastructure that is inaccessible to the poor 2. Fear of the police, citizens lost trust of government and international organisations (insider, 2016)
Underestimation of costs coming from infrastructure preparation	Actual budget higher than planned budget by \$99.3 million; planned expenses were \$ 7.4 billion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Miscalculations of resources 2. Profiteering by private agents 3. Subway's delayed construction and low quality that is intended to connect Copacaba and Ipanema beach areas with the site of Olympic park in Barra De tijuca (insider, Business, 2016) 4. Budget shortfalls leading to a deficit of \$ 5.5 billion deficit (insider, Business, 2016)

Event takeover rather than economical, social and health emergencies	Event priorities become planning priorities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Event needs displace urban infrastructure needs 2. Over-expensive infrastructure dedicated only for Olympic needs (The guardian, 2016) 3. Unfinished infrastructure
Public risk taking while hosting event under the threat of Zika virus and water contamination	Public takes risk for private benefits	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public funds for limited number of participants or no public benefits at all for the virus prevention research
Rule of exception	Suspension of regular rule of law and suspension of pending impeachment of president Dilma Rouseff for manipulation public accounts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Displacement and forced relocations of favelados 2. Reduced public oversight 3. Limited public participation
Ruling elite over water distribution and charges	Irresponsible distribution of water resources	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Socially uneven urban landscape to access the basic needs of water and sewage 2. Gentrification through large scale redevelopment projects
Using Olympics as a tool to hold power in decision making	Olympics became a fast solution for past problems	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Event itself was a national priority for funding 2. Bypassing of regular planning process and allowing exceptionalism for private investors

		3. Waste of resources on event as lever for urban development
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Table 1: neoliberal strategies towards Olympics outcome

Urban revival through sustainable economic development is fundamental to neoliberal goals the police pacification units - UPPs are facilitating. According to the local government, the economic and social development will be achieved by a good governance, strong public, private and the third sector partnerships and community participation. There is one police pacification officer for 37 favela inhabitants to monitor safety.

There was a moment when neoliberal ideas interfered with favelados well being. The market driven land policy to clean slum areas created a conflict between people' right to accommodate and commercial private purposes. The former just socially and economically segregated favelados from much needed present affordable housing.

Not only security and the land use are in the neoliberal hands but also the financial wellbeing of favelados. For a better access to the banking system, Bancos do Povo (People banks) and Community Development Banks were created. These banks focused on favelados and tended to have short term profitability as well as low financial results due to limited ability to provide solidarity lending. Solidarity lending is a collaterals free loan and is important in building micro-finance for small groupings. It has a dual purpose to balance receivers' both social and financial performance in the market. Social performance was boosted by an investment into a job creation, supporting small scale businesses and adapting the services to guarantee that people have the needed comfort and necessities to enter the workforce, for example, running water, electrify and access to internet.

4.2. Urban Regeneration

Urban Regeneration is considered as a type of urban development. It implicates the redesigning of urban areas to improve some problems such as economical, environmental, social or architectural issues. The concept of Urban Regeneration is mainly a way to limit the urban zone and the spreading of a city but as well to improve the living conditions in the redesigned area. It aims to redesign the architecture to create smart living environment for the urban population. This regeneration usually takes place in old or damaged neighbourhoods. In the case of Brazil, Urban Regeneration mostly focuses in areas like favelas where the urbanisation was built illegally and without architectural rules. Phil Jones and James Evans define it with “[...] replacing an undesirable land use with high-quality housing.” (Jones & Evans, 2008)

In the book “Urban Regeneration in the UK”, written by Phil Jones and James Evans, they explain the process of Urban Regeneration and the way it came to catch attention in the UK during the 1980s. The conservative neoliberalism government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher focused on reconfiguring industrial areas suffering from economic decline. The transformations were made to bring economic activity and social changes to deprived areas. The main goal was to save the national economy as well as the soul of the people. The neoliberal approach changed broader community societies into more individualistic ones. People need more houses, and the government decided to build them in areas that need more economical activities to bring it back in the community.

“[...] contemporary urban regeneration offers an important chance to rectify the mistakes of the past and create attractive places where people want to live in the future.” (Jones & Evans, 2008, s. 12)

Similarly, the neoliberalism influences in Brazil during the 1980s, accelerated Urban Regeneration processes. The democracy of president Collor de Mello inaugurated neoliberalism in the country (Vizentini, 2007, s. 43). Urban Regeneration started

being one of the strategies for tourism. “The government launched public work to improve infrastructures (energy, telecommunications, sanitation, water supply, fire combat). The buildings were repaired, facades painted, woodwork and roofs restored, backyards opened by destruction of irregular existing buildings. Churches, monasteries and other religious buildings were also refurbished.” (Nobre, 2002, s. 117,118)

4.3. Mega-event & Urban Regeneration

Some cases of Urban Regeneration are explained by the hosting of a large-scale event. The construction project of this event is a good reason to redevelop the urban area where the event takes place. An event can be used as a tool of regeneration to bring focus in a deprived area. In fact, many cities during the years have been hosting mega-events to redevelop their urban areas. Olympic games have often been a good excuse to bring Urban Regeneration in a specific city/region/country, and Rio 2016 is not the first one in this exercise. A report made in 2014 for the Organizing committee of the Rio 2016 Olympic games, studied the future impact of the games on people, environment and economy of the town. Related to Urban Regeneration, this report explained what would the impacts of Rio 2016 be on land use, housing, waste and sewage management, and transport (OGI, 2014). Brian Chalkley and Stephen Essex explain in their article “Urban development through hosting international event” the advantages and consequences of hosting a mega-event.

“This approach offers host cities the possibility of ‘fast track’ urban regeneration, a stimulus to economic growth, improved transport and cultural facilities, and enhanced global recognition and prestige” (Chalkley & Essex, 2012, s. 44)

Since the 1960 Olympic games in Rome, the Olympic games have often been used as a trigger for large-scale urban improvements in host cities. This motive concludes in a big competition for hosting the mega-event. In the same way, Rio de Janeiro uses the Olympic games to bring new urban projects into disadvantaged areas. These Olympic games projects can also work along with other urban projects like for example in Rio; the program *Minha Casa Minha Vida*, which relocate the expelled population from the targeted Olympics areas. (Chetry & Legroux, 2014, s. 18)

Mega-events allow the host city to introduce new projects of Urban Regeneration at the same time as existing ones.

“[...], the contest to host the games can be seen as a global urban competition which, in certain respects, parallels national competitions for urban investment.” (Chalkley & Essex, 2012, s. 50)

4.4. Sustainability & Sustainable Urban Regeneration

In an article for the Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal, Andrew Smith explains how cities can use the hosting of an event to bring Sustainable Urban Regeneration. Smith refers to sustainable as:

“The satisfaction of needs in the long and short term. This includes providing economic opportunities and addressing social inequity, while maintaining the integrity of the physical environment. A central tenet of sustainability is that development should be embedded within communities” (Smith, 2010).

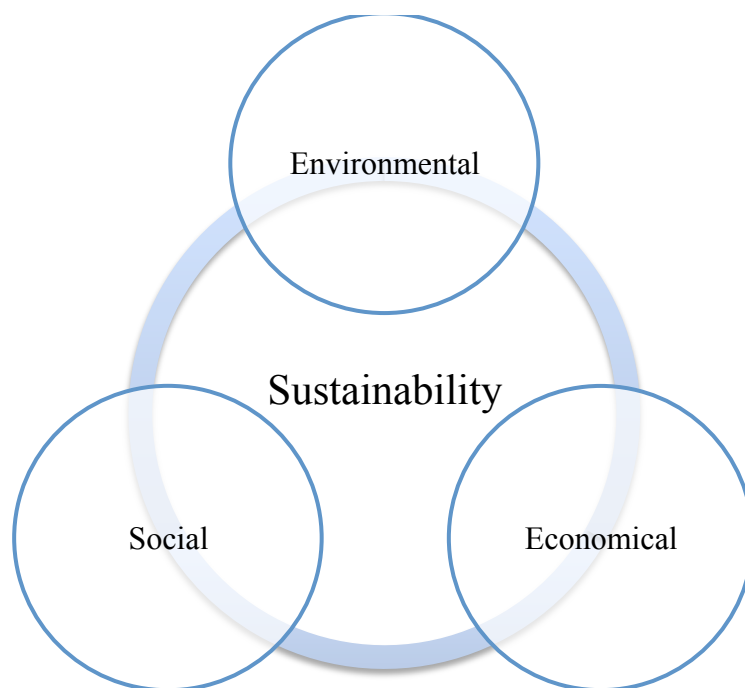


Figure 2: Sustainable balance (Own creation)

The Olympic Games Impact Study for Rio 2016 shows the investment of the Games into sustainability criteria throughout the management cycle of the games: Rio 2016 Organising Committee established a Sustainability Management Plan (shown below), which seeks to incorporate the principles, actions, and projects connected to

sustainability during the development and process of the Games. These goals match to the Principles of Sustainable Development approved by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development Rio 2012. (OGI, 2014, s. 16)

Sustainability	Planet	Reduction of the environmental impact, and footprint, of projects related to the Games Rio 2016	Transport and logistics
			Design and sustainable construction
			Conservation and environmental recovery
			Waste management
	People	Planning and execution of the Rio 2016 Games in an inclusive manner, delivering Games for everyone.	Engagement and awareness
			Universal accessibility
			Diversity and inclusion
	Prosperity	Contribution to economic development of the state and city of Rio de Janeiro by planning, managing, and reporting the projects involved with the Rio 2016 Games with both accountability and transparency.	Sustainable supply chain
			Management and transparency

Table 2: Sustainability Management Plan (OGI, 2014, s. 16)

Andrew Smith studied the different outcomes from hosting mega-events in different cities. He says that hosting a mega-event does not always bring a sustainable regeneration. Cities could have different motivation to host a mega-event; these motivations can vary from getting funding, to making the city more attractive for tourists. In his article Smith gives a list of ten key principles for sustainable event regeneration. By following this list, Rio de Janeiro would be getting all advantages of hosting a mega-event and optimize its urban regeneration.

1. Embed event strategies within wider urban regeneration programs

Event should be part of broader urban and regional regeneration programs and not be made only to stimulate urban regeneration on their own. The Olympic games in Rio 2016 should be integrated into the strategic plan of the city in term of sustainable development and urban regeneration. In that sense; they can be used to assist and accelerate the achievements of pre-existing goals. The Rio Olympic games would be used as a lever for existing regeneration program.

2. Use the event as a coherent theme and effective stimulus for parallel initiatives and more diverse regeneration projects

The secondo point that Andrew Smith brings out is that regeneration should be achieved with the making of event projects. Some projects will be initiating during the Olympic games in Rio de Janeiro. These projects should not only be used to interest the community during the event but they should be able to continue once the event is over. They need to exist independently from the event itself in order to persist in time. The Olympic games are there to bring excitement, awareness and implications to these projects.

3. Ensure that regeneration planning is fully incorporated into the initial stages of planning for an event

Regeneration should be an important part of the planning of the event. Regeneration is often one of the reasons for staging a large-scale event. Regeneration is not only an “added value” but is part of the total effort of a mega-event project. Rio de Janeiro should bring the question of regeneration as a focus of the mega-event project from the beginning.

4. Promote shared ownership and responsibility among all partners of the legacy and event programs

To ensure that the agencies responsible for the making of Rio de Janeiro Olympic games 2016 are successful, it is vital that they collaborate with each other, the government and the private sector. It is important to get the government and the

private sector to provide with key skills and valuable sources of financial and ethical/moral support. All actors should feel committed to the positive development of the Olympic games.

5. Design effective organizational and structural arrangements between event regeneration agencies and event management representatives to ensure joint working toward clearly defined and shared goals

When staging the Olympic Games 2016 in Rio, the ideal plan for an effective organisational arrangement is having both the event regeneration agencies and the event management representative to work with each other, utilizing each other skill set. Legacy agencies and event management agencies should have the same priorities, with the same level of funding, as a result leading to a positive collaboration. To help coordinate their actions, actors should not be distracted by various pressures and priorities, which could inevitably occur during the staging of this mega-event.

6. Allocate sufficient human and capital resources throughout the lifetime of event regeneration projects to achieve sustained effects

To allow this, it is important to make sure that regeneration initiatives start well before Rio 2016 and will continue after the mega-event is finished. It is important to keep the interest level high from both the participants and coordinators in the post-event period. One way this can be done is by setting up small events and other activities to keep the event theme alive.

7. Design event regeneration projects to prioritize the needs and engagement of the most disadvantaged members of the target community

To get everyone involved in the regeneration efforts, sports and the arts are two great ways of handling the causes of social exclusion and encouraging key individuals and groups who are toughest to get to. Small events and activities can be a good way to bring excitement to the least enthusiastic people and the target communities, which are in this case the residents of Rio's favelas.

8. Try to ensure an even geographical dissemination of positive impacts among targeted areas

For everyone in the entire region to benefit from Rio 2016, it is important that attempts are made to distribute positive effects to all areas. Urban regeneration should not only affect targeted areas hosting the event but the entire region, as it is first of all a people event. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, effects should be felt not only in the four hosting areas that are Barra de Tijuca, Copacabana, Maracana, and Deodoro but also in the whole city/region. (Rio 2016, 2016)

9. Ensure that event-themed social and economic regeneration initiatives build upon, and connect with, any physical and infrastructural legacy

To maximise the regeneration value of the mega-event, it is important that at least some social and economic regeneration initiatives are connected with the development of the infrastructure. In Rio 2016, the event should introduce employment, education and health initiatives to help remove negative publicity associated with the event's expenditure.

10. Ensure community representation from the planning stage onwards to promote community ownership and engagement

While staging the mega-event, it is important to include the community into the development process through wider programs, community consultation, public accountability. Rio 2016 should incorporate favela's community as a part of the event management actors. This will help the event management to understand clearly the needs and requirements of the local community.

4.5. Urban Upgrades

4.5.1. Bidding Process

The Competitive bidding process is explained in the book “Urban regeneration in the UK”. It started in the UK with the launch of the HIP (Housing Development Program). This program was determining the amount of subsidy that central government gave to the local authorities to carry on their urban redevelopment projects. Local authorities were then free to decide on which projects they wanted to use their money. While HIP was working, the government decided to launch new types of competitive bidding regimes. New proposals from councils (Estate Action) would be able to be competing against the local authorities proposals to win the funding. Funding was allocated to the most deserving project and pushed local authorities to put their most deprived areas into the contest in order to win the subvention from the central government. This process helped a lot of really poor areas to get the money for upgrade. But the competitive process also had a limitation, as the Estate Action were funded by reducing some of the local authorities allocations, local authorities did not have enough money to put their focus into areas that couldn't win the competitions. (Jones & Evans, 2008, s. 21)

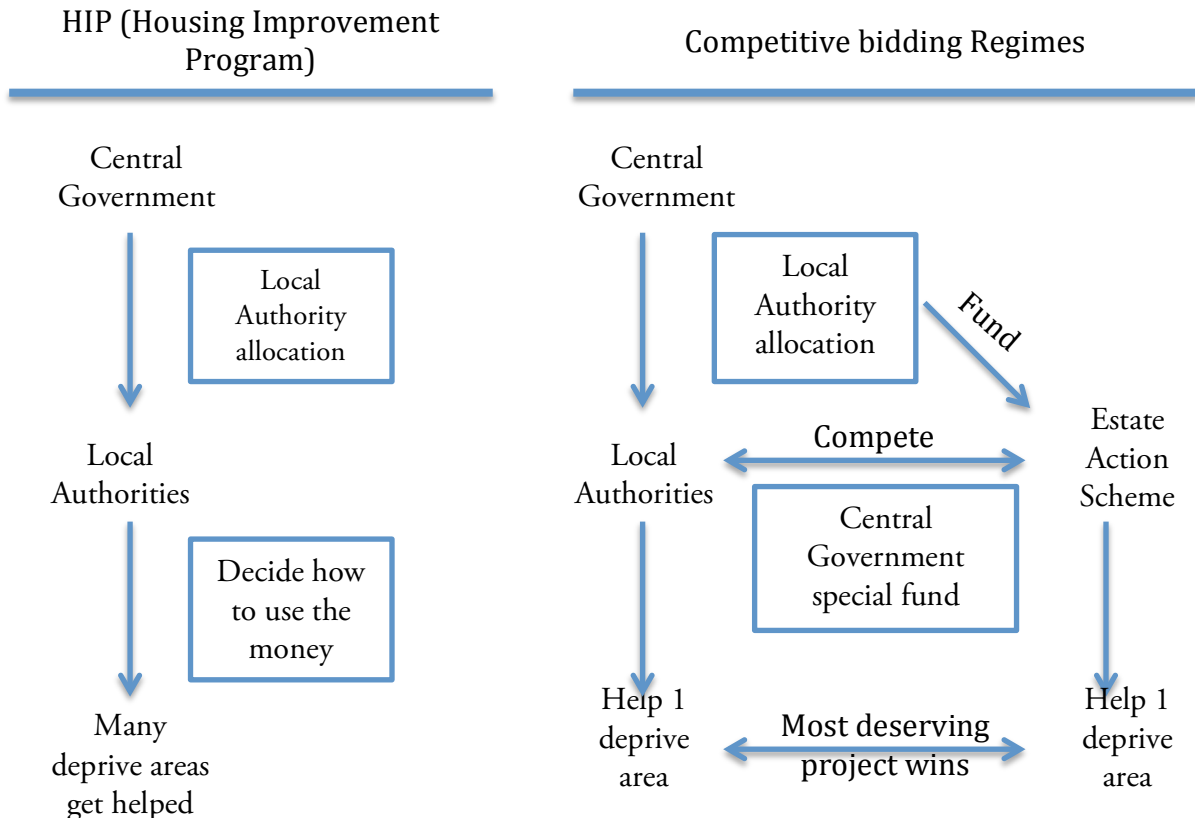


Figure 3: Bidding Process (Own Creation)

This basic bidding process is also used in Brazil. Fernando Luiz Lara explains in his article “Favela Upgrade in Brazil: A Reverse of Participatory Processes” the way this process works in Brazil. When a project is decided, a bidding auction is launched to find the most attractive construction company to make the project. The lowest bid usually get the job. Fernando Luiz Lara talks as well about corruption and illegal ways to win the bid from the construction firms. The result of the project is not always the best; the main problem is that the work is usually badly done as it goes with the bid. (Lara , 2013)

4.5.2. Architectural Competition Process

Another process explained by Fernando Luiz Lara in his article is the Architectural Competition Process. This process has already been used in Rio de Janeiro and has shown some encouraging results. The Favela-Bairro program is an urban redevelopment program put in place in Rio from 1994 to 2009. It used the

Architectural Competition Process by calling for ideas on how to intervene in mid size informal settlements (between 500 and 2500 households). The way the system works is very close to the bidding process; many firms submit some proposals for one area and the best one get the job. The difference is that this process is based on the architectural ideas and supposedly not about the money. (Lara , 2013, s. 5)

During the Favela-Bairro program, the first phase from 1994 to 1997 was focusing more on accessibility and connectivity of the favela with the city by building roads, public space infrastructure, improving drainage and sewage, etc... The second phase of the program focused more on housing construction. During this second phase, the construction company got obliged to hire 40% of their workers from the community where the work was carried out. This mandate brought more money into the communities, as the workers would spend the money inside their community, but it lowered the tension between the construction company and the community population, as the workers were able to explain their community the work carried out. (Lara , 2013, s. 6)

4.5.3. Participation process

The Participatory process explained by Fernando Luiz Lara includes the community as part of the design and decision making process. The process has already been used in Brazil. Luiz Lara uses the example of Bello Horizonte in his article. This social city launched in 1961 a Municipal Agency called URBEL. It has been managing city land use property for the past 30 years. Bello Horizonte started small participatory models in 1994 to evaluate the success, and carried on with a larger scale intervention after getting good results from the smaller ones. The way this participatory process works is long and can take many years from the starting phase to the completion phase for one intervention. A plan called PGE is made first by URBEL using architects, engineers, sociologists, health workers, economists and social workers. This team will work together to elaborate the best possible urban redevelopment plan of the specific settlement on focus. The process takes a lot of time, as the community leaders will have to give their approval to all the changes and modifications of the area. The population of the favela will also be invited to several assemblies to participate in the

process and be sure that their main problems are answered and taking care of. In the Bello Horizonte example, the process worked all the way up to the construction part, where they used the bidding process to choose a construction company. This limited the quality and design of the previous plans from the Municipal Agency. (Lara , 2013, s. 9)

The Participatory process is definitely a good way to answer to the favela population needs and desires. The team making the changes has a better understanding of the project and is able to answer with the best possible way. Another advantage using this method is that by being including inside the process, the community accepts better the changes made.

4.6. Community Participation

The participatory process explained above is also expressed as Community Participation. Community participation is a concept that varies in its application and definition. The Oxford English Dictionary defines participation as “to have a share in” or “to take part in,” thereby emphasizing the rights of individuals and the choices that they make in order to participate. It is also defined as a process by which citizens act in response to public concerns, voice their opinions about decisions that affect them, and take responsibility for changes to their community (Mathbor, 2008). In the case of Rio de Janeiro, Community Participation would be a way for the local communities to give a voice on the transformations coming because of the Olympic Games 2016. Community Participation can come either from the community who wants to take part in a project or the will of the organization developing the project to involve the community into the project.

To be able to evaluate the role of Community participation on development planning and project management, a researcher called Norman Uphoff worked on a framework of Community participation where four different kind of participation were identified: decision-making, implementation, benefits, and evaluation. These types of participation are closely linked with each other because they all impact the others. Uphoff also point out the importance of the people participating in the project. Knowing who is participating and how they are participating help understanding the way the community is beneficiating. (Uphoff, 1987)

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, it is interesting to identify the benefits and costs of using Community participation into the development planning and project management. A rapport from the World Bank on Community participation, states the reasons why development planners and managers should be concerned to ensure that local communities are consulted and involved from the beginning of the project. The reasons are stated below.

- Design of the project is improved because of the knowledge of the local community on local technologies, customs and area (topography, climate).
- Ensure the social project acceptability.

- Ensure equitable distribution of benefits for the whole community.
- Helps the resources mobilization.
- Community institution developed during project implementation will continue to produce further benefits once the project is completed.

(World Bank, 1986)

4.7. Gentrification

Gentrification is the progression of a neighbourhood and upgrading its property values as a consequence often displacing low-income families and small businesses (Vigdor , Massey, & Rivlin, 2002). It relates to an increased living standard of a neighbourhood, high proportion of wealthier residents and increasing property values. Though, as stated by Loretta Lees;

“Gentrification is continuing to diffuse and take on new forms, and is increasingly promoted through neoliberal policy instruments (which often employ weasel words such as “regeneration”, “revitalization” or “renewal”, rather than the politically-loaded “gentrification”)” (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

Though, every author differently addresses neighbourhood development in his research.

London & Palen identifies five different approaches for a better explanation and understanding of urban revitalization: (1) demographic- ecological, (2) socio-cultural, (3) political- economic (4) community networks, and (5) social movements (John & London, 1984). It is important to note revitalisation as a different term. According to Clay (1978)- neighbourhood revitalisation involves two different processes of “incumbent upgrading” and “gentrification”. According to him, “incumbent upgrading” happens in blue-collar neighbourhoods whilst the improvement that is happening in low or middle-class neighbourhoods and is defined as “gentrification”.

Gentrification in Rio de Janeiro is addressed to favelas which are informal settlements, build densely in non desirable to accommodate areas. Geographically, they are found in mountainous terrain where the formal building is dangerous due to potential land-slides. Since more than a fifth of city’s housing stock is informal (Cummings , 2013), it can’t be perceived as an alternative housing market and available only for certain characteristics people. The presence of non-whites in

favelas is higher than in South- luxury area and the choice to accommodate for non-whites and urban poor is very limited, mainly situated around their social network (Carta Capital, 2013). This is one of the reasons why gentrification in Rio is often referred to as social hygiene, white expulsion and social cleansing (Cummings , 2013).

The presence of gentrification in favelas can be proved by the physical and human development done through the programs, such as Minha Casa Minha Vida and PAC. Also, hosting two mega sporting events in a row, FIFA World Cup 2014 and Olympics 2016 has boosted up investments in infrastructure, allowing private entrepreneurs to speculate and/or develop businesses in favelas. Formal housing has experienced an increase in the prices (**Figure 4**), which led to the demand increase on the real estate in Rio's informal market. This figure shows parallel increase in real estate prices both in: Leblon which is a rich people living neighbourhood and in Vidigal- informal market, favela housing.



Figure 4: parallel prices of m² in Leblon and Vidigal neighbourhood (ZAP, 2016)

In line with the development and upgrading of favela communities, state has intervened in controlling them by setting up the Police Pacification Units (UPP) in order to clean neighbourhoods from drug traffickers and provide the security. Even though the main goal of UPP to provide extensive security and create peace in the most forgotten areas, in its protected areas the number of violent deaths, including police killings, rose by 55% since 2014 till 2015 first half (Wall Street Journal, 2016). UPPs not delivering the expected outcome can be explained by its too fast growth and local government's inability to keep the pace in succeeding to deliver promised public

services. Also, due to current recession, the state secretary has decided to cut the security budget by 571\$ million. Imposing UPP, not monitoring or monitoring it and cutting the financing half a year before the Olympics has only created mistrust of police, fear and forceful militia regime.

There were two ways gentrification was done: changing the culture, identity in favela by imposing UPP, building new schools, trying to fix the transportation systems and the second one- just moving people to the outskirt areas of Rio. The example of displacing people is favela Vila Autodromo which is by the city of Olympics yard and had 600 families. Many people took money form the government and moved to the places that will make access to the international comers almost impossible. Though, there are still 20 families that are trying to fight the eviction and remain places in former Vila Autodromo area that can be seen in the pictures below.



Picture 1: Vila Autodromo before an eviction (Thomas-Davis, 2016)



Picture 2: Vila Autodromo after an eviction (Globo, 2016)

5. FAVELAS

5.1. Definition and description

Favela is a Portuguese word meaning a slum. The first slums in Rio De Janeiro appeared when Brazil's industry began to develop and workers from rural north migrated to Rio in 1940s (Charner, 2015). These people had settled down around the factories and other manufacturing areas where small favelas began to pop up. What is more, soldiers that didn't have any accommodation and former slaves generations contributed to the building of slums. It's almost 1.5 million living in favelas in Rio what accounts to 23-24% of the whole Rio population (Catcomm, 2016).

Favelas in Rio de Janeiro are positioned as "mini cities" in the Rio de Janeiro city. It is due to the fact that favelas have their own lifestyle that is not the same as in the urban Rio. Locals of favelas live in hand-built houses for which building no rules ever were applied. Throughout the lifetime of favelas, extremely low living standard developed. There is a narrative of stigmatisation that favelas represent poverty and "othering".

Locals have houses on top of other houses, lack of basic infrastructure, such as water sanitation, electrical wiring, unsanitary conditions inside houses. Frequently, favelas are crime ridden and have a long history of gangs that are deeply involved within drug trafficking domination. "Local militias" were created as a response to these gangs. Though, police presence didn't develop into a peace and security maintaining mechanism and rather than that it became being associated with corruption and violence. For generations, favelas were tolerated by the Brazilian society but their problems were ignored.

Besides this image of a poor, unhygienic and full off drug dealers area, favela can be perceived, it has a deeply rooted cultural value. Despite these harsh living conditions, poverty and segregation, favelas were able to create and maintain their identity by utilising every resource they have and to mobilise as a community. There is a pattern

of people trying to connect as much as possible with nature by using all the vegetation around them in their meals, interior and etc as well as to stay artistic. Favelas have lots of musicians and artists that are able to reach locals in their own favela and outside it.

Even though, favelas have significant cultural and historical value throughout Brazil, it is still a segregated area with low living standard and with high number of people in danger. For this reason, it is important to urbanise favelas and lift it's inhabitants to the middle- class and to stop it's population growth. As the population of favelas grow, violence and homicides combined increase together with a chronic lack of services and socio-economic rights deprivation (Jovchelovitch & JPriego-Hernández, 2013).

Favelas aren't legally recognised by the local government so its infrastructure wasn't planned. Their growth and community wellbeing in general was dependant on the trust within the community that things will be done and taken care of.

The land value has recently increased in Rio de Janeiro together with the favela pacification movement. The property prices have increase by over than 50% during the past two years according to Financial Times. A typical concrete house in a pacified favela can cost 15,000 \$, a two bedroom apartment- 24, 000 \$ and the most desirable favela property can cost up to 100, 000 \$ (Financial Times, 2016). A pacification, better security, electricity access and water supply have increased interest in favela dwellings' privatisation. Rio's urban regeneration inline with Olympics is damaging the rights for favelados as it allows "extra legal forms of governance through non-elected agents" (Sanchez & Broudehous, 2013). These agents represent entrepreneurial and private interests, which place public service in the hands of those that reduce opportunities for social equality and prosperity. The increased costs and inaccessibility to private areas in an effect of favela eviction and privatisation has sparked many protests and increased media presence.

The policies applied since an Olympic bid have affected not only its geographic and infrastructure but also improved its economy. Even though national wages have increased by 37,9%, during the same period average wage of favelas has increased by

54,7% in the past ten years. It increased from 603 R\$ in 2003 to 1068 R\$ in 2013 (Athayde & meirelles, 2015). The writers proposed that this significant increase of wages in an outcome of job creation and “redistributive mechanisms like the federal subsidy program Bolsa Familia”.

5.2. Favelas as the centre of debate about Olympics 2016

It is common that the poor are the ones facing disadvantages due to hosting of Olympics. Almost a million people were displaced for the Beijing Olympics and hundreds of East London residents were dislocated and many more. Being able to host such an event offers an opportunity for the necessary development and side effects as indebtedness, being evicted and security aren't viewed as bad things. It is viewed as long-term value to accelerate the urban development.

Even though there was only one favela that was supposed to be officially reallocated due to its location at the edge of city's Olympic park, there have been many other unofficial favela-cleaning programmes. All in all, city has reported 22 059 relocated families since 2009 till the end of 2015 (Wade, 2015). The city hall claims that these editions haven't been initiated due to Olympics. This additional eviction was done in order to complement other projects that are necessary for hosting an event. These projects were related to urban development- airport reconstruction, building new bridges, rail connections and sewages. It is true that this kind of urban development is beneficial to the city, though these benefits have been distributed unequally. For example, favela Providencia has got a new transit line but it still doesn't have running water. Favelados that were replaced and now live outside of the city don't have a direct connection to public transportation line connecting to the centre anymore. It was done on purpose to limit the flow of favelados to Olympic's zones. Some people had to move to as far as 75 km from the city.

6. CASE STUDY

6.1. Programmes as urban regeneration “Framework”

Urban upgrading programs applied prior to Olympics had different focus rather the ones applied after the Olympics bid in 2009. Older programmes such as Guarapiranga to limit favela expansion, Novos Alegados focusing on spontaneous building of new settlements, Favela Bairro (1994-2008), Prosanear to install sewages. Programs as Operacao Mutirao and Codesco have only provided engineering assistance and materials left from urban construction sites so favelados would do the construction on their own. There were programmes that offered design support and long-term low interest loans.

These former programmes prioritised large size favelas, meaning that favelas were organised by its size: mid-range, large and small. Mid-range communities were the ones from 500 to 2500 homes, which all in all accounted for 40% of all Rio's favelas. These favelas were the first ones to receive upgrades and be reconstructed. Even though favelas lived through a number of urbanisation programs, the quality of work has always been low and most of the times the works done, just deteriorated upgrades from the past. Also, prior to Olympics, programme Favela Bairro like many others aimed to address the city's problem of lack of affordable housing rather than eliminating conditions that made people to live in favelas in the first place.

The Projecto Mutirão - the joint effort project began its institutionalisation process in 1981 under the responsibility of the Municipal Department of Social Welfare (MDSW). It focused on technical assistance, hiring skilled labor for organisations present in favelas and building materials delivery. The MDSW provided these resources and organised task forces to implement it's projects. All provided services have been supervised by public organizations and favelados have never been involved in the decision making regarding location, quality standards or design to be made.

Though, in 1968, the first favela eviction program (Coordenação de Habitação de Interesse Social da Área Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro) CHISAM began relocating communities across Rio de Janeiro (Rioonwatch, 2016). In the period of 1968 to 1975, over 100 000 people have lost their homes due to this programme.

6.1.1. Favela Bairro

The original Favela Bairro program as a tool to develop favelas was started in 1995. Since the program wasn't active, later on, public Community project Favela Bairro began acting on behalf of NGO and was refreshed by Scott Males in 2009 (Morgan & Penny, 2015). The primary goal of this program is to enrich lives of favela communities by inviting volunteers from all over the world to share skills, knowledge and perspectives. The volunteers that are coming vary from being beginners to professionals in their field.

The program involves 250 000 people in Rio de Janeiro. The overall budget of this program was 300 million \$ from which 40% came directly from the government. The way this program has worked is by allowing local and international NGOs to take the lead and to create developmental projects whose outcome would benefit favelados.

Community involvement was one of the points that made this program special and beneficial. Favela residents were able to chose which improvements they wanted to be implemented. "Neighborhood associations" which helped to effectively communicate and make the decisions gathered the favelados voice. Also, locals staffed the new services whereas NGOs and governments have been providing necessary training and income. This program managed to improve social, economic and environmental environment.

Social improvements that were delivered: improved adult literacy by providing adult education classes, daycare programs to occupy kids whose parents are working and services to help addicts and victims of violence.

Economic improvements: there were training schemes created to help people get better jobs. What is more, residents got a right to apply to become legal owners of

their houses.

Environmental improvements: many wooden building were replaced into brick ones, houses that were located in dangerous, sloppy areas were removed, streets were widened and paved to allow access of emergency services. Also, minor help as weekly rubbish collection, delivery of water and electricity took place.

6.1.2. Morar Carioca

Morar Carioca program was launched in 2010. This program is the third phase of Favela Bairro programme (Rioonwatch, 2016). The main objective is to turn all the favelas into neighbourhoods by 2020 and to overcome pitfalls of Favela Bairro. Even though every favela urbanisation and upgrading program emphasises on social investment and in general is expected to be holistic (meaning that social and environmental improvements should synchronise with physical ones such as on-site construction), the most of human development components were missing in the past program. IDB, City Hall and the Federal Government also fund the Morar Carioca program. The focus of this program is to construct and improve housing and to develop favelas' infrastructure for a better accessibility of public services and include locals in on site work. As stated by riowatch.com it has been the most comprehensive favela urbanisation program (Rioonwatch, 2016). It had a budget of BRL 8 million (USD 2 million) to be used till 2020 in order to integrate every favela into the formal city. As mentioned earlier, this project intended to be different and more advanced in comparison with the earlier ones. It wasn't the key differential point. The main difference between Morar Carioca programme and all the previous ones, was that the development of Olympics was the driving process. Even though IDB was the main financial donor (just like for the previous programmes), the resources of Olympics were dedicated to Morar Carioca. This means that, "once the Municipal Housing Secretary" kicked off the process last year by taking an inventory of the city's favelas, classifying them by their location, size, environment and feasibility of upgrade, they expressively prioritised those communities for investments based on their proximity

to the four Olympics development clusters” (Rioonwatch, 2016). Though, it doesn’t mean that the government was willing to claim the rights of the properties. Otherwise, with Morar Carioca local government began implementing process of legalised favela residence claim. This intended to incentivise favela inhabitants to look for additional funding for “their legal homes” and to avoid the displacement. As found online, “Morar Carioca has helped to improve 40 favelas and 150, 000 favela habitants” (Pulvino, 2016). Hereby, Favela Bairro program has managed to help 178 settlements by actually improving physical conditions (DPU, 2016) even though it had a lower budget than Morar Carioca.

The program functions while having locals from the community as workers. The tasks the local workers included: installing sewage collection, running water, rainwater collection in order to prevent slides, access and transportation facilities (stairs, elevators, cable cars) and the relocation of families whose households are installed in risk areas (Treehugger, 2016).

At the beginning of the program implementation, a contest to design favela groupings was released. The Institute of Brazilian Architects (IBA) selected 40 winners. The first 11 groups began working with the support from iBase and NGO Municipal Secretary of Housing (SMH). They began by collecting local people demand by doing interviews for what they need the most, for example, if the ventilation they have is enough or new windows are needed and the status of walls, ceilings, electrical and sanitary installations (Treehugger, 2016).

The idea was to gather all the possible data about the living standards and the lifestyle in favela in order to be able to create a strategy that would help to limit the growth and to include some land regularisation with a focus on social inclusion. What is more, Morar Carioca promised not only to administer the new infrastructure but also to maintain it.

Though, the administrative body of Rio de Janeiro has suspended the contract of iBase and has cut the financing. Consequently, SMH was left without an effective methodology to communicate with local communities. Within couple of years the whole program took apart and its brand began serving political purposes.

6.1.3. Minha vida, Minha casa

Minha casa Minha vida- MCMV is the biggest federal housing program that seeks to facilitate homeownership for low income families throughout Brazil. It has since its beginning in March, 2009 transformed the way the government seeks to provide for the low income families. The program does not only provide a multiple level housing system but also seeks to create local jobs. Originally the MCMV was federally budgeted with R\$ 34.000.000 for the building of 1.000.000 units of low-income housing units throughout the country by 2016 (The Brazilian Business, 2015). The second stage of the program was launched in 2010 and was included in the government PAC program (The World Bank, 2016)

The project has successfully delivered housing for more than 2,5 million families already and the federal budget has more than doubled within the short life span of the program. Today there is more than 4,5 million units contracted in all of Brazil. This has affected the life of more than 10,5 million Brazilians so far. (MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA, 2016). The program is still waiting to cover more than 1,5 million families.

It is possible to participate in the MCMV program in different tracks. This means that the program is beneficial for not only the poorest. These tracks are divided into sub programs determined by income. Each track has different conditions so the program is suited for all lower level incomes. Every track, was given an opportunity to get a credit with a fixed interest rate of 5% where in the open market its double it (The Brazilian Business, 2015). Of course, favelados had to meet open market requirements such as credit insurance and registration fees for public records. People were given allowance to buy a house without a down payment if needed. Though, to be able to participate in this program, a family had to meet these specific conditions:

- Never have benefited by a governmental housing programs before,
- Not be homeowners or participate in any other finance program,

- Not exceed the program gross income patterns,
- The household will also have to commit to spend at least 10% of their gross income for the monthly parcel that can never be below BRL 50. (The brazilian business, 2015)

Besides the economical development it delivered, this program have been widely criticised due to its promoted displacement of hundreds of thousands of favelados to the areas where public goods are limited. Even though this program was applied throughout all Brazil, it had the biggest impact in Rio De Janeiro due to the most coercive distribution of poor to the periphery areas. The distribution happened due to inability to deliver promised accommodations as high costs of infrastructure made it impossible to construct houses that would be sold at BRL 52 000.

6.1.4. The PAC in the slums

Lula Da Silva Administration implemented the Growth Acceleration Plan (PAC), shortly before the Olympic's bid in 2007 (healthycities, 2016). Its main goal was to boost the national economy while incorporating the urbanisation of favelas as one of its kernels. To achieve its goal, government invested 0.85 billion \$ to Rio de Janeiro favelas. The investment was focused on logistics, energy and social development under the six major initiatives: "Better Cities" for urban infrastructure, "Bringing Citizenship to the Community" for safety and social inclusion, "My House, My Life" for housing, "Water and Light for All" for sanitation and access to electricity, "Energy" for renewable energy, oil and gas and "Transportation" for highways, railways and airports (healthycities, 2016). PAC has been taking place throughout all Brazil.

6.1.5. Conclusion of programs

There is no best program or the best practise to urbanise favelas, only programmes and practices that are better than others at a particular favela and for a certain period

of time. Once an innovative idea is able to improve favela standards, there is a new problem that occurs. Also, internal and cultural favela contradictions to urban area standards limit favela urbanisation programs' routines.

It is not only the nature of favela that limit its urbanisation but also the general understanding how important the right to housing is for favelados. Also, providing decent housing shouldn't end by providing economic tools to attain a house but to provide urban structure (including sanitary infrastructure, transportation, education facilities, health and leisure areas) to which *favelados'* house could integrate in.

6.2. State plans for the Rio's future outlook

Rio de Janeiro has been the host city of the United Nation Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012. This conference is a way to renew the political commitment towards sustainable development. The two main points to develop during this conference were:

- Green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication.
- Institutional framework for sustainable development.

The conference adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are goals to reach by 2030. These goals and targets will stimulate actions in areas of critical importance for humanity and the planet such as:

- Poverty
- Hunger
- Good Health and well-being
- Quality education
- Gender equality
- Clean Water and sanitation
- Affordable and clean energy
- Decent work and economic growth
- Industry, innovation and infrastructure
- Reduced inequalities
- Sustainable cities and communities
- Responsible consumption and production
- Climate action
- Life below water
- Life on land
- Peace, justice and strong institutions
- Partnerships for the goals

(UN, 2016)

Brazil has been taking actions to meet these goals and targets. The city of Rio de Janeiro is, for example, reacting to poverty with programs like Rio sem Miséria (Rio without Misery) which provide cash transfer for extremely poor families living with less than 50 dollars a month and cash incentives for student completing secondary school. (Meeting report, 2012)

A recent meeting in Brasilia in April 2016 showed up the success of Brazil with meeting some of these goals. Brazil has cut malnutrition by 82% and took over 22 million people out of extreme poverty (Rio+ Centre, 2016). Brazil has also managed to reduce child mortality and improve access to education well before the deadline established by the UN. In term of climate action, Brazil cut down deforestation in the Amazon by 80%, reducing greenhouse gas emissions. (Rio+ Centre, 2016)

In relation to the SDGs, Rio de Janeiro also prepared the Olympic games following different sustainable goals stated in the “Sustainability Management Plan” (SMP) of the Olympic and Paralympic games of Rio 2016. This plan sows that the Olympic games have been planned to give an incentive to the realization of long-term aspirations of Rio de Janeiro by improving the social, physical and environmental structure of the city. Nine issues were incorporated into the Management plan of the Olympic games 2016:

- Water treatment and conservation,
- Environmental awareness,
- Use and management of renewable energy,
- Games neutral in carbon, air quality and transport,
- Protection of soils and ecosystems,
- Sustainable design and construction,
- Reforestation, biodiversity and culture,
- Shopping and ecological certification,
- Solid waste management.

The Olympic games are seen by Rio de Janeiro as an unique opportunity to accelerate the development of these different issues, which in the absence of this opportunity would have taken much more time to be realized. (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 10-11)

To answer the transportation issue inside Rio de Janeiro for locals and visitors, a “High performance Transport Ring” will be created and will link all four Games zones with key areas of the city. It will include a renovated train system, an expandable metro/subway system and four new Bus Rapid Transit lines (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 19). The city of Rio will also expand the bike lanes to encourage the bike use for its citizens and reduce air pollution level (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 24). The SMP also states that the goal for 2016 is to have all buses operating with the highest percentage of biodiesel commercially available, and have 75% of light vehicles operating on ethanol or electricity by the time of the Games. (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 26)

Concerning the Urban improvements for the 2016 Games, the SMP relates that the use of existing venues will be maximized, and the constructed venues will be adhering to high environmental standards to ensure a minimal impact on the environment. The venues will be renovated, built temporally or built permanently. The temporary buildings will be able to disassemble after the Games and reused in other ways. (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 28) In order to realize the Olympic park operations, some areas need to be cleared up. It will be the case in the Vilá Autodromo, Bélem-Bélem, and favela do Metro where families from the neighbourhood will be relocated in areas with better living conditions. (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 33-34) These Urban improvements are supposed to bring to the city: better transport corridors, landscape and special integration, improvement in infrastructure that will help the region economically by providing great potential for tourism and logistic.

7. CASE ANALYSIS

The aim of this chapter is to validate or not, the sustainability of the Mega-event taking place in Rio de Janeiro. To be able to do so, the ten key principles from Andrew Smith previously mentioned in the theoretical chapter will be investigated.

7.1. Embed event strategies within wider urban regeneration programs

The strategies of Olympics focused mostly on comfort and safety of the people that will come to Rio for the games. To make Olympics' guest safe, Rio government had to empty and clean the areas near games' venues and to rebuild current properties so they match international standards (RIO 2016, 2016). In order to make visitors comfortable, the logistics had to be adjusted so it is easy to commute from the main central and hotel areas to game venues as well as to main tourist points (Jenkins, 2014).

The main urban regeneration programs that have been under process, prioritized; building the infrastructure within favelas, assuring that each neighborhood can fully function and have schools, hospitals, kindergartens. Urban regeneration programs also included funding to fasten their economic development.

Building up on existing programs and resources is one of the main points needed to assure the sustainable mega event regeneration. Though, since 2009, right after the Olympic bid all the effort put to urbanize favelas became forgotten and rather focused on favela militarization, mass evictions and building destructions. Talking about the strategy to make logistics comfortable, Rio city has cut and changed numerous existing bus lines in order to reduce inefficiencies and unnecessary bus traffic. This resulted in bus lines becoming more fragmented, meaning that people have to purchase more bus tickets due to increased number of needed bus transfers. The direct lines between the South zone with beaches and peripheral neighborhoods were cut, making favelados more segregated and unequal in a society. This bus line cutting strategy adoption shows that only bus companies are becoming more lucrative,

whereas population and favelados' accessible transportation and safety aren't priorities anymore (Salvesen, 2015).

Even though thousands of families have been evicted and had their homes demolished as a legacy of the project to build Rio Olympic Village, there has never been an official plan as a document presented. People were only informed about offered economic compensations, options to receive a housing that have never met the demand and the timing of when favelados had to resettle. Little was done even to inform people that their house was going to be demolished. The Municipal Housing Agency (SMH) would just mark the house with its initial "SMH" and a number meaning that the building is listed for demolition (Vannuchi & Van Crielingen, 2015).

To sum it up, there is a big gap between strategies of Olympics and past urbanization programs applied. The former intended to urbanize and develop communities by maintaining its culture and identity while, strategies alongside, Olympics have only focused on hiding favelados by taking away what they have. Many years preserved values of strong neighborhood ties; samba, handcrafts, and connection with nature have been dispersed. This not only downgraded favelados status in such highly segregated society, but also caused long-lasting emotional discomfort. (Watts & Douglas, 2016)

7.2. Use the event as a coherent theme and effective stimulus for parallel initiatives and more diverse regeneration projects

Of the main regeneration projects initiated aside of Rio- Porto Maravilha. Port of Rio De Janeiro is an important resource for income generation. IT has played a critical role since the Portuguese empire. Though, the government has spotted it as a tool to upgrade the city by creating more jobs and boosted the trade, and declared it as an area of special interest in 2009 (Clayton Utz , 2014). This is being managed by the Port Region Urban Development Company and is attracting private investors in order to improve it. It is expected that the main investment will come mainly from purchasing CEPACs from the government and other parts of the Port will be sold directly to the private investors. Rio has created tax incentives for current and future investors.

This kind of Port renewal project might take decades to be finished. What is important for us, nearby the port is located Rio's oldest favela- Morro da Providencia. Old veterans accommodate it and living in this community had become a family custom since 1897 (Coutinho, 2011). Also, it is one of the most affected one due to eviction done by SMH. The evictions are claimed to be done because the whole area is at the risk and vulnerable for natural disasters. Like in other favelas, people get to know about the evictions, once they see SMH and a number sign on their home. They don't receive any personalized explanations and they get as a compensation a social rent of BRL 400 till they are able to move in to a new accommodation provided by the state.

Another issue that the Olympic games are hoping to help with is the employment. In the Sustainable Management Plan, the organisers hope to create more than 90,000 jobs. The Olympic games have been employing a lot of workers during its process of construction. This of course, was a good asset for the cariocas, which needed jobs in Rio de Janeiro. But this good feeling last only for a short time as Dr Luiz Aimbinder, famous psychologist from Rio says:

“Cariocas are a very welcoming people, and throughout the Olympics there will be a kind of truce,” he says. “But when the Games are over there will be a real sense of anger. The works will come to an end, and a lot of people will be left unemployed.”

Dr Luiz Aimbinder remind people that this Mega-event will happen within a determined period of time and that once it is over, a lot of workers will be looking for job again. (Thorpe, 2016)

7.3. Ensure that regeneration planning is fully incorporated into the initial stages of planning for an event

Hosting any mega event requires urban renewal and regeneration. The need to develop the sporting facilities, new accommodation and transportation networks to deal with increased numbers of Olympics participants and tourist is straightforward. Before implementing any changes throughout the city, there must be a plan stating which exact areas should be developed, for which reason, to whom, and to what end. Meeting the demands of the International Olympic Committee is city's priority but not the most significant one. Hereby, plans try to capitalize on newly urbanized space by seeking to transform Rio as a resource for tourists and consumerism.

Even though, planned improvements for city's infrastructure were expected to provide benefits to the whole population, it just created a better environment to capitalize on tourist and create small number of low paid jobs. The main stages for urban improvements in Rio were (Rio 2016 Organising Committee , 2016):

- Improvement of the drainage system,
- Relocation of the power substation serving the rail system,
- Community redevelopment of the Belém-Belém neighbourhood,
- Creation of access road from Linha Amarela (north) to the stadium, passing through the planned warm-up area,
- Making the area suitable for the installation of the TV compound.

By Andrew Smith; “host cities will always concentrate on event logistics and publicity, but regeneration considerations must be given sufficient priority, because this is often the main justification for staging (and funding) a large-scale event” (Smith, 2010). This kind of event planning of revitalizing city's infrastructure promotes an exclusive vision of city's urban regeneration. Concentration on logistics and media opens a way for state-led privatization and commodification of the urban area which only promotes neo-liberal idea that serve the needs of capital while worsening socio-spatial allocation, enlarging the gap between rich and poor and provoking new social conflicts.

The way favelas were regenerated basis strategic event planning was by evictions. The neoliberal approach of commercializing yet un-urbanized areas and promoting privatization just increased the inequality between favelados and the middle-high class. The planning that has included land-use plans, providing tax exemptions, legal advises and higher financial support would have easier transformation for favelados and softer regeneration. Event forced regeneration made it harder for families facing undergoing evictions to address any other issues that undermine their stability. It will only reproduce poverty and distress.

7.4. Promote shared ownership and responsibility among all partners of the legacy and event programs

Olympics is a world wide event that is followed by the whole globe so it's not a surprise that the largest worldwide companies wish to become as partners of it. In these Olympics there are 11 "Worldwide Olympic Partners" such as McDonalds and Coca-Cola, 9 "Official Sponsors of Rio 2016 Olympics games" with members as Bradesco and Claro, 11 "Official Supporters of Rio 2016 Olympic Games" such as Cisco and LATAM Airlines as well as many official suppliers. These partners get an exclusive right to be the ones who's product will be allowed during games in August.

Besides partners having only corporate interest in games, there is a humanitarian organization- United Nations that cooperates with IOC. The goal of UN is to continue on spreading the acceptance of sport as a way to engage people and promote internationally agreed developmental goals. Olympics are even included in UN's agenda 2030. UN assists NOCs recognized by the IOC with a financial support from its dedicated budget. As agreed in UN Rio +20 gathering in 2012, the city has a goal to help to bring peace to 30 favelas a year (urbangateway, 2011). When the first 18 favelas are considered safe, they will receive upgraded UPP Social Program that has a budget of \$3 million. What is more, UN is focused on creating public awareness of social problems such as children in the street, rape and other violations of human rights.

It is important that there are heterogeneous agencies committed to regeneration considerations and represent different interests. As in a given example of 2016 summer Olympics, there are many various industries' representatives. The problem is that these partners aren't interested in local urbanization and has only commercial interest in becoming the market leader. On the other hand, United Nations is interested in delivered sustained long-term benefits and even more importantly, is dedicating its resources to achieve it.

7.5. Design effective organizational and structural arrangements between event regeneration agencies and event management representatives to ensure joint working toward clearly defined and shared goals

It is important that event management and regeneration organizations have the same priorities and goals. It wasn't the case during the preparations for Olympics in Rio. The on-going urban regeneration programs such as Minha Casa Minha Vida prioritized low-income housing projects, generating economic activity within favelas and increasing the workforce. On the other side, city's municipality favoured commercial purposes only by covering as a delivery of improved public goods and city's urbanization.

This mega-event was used as a strategy for other urban policies that restructured and reconstructed urban and non-urban areas in Rio. As we will analyse further, these strategies were the main drivers of neo-liberal reconfiguration of Rio, prioritizing privatization and commercialization of urban spaces as well as implementation of market-driven economic policies. Neo-liberal mind-set while preparing the city for upcoming games has paved the authoritarianism and exceptionalism by transferring the power and governance to non-elected agents. Agents such as IOC, international sponsors and Certificate of Additional Construction Potential (CEPAC) and the elite became as one of the key decision makers without any form of accountability.

The official intention was that these agents would assure that athletes are safe and comfortable while placing Rio as violence, poverty and disorder free in the World's agenda. In practice, the decisions done were driven by possibility to reallocate many local companies from city's downtown to new developing secondary urban centre. Any infrastructural investments were biased and in favour of economic elite. For example, CEPAC- permission, that an agent can attain since 2001 and use it as a legal title to build beyond permitted limits in a specific area.

CEPAC's goal is to foresee increased property value by Olympic urbanization and to partly finance infrastructure projects. In Porto Maravilha are that mainly populate by

poor and working class resident, that half of them were renter the auction of getting CEPAC was released. The only bidder and winner, government's run pension that is run by the Caixa Ecomica Federal (large banking institution) was Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Servico (FGTS). It attained the right to build beyond the current limit and maximize land use for increased private profits. FGTS committed to invest 4 billion \$ alongside with 2 billion \$ it bid to pay to attain a CEPAC. According to analysis done in 2011 after such an investment, the residential or office space will have to be sold at minimum 5000 \$ per square meter (Schissel, 2012)

Besides the private agents, government's assigned UPP has played important role in event regeneration. UPP not only monitors crime and violence but is also an important strategy of neo-liberal asset accumulation. It was used for: better marketing of Olympics games, creating better environment for to the businesses for building and preparing the infrastructure, real estate revaluation and helping to create favelas as a new unexploited market for commodities.

The problem with UPP is that they have monopoly of legalized violence and follow the neoliberal mind-set of creating the security for private agents willing to exploit favela land and commodity markets rather than creating security for city's population. What is worse, the planning and decision making is done in non-democratic way with the lack of transparency.

7.6. Allocate sufficient human and capital resources throughout the lifetime of event regeneration projects to achieve sustained effects

The key implications to meet this requirement are to assure that event regeneration initiatives were started before the event and have been continued once it was finished. Andrew Smith suggests keeping the interest of participants by staging mini-events and similar activities to keep the event theme visible. An example of it in Rio is the “mini- Olympics” for former street children right before Olympic games, 14-20th of March (Clark, 2016). The main organiser is NGO “Save the children” working together with United Nations. This event was created to challenge the perceptions of street kids while creating a platform where these kids can participate and provide a platform for discussing issues they face.

Another tournament “Favela Games 2016” will happen for the favela children. They will be able to participate in five Olympic sports. This small event will be hosted on the 30 of July 2016. This event is perfect example of favela children involvement while at the same time raising funds for a larger project. REMER is a project that is present helps children of favelas. This project has been a focus on sport and education in favelas for 25 years. (Van Asten, 2016)

Having these informal events is low cost and visible way to engage favela people and allow them to speak up. It is also a good way to bring the excitement of the mega-event to keep the interest level high in other initiatives.

7.7. Design event regeneration projects to prioritize the needs and engagement of the most disadvantaged members of the target community

Their living areas and status have targeted people of Rio. The ones that were impacted directly by Olympics projects were favela neighbourhoods since they can be easily dislocated and represent the “not-pretty” side of Rio. Here, the government had an opportunity to prioritise the most disadvantaged- favelados by investing to their accommodation and well-being rather than one-time use expensive Olympic’s facilities. These people mainly live from works existing in favelas and making handcrafts. The city has restricted and criminalised any flea market and informal workers. The walking sales became illegal and can be seized by the police as well as traditional kiosks have been replaced by spaces sponsored by big companies. This could have been a way to potentially earn some money for the poor.

Olympics in Rio had mainly destructive effects on marginalised communities. In most of the cases a family from favela owns is the primary and only asset they have. The marginalised communities- favelas, have suffered from changes in the housing market. The changes occurred from massive evictions from their current housing and the impact of presence of UPPs which presence was a political outcome. Political outcome happened because UPPs weren’t placed in the areas with highest crimes rates and/or lowest housing prices but the ones geographically important for the Olympics (see the **Figure 7** below). UPPs reduction of crime in its controlled areas affected the housing prices. The inequality of housing prices between urbanised and non-urbanised areas has decreased. The individual effect of UPPs integrated nearby was high: “house and apartment prices increased by average of 5-10%, homicides decreased by an average of 10-25%, and robberies decreased by an average of roughly 10-20%” (Newyorkfed, 2016). To understand how this regeneration project- UPPs outcome and how it excluded favelados, we need to look at the changes in the wealth distribution and expected size of poor communities. The GINI coefficient and inequality has decreased since the implementation of UPP together increasing the cost for attaining accommodation in Rio. The problem lies in expectation of the growth of

poor communities consequently leading to increased sizes of favelas due to poor's lower purchasing power.

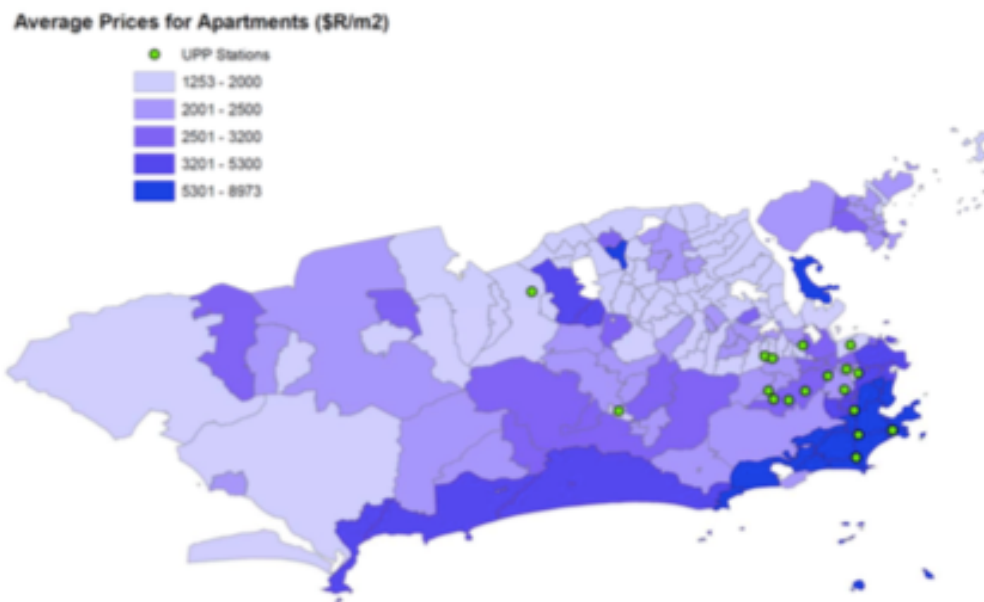


Figure 5: Average price for apartments (Newyorkfed, 2016)



Figure 6: Planned Olympic zones (WSO, 2016)

Homicide Rates in Rio

(per 100,000 per annum, average for 2008-11)

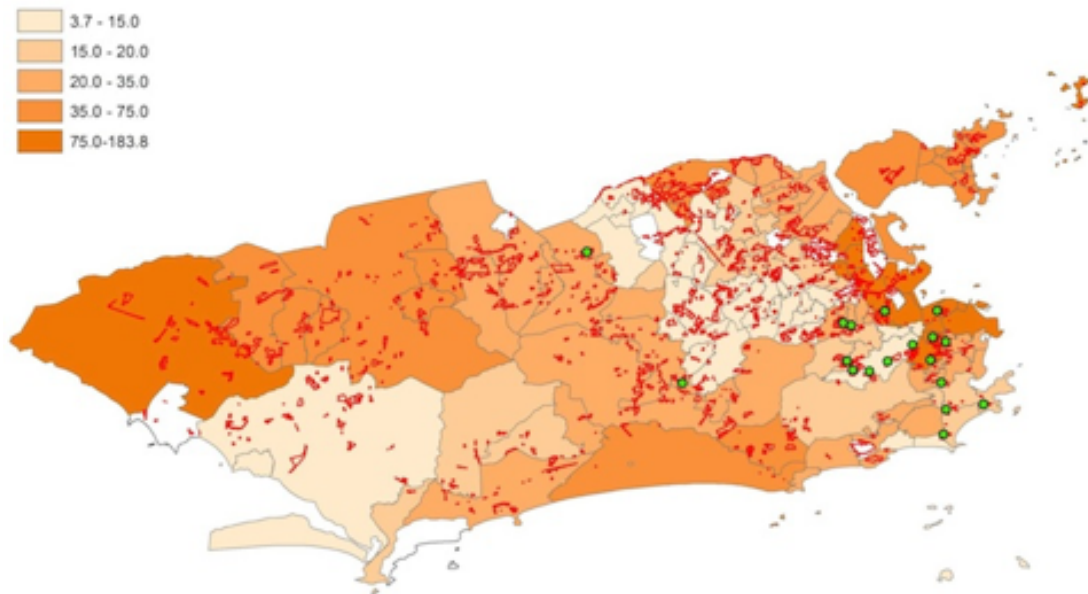


Figure 7: Homicide Rates in Rio (KAUFMAN MANAGEMENT CENTER, 2014)

To conclude it with, the projects were not built to include the disadvantaged communities. The projects were focused on doing whatever it takes to make infrastructure comfortable and welcoming for Olympics visitors, clean the Games venues and create a feeling of security. Gentrification and displacement were applied towards favelados and its driving force was large-scaled international, local and private investment in everything these communities use starting with parks, schools and housing redevelopment with replacement. Finally, evictions reproduced and will maintain current poverty by lowering access to places where favelados could attain education and employment.

7.8. Try to ensure an event geographical dissemination of positive impacts among targeted areas

The Sustainable Management Plan hopes that the Olympic games will be acting as an accelerator in the process of infrastructure modernization and urban renewal for Rio de Janeiro. This event will encourage new economic activities and improve the quality of life in many areas of the city. Urban regeneration should not only affect targeted areas hosting the event but the entire region. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, effects should be felt not only in the four hosting areas that are Barra de Tijuca, Copacabana, Maracana, and Deodoro but also in other areas. The Sustainable Management Plan explain that the project will include revitalisation including new water sewage, electricity, and telecommunication network in other neighbourhood like Praça Maua which is situated in between Maracana and Copacabana (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 31). This neighbourhood is part of “Meu Porto Maeavilha” area, which is known as a very historic area with its old port and old down town. The renovations project in this area covers seven neighbourhoods, which for most of them never had renovation before. The urban development of this area is of course dedicated to attract tourism and potential investors to Rio de Janeiro (Watts & Douglas, 2016).

The benefices of the Games will also be felt in employment. The Games will also trigger new jobs opportunities in the football co-host cities: Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Manaus, Salvador and São Paulo. (Rio2016, 2015)

Of course another benefice that will bring the Olympic games is tourism. The city of Rio de Janeiro will definitely welcome many tourism coming for the games. The expected amount is 1 million and these tourists will increase the economy not only in the main areas of the games but in the whole city and region of Rio de Janeiro. (Sheridan, 2010)

7.9. Ensure that event-themed social and economic regeneration initiatives build upon, and connect with, any physical and infrastructure legacy

To maximise the regeneration value of the mega-event, it is important that at least some social and economic regeneration initiatives are connected with the development of the infrastructure. The Sustainability Management Plan guarantees that the organisation of the Games will leave the population with a positive social-economical balance. The Games can be a powerful instrument for the integration of people and more specifically the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro. Programs involving educational and cultural elements, job creation, volunteer opportunities, training and professional recycling activities as well as projects inspiring young people from underprivileged communities and integrate them with wider society. (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 58)

The SMP presents a table summarizing the different social issues of the Olympic games:

Basic Themes	Specific objectives
Involvement and awareness	Involve clients of the Games and stakeholders in adjusting and implementing the SMP
	Develop educational activities for sustainability
	Develop a sustainability training and qualification programme for employees, volunteers and contractors
Universal accessibility	Ensure universal accessibility at all Olympic and Paralympic venues, including the surrounding areas, pursuant to Brazilian legislation and regulations, and the IPC's guidelines, obeying the most comprehensive set of rules
	Ensure accessible and inclusive transport, according to the principles of universality

	Ensure accessible accommodation, according to the IPC standards for the Paralympic family
Diversity and inclusion	Recruit a diversified labour force and foster its inclusion
	Align services provided to athletes with their cultural diversity

Table 3: People: games for everybody (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 59)

When talking about the employment issues that the games have brought to Rio de Janeiro. The IOC was announcing in 2015 to hire around eighty thousand people to work at Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2016. These jobs would give an opportunity for the cariocas to grow their CVs and work with Olympic values, which promote teamwork, sport, education, health, integrity and peace between nations. (Rio2016, 2015)

7.10. Ensure community representation from the planning stage onwards to promote community ownership and engagement

Concerning the local community opinion on urban improvement, The Sustainable Management Plan explain how decisions of building new venues for the Olympic games 2016 have been taken:

“All decisions regarding whether or not to build new venues have been guided by proven post-event demand criteria, as well as by environmental and financial criteria of permanent buildings compared to temporary buildings.” (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 28)

This explanation does not include any community members in the decision-making process of the new Olympic buildings.

During the preparation period, much relocation will happen for local families of favelas. Bélem-Bélem, Vila Autodromo and Favela do Metro; consisting of 728 households and 119 businesses, will suffer from expropriations. The SMP promises “Project managers will meet with residents to discuss various form of resettlement.” (Rio 2016, 2013, s. 34) This engagement is important for the inhabitants of these favelas, but it seems that they did not have a voice in the decision-making of their own expropriation.

Instead of bringing ownership and engagement from the local communities toward the Olympic games, the construction of the Olympics has brought mostly negative opinion in the mind of the favelas community. The first reason is of course the many evictions, which broke the feeling of attachment to the different communities. A former member of Vila Autodromo sated: “Our community has been lost. We are living in containers while new houses are being built” (Watts & Douglas, 2016). Even in areas like the city centre and port areas where urban development plan have been put in place and no exclusion had happen, the managers of these programs seem as they have not put effort in including the resident of this neighbourhood. A member of

the area stated in an interview: “My concern is that local residents don’t lose out,” she says. “They are not really being included at the moment.” (Watts & Douglas, 2016)

Some interesting numbers can prove this lack of interest for the Olympic games from the Brazilians and Cariocas. A national survey as been carried on in July 14th-15th including 2,792 people from 171 different cities from Brazil. At a national level, only 16% of Brazilians are very interested by the Olympic games, and 51% do not care about it. 63% of Brazilians think that the Olympic games will have a negative effect on the country and did not help on their living conditions the way it was promised. In a smaller scale, 45% of the cariocas thinks the Olympic games will be beneficial for the country when 47% of them think that the games are useless. This opinion is really divided, but the survey shows that the national opinion became mostly negative since 2013, where 25% of the people were against the Olympic games in 2013 instead of 50% of the population in 2016. (Bernardi, 2016)

8. CONCLUSION

The Olympic games of Rio de Janeiro 2016 are about to start and the opinions about these games are very divided. On one side there is the politicians, and investors, which are still seeing the games as an economic opportunity for Brazil. And on another hand, there is the inhabitants and the local communities or favelados, which have a more pragmatist opinion towards the games. The reason of this measured excitement is easy to understand when adding them together. It seems, as the favelados are the ones, which suffered the most of the construction of the games.

The Olympic games organizers have named various favela-upgrading programs applies but even the most successful ones didn't deliver their goals. It didn't connect the city and it is still divided into formal and informal, "slum and a "city", there was a lack of income and employment generation, not enough subsidies for a formal housing and most importantly, it failed to create a safety net for the most vulnerable group of society, which are the favelados. A programme Favela Bairro was labelled as the "best practise" by the World Bank and UN- Habitat, due to it's high ambitions and comprehensive favela urbanisation policies. What is more, it involved many partners: governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as private sector and grass root leaders. Second most important programme Minha Casa Minha Vida, focused one million of ready to use accommodations for middle and low-income citizens while boosting economic growth and employed through the construction industry. Though, none of the main programmes accomplished its goals and just days after Rio de Janeiro became a host of 2016 Olympic games, city's government released a list of 119 favelas to be evicted for the reasons related to upcoming games. For the time being of event preparations, these evictions were done illegally and violating human rights at the same time. Favelados were given a short time of notice to move out, the reallocations were adequate as people had move to remote areas, blocking them to access former education and employment places and what is most important, the compensation offered didn't match the promise to meet the market value. This left favelados not only in a worse living conditions but also created extreme psychological discomfort and stress. Favela wasn't only a neighbourhood full of poor and violent

people. It acted as a fully functioning “mini city”, had its preserved values and cultures that were carried on for generations. It is a part of Brazil’s history and artistic hub that the Olympic games have broken.

At the end of 2008 state’s government released a security programme to maintain permanent, specialised police force in favelas- UPP. Even though they are present in just 18 of 582 Rio’s favelas, its effects are strong. Its newly hired police officers did manage to pacify favelas and clean them from drug trafficking gangs. Besides that, it created a feeling of fear rather than security. UPP has opened the doors for gentrification in favelas. Now, as favelas are pacified or cleared out, utility companies, construction and real estate companies are rushing to become first movers in entering this new market since the original dwellers are relocated to distant areas. The occurring movement of gentrification pushes once again the local communities on the side, because of the impacts it brings along. The favelados cannot afford the rental prices anymore and are being pushed away.

Having these urban regeneration projects going in Rio led to favela gentrification, evictions, massively increased construction industry and increased number of various policies to support private interests and entrepreneurship is what the city is what the city is left. A programme with neoliberal mind-set to consider, Morar Carioca, that focuses on social inclusion promotion though “complete and definitive urban and social integration of all the favelas by 2020”. Even though it is similar to the previous programs and promises sustainable regeneration, it has a bigger scope, larger budget coming from the Inter- American Development Bank. Acknowledgement that previous programme were insufficient to deliver the needed housing helped Morar Carioca programme to focus on reducing the density of favelas and removing people only from risky to live areas and the ones important for Olympic games. Even this programme didn’t avoid intervention of large-scale private investors.

At the moment, there are thousands of people evicted, billions of dollars dedicated for favela urbanisation, many programmes applied and various partners involved but none of this managed to transform favelas so it follows sustainable favela urbanisation. Andrew Smith’s 10 key points are a good way to answer why the mega-event seems to have not been beneficial for the local communities.

First of all, there was a gap between event strategies and the wider urban regeneration plan applied. The previous urban regeneration goal was more about building infrastructure within favelas and including the favelas in the process, when the event strategies were centred towards the installations for the Olympics games, its athletes and its tourism. Secondly, the Olympic games were supposed to bring parallel initiatives to the city and region. This point has been partly fulfilled, some small events like “mini Olympics” and “Favelas games 2016” have been created for the local communities, a big urban regeneration program started near the port of Rio de Janeiro which is not an area where the games will take place. The construction of the games has also brought a lot of jobs inside the city of Rio, which is a welcoming feature just after the economic crisis of 2008.

The Olympic games have, of course, brought up the economy of Rio de Janeiro with increasing employment, renewing its infrastructure, attracting tourism and investors. But when looking at the local community perspective, it is a bit harder to see the positive points. The ten key points raised the gentrification problem because of evictions and pacifications. The lack of community participation with the favelados did not make them feel ownership and engagement to the games. The pacification police did of course cleaned favelas from crime, but this type of intervention does not have impact on the wellbeing and poverty of the favelados.

The end of this thesis will bring a negative conclusion for the inhabitants of favelas. Many favelas areas have been renewed with new infrastructures due to the games, but a lot of their inhabitants have been relocated to other areas, which brings the question “Is a favela still a favela without its inhabitants?” Looking at the favelados point of view the sustainable urban regeneration is not completed for the favelados. To change this, state’s government has to amend the old policies focusing on top-down approaches and delivery of unsustainable, no benefits bringing ready to use accommodation delivery and rather than that begin to focus on the importance of favelados participation in creating institutional and political reforms that address them. It is important to understand the state isn’t capable to accommodate them all comfortably but people could.

9. APPENDIX

Philosophy	Constructivism	Pragmatism
Type of research	Qualitative	Mixed
Methods	Open-ended questions, emerging approaches, text and/or image data	Both, open and closed-ended questions, both, emerging and predetermined approaches, and both, qualitative and quantitative data analysis
Research practices	<p>Positions researcher within the context</p> <p>Collects participant-generate meanings</p> <p>Focuses on a single concept or phenomenon</p> <p>Brings personal values into the study</p> <p>Studies the context or setting of participants</p> <p>Validates the accuracy of findings</p> <p>Interprets the data</p> <p>Creates an agenda for change or reform</p>	<p>Collects both, qualitative and quantitative data</p> <p>Develops a rationale for mixing methods</p> <p>Integrates the data at various stages of inquiry</p> <p>Presents visual pictures of the procedures in the study</p> <p>Employs practices of both qualitative and quantitative research</p>

	Involves researcher in collaborating with participants	
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Table 4: Constructivism/Pragmatism methodology (Research-Methodology.net)

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