Postcolonial Entanglements of Power, Race, Class and Privilege in Child and

Youth Care Work Within a Brazilian Favela

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Postcolonial Intersections
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Abstract

This research assesses the various aspects of Child and Youth Care (CYC) work and how

relationships between child or youth and care provider are limited and constricted within

greater political, social and historical contexts. Specifically, this research takes place

internationally in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil within a favela (slum) and unveils the entangled

and complex relationship that I, not only as an ethnographer, but also as a CYC worker

had with the many young people that I encountered. It will address a variety of theories

that demonstrate the potentials of reproducing oppressive relationships, and argue that it

is imperative for CYC workers to critically reflect on the greater contexts in which their

work is situated in order to gain forces with those young people whom they are

attempting to serve.

Keywords: child and youth care, ethnography, Brazil, Favela, postcolonial

Acknowledgments

The past three years have been a journey. Since I first landed in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 2011, until this very moment in 2014, my life has changed drastically. Although this research at times was challenging and frustrating, the amount that I have learned not only as an individual, but as a Child and Youth Care worker, as an academic, as a friend and as a wife is immeasurable.

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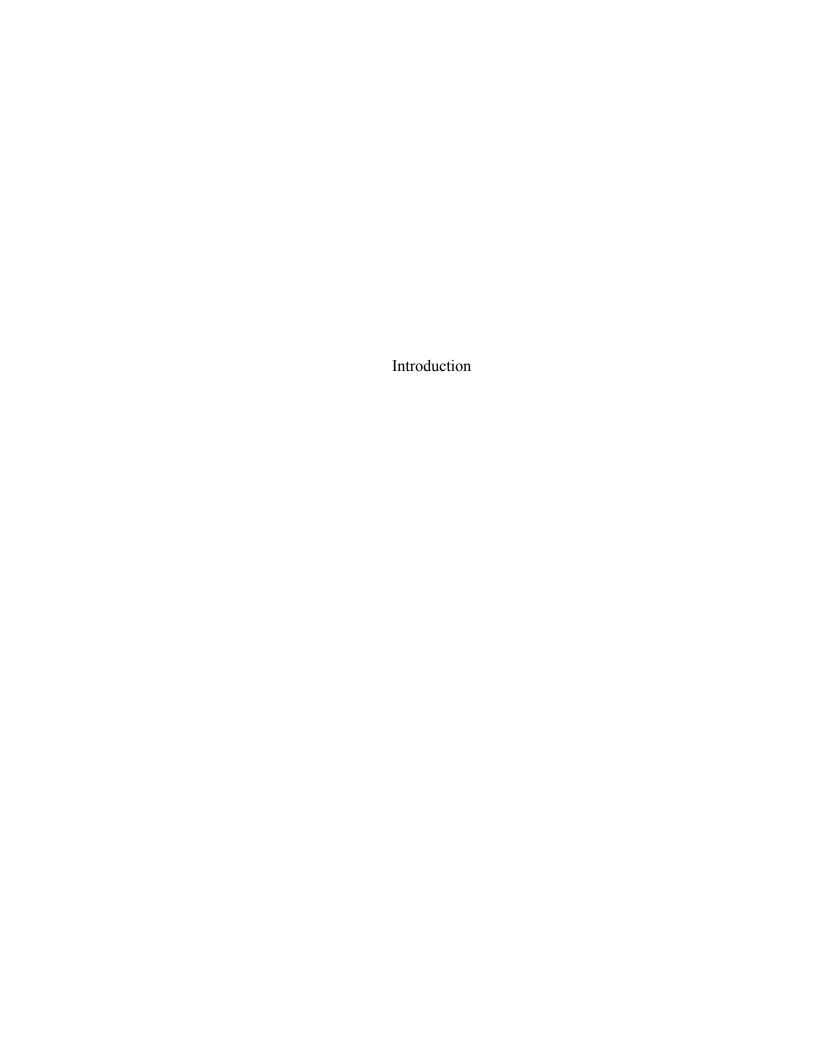
able to work with you in the field. You taught me a lot and I am forever indebted to you

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Introduction

Introduction

The literature of Child and Youth Care (CYC) work is copious when it comes to looking at how relationships between child or youth and adult have been initiated, developed, and sustained (Stuart, 2013). Researchers in the CYC fields have been tackling the various discourses and practices surrounding work with young people, including care, relationship, roles, duties, services, and programs, and situating them within frameworks that attempt to produce the most optimal outcomes. Current research in the field of CYC is committed to looking at the ways in which all practices and relationships have been situated within a historical, social and political climate, producing both problematic and entangled child and youth care practices (de Finney, Dean, Loiselle, & Saraceno, 2011; Loiselle, de Finney, Khanna, & Corcoran, 2012). It has been argued that these engagements in practice have been confined and limited within a scope bound by organizational initiatives, policies, social rules and obligations and greater cultural and political contexts, limiting the actual freedom and abilities of relationships between child or youth and adult (Gharabaghi, 2008; Magnuson, 2009). One simply cannot deny the greater historical, political, and social contexts in which their work is situated (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2012). It is especially important for CYC workers to acknowledge and understand the historical context that can so often position them within places of power and authority. These positions, problematically, only reproduce the dominant European/Western colonial projects that work to minoritize and oppress the very groups that we work with (Skott-Myhre, 2004).

This paper will attempt to situate me, not only as a child and youth care worker, but also as an ethnographer, through my interactions with young people in a favela in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It will address the issues of privilege, colonial power relations, race

and class and how these created a complex intersectionality between me and the group of young people I encountered. I will struggle with the notions around representation in ethnographic research and the political context of writing. I will argue that traces of colonization are visible in relation to access, privilege, security and domination for favela dwellers. Although my work done within the favela will discuss the many negative circumstances in which colonization is still present today, I will present some interesting and powerful ways in which the young people I worked with interact, contest and challenge these inequalities. I will also analyze the relationship and position of myself as a CYC worker and how these greater socio-historical and political frameworks implicate work in the CYC fields through potentially providing counterintuitive services for those individuals whom they hope to serve. It is important to note here as well the dilemma in providing counterintuitive services or not providing services at all, a question of great importance within all CYC work practices having both positive and negative impacts. Although not the purpose of this research, this question is of great importance and will be reflected upon in the discussion and as an aim for future research.

Important to my account of work within the favela in Rio de Janeiro is the history of Brazil in relation to colonization in 1500 by Portugal, and the importance of the Black individuals from Africa who were forced into slavery and who resided in the Northeast of Brazil. The industrial boom of the late 1960s in Rio de Janeiro is also significant to the rise of the favelas in Rio, the obvious anchor for which my work is situated.

I cannot promise that what I will offer will be clean, organized and easy to understand. The work I have situated myself within is heavily political, and bounded by history. It is messy, chaotic, challenging, frustrating and at some points depressing. It is also work that is full of meaning, beauty, liberation and hope. There have been times that

I have questioned my being at the very core, challenged my own personal morals and values, and have almost purposefully challenged anyone I know working within the same CYC frameworks as I am. In hopes of regaining some purpose and meaning behind the research I am doing, I have found some measure of insight in the optimistic claim that, "social justice work should always be complicated and uncomfortable" (Thomas & Green, 2007, p.91). Skott-Myhre and Skott-Myhre (2011) have also made similar claims regarding radical youth work and the uncertainty and messiness of some of the encounters that are key to our work with young peoples.

In relation to CYC work, Loiselle, Taylor, and Donald (2012) further claim that "…some of the most difficult work of doing critical praxis is getting comfortable with discomfort—the uncertainty of and tensions within the process—in order to really engage with what is emerging" (as cited in Loiselle et al., 2012. p.196). It is therefore through the entanglement in CYC work praxis and care that I will further complicate the ways in which CYC workers engage themselves in research working with minoritized populations, specifically young people in the favela. I highlight the importance of reflexivity in relation to historical, political and social contexts and in being able to locate, understand, and talk about these ideas around positions of power and authority, which often pins the very people we work with as lesser or in many ways not equal.

It is here that our focus shifts from working *for* young people to working *with* young people so that we will then be able to work toward change and progress in our CYC work. There is hope to "build political advocacy [in] joining [the young] to challenge the legislature, local officials, and police to really take on the underlying social causes" (Skott-Myhre & Skott-Myhre, 2011, p. 48), which place certain individuals at a disadvantage in relation to access, services and employment and therefore put them in the

"need[1]" of CYC services.

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[1] I use quotations to question the notions around what it means to actually be "in need". This relates to the greater socio-historical notions of imperialism and how being in need has been created by those in power, creating the "need" for those individuals who are marginalized to therefore rely on them for survival and who are therefore in "need" of services. This will be addressed further in the discussion.

CHAPTER ONE
Colonialism, Brazil and Child and Youth Care Theories

Setting the Stage of Colonialism

Brazil was not *discovered*[2] until April 22, 1500 by Portugal's Pedro Alvares Cabral, who was on his way from Portugal to Asia to extract spices. During his journey, Cabral stumbled upon uncharted territory that was inhabited by thousands of Brazilian *Indians*[3]. Cabral noted that Brazil had an extremely large landmass housing acres upon acres of sugar, gold and wood. As Cabral saw the potential in Brazil and all of the natural resources it had to offer, Portugal decided to colonize the indigenous people of Brazil and have them work as slaves of the land in order to turn a profit for Portugal. As Brazil's 8, 511, 965 square kilometer landmass was too large to be slaved upon by the Indians of Brazil alone, around 4 million Africans were brought over and made into slaves from Angola, another Country that had been colonized by Portugal to help work the land of Brazil. Sadly, as a result of many diseases and bad conditions on the 40-day voyage across the seas, thousands of Africans died, not even having made it to the land of Brazil (Grabsky, 2000).

It was not until September 7, 1822 that Brazil gained independence from Portugal. Even though gaining independence meant that the ruling plantation class had control over its own land and peoples, slavery in Brazil was not abolished until May 13, 1888-nearly sixty-six years after independence. Even though Brazil was one of the last countries to abolish slavery, it still practiced forced work, as many of the people who were slaves were poor and had nowhere to go and so they were forced to continue working the land

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[2] I use *discovery* here in italics because I do not believe the indigenous people of Brazil would claim that Portugal "discovered" Brazil as they were already governing the land. Or as Tuhiwai Smith (1999) claims, they "did not ask, need or want to be discovered" (p.24).

[3] Again, I use italics here, as they were not named Indians until later and some indigenous would even reject the term Indians altogether.

(Grabsky, 2000). This forced work did not provide many options financially for families to survive and so many of these people began to set up as squatters, building makeshift housing on unoccupied land. As a result of having no money, the favelas were created.

Specifically, as the city of Rio de Janeiro began to grow and became more industrialized, it attracted more and more workers from the poor North East Brazil. These individuals, like the newly freed slaves, were not able to afford housing and therefore began to build their own houses around the outskirts of the city, thus beginning the rise of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro (Grabsky, 2000). Low-income groups and residents were forced to move to the periphery of the *centro* of Rio de Janeiro, as they were claimed to have posed a threat to the dominating political forces in rural Brazil (Pino, 1996, 1997).

I would argue that for the CYC worker, it is important to understand the history of the colonization of Brazil and the importance of how the favelas came to be in Rio. The influence of slavery in relation to White European Portuguese and Black individuals, mainly from Angola, has huge implications in the structural inequalities that exist within Brazil today. The favelas that were created on the outskirts of the city of Rio soon became a metaphor of the black people who continued to be placed on the social periphery of society. Physically occupying the space of the outside and socially situated in the shadows of the fast developing industrial center, the structural inequalities experienced by these individuals became more normalized and huge divisions not only between race and ethnicity, but also between social classes, became visible. It is here that I argue the glimpses of colonization are still very much present and practiced, although many Brazilians themselves would argue that the idea of a racial democracy currently exists within Brazil (Public Broadcasting Service, 2011).

These notions around racial democracy in Brazil have implications then on the

ways in which specifically, my work within the favelas is understood, situated and contextualized. Dating back as early to the 1950's, "…the Rio de Janeiro chief of police…called the favelas an'evil threatening the security of the entire community'" (de Menezes Cortes, as cited in Pino, 1996, p.419). The idea of the favelas as being dangerous, misplaced, and threatening can most certainly be situated in history, as well as having influence over the marginalization of the peoples that come from its misplacement[4].

Relating to the greater inequalities that began to separate poor working *moradores das favelas* (people who live in a favela) with the other social classes in Rio de Janeiro, education has currently been linked to colonial regimes, posing continual threats to the marginalization of not only indigenous groups, but also African American peoples. Diversi and Moreira (2012) conducted an auto-ethnography on their own lives growing up in the Amazon, Brazil and the social injustices they struggled with in their everyday practices. An important insight they highlight in relation to representation is the need to be "remind[ed] that people are treated the way they are represented" (Hall, as cited in Diversi & Moreira, 2012, p.192). They found that the ways in which childhood was reproduced was defined narrowly in a white male, middle class, adult centered view that restricted the children's way of understanding the world in which they lived. Diversi and Moreira (2012) discovered disconnect between the colonization of Brazil in 1500 by Portugal and the teaching approaches, or avoidance approaches that they saw towards teaching children about their history. This notion around the lack of education focused on

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[4] Without taking focus off of the purpose of this paper and my work, I guide you towards Pino's 1996 paper "Dark mirror of Modernization: The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro in the boom years, 1948-1960", on the favelas in Rio de Janeiro and how they really came about, paying special attention to the political structures of Brazil during this time and the implications these systems brought.

colonialism in Brazil relates to Loiselle et al.'s (2012) ideas around state control of cultural information and the implications this has on how individuals come to understand who they are based on "…deliberate…colonial assimilation…" (p.186). Diversi and Moreira (2012) found that this notion of colonial assimilation has further implications in research regarding the representation of young peoples in relation to work and care done for them.

In Kiri Davis' (2005) documentary, *A Girl Like Me*, she found that African American girls' experiences of growing up within a white centric community influenced their identity. Having their cultural traditions and languages stripped from their ancestors, young African American females grew up being influenced by the ways in which other individuals thought of them. They therefore then internalized these ideas because they themselves did not even know who or what they should be or where they came from. This has implications then on the ways that these females are treated and the services that are created and available to them. The notion around seeing childhood in certain ways and denying historical and class relations in regards to discourses, further implicate the way that certain discourses are then practiced and reproduced within specific societies (Gittins, 2004).

Specifically in Brazil, this has further limitations on the ways that adults then treat and work with children, youth and adults who grow up in the favelas (or the streets for that matter) and what services are provided for them. In particular, this has certain implications in my work as a CYC worker and the limitations, challenges, and confrontations I had working specifically with the young peoples within these contexts and communities.

The Favela as dirty, dark, and dangerous- "The hood"

The favela has historically been linked with greater social stigmas around the poverty, dirtiness, instability, danger and diseases that then cast its inhabitants as scum. It has been reproduced within popular culture, especially within Brazilian films such as *Tropa de Elite* (Elite Squad), and *Sonhos Roubados* (Stolen Dreams), to represent an area of chaos, drugs, and weapons with streets lined with garbage, prostitutes, and other social outcasts. Richardson and Skott-Myhre (2011) look at spaces like the favela, or *hood*, and argue that Bourdieu's theory of habitus relates to the occupied spaces in the favela that have been stigmatized by society, but are really only understand and appreciated by their own inhabitants. The favela then becomes a "dwelling place" (Robin Cooper, 2005, as cited in Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2011) only having value for those physically embodying it and maneuvering through its space. When one thinks of a habitus, the authors claim that we often are only able to associate within our own habitus, therefore giving it status. Thus hoods, or favelas, only then have one main characteristic which is its "…marginalized relationship…with the mainstream;…" (Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2011). In situating the *hood* historically, Richardson and Skott-Myhre (2011) look to Deleuze and Guattari's notions of catastrophe, claiming that catastrophe occurs when there is mistrust created between individuals within a society. They then claim that *hoods* are a result of the catastrophes of colonialism and slavery and their links to postcolonial settler colonies. It is important to understand this "social birth" of the hood in relation to the favela as it relates to the spaces of the favela in which programs and services are focused and practiced. Often, programs are created within spaces where notions of individuals in *need* of liberation are the focus, and not created in spaces that work themselves to *produce* liberation (Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2011, emphasis added).

Specifically within my research, this then has implications on the contexts of care in which I engage myself and the entanglements of class, race, and power that work to render unintelligible the very notions and practices of CYC work.

Praxis and Care in the Favela- Dynamics of relationship (and power?)

de Finney, Dean, Loiselle and Saraceno (2011) tackle the notion around links to equality and exclusion based on the historical and social processes of colonization and the ways in which they produce marginalization of certain peoples. They posit that certain groups of individuals are marginalized not because of innate characteristics internal to the group, but rather because of the historical systems that have been in place that have deemed certain traits and characteristics as more valued (for example, whiteness), and therefore, these systems devalue the other systems that are different. So because whiteness is valued, it therefore devalues blackness. This then puts whiteness in a position of privilege in relation to services, employment, education, wealth, care and housing among other things (Galabuzi, 2004). It is therefore the "unequal distribution of power and resources [that is] a root cause of [the] social injustices that place children, youth, and families at risk and contribute to the very conditions (poverty, family breakdown, mental health issues, substandard housing, neglect, etc.)…" that is experienced among these marginalized groups (de Finney et al., 2011, p.364). They argue that "minoritization is neither a natural quality nor a fixed process", but rather due to the "sociocultural, economic, and political structures" (p.364). Furthermore, Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes that government and social agencies lack any acknowledgement of the history in its relation to the social problems of the indigenous, which then creates a negative stereotype around social issues and positions social problems as the indigenous problem, having direct implications for those doing work with such groups.

These systems that have historically been in place then directly impact the groups in which CYC work is carried out. Specifically for those individuals living within the Brazilian favelas, it is hard to escape the slum life as they suffer from the misdistribution of wealth as social inequalities grow larger and more threatening (de Oliveria, Baizerman & Pellet, 1992; Rabello de Castro, & Kosminsky, 2010; Freitas, Shelton & Tudge, 2008). de Oliveria, Baizerman and Pellet (1992) claim that often children are the worst off in these situations as they are unable to depend on public assistance, because it is not available. These children therefore carry an oppressing stereotype that has been created by the historical and political systems of power. It is under this colonial power that Loiselle et al. (2012) argue that

> [the] responsibility for failure to achieve educational and economic success is attributed to minoritized youth, families, and communities, rather than understood as a product of the systematic racism, classism, homophobia, and so on, that dispossess Indigenous, racialized, poor, and queer people of educational and employment opportunities. (p.182)

These stereotypes around minoritzation that have been created often only work to serve these groups in restricted ways, mainly at their own expense. These discourses often maintain an imbalance in power, allowing the dominant group to keep charge and control of the minoritized groups through offering limited services that are completely disconnected from the needs and realities of the group, but yet reassert the normative standards of the group in power (Pereira, 2008). These relations then limit and constrict the very relationships that are at the core of CYC work, having direct impacts on the engagements and exchanges of adults and the young, especially in relation to power and

authority, or knowing and practice.

According to de Oliveria, Baizerman and Pellet (1992), when individuals start stereotyping children in negative ways-specifically children growing up in impoverished conditions like the favela- this then restricts individuals' abilities to see these children as persons, and their existence as children in their own rights. This then further implicates the way that adults engage with children, specifically in regards to the programs that are set out for them in CYC practices. Jones (2009) posits that "adults have convinced themselves that is it beneficial for children that adults rather than they make decisions. Rather than as malign control, the way adults see this is as 'care' or 'protection' in the 'best interests' of the child" (p. 50). Jones (2009) further goes on to look at the types of questions adults ask about children and discovers that, often, the questions being asked are flawed because they reflect inaccurate preconceptions that are based on adults' misconstrued ideologies and beliefs of childhood.

When children are viewed in certain ways, it can have implications on how adults approach working with them and how adults create policies pertaining to children. For example, Moss and Petrie (2002) state that "much education work flows around assumptions about children and their development- but what is meant by being a 'child' is not debated" (p. 83). These assumptions that adults have about children can be problematic as they place certain constraints on children in regards to rights, citizenship and social agency. For example, in their discussion of adults' negative perceptions on the street children in Brazil, Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (as cited in Scheper-Hughes & Sargent, 1998) demonstrate the implications of the trust, respect and freedom that these children have. If these street children were viewed by adults as being criminals, the adults

would therefore treat them as criminals and modify their interactions with these children (Moss & Petrie, 2002).

This notion of adult-child relationships and interactions is further explored and reproduced through Kosminsky and Daniel's (2005) research when they claim that "the child is seen as a victim of society: victimized by family violence, by the police, by adults in general, and finally as passive recipients of adult actions" (p.24). This again reinforces the way that adults treat children and limits the children's sense of agency and citizenship to their society, implicating the ways in which CYC work is performed and practiced. Skott-Myhre and Skott-Myhre (2011) point out the importance of breaking down the hierarchical relationship between adult and young person that often works to separate and oppress young people, and focus more on collective ways of working together in the creation and understanding of knowledge, an approach to practice premised on the work of Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Friere. It is not until this happens that "…oppressed peoples [will] obtain a critical awareness of the conditions of their oppression, and through that awareness, …develop revolutionary practices" (Skott-Myhre & Skott-Myhre, 2011, p.44).

Colonization with some "de"-colonization on the side. Can I get that to-go?

So how then, does one interact and work with these young people who have already developed a sense of mistrust in the very people, systems, and contexts that have denied or betrayed them? How does one conduct "research" -a term that I will later entangle within colonial power relations- with young populations to attain a better understanding of their lives, and the situations and contexts that put them "at risk" and in *need* of care? If relationships are so limited and constricted by predetermined boundaries

and standards, how does one maneuver within a relationship to truly understand the other's point of view, struggles, and triumphs? When race, class, privilege, power, and authority become entangled, how does one even attempt to make sense of the messiness of their work, without reinforcing dominant systems of knowing and being, yet making space for alternative understandings and knowledges? How does one attempt to reconcile with the past, and is reconciliation even possible in conjunction to the years upon years of unequal treatment, devaluation, and even attempts to eradicate whole groups of individuals from a society?

These questions, among many others, will guide my journey as a CYC worker within a favela in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil as I set out in hopes of better understanding the ways in which young people make sense of their own lives and struggles within the favela. I also hope to better understand myself, not only as a CYC worker, but also as an ethnographer, a researcher, and as white, middle class, heterosexual female and the entanglements that are then created within my work.

CHAPTER 2
Methodology

Methodology

For my research, I conducted an ethnographic study, spending 5 months (May-September 2013 and December 2013-January 2014) in Brazil in a Favela called *Morro do Sol* in the city of Rio de Janeiro. I received ethics approval from Brock University in April 2013, a few weeks before I planned to leave to conduct this research. I had chosen the Brazilian favela as my main site for ethnographic study because of previously having lived in Rio de Janeiro and participating within Child and Youth Care frameworks. I was originally interested in the ways in which children in the favela made sense of their lives, leading to the greater notions of what it meant to be a child growing up within a Brazilian favela. I was interested in learning more regarding the discourses of childhood within Brazil, after having witnessed a different childhood than that of which I am used to having grown up in a middle class area in Burlington, Ontario, Canada.

After becoming more engaged in my research upon arrival, I soon discovered that I had a few intersections with the children with whom I was working that often left me questioning my abilities as a Child and Youth Care worker, researcher, volunteer and friend. My struggles then as a CYC worker became the focus of my research, in relation to the everyday lives of those individuals I was encountering within the favela. This was all then later situated within the greater socio-historical context of colonization, which has certain entanglements with the work I was doing within the community.

While in Rio, I stayed with family who lived less than one block from the favela, and often stayed with another guest family who lived within the favela in which I did my work. I spent various nights sleeping with my guest family so that I would be able to better understand the ways in which the favela functioned and transformed in the late hours of the night.

Location and Access

I conducted the ethnography in a favela in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil called *Morro do Sol*. Morro do Sol is located in the North Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro and is surrounded by many other favelas. In 2011 and 2012, I spent ten months living in Rio de Janeiro and volunteered for a not for profit Organization called Visão (Vision- the name is modified for ethical purposes). This organization is a Catholic organization that offers a variety of programs for individuals, children and families living in the slums, ranging from health services, to physical activity classes and more recently, English classes, an initiative requested from the individuals within the community and run under my instruction. It was through Visão that I had access to the community center and the young individuals whom I had previously gotten to know and further worked with during my return for research in May and again in December 2013.

In any given week, roughly 40 children would pass through the community center for a variety of services, including English classes, capoeira classes (a traditional Brazilian martial arts dance), religion classes, health campaigns or random activities planned for the children including games, crafts, and sports. The children attending the various programs through the community center were the main children I worked with on a daily basis. It was after developing relationships with these individuals that I was able to then meet their other friends and family members who were also used as some of my main informants for my research. The ages of the young peoples whom I worked with ranged anywhere from a few months old to the early twenties. I also had many encounters with older individuals living within the community as I wandered the streets, bought snacks, and became more involved within various activities within the favela.

Most days, I began my day at home doing work either in the form of immigration

applications for my husband, or reading some research relevant to my studies[5]. Every day after lunch, various programs would run within the community center and so I would go spend time at the community center and assist in the various programs for about 5 or 6 hours a day. Some days, programs ran in the mornings as well as the afternoons, and therefore, on any given day, I spent between 4-10 hours within the community. Every so often, I also spent the night in the favela to try and see what the nightlife was all about.

Morro do Sol, the favela in which most of my research was conducted, is a mid-sized favela in the North zone of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Rio de Janeiro is broken up into Zones, the South Zone being the most affluent and pristine, with the North Zone being less affluent and having more poverty. From where I normally stayed with my husband, it was about a ten-minute walk to one of the central downtown locations of the greater surrounding neighbourhoods in this one area of the north zone. The only thing separating our apartment and Morro do Sol (and the other favelas) was a huge hospital. On the street that led up to the entrance of the favela, there were a few mini salons that dyed, cut, and permed hair, or painted nails. There were roughly 6 bars in one block, with 2 mini grocery stores, 1 bakery and 2 drug stores.

In making your way up to the favela, you must follow along a narrow road that joins two entrances (that of Morro do Sol and another favela) in a 'y'. Before making it to the 'y' structure in the road, you pass by a group of about 10 men and boys with motorcycles on the right. Day and night, these males provide rides on the back of their motorcycles in exchange for a small fee for the residents of the community. It is

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[5]As an aside, my husband is Brazilian and is one of the main reasons I became so involved and interested with doing research in the favelas, especially with its young people. While also conducting this ethnography, we were busy preparing documents for our upcoming wedding that occurred in August, and also prepared paperwork documents for immigration for my husband.

important to note that the favela(s) in which I worked were situated on a hillside, often making the trek up to the community center nearly a workout for the day, and therefore, the motorcycles for some were an actual 'gift from God', sent to save them on their journey to return home. Often these rides on the back of the motorcycles were dangerous, weaving in between other cars on the streets and dodging people who were walking, all while the rider on the back of the bike never wore a helmet.

After passing by the motorcycles on the right, you could often see a group of individuals on the sidewalk who were using crack. They often occupied the space in front of a small bar and a small store that sold snacks and drinks. Right before you arrived at the 'y' in the street, you could continue left or turn right into the Morro do Sol favela. Before making your entrance though, you had to pass by the watchful gaze of the drug dealers. The drug dealers were more or less in control of the favela, watching and controlling who was able to enter.

One of the other volunteers continued to tell me that the drug dealers were always aware of those working within their community. It was a way to protect themselves, and also to protect others within their community. She continued to tell me that for the drug dealers, it is a way for them to survey and control the activities and flow of people and goods within their community, to protect themselves from outside threatening forces, including the Prefeitura (the city), the state, and the government, or more importantly, the police and other groups of drug dealers.

In Rio, there are many different drug gangs, all competing to occupy the most space throughout various favelas for prestige, money, and more importantly, for power. Drug dealing then becomes a game, spying on enemies (or other drug cartels) in attempts to take down and gain power and control over other favelas. After speaking to a 22-year-

old female resident, she explained to me that previously, the favela (Morro do Sol) used to be a safe, calm place where it was easy and safe for residents to enter and exit. The drug dealers were respectful and often looked out for its residents, helping to maintain safety and respect within its streets. Since Brazil had been chosen to host World youth Day in July 2013 (which I attended), the FIFA World Cup in June and July 2014 (I also was in Brazil during this time), and the summer Olympics in 2016, the government had been pushing to clean up its streets, particularly the favelas. In order to better control its residents, the police had been pacifying the other communities (favelas). As more communities were pacified, the drug dealers were forced out to relocate in other favelas. As the one girl told me, this had made Morro do Sol more unstable as there was a steady flow of new people, especially drug dealers within their community. She said it made it more dangerous to be in the streets as you never knew if the individuals were in the community as inhabitants, or as potential thieves, or drug dealers, often who were armed.

The importance of the drug dealers and the police pacifications in my research are immense. The instability as a result of police pacification left Morro do Sol with frequent police raids often resulting in further police-drug dealer battles, limiting my work within the community. There were times that my work was even put to a halt for a week at a time because the police had entered and were patrolling the streets, resulting in many random bullet exchanges, often affecting the main roads to the community center. Other times after spending the night in the favela I was either woken up to exchanges of bullets, or greeted at the bottom of the favela by the police. This will further be discussed in other sections of this paper in relations to power, control and surveillance.

Critical Ethnography- Why so Critical?

Critical ethnography allowed me as the researcher to be fully immersed within the

culture to understand the context in which children in Rio de Janeiro grow up and to see the ways in which young people conduct their daily lives. Ethnography in this context was profuse and I was able to develop on-going relationships and gain more extensive data on the daily lives of young people whilst living among the community. The information I gathered was rich as I was able to continually develop new questions and ideas for inquiry that could be overlooked if I had only chosen to do interviews (Patton & Patton, 2002).

Critical ethnography is important for my research as its long-term goal is, to advocate for the emancipation of certain peoples who have been marginalized from society (Creswell, 2013). When Conquergood (1991) was looking for new ways to conceptualize ethnographies through critical theory, he noted its commitment to locating the political roots of cultural practices and sees ethnography as the politicizing of science and knowledge (p.179). When it comes to looking at the interactions of young people within the Brazilian favela, the process is twofold: locating young individuals (in relation to those other individuals deemed to have power, in this case adults); and locating young people in the favela in relation to history and the colonization of Brazil.

Through conducting a critical ethnography, some of the key focuses will be on looking at situations of power, inequality, dominance, oppression and control in an attempt to challenge taken for granted knowledges when it comes to the lives of those living within the favelas (Creswell, 2013). Foley and Valenzuela point out that "Critical ethnographers…work the divide between the powerful and the powerless" (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 217). It is within this framework that every story told then becomes a production of knowledge, which is not politically neutral. These notions around the divide of power and the political influences then formed the focus of my

research within a society where the social divides and exclusions are immense. In their article titled "Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research", Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) discuss the importance of critical research and the role it plays in analyzing issues of power and justice and how certain ways of oppression shape human experiences, something which this research attempts to do.

In conjunction with Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) research on indigenous peoples, Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) discuss the problems with critical research and the production of knowledge by the Westerner and highlight the importance of "valuing indigenous knowledge, developing postcolonial forms of resistance, academic reform, the reconceptualization of research and interpretation, and the struggle for social justice" (p. 313). As my research aims to highlight some of the disconnections between postcolonial Brazil in the lives of current day young peoples, the critical aspect of the ethnography is one of the most crucial parts in attempting to better understand, locate and advocate for the emancipation of the young people in the favela. The critical ethnography then must be weary of the true "…crisis of representation…[that] has induced deep epistemological, methodological, and ethical self-questioning" (Conquergood, 1991, p.179).

The problems with research-The superiority of the West

The notions of research and post-colonization are contested today among many indigenous and marginalized groups. Bobbi Sykes famously said, "What? Post-colonialism? Have they left?" (as cited in Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.24), signifying that indeed, colonialism is still functioning today within many societies. Colonization therefore plays out in the relationships between government and the people, within educational institutions, relationships between people, and is also reproduced within policies and services. What is considered to be the "truth" within research frameworks is

often contested, as indigenous groups fight to reclaim what was originally theirs. Even some indigenous groups will not participate in any discussions of postcolonial nature, actively resisting the notions of post-colonialism. They claim "This is because post-colonialism is viewed as the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which reinscribes their power to define the world" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.14). This is, of course, to suggest that those in power are able to claim when colonialism ceases to exist, obviously to rectify their wrongdoings in an attempt to claim they acknowledge that colonial order is something profoundly wrong and not wanting to be viewed within any realms of its subordination. Michel Foucault contests that "…power produces knowledge…; power and knowledge directly imply one another; … there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (as cited in Conquergood, 1991, p.193).

In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) states that modernity's notion of truths in existence relates to systems of knowledge where culture and power are at the core of what is said to be 'real'. She claims that the approaches that implicate how researchers do their research come from centuries of debates in philosophy in regards to principles and systems for organization of societies in a whole. This can relate to the problems associated with imperialism and ideas around discovery, conquest, exploitation, distribution and appropriation (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). These approaches are then the premises for making something a 'reality'. When Western reality is challenged with alternative notions from other societies, Western reality is then assumed as something "'better', reflecting 'higher orders' of thinking, and being less prone to the dogma, witchcraft and immediacy of people and societies which were so 'primitive'"

(p.48). The implications of this way of thinking lie in the fact that most of the production

of knowledge or claims in research have come from indigenous groups themselves. This

is problematic as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) identifies that the term "research" itself is

linked to European colonialism that poses implications pertaining to any so-called

research done with indigenous populations. Indigenous knowledge has then been claimed

and produced as Western knowledge and ways of knowing, often having implications for

the very populations in which the West then attempt to control. She claims that

historically, "research" done by the white Westerner often included very brief encounters

in which the researcher would claim to understand the ways of life of the indigenous and

suggest ideas that did nothing for the various groups which it was attempting to "help[6]".

Tuhiwai Smith claims that by simply retelling stories, it does absolutely nothing to

improve the conditions the indigenous are faced with- it does nothing to aid in the

extreme poverty, poor health or education, and therefore, research has been noted as not

being innocent, but having greater underlying social and political agendas. Research then

has been created in a framework of the West and the rest, pinning those who are not able

to claim Western status as being lesser, more primitive than the "superior" species. Smith

claims that a shift needs to be made regarding research with such populations, as there is

a need to look at such groups as humans, not as specimens.

Research has further been posited as something pristine and necessary within

greater political structures. Many organizations including the government provide grants

for research, and even poor nations spend millions of dollars on research in order to

assess trends, services and greater issues having an effect on financial outcomes. Those

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[6] Again, notions of needing help are only contingent on the greater socio-historical,
political contexts, which produces the very social divides and inequalities in which
operate to have one as an outcast in *need* of "help".

then who are seen as researchers and are often trained to conduct research are claimed to be experts within their fields, and can be said to have the right access to language, skills and education (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). This has implications not only for indigenous groups, but also for other marginal groups within society who would lack access to these services, including education and proper skills training, and are further distanced from actively engaging within mainstream society. Research then is considered a prestigious practice of the elite, a way to conduct, control, and produce further ways of knowing which work to disadvantage and marginalize certain groups of people to the benefit of those on top (e.g. the white, Westerner).

Now that we are on top, you must stay there…below us and away from us.

In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* Freire (1970/2000) states that oppression has large historical roots in which manipulation acts as a means of creating pacts between dominant and dominated classes, usually used to the advantage of the dominators to achieve what they want. Manipulation attempts to paralyze the brains of the individuals it seeks to control by limiting their ability to think. Freire (1970/2000) claims that dominators are well aware that if the individuals they wish to manipulate know the historically positioned ways in which the dominators are approaching their control, the dominators will use any means possible, including violence, to keep those they wish to control from 'becoming aware'. Freire's (1970/2000) notions on the manipulation of those individuals oppressed and the historical roots that are present are further complicated in research done with the indigenous peoples in Brazil during colonization. Post-colonially speaking, this oppression has impacted the peoples of Brazil in regards to treatment, social policies and rights. Specifically, as highlighted previously, the implications in regards to treatment, policies and work with those children growing up in

the favelas of Brazil has been contested. Often, these implications are seen

> through creating laws that confine children; through creating policies that confirm
> adults' attitudes that children need adults to make decisions for them; through
> interacting with each other, and with children, in ways that do not allow children
> to express themselves or to participate in decision making; by using adulthood as
> a measure that is set as a norm against which other states, such as childhood, are
> seen as lacking, or in terms of being a deficit; and by seeing and treating children
> as incapable and inadequate. (Jones, 2009, p. 55).

The people who are then on top will do everything in their power to control and maintain the status of those who are beneath them. This is not only seen between the power imbalances of young people and adults specifically in relation to CYC work, but it is also visible in Brazil between the extremely wealthy, and the extremely poor classes. These power imbalances often then have effects on the services and programs available to those individuals who are viewed as being "in need" of the services, yet often are denied access, or privileges within service frameworks. Often the notions of power in relation to colonization, albeit sometimes unknowingly, are reproduced within those institutions who are providing services for those marginalized groups in the first place. I argue here about the importance of being reflexive in relation to greater socio-historical and political contexts that directly and indirectly influence work in CYC contexts, or in our overall engagements with research. These ideas will be discussed further in the discussion section.

Write this and don't write that-Represent this!

Clifford and Marcus (1986) investigate the various ways in which writing is

shaped and molded by politics. Specifically looking at the writing of culture in relation to

ethnographic research, Clifford and Marcus challenge the different practices of writing in

relation to the development of culture as something that is "…continually under

construction, something made in time and space, through processes of inscription" (p.vii).

Culture then, is produced by the people who work to formulate various discourses of

culture (e.g. ethnographers), and is socially, politically and historically bounded and

limited within time and space, as well as within language. It is in the writing of culture

that individuals can choose to write about something, or, reject to communicate certain

possibilities for culture. This can (and has) had implications for those individuals living

and embodying the very culture in which is being written. If culture is something that is

mediated and constantly changing and evolving, how then can one successfully write

about culture? Are the writings that have aimed to produce a certain picture of a culture

then only mere glimpses of interactions, rather then complete understandings of cultural

entities? Clifford (as cited in Clifford & Marcus, 1986) claims that culture has been

compiled of contested codes and representations. It is not only enough for a researcher to

take thorough field notes and write the results, but ethnographers must be weary of the

language and rhetoric they use in their writing. He claims that hidden within texts aiming

to produce or reproduce culture are greater structural and power-laden relationships that

have implications in the writing, interpretation and portrayal of the culture. Clifford

claims "…all constructed truths are made possible by powerful 'lies' of exclusion and

rhetoric. Even the best ethnographic texts-serious, true fictions-are systems, or

economies, of truth. Power and history work through them, in ways their authors cannot

fully control" (p.7). It is through the politics and writing, and therefore, representation,

that Clifford claims the importance of reflexivity within ethnographic research. Similar to how Tuhiwai Smith was concerned regarding the Wests portrayal of indigenous groups, she too is concerned about the methodologies that are used to conduct research, and how researchers use reflexivity. She claims that

> For researchers the skills and reflexivities required to mediate and work with these dynamics are quite sophisticated. Indigenous researchers have to be clear about their intentions. They need to have thought about the larger picture of research and have a critical analysis of their own processes. (p.137)

In other words, individuals need to be able to think critically about themselves and about the situations in which they are engaged in. They need to be aware of the greater historical, social, political structures that have been in place and that are currently in place and how they work to control. They need to be respectful and humble in their encounters with the individuals whom they engage. They must understand the social and cultural realms in which they do research, and be able and willing to at times contest, confront, and challenge their own beliefs, customs, values and knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; de Finney, Dean, Loiselle and Saraceno, 2011; Loiselle, de Finney, Khanna & Corcoran, 2012). As Foley claimed, "…the self is a multiple, constructed self that is always becoming and never quite fixed, and the ethnographic productions of such a self and the 'cultural other' are always historically and culturally contingent" (Foley, 2002, p. 473).

 As a white, middle class female, from Canada, the question of representation of my work becomes contested and entangled within colonial power relations that work to separate and distance myself from the young individuals with whom I worked. Even

ideas around giving a voice to those individuals who have been marginalized have certain political and social repercussions. The very notion of giving one a voice in research can be linked back to the power of the elite in colonial relations. Who is to say that these individuals need to be given a voice? And who am I to give it to them? The notion around giving a voice to those who have been marginalized or silenced, although it may seem like a grand gesture, really just reinforces the fact that there are people in power who can grant permission and space for those who are not in power to have an opportunity to give an opinion or say how they feel regarding a certain matter.

So how does one go about discussing what they saw while conducting "research" in a community in which they are so noticeably different? Bourdieu posits that in order to be truly reflexive, ethnographers must be transparent in the ways in which they attempt to produce "truths", paying attention to cognitive processes around the practices and rhetoric of their own research and disciplinary backgrounds, and how this influences the final project they present. I hope to follow in the footsteps of Nancy Scheper-Hughes as she struggles-much like I did- in the complexities of her research in a favela in the Northeast of Brazil in her book *Death without Weeping.* I hope to position myself within the complexities that arose from the issues of power, privilege, race and class that had created intersectionality between me and the young people I encountered. I attempt to pay specific attention to the methodology which I have used (ethnography) and the ways in which I write and talk about my work within CYC settings in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This is extremely important, as it is the methodology that informs the questions, which I will address and that also influences the methods I employ in attempting to understand and make sense of my encounters (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). In the end, "No matter how

epistemologically reflexive and systematic our fieldwork is, we must still speak as mere mortals from various historical, culture-bound standpoints; we must still make limited, historically situated knowledge claims" (Foley, 2002, p. 487).

Data collection and Data analysis (A brief Intro)

My main methods of data collection were participant observation and informal conversation. As the nature of my research is ethnography, it is important to note that the research design itself evolved as the process unfolded (Creswell, 2013). The main objective of my research was to work directly with young people within the favela to better understand the ways in which they made sense of, interacted with, and creatively contested some of their life situations. Additionally, I am hoping to illuminate a more sophisticated, absolute, confident personhood within the favelas, as generally, research paints a more pessimistic view of the Brazilian favelas often associated with an oppression-based standpoint (Alvez & Evanson, 2011; Azevedo, 2007; Perlman, 2010).

In regards to data collection, I would usually go out for the day and bring a notepad and a few pens so that I could jot down notes as the day unfolded. When I returned home in the evening, I would transform my notes into more thorough notes in my fieldwork notebook. I eventually started typing my field notes, not realizing how tedious and tiring it was to write them at the end of each day. My written field notes were stored on a USB and locked away in a drawer in my bedroom.

After the data was collected through the use of field notes during both visits to the site, I analyzed my notes and coded them for emergent themes. These themes were then developed in the context of my work and further applied in relation to colonization (see analysis and discussion).

CHAPTER TWO
Experiences in the Favela

The stories within my Research

Since July, 2011, I visited Rio de Janeiro, Brazil many times, although my first field visit was not until May, 2013. I did field research from May 5, 2013 until September 5, 2013, and returned again to Rio from December 10, 2013, until January 10, 2014. To protect the identities of those I worked with, names in here have been changed, as have the names of the favela in which I conducted my research. For these purposes, the favela is indeed located in the Lins Complex and the pseudonym of the favela itself will be Morro do Sol (Sunny hill). Little did I know that my time actually doing research in Morro do Sol was limited due to a variety of factors, including illness, police raids and shoot outs between the drug dealers, as well as my personal difficulties in doing Child and Youth Care work with a group of young people I found challenging. Here are some of my stories.

Intro to the Favela

Having already volunteered with Visão, the organization that functioned and provided services out of the Community Center located in the favela, many of the children already knew me, including some of the other *moradores* (residents of the favela), which allowed my work in the favela to be a bit easier in regards to access. The one constant aspect of my research, and in a way the main gatekeepers behind my access into the community were the drug dealers. The drug dealers occupied the corner at the main entrance that divided the two main roads leading up into the favelas. On the corner (one of their main hubs for dealing and managing drugs) they also acted as the policemen, controlling and noting the constant flow of people in and out of the favela. For my first couple of trips up into the favela, I always went up with other members who

were already well established for their work in the community, or who lived there. Normally, this meant going in with my husband (fiancé at the time), Alexandre, or my adoptive Brazilian family, to wait until the drug dealers became more and more familiar with who I was.

My adoptive Brazilian family was my one main informant family that I worked with closely during my visits to the field. They were a medium size family from the church consisting of a mother (Andreia) and father (Pedro) and three daughters, respectively ages 9 (Natalia), 16 (Izi) and 21 (Julia). They lived in Morro do Sol, although the mother and father had originally hailed from the Northeast of Brazil. I became very close with this family during my past visits to the favela and had shared with them my interests in doing research around the lives of young individuals living amongst the favelas. At times, I went to church with them, celebrated birthdays and other holidays with them, slept over and also participated in various other leisurely activities with the daughters. Eventually, they began to speak of their Canadian *filha* or *irmã de coração* (daughter or sister of the heart) to the point that other children would come up to me asking me if I was really related to them. I was able to ask them everything, and at times, they even offered more to me than I asked for.

During one conversation with Andreia and Julia, they were telling me about how the favela currently is the most unstable that it has ever been in regards to robberies, drugs, and more generally, disrespect. As the police had been pacifying more and more favelas, this had forced the drug dealers out of their respective locations and into other non-pacified favelas. The constant influx of new drug dealers into Morro do Sol and the surrounding favelas meant that the favela was left unstable, and often this resulted in lack

of respect among favela dwellers in relation to assault and robbery. The favela started to become more and more unstable for its residents, often resulting in the *moradores* having to call up to family or friends before returning home at the end of the day to ensure their own safety. For these reasons, among others, Andreia had told me that she and her husband were trying to find an apartment located outside of the favela for her and her family.

Drugs and Police in the Favela

"Here in the favela Tia, killing doesn't have to have a motive"

For some, the drug dealers produced a sense of security and freedom as they looked over and controlled access into the favela, but for others, drug dealers produced a sense of fear and uncertainty.

In one of my first days in the field, I had decided that I wanted to leave the favela earlier than my husband to head home. For my security, my husband asked one of the older youth at the community center to walk me down to the main road and past the drug dealers. As the one individual agreed, a few of the other children wanted to join as well, and so the group of us began making our way down the favela. On our way, one of the mothers of a 9-year-old girl called out to us asking where we were going. She was concerned about her daughter walking by the drug dealers if I was not going to be returning to the favela with her. Her mother did not allow her to continue walking with us. As I continued to walk down with the group, we noticed an area on the sidewalk that was covered in blood from two days before. I had been told that on the Friday night, there

was a couple going to a *baile funk*[7] in the favela. So the story goes, the couple (including a pregnant teen) had been making their way to the *baile funk* when the police came up the favela chasing after a thief who had just stolen a motorcycle. The couple had gotten mixed up in the crossfire between the thief and the police and were shot and killed on the spot. The only thing left now of their presence in the community was the rusty-like bloodstain on the sidewalk and a feeling of grief among the *moradores*.

A few days later, the children and I were doing work at the community center when all of a sudden, they started getting excited and pointing to the front of the building. The children continued to tell me that the man at the front was one of the big drug dealers and the bike he was on was the one that had just been stolen the other day. The children continued to talk and tell tales of the drug dealers and thieves in the favela, when one boy who was 9-years-old piped up and said, "Here in the favela *Tia* (aunt), killing doesn't have to have a motive". The other children agreed and another continued to add that you can get a shot in the hand if you invented *fofoca* (gossip).

It was interesting to see how relaxed the children were when discussing the drug dealers and the police and how often people were killed, including people they know and their own family members. One young boy, 10 years of age, was describing the death of his father when he was young and how the police shot him while he was right in front of

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[7] *Baile funk* is a type of sexual dance party that is usually run and controlled by the drug dealers. You can find drug dealers grinding with females holding a beer in one hand, and their machine gun in the other, dancing provocatively. Having experienced a *baile funk* party from a distance while sleeping over night in the favela, it consisted of a wall of speakers containing more than 50 speakers, which shook the windows of the cement house, making sleeping nearly impossible until it ended anytime between 6am and 1pm the following day.

him. The way he described it seemed as if this was a common occurrence, and something that did not elicit any type of emotional response.

Keeping track.

The funny thing about the drug dealers is that even though they attempt to remain distanced from people except those who rely on them for their services, they are not so distanced as some people may think. Shortly after my arrival in May, they quickly began to know who I was.

There was one incidence where a lady had been injured and was taken to the medical post that was located close to where the drug dealers' hungout. Another volunteer had brought the lady there (who herself later told me this story), and one of the children asked her if she was the volunteer from Canada (referring to me). As she started to explain that no, that she is not me, one of the drug dealers interrupted her and claimed that Ashley from Canada is a bit taller, with dark brown, almost black straight hair, and dark features. With never having engaged with the drug dealers (besides offering a smile or saying hello) previously, the drug dealers knew about me- they knew who I was and where I was from. So even though I attempted to remain as anonymous as possible, the drug dealers still knew more about me than I would have liked.

It was not until a month later that I walked by myself for the first time (since the previous year) to go and visit my adoptive Brazilian family and spend the night in the favela. I will have to admit that I was nervous; the feeling in the favela was different from the past times that I had walked alone. The streets seemed a bit empty and too quiet. I was tempted to turn around and walk back home asking for a ride but then realized it was too late. With only one entrance, it would have seemed odd to the drug dealers that I

would enter and then turn around, and so I kept walking. I remember having fears that something would happen where I would not be able to completely understand. Portuguese is not my first language and although I can speak and understand Portuguese well, I am not fluent. In the event that I was spoken to or questioned, I feared that I would freeze and not be able to talk or communicate. I also began to panic, thinking about how heavily equipped with rifles, machine guns and handguns the drug dealers were, and how I would be completely at their mercy. Without looking back, I kept walking past the few children playing, past the drug addicts sniffing crack at the side of the road, and past the drug dealers all of whom I made minimal eye contact with.

I remember feeling a sense of comfort after realizing that I had purposefully worn my shirt signifying that I was a volunteer from the church. There was an unwritten rule to respect individuals from the church unless they crossed their boundaries. I will admit that this was one of the very few times I attempted to use the church to my advantage, as the t-shirt provided a sense of safety and security as I walked up the street.

I should have been more sensitive to the way I was feeling walking into the favela that day with the vibe feeling off and the street being too quiet as the next morning I was awoken by various gunshots. By this time, I was alone in the house, as everyone had left for work or school. I quickly made myself breakfast and started to make my way out of the favela. As I arrived at the corner, the drug dealers were not there. No one was there. The street was completely deserted and even the moto-taxis were not in sight. I knew something was wrong, but I did not know what to do. Should I have turned around and walked back? I kept walking and eventually got to the bottom of the favela where I was greeted by the *policía militar* (military police). As I kept walking, about 10 minutes later

I could hear an exchange of bullets behind me. I remember at this point reflecting on how lucky I was that I did not leave the house ten minutes later, or I too could have been one of the hopeless victims in the middle of the police and drug dealers exchange. In relation to the media, the news often had stories showing that the police were looking for wanted drug dealers from the various favelas. In June 2013 the one big drug dealer from our area had been in the news and people had been asked to come forward if they had any information regarding his whereabouts. When I returned to the field in December 2013, a few months after the favela I was working in had been pacified, I was told that the media had depicted images that the police had captured the drug dealer. Apparently, it was a media attempt to take the heat off of the new police officers involved in the occupation of the favelas in the Lins Complex to demonstrate their commitment to the safety of all of the *moradores* in the area. The truth behind this was indeed that he had not yet been captured and had fled to a new favela.

The police in Brazil have continually been accused of being corrupt and although I cannot say this for all police officers in Rio de Janeiro, I can admit that I have seen some corrupt activity going on. A few times, I have witnessed the police at the bottom of the favela with their guns waiting for the *vapors* (workers of the drug dealers) to arrive via motorcycle to make an exchange of money. I have been told that this money is a way for the drug dealers to keep the police out of their favelas and, therefore, to avoid getting arrested or even killed by the police. In the media as well, you can even see exchanges between drug dealers and corrupt cops who exchange money for goods, including machinery and bulletproof vests. To the extent that this happens I cannot say, as I had only witnessed a few encounters myself as I went about my own business.

Instability.

Before the UPP (*Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*, Pacifying Police Unit) had

actually taken over control in October 2013, there were many staged appearances of the

UPP to let the community know they were coming. In early August, I remember being

awoken by helicopters from the Civil Police flying over the favelas. Later that afternoon,

I began making my way up into the favela that was full with men from *BOPE* (*Batalhão*

de Operações Policiais Especiais- Special Police Operations Battalion) who were a part

of the Military Police in Brazil that were specifically trained in dealing with favelas and

the unique geographical space they occupied. My adoptive Brazilian family told me that

there had been a bunch of gunshots in the area and *BOPE* had finally entered. Besides the

fact that the favela seemed tense and was unsafe, the general consensus from the residents

was that they were happy and relieved with the presence of *BOPE* in their community. I

think the individuals in the community knew that something bigger was going on in the

favela, but no one knew if it was exactly related to the pacification, or if the police were

just under a high chase in which they were looking for specific individuals.

That same day, my parents had come to visit Rio de Janeiro from Canada and I

was planning a BBQ for them in the community center. As a result of all of the police

raids, the BBQ was cancelled and so, instead, my parents came to my husband's house

for dinner. In the early evening as my husband and I made our way back from the South

Zone with my parents, the street in front of where my husband lives and the only street

that leads to the opening of the favela was blocked by a truck from *BOPE* with 6 men

with machine guns. Clearly the activities from earlier in the day were larger and more

severe than I thought they were, so I decided to take a further look on facebook to see

what the individuals who lived within the community were saying. I was shocked to see the large amounts of posts regarding the police and the gunshots and what had been going on. Some of what was posted was as follows:

"Deus proteja nossa comunidade"
"God protect our community"

"Muito tiro- se sentindo nervosa"
"Lots of [gun]shots- I'm feeling nervous"

"Mais uma vez no meio da Guerra! De um lado o BOPE e do outro of traficantes, minha casa no meio disso! Dá para ouvir o som das balas passando por cima do meu telhado!"
"Again in the middle of the war! One side BOPE, the other side the drug dealers, my house in the middle of this! You can hear the sound of bullets passing over my roof!"

"Gostava muito do Lins, mas não tô querendo mais morar aqui não!"
"I like living in Lins, but I don't want to live here no more!"

"Será que o Lins não fica mais um dia em paz?"
"Is it really that Lins can't have one more day of peace?"

It seemed that even the *moradores,* although on one side feeling comforted by the idea of the police occupying their community, were also feeling unsafe on the other side, as their neighbourhood had then become a war zone between the police and the drug dealers. It seemed that the residents realized that although a war would happen first, they knew that after the war and once the police gained control, the presence of heavy machinery and weapons would be limited to the police. How the police decided to use their machinery was completely in their hands.

Even having spoken with some of the children who live in the favela, the main concern for them seemed to be around the gunshots. They believed that although the drug dealers and current state of the favela provided them with *liberdade* (freedom) and safety, they thought that through having the police pacify the favela, the gunshots will subside and their safety would be increased.

When watching the news one afternoon, it seemed as if the *povo* (the people) of

Rio de Janeiro were fed up with the police and the unnecessary tactics they used to

control, capture, and protect, whether that be on behalf of the state or on behalf of the

people. The news had been reporting a story of a high-speed chase by the police in a

helicopter who were trying to capture the people who had robbed a car. Large amounts of

bullets were fired by the police at the car and robbers while other people were going

about their own business in the streets. Citizens seemed outraged at the careless behavior

of the police and their overuse of bullets causing potential harm and/or death to

potentially innocent victims and there was a public outcry for the police to start re-

thinking their tactics.

Police and protests.

This was not the only time when residents of Rio de Janeiro, or even Brazil had

been fed up with the actions of the police. In June 2013, a series of protests (some to have

been the largest protests in the World) took place all over Brazil as a response to various

concerns regarding the cost of living, education and health care in Brazil. After a R$.20

(nearly 10 cents Canadian) increase in bus fares, residents of Brazil became fed up with

being taken advantage of by the Government of Brazil and began organized and

unorganized protests to fight for better and more affordable living conditions and access

to health care and education. During the protests, police (including various departments

from the military police, civil police and army) were ordered to maintain control of the

large masses of individuals. In response, many rubber bullets and tear-gas bombs were

launched by the police, injuring and even killing residents throughout Brazil. The media

depicted frustrated residents who believed that the response by the police was completely

unnecessary and at times, disgraceful. Videos in the media surfaced showing peace protests that were non-violent that were abruptly brought to an end when police began firing rubber bullets and tear-gas bombs into the crowds. After speaking with a few residents regarding the police's behavior, a few people responded claiming that in Brazil, the police are only trained for combat and to deal with some individuals (the drug dealers) who at times are better equipped with armory then they were. So in essence, the formal training and education that the police had received as part of their job justified their actions. But what did all of this training mean for the residents, some whose lives were taken unnecessarily? And what did this mean for the children?

Police pacification of the favelas- a shift from the drug dealers to the police.

The presence of the police in the favelas that were not pacified posed a limitation on education for the children. Due to the unsafe conditions in the street for residents, when possible the schools were notified ahead of time so that they could inform the students of the coming police raid and warn them to stay home. Often, the days missed were not rescheduled and this time would be lost. The presence of the police also affected my work and research in the favela as was noted various times in my field notes that I was not able to go into the favela on certain days because of the presence of the police. This not only affected the safety and security of the residents within the favela, but also affected the safely of the workers and visitors to the favela as well.

Towards the end of my first visit to the field in August 2013, residents of the Lins Complex knew that there had been talks about their communities being pacified by the police. One day, I was speaking to the children regarding the pacification and how they thought it was going to be when the police were in their communities permanently. Some

of their thoughts seemed a bit mixed. Some said they thought it would be a good thing because there will be less shootings, even though at the same time they were aware of how the police abused their power and control. One of the boys (10 years-old) told me about how the police could enter into your house at any time and mess it all up and then leave. He also continued to tell me that with women, the police intimidate them and flirt with them.

A few other children had told me that they thought that the police pacifying the favela was not a good thing because while they are taking control of the favela, there would be a lot of gunshots. They told me they feared that while the police would come up into the favela, there would be a lot shooting going on and the favela would be dangerous. I found this to be interesting, as they did not seem to note the long-term consequences of the police entirely. They just knew that it would be 'war-like'.

As previously stated, the Lins Complex where Morro do Sol was located was eventually pacified in October 2013. Upon returning to the field in December 2013/January 2014, I was able to chat with some of the children and other residents of the favela and ask them their opinions about the favela now and the potential changes within it.

My adoptive Brazilian family had moved out of the favela 3 days prior to the police pacification and was currently living in an apartment a mere one block from the favela. They had explained to me that the favela seemed calmer and that there were fewer

gunshots. They told me that when gunshots were fired, the sound was often masked by the use of fireworks[8]. This then did not send off any large warnings to the residents.

Izi informed me that of the times when she was in the favela (which was often as she was a volunteer and had many friends whom lived in the community) the police were not always there. I also began to notice this for myself. Some days, the police were hard to miss. They could be seen lining the streets and the corners and entranceways of the favela, all the way up to the top of the highest house. Other days, the police were nowhere to be found.

Taking advantage of the residents.

In the media, news reports exposed the police showing videos of them robbing and threatening residents. One news report showed a police officer robbing a resident of nearly R$500 (roughly $240 Canadian). In the newspaper, an interview with a resident from another favela that had been pacified commented that although the situations are getting better, there is still a lot more work to be done. The resident was cited as saying, *"Tem um pouco mais de respeito, mas ainda é assim: eles lá, nós aqui."* ("There is a little more respect, but it is still this way: them [over] there, us [over] here"). This attitude seemed to be consistent with the young individuals within the community.

One afternoon while hanging out in the streets before a meeting with the other volunteers, I had asked the children about how the favela was now, after being pacified. They explained to me that they thought it was better because there are now fewer gunshots. I continued to ask them if they ever talked or interacted with the police,

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[8] Fireworks were used very commonly within the favelas to designate anything from birthdays, to soccer matches to holidays, and in the old days, used as warnings to warn drug dealers when other unwanted members were coming into their communities.

wanting to know more about how the police treat and connect to the residents. The children, with a hint of disgust quickly shook their heads and said no, maybe only a "hello" when they pass. I asked them why this was and they proceeded to tell me that some of the police are not *educado* (educated but in the sense of having manners; being rude or ill-mannered) and that they are rude.

My husband is part of the *Associação de Moradores* (the neighbours association), a group of local residents who meet to discuss various initiatives or problems within their community. They recently had been discussing the UPP Socíal, a group of police officers who work to provide more social services within the pacified communities and how the UPP Socíal had wanted to implement various programs, including homework tutoring to the local school kids. The issues with this was twofold; first, the presence of the UPP Socíal is predominantly political and aimed to provide a certain image of the police in the favelas; and second, the prospective homework tutoring classes were already successfully being implemented by another non-profit organization within the community, meaning that if the UPP Socíal implemented their program, individuals within the other non-profit organization who are direct members of the community themselves would potentially lose their jobs. This was concerning to my husband, not only as a worker for the organization, but also as someone who had strong emotional ties to the well-being of the community and its residents. It seemed that the presence of the police in the favelas was not completely understood or realized, as there were mixed emotions regarding what their objectives were. Are the police really there to protect the people? Are the favelas really that much more safe with the police, or have the police wrongfully imposed control and management of these communities on behalf of the state?

Race and Class (and it's intersections with health and education)

"Hey! Look at that monkey coming up in the street!"

Another theme of particular importance to my work within the field was race and its intersections with education and health care. Although not one of my main focuses of research, I found that race was something that could easily be noticed and its implications felt among favela dwellers. From my personal experiences, it seems that the majority of individuals living within the favelas are individuals of color. In the South Zone, the more prestigious area in Rio de Janeiro the city, you can find a mix of residents occupying the streets but you also notice that most of the workers in places like McDonalds or grocery stores are people of color. You can also notice that the majority of the maids and caregivers are people of color. I began to wonder why this was.

Suspicion.

Before I came back to Brazil to do research in the field, I had lived with my aunt and uncle for a year in Leblon, the wealthiest area in the South Zone of Rio. During this time, I gave English classes to some of the wealthier families in the area. Each house I gave classes in had at least one maid or a caregiver, including the house of my aunt. I could not help notice that many, if not a huge percentage of the maids and caregivers were Black. When I had the opportunity, I would ask individuals if they were *Carioca* (meaning that they were born and raised in Rio de Janeiro). When individuals told me no, many of them seemed to have roots from the Northeast Brazil which made me further interested in understanding the significance of the Northeast relation to Rio de Janeiro, and therefore, also the relationship to colonization of Brazil.

A note on skin colour.

Already having noted the influence of colonization and the relationship between Brazil and Africa, and between the Northeast Brazil and Rio de Janeiro, the various colors of skin within Brazil have their own connotations and consequences in the daily lives of the *moradores*.

On one of my first days at the site, I was trying to come up with pseudonyms for the young people. As other children referred so often to others by their skin color, I asked the children what it meant to be *negra* (negro, black but not African black), thinking that it meant someone who was of darker skin. To my surprise, the children told me that the one girl who I had asked if she was *negra* was indeed not *negra* and she was *morena* (brown, of darker skin but not black). They then began to teach me about the various skin colors and what constituted each; *Branca/o* meant white, *negra/o* meant black but not of African decent black, *Preta/o* meant black of African decent, and *morena/o* meant brown, dark skin but not black. Not even mentioning all shades and colors that exist within Brazil, the children told me that these are some of the main skin color shades that existed in their worlds.

Interested and wanting to know more about race in Brazil, I frequently asked other people about it. One afternoon, I had a conversation with another one of the volunteers regarding skin color (she was also white Caucasian). She was telling me that the best skin color (in terms of advantages and access to services,) was white and that those individuals who have the darkest skin are the worst off. She explained to me with an example using one of our children who had white skin saying that if he was walking down one of the main streets downtown it would not be a problem but if one of the other

children we work with who had very dark skin was walking down the same street, people would be cautious when around him thinking that he may rob them or assault them. I continued to ask her if she thought that he was aware of this and she told me probably not now, that something like this would not be noticed until he got a bit older and was perhaps trying to get a job or go to school.

I became interested to know the children's thoughts regarding skin color and if they were able to feel this sense of stigmatization. It seemed as though skin color and location interacted to create stigmatizations, for example, around those individuals who come from the Northeast of Brazil, or who lived within the favelas.

One conversation with a 14-year-old boy demonstrated his awareness and frustration with the stigmatizations around his race and the fact that he was from a favela. I was having a conversation with the young boy who was telling me about when he was 12 and how he had attempted to get a job from a local service that provided help to youth ages 10-14 who were looking for employment. Upon arriving, a lady approached him and asked him a few questions. He told me that when he had answered them, the lady admitted that she was shocked at his answers because he was from the favela (and also black). The young boy told me that after his happened he left in anger and never returned there for help.

Another child offered that he sometimes could see people using race in conversation, but he did not necessarily think it was a bad thing. He told me that "Sometimes people might say things like, 'Hey! Look at that monkey coming up in the street!', but he explained that it was more of a joke among the residents of the favelas themselves, many of whom were people of color.

In other conversations with my husband's father, we discussed political and social issues within Brazilian and often focused on race. On May 17, 2013 Alexandre's father and I went for a walk in the South Zone. He began to tell me of his struggles with being a man of color (he is what is considered to be mulatto- a mix of Black and White) and how in the past he felt that he was stigmatized because of being a man of color. He spoke of times when he would go shopping in the mall and would become infuriated by the hovering shop attendants, or by the other on looking residents. He recognizes that now he lives in a different time and things have changed for him as he is now in his early 60's, but even to this day, he feels at times the differences that his race has brought him. He told me that with race come limited opportunities for those individuals of color. He said that before, black men would date white women as a thing of status to demonstrate to others that they too can be prestigious and demonstrate privilege.

As race, and prospectively, racism, became something that I started to notice and take note of, I could not help to notice the large representation of Black children in some of the poorest and worst-off city public schools. The school directly located in the favela I did work in had been noted as the 3rd worst public school in the areas of Math and Portuguese. The majority, if not all of its attendants were people of color, many coming from the favelas themselves.

I remember one time going to a Christmas presentation in December 2013. I couldn't help realize the overwhelming number of Black students and their representation in the schools. I remember thinking to myself, how can it be that some of the worst off schools in regards to grades and some of the poorest schools have the highest rates of people of color? Is this a coincidence? Were these individuals systematically placed to

fail? I needed to look at race further, and so I started to look at education and how and where race fit in.

Education through race and class

"The people of Brazil have woken up!"

When children in Brazil are born, they have two main choices for education. Currently, mandatory education only starts at age 6, although a law had just recently been passed that will require all children to start school at the age of 4 by the year 2016. Those children whose parents can afford for them to go to a Private Daycare or school can do so at the cost ranging anywhere from the equivalent of a hundred dollars a month up towards $2,000 a month. Those whose parents can not afford alternative private schooling (and many of those families coming from the favelas) can attend a publically funded daycare or school, although often these daycares and schools lack resources or are understaffed by underpaid workers. The better the school, the more expensive it is, which places Brazil's publically funded schools at the bottom. Currently, the government does not even have enough publically funded early year schools for young children to attend, which places the burden on the parents shoulders to find alternatives, although by 2016 this is supposed to change.

How school works.

School hours run for half of the day, meaning that children either go to school from 8am-noon, noon until 4, or may potentially have evening classes from 4-8pm. This leaves a lot of children from the favelas (and elsewhere) with a lot of spare time on their hands, and therefore in the streets as their parents are off working multiple jobs to try and make ends meet at home.

I remember one evening going to the house of a family friend. They have a young boy who is 5 years old. For the past couple of years, they have been in and out of work, mainly doing contract work here and there. The mother had been studying at the Federal University of Rio, while the father had just finished taking some courses. They were talking about how money for them lately had been tight and that they were concerned about money in relation to paying for their son's school. They were worried that they would not have the funds to pay for his schooling, and their son would have to attend a public school. It was a common concern from many families, even some families in the favela, for their children to not have to attend the public schools. The concern lies in the family's ability to be able to afford private schooling and the associated costs of uniforms, books and everything else.

Abusing the system.

Towards the end of May, 2013, I was having a conversation with Andreia who happened to work as a janitor at a public school. She was telling me that the school that she worked at had not had water for 4 days and therefore, the students did not have school. She told me that the mothers were complaining and asking why their children were not able to have class and wondering when they would have classes again. She told me, however, that it was not because the parents were genuinely invested in their children's education, but they were hoping that the children would soon return to school as the children would be provided with meals. She proceeded to tell me that parents were also pushing their children to attend school or return to school because some families are provided with financial assistance depending on the attendance records of their children.

Therefore, in order for them to receive this money, their children needed to be in school for a certain amount of time within each term.

Stepping it up- improving the schooling community.

One of the new initiatives that was being offered through Visão was Visão Reforço, which was an after school program for children to go and get help with homework. If children showed up without homework, they were given work to do either in the area of math or Portuguese. Almost all of the children who came to the center were from the Public school that was located within the favela (the school that I had previously noted as having the 3rd lowest Math and Portuguese grades in all of the Public schools in Rio de Janeiro). Therefore, Visão had developed a relationship with the school in realizing their low grades and developed this after school service. The children could come to the community center after their morning classes from 3-5pm to get some extra help. The school would meet monthly with the Visão workers and release the students' grades to them so that they knew where to focus their after school classes.

On May 23, 2013, I went to the community center to assist Visão with the Reforço after school classes. The children had all returned their permission slips from their parents that gave them permission to be part of our services, to have their photos taken, and to have their grades from the school released to the workers of Visão. I chose to sit with a 10-year-old girl, Carolina, to help her do her homework in Math and Portuguese. I was quite shocked when I attempted to do some math homework with her and realized that she was not able to count to 40; she was not even able to recognize the number and name it after I had written it. After having moved on to Portuguese, we began working on an activity where she had to look at a picture and figure out how many

letters were in its spelling (for example, rice has 4 letters). Carolina was unable to do this activity and often became frustrated, throwing tantrums, and resorted to sucking her thumb. After later discussing this incident with my husband, he informed me that he was aware that Carolina had some sort of learning disability but he was unsure exactly what and was hoping to try and talk with her mother regarding her behaviors and struggles.

At another point in time, I was working with a little boy who was six years old. We had been working together for a few weeks and I began to notice that on the days that he did not come to the Community Center for extra help, he did not do his homework and received a zero. I found this to be interesting and also potentially problematic. Did he not have anyone at home to help him? Was he lazy? Was it that he enjoyed coming to the community center and spending time with the workers or other children, and therefore only did his homework because he knew that it was the only way the he could stay there? Sadly, he was not the only child who only did his homework when he was with us.

Unforeseen circumstances.

But what happens when children cannot or do not attend school due to unforeseen circumstances? The specific public school where many of the children I worked with attended, along with other public schools in various other locations, at times were compromised due to safety concerns, illness and weather. The police and their presence in the favelas often kept the children from Morro do Sol away from school. As the police planned their raids on the favela, children would be informed ahead of time that their school would be closed for the children's safety. At other times, teacher illness or bad weather (mainly rain) also kept children away from school as teachers did not have substitutes. The rain at times was so powerful it flooded the streets and posed a risk to

those individuals and the school whose location on the hill put them at risk for landslides caused by the heavy rainfalls. Whether due to the police presence, the weather or teachers' illness, the children missing school was a common occurrence, having been noted within my field notes more then 5 times during the 4 month period from my first visit to the field. This time was never made up.

The protests- fighting for change.

Another aspect of education that had been getting a lot of media coverage in Brazil news related to the protests. Protesters were campaigning for better education and also, for better teacher salaries and working conditions. They were fed up with how the government was spending taxpayers' money, including the millions of dollars that were being put into the infrastructure for the FIFA World Cup. They argued how this money could be better used if put towards improving education and health care for Brazilian citizens. At the protests people were chanting "The people of Brazil have woken up!", claiming that they were aware of what was going on and that they knew that they were being taken advantage of.

In August, 2013, many school teachers went on strike and took to the streets demanding better salaries and working conditions. While teachers were on strike, many children, especially the children who attended the public school in Morro do Sol missed even more school, on top of the days already missed due to police raids, bad weather, or teachers' illnesses. This caused a lot of stress and strain on the families because children at home meant less money from the government, more food consumption from the home, and also less supervision as the parents had to continue working and had no choice but to leave the children at home unattended.

Rio public schools- a long way to go.

In discussing the standards of the public schools in Rio de Janeiro, Alexandre was hired on to do some temporary work for the government administering tests to some of the children in the public schools. The initiative was called *Alfabetizar Rio* (Alphabetize Rio) and was to assess children ages 6-8 in the areas of Portuguese reading and writing, and math. Alexandre told me that he was concerned for the children because a majority of the students were unable to complete the tests, as they were unable to read. The students were able to do most of the math work (whether the calculations were correct or not is another thing), but when it came to assessing their reading and writing skills, many children could not even complete the tests because they were not able to read. He said that many of the children were even crying in frustration knowing that they were being tested, yet did not have the capacity to even attempt the material on which they were being tested.

He later noted that a teacher had mentioned to him that he was unable to fail students, so that those students, who were not able to read or write in the first place, were continuing on to upper years and falling even further behind. For Alexandre and I, this raised some concerns regarding the education system and the chances of success for many of the children that we work with, being from the favelas and attending these schools. How can it be that an institution, whose main goal is to teach the basics in regards to reading and writing, the foundational blocks of learning, can have such large numbers of students who are unable to fulfill these requirements? Was this an issue with the children themselves? Or did this have something to do with the greater public

schooling institutions, linking back to the inequalities in Brazil in relation to race and class?

Health and Health Care through race and class

"I'm not poor because I'm rich of health"

Race also intersected with health and healthcare to produce more inequalities for those living in poverty, or those people in the favelas.

Being ill in Brazil.

The favelas were notorious breeding grounds for some insects that carried deadly illness with them, including mosquitos, and the deadly virus *dengue*. Speaking first and foremost to my health related struggles while in the field, I had noted various instances within my field notes when I had been sick, or feeling under the weather. On May 10, 2013, just a few days after my arrival, I noted that I stayed home in bed all day sick with my legs having been swelled up with huge bug bites to which I clearly had a reaction. This was certainly not the first time in Brazil that I had been bitten by some sort of insect, or mosquito, and certainly was not my last. I had noted more than 5 times in my first 4 month visit that I had been sick and missed days of going into the community center. In my notes I pointed out that it seemed that whenever I was sick with a type of cold or flu, it took me at least a week to start shaking it off, more than the 2 or 3 days needed while living at home in Canada. I began to wonder if it was just me or had the regular cold and flu that I was used to now shifted into something much more powerful here in Brazil? Needless to say, I was not the only one who spent days at home sick in bed recovering from illness or bug bites. The location of the favela being on a hillside and so close to surrounding forests, was home to many insects that lived within the trees. The

community center, having been mid-way to the top of the favela and close to a very dirty waterfall and bush area seemed to attract copious amounts of mosquitos and other bugs. They were so prominent that it became almost mandatory as a first step procedure to shower ourselves in bug repellant when we first arrived to the community center.

The bugs became so much of an issue that children were even banned from going to the community center in fears of them returning home covered in bites. Natalia, my little Brazilian sister, and I had returned to her house after one afternoon being in the community center. Without even noticing myself, her mother started scolding her telling her that she could no longer return to the community center. Her legs were covered in bug bites- it almost looked like she had had some sort of skin disease her legs were so bad. The mother was not only concerned that her daughter would scratch the bites and that they would scar, but also was concerned for her daughter's health. Clearly, something was biting Natalia that she was allergic to which is why her legs were so swollen. In order to stop the swelling, the mother had to take her to the doctors and get a prescription anti-biotic ointment to put on the bites. The problem was that the mother didn't have time to take Natalia to the doctors to get the medication and also did not have enough money to keep buying the ointment, and so the easiest solution was to try and keep Natalia away from the source of where most of her bites were coming from. Natalia was therefore banned from returning to the community center.

The children within the favelas always seemed to be sick whether it was bug bites, coughing profusely or having running noses. I am sure that sharing almost everything, including drinking cups, lipsticks and food did not help the spread of the illnesses, as well as having limited access to healthcare and also limited access to money, greatly

restricting the access to over the counter medications. Needless to say, the presence of illnesses among the young that I worked with were endless.

Public health care- The protests.

In Brazil, healthcare functioned similar to education. The government provides publically funded health care services that are often understaffed, lacking resources, and have minimal wait times of 3-5 hours. Those who can afford it pay for better health care services through private companies and even those at best do not have the greatest wait times. So, for those individuals living within the favelas whose families already have to work 2, 3 or 4 jobs to have money to pay for school, have to work even harder if they want to have better access to *better*[9] healthcare services.

The protests were another way for the citizens of Brazil to fight for better health care systems. Dilma, the president of Brazil, responded to the claims about the need for better health by opening up a program in which over 4,000 doctors from Cuba were hired to work in Brazil in some of the cities where their was a lack of health care services. After the Cuban doctors began arriving, a public outcry surfaced in the media regarding the placement of the Cuban doctors. The doctors were placed mainly in the North, Northeastern states of Brazil in areas where the population was sparse, and where the conditions were difficult for the new doctors to adjust to. Some people of Brazil were upset with this, claiming that the doctors were needed in some of the largest cities of Brazil, including São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, as the populations were dense, often meaning that access to and availability of health care services were limited due to overly populated waiting rooms. A lot of the Cuban doctors had been reported to even leave

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[9] The emphasis here is mine, as what it means to have *better* services is debatable.

their practices in Brazil and return back to Cuba after not adapting well to some of the living conditions in the north, and also after showing up to work in remote areas but having little to no access to medical supplies. But why were Doctors brought over from Cuba? Did it not mean anything that the Brazilian Doctors themselves were not willing to do the work in these remote communities? Clearly, a few things were overlooked and swept under the carpet in an attempt to make things better for Brazilian citizens.

Being 'rich in health'.

Even aside from all of the sickness and bug bites and colds and flus that the children experienced, the one thing the young people prided themselves and their families on was that they were "rich in health". During a conversation with the children in August, 2013, we were talking about their views of what it meant to be rich or poor. In discussing how they viewed themselves, one of the girls said that she was not poor because she was "rich in health". I found this to be very interesting and brought me back to perspective taking and what it actually meant to be poor. Was being rich in health enough? What would it mean then to have a lot of money, but have bad health? Was being rich in health a protective factor for the young people to not feel outcasted by society when so many other odds were stacked against them? Either way, the young people's abilities to conceptualize health care in a framework for not being poor has potential to creatively demonstrate their knowledge, and resistance, even if it was a sentiment that they had appropriated from adults. In either case, health care for them acted as a protective factor in relation to all other ills that society had in place for them.

It was in that moment that I learned something new regarding the young peoples capacities for critical thinking and resistance, and made me further wonder about their engagement and understanding of the social world in which they lived.

Day to Day living in Brazil

"I want to be proud to be Brazilian"

Another important aspect to my research in Rio de Janeiro Brazil was the day-to-day living of those residents of the favelas, and to some degree, all Brazilians. I will be honest here and note that some of the daily struggles that I mention are not necessarily a direct reflection from the Brazilian peoples themselves, but are a reflection of my personal struggles in adjusting to life in Brazil. I discuss them as day-to-day struggles as I note the extra amount of work, or time needed in accomplishing certain daily tasks. I am not whatsoever trying to imply a sort of cultural relativism here but am simply stating the extra care and attention needed in some aspects of life I noted that makes Brazilians, in my eyes, extremely hard workers.

The church- Go with God.

Religion, especially Christianity and Catholicism, was a very important aspect for many families in their daily lives. Whether it meant praying in the morning or before bed, going to church on Sundays, or making notions about God in daily conversations, God had a place in a majority of the families' lives that I worked with. The influence of the church had certain limitations and challenges, as well as benefits, for young people in the favela. One of those challenges related to sex and the use of birth control. There were many times that the children would engage me in discussions regarding relationships, and sexuality, and teen pregnancy in the favela.

On May 16, 2013, the girls at the community center and I had a small girls club. Basically, I wanted an opportunity to talk to the girls alone without the boys to see if they would try and open themselves up to talk about various topics with me. We began talking about relationships and kissing when the girls told me that you had to be 12 years of age or older to date or kiss a boy. They told me it was like an unwritten rule. I started to ask them that if this was true, then why is it that some girls who are 10 and 11 are pregnant? The girls informed me that it is because those girls do not know what they are doing. Without pushing the limits (as I was representing a Catholic organization) I was asking them when it was ok to have a baby. While most of them responded saying that 20 years of age is old enough, one of the girls responded saying that 15 is old enough, even though they do not know what they are doing. It is conversations like these that I wish I could carry further or have the girls talk about this with me more, but because of my duo-roles as researcher and volunteer, I did not want to push my boundaries.

I later discussed with another volunteer the difficulty in representing a Catholic organization. It was difficult because when we saw an area that we wanted to discuss more openly with the girls, and saw a potential need to help girls get birth control, we had no real avenue of getting this for them. We had discussed how we wished that we could talk with the girls more and ask them about their experiences with sex, and realized that by wanting to do this, we would have to follow the Catholic way which was to talk about abstinence and waiting until marriage (which was clearly the farthest thing from the reality that our girls and boys were living with). Either way, conversations about relationships and dating and sex were limited to whenever the young people brought it up themselves, and even at that, my probing for answers became limited as well.

Having a baby? The little nuisances.

One evening in May, Alexandre and I went to visit family friends who had just had their first baby. When it was time to give her a bath, I volunteered to help, not realizing the little nuisances that were involved. As Rio de Janeiro has such a hot climate, many houses do not come equipped with baths, meaning that when you have a baby, a separate plastic bath must be purchased. The bath must then be filled with water from the shower. In some areas, hot water must be turned on through the use of a gas heater. After the hot water was turned on, you could then start filling the tub. After bathing the baby, the tub must then be carefully drained. Depending on the amount of water in the tub and its location (as many bathrooms are very small), the tub must then somehow be carried outside, or into the shower to have its contents dumped out. After, the tub must be rinsed off and dried, as mosquitoes enjoy fresh water areas and will fly in through the windows that do not have screens or protective nets. Of course many Brazilians are used to such a procedure but I was astonished at how much work was involved, just to wash a baby. Something that needed to be done almost every night easily added on one hour of time.

Celebrations- money ain't a thang!

Celebrations in Brazil were something sacred, including birthdays. Birthday parties were not only a thing for young individuals, but were important for adults as well. On a child's first birthday in Brazil, parents could spend upwards of thousands of dollars on the party.

I remember one afternoon, it was Izi's birthday and her mother had planned to use the community center to host the event (Andreia had run Catechesis classes in the community center and therefore, had access to its use). I remember being completely

overwhelmed by all of the food- turkey, chicken, salad, *farrofa*, potatoes, candies, chocolates- and on top of all that, she had a R$160 cake (around $75 Canadian dollars). I could not believe that for a family where the mother worked around the clock making minimum wage and the father worked 2 or 3 jobs to make ends meet, would spend all that money on a birthday party. Alexandre told me that for some families, a birthday is a perfect excuse for them to go crazy and spoil their children; however, they could because for the whole year, that may be all the child would get. He also continued to tell me that festivals and parties were celebrations where family and friends could come together and have fun. This reminded me of Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) when she was talking about the importance of carnival for Brazilians and discussed it as a time when Brazilians, no matter what their status could be found together, celebrating the joys of life and being Brazilian, and to forget about their daily struggles. It seemed that Brazilians really took advantage of these moments, making celebrations like mother's day, father's day, children's day, birthdays, Easter and Christmas, as times to be celebrated among families and friends.

Getting around- from buses to trains, walking and weather.

In the day-to-day executive functions of daily living, Brazilians needed to make sure they planned out their days accordingly to make sure that every minute counted. Within Rio de Janeiro, a majority of the residents relied on public transportation to get around the city including to work, school, the mall, downtown, the grocery store and to various other events. In any given day, a regular trip from the North to the South zone by car with no traffic could take 25 minutes, but during rush hour could take anywhere from 2-3 hours. Add 40 degrees in the weather and a bus with no air-conditioning and this

made for a long, exhausting trip. Buses in Rio functioned at a leisurely pace and because of the high volumes of cars, buses are not pre-calculated to arrive at various locations at specific times. This meant that when you needed a bus to go somewhere you could be waiting anywhere from 1 minute to 2 hours for your bus to come. This made straightforward tasks like paying bills a big nuisance. Because of the insecurity involved when doing anything on-line, a majority of residents travelled to the bank to pay their bills. This meant taking a bus or walking, and then usually waiting in a huge line to use a bank machine.

Previously I had mentioned the weather as being a limiting factor in schooling for children. Another aspect of the weather that I saw that affected the daily lives of Brazilians was the heat. At times, the weather could feel close to 60 degrees Celsius and although some people would claim that they were accustomed to it, I still believe that sitting in a non air-conditioned bus, a non-air-conditioned house or having to walk for potentially 30 minutes up hill after a long day of work in the overbearing heat could sometimes have a huge impact on favela residents. Heat stroke, asthma and sometimes-even death awaited those individuals who bodies could not take the heat any longer, and in the summertime it was worse. Houses in the favela and in some neighborhoods shared a common tank of water that was attached to each house. When the weather was extremely hot, more residents attempted to cool off by taking cold showers. This meant that when more people were taking showers, the chances of the water tank running out increased, leaving residents in some locations without water for days, potentially weeks. Residents were unable to bathe, clean their clothes, wash food to eat, or do dishes, until the water bins had been filled up again. Throughout my research, this not only happened

with me a few times, but also happened to some other residents of the favelas where I did my work.

On the other hand, at times Rio got chilly and during the winter of 2013, temperatures dropped to 16 degrees, which felt closer to 10. Not only did this affect individuals in relation to colds and flus, but many children could be found in the streets without the proper attire. I remember one time being in the favela when it was cold and a young boy was dressed in a t-shirt shivering. I asked him why he did not wear a sweater and he told me that he did not have one. I then told Alexandre that he did not have a sweater and he took one from the donations the community center gets and gave it to him. This is not the first time that something like this had happened. When money was tight and clothes among other items were taxed at nearly 40 percent, it made it difficult for families to provide what was needed for their children, or even provide the necessities for themselves. For those individuals who lived in the streets, having warmer clothing was something of a luxury for when the few colder winter days came. This was often when you would see various organizations going around providing blankets for homeless individuals or individuals in the streets, much like Alexandre and I did one winter in 2012.

Responsibility-who gets what?

When money was tight, which in the favelas could be pretty usual, families had to prioritize what to buy. Andreia was explaining to me that she had just bought her eldest daughter a tablet as she was returning to school. She explained that it was a decision that she had to sit down with her family and talk about as everyone had different needs and wants. She told me that each of her children had to say the things they needed and those

items were prioritized in order of what was needed the most urgently, and what other things could wait. She told me at times, not all children were happy with the end decision as that meant that sometimes their wants were taken over by others needs, but all in all they understood the reasons behind the decisions made.

So who helps?

How is one supposed to act when they see a homeless person in the street begging, or a child without proper clothing shivering, or children in the streets working? Is it up to the general residents living within the area to help assist them? Is it the jobs of the various organizations to make sure they have food, water, clothing and a place to stay?

In July 2013, my sister in law and her husband had gone shopping to get some groceries for a family lunch we were going to prepare. A lady approached them asking if they could help her to buy a few items she needed. My sister in law and her husband agreed and the lady went to get her groceries. When the lady returned and met them at the register, my sister in law was overwhelmed at all of the materials that the lady had put in her cart and told the lady that she was very sorry but she was unable to buy all of the groceries for her. The lady had went out and picked up the most expensive brands she could find. Instead of choosing a regular bag of beans that would cost R$3, the lady took the most expensive bag of beans that cost R$15. The lady then began to get mad at my sister in law and started cursing her off, yelling loudly in the store claiming that she had just committed a sin for denying the lady food.

I found this situation to be rather interesting. How does one who wanted to help offer help within a limited framework without offending the other and without being

taken advantage of? Or, had my sister in law really been taken advantage of, even though she was able to buy the foods she needed? Was it not okay for the lady to want to buy the best items? This made me reflect on the system in general and how this situation was possible in the first place.

Job security-or lack of?

Many people in Rio de Janeiro had expressed concerns regarding their jobs and their jobs security. Besides the fact that individuals from the favela had a hard time finding work, jobs could be lost even quicker then they were gained. On July 6, 2013, I had gone with a friend to a festival where I had met a girl who was talking about her dream of going to Canada or the United States. She was an architect and was working for a private company, but because many companies had no formal regulations around work stability, she was worried that one day she would wake up and her job would be gone. A lot of people I talked to felt this same way regarding their jobs. Even people I know who had worked in high up positions within companies for over 10 years had fears of losing their jobs. With such instability, how is one able to afford a place to live, knowing that at any moment they could lose their job? How can one buy into health care services, or educational services when funds have potential to fluctuate at any point in time?

Child and Youth Care Work and Research- What is my role?

The dual roles of researcher/ethnographer and child and youth care worker/volunteer made for some very interesting situations. At times, these roles intersected with the previous themes mentioned including race and class, education and health to create various outcomes.

Since I started doing my formal fieldwork in May, 2013, the young people at various points in time demonstrated middle class values and docility. There would be times when I would be at the community center while the children were doing their homework, or were playing amongst themselves and I could hear them telling each other to keep it down because I was reading, or writing in my journal. At other times, the children actively engaged themselves with their curiosity about what I was writing or what I was reading. This then opened up a larger dialogue around my research and what they could each offer for me. Some of the children even became so excited once they knew about my research, that they were eagerly waiting for any questions to answer while in my presence.

Attitudes, behavior and frustration, oh my!

I guess I should take a moment here to be honest and reflect on the fact that I am a middle class, white female from Canada and therefore, much of my frustrations around behavior stem from my own assumptions around socially acceptable behavior. So without putting the blame on the children themselves, my frustrations stem from the fact that I come from a privileged background and therefore, the socially acceptable behavior that I reflect is due in a large part to the dominant Western discourses of self governance that I am used to.

Along with the many times that the young people played nicely, reflecting middle class values and docility, there were other moments when their behaviors did not line up well with my middle class expectations. In some instances when the community center had planned a variety of activities and games for the young people in the area, the children would do an activity for ten minutes, and then be bored and move on to

something else, and then they would move on to another activity for ten minutes, and then get bored again.

One time, on May 10th, 2013, the other volunteers and I planned an activity day for the young people in the community. I had brought with me some skipping ropes, sidewalk chalk, Frisbees and bubbles for everyone to use. When I gave them the skipping ropes, they loved them. A few moments later, one of the plastic handles broke, and the children did not want to play with it any longer. I was so confused. Neglecting to first look at myself and where these thoughts came from, I began to wonder how can these individuals who come from families that do not have a lot of money and may not be able to have their own skipping ropes be so picky that they refuse to play with a skipping rope because the handle broke? Are these poor individuals able to be picky about which toys they prefer to play with? I instantly felt guilty for having these thoughts, but they made me become more critical about how I thought about equality and rights in relation to child and youth services. This way of thinking was problematic as it did not serve well for me working with the children and created an intersectionality between us that related to race and class, and expectations of behavior.

On May 14, 2013, the other volunteers and I hosted a last minute talent show in which the children performed a dance, song or other talent. Three other volunteers and I acted as judges for the event, and not even thinking anything of it, in the end we voted on the various acts. Little to my knowledge, although I had been doing child and youth care work in the favela before, some of the children acted outraged at our decisions for voting. One child specifically even threatened me and told me he would not talk to me again because I had not voted for him.

The child's and my disjunction on what constituted appropriate behaviors and attitudes led to some interesting moments and interactions with the children. One afternoon while I was giving an English class, the other volunteers and I decided to do a review of what they had learned in English. They were required to listen to questions and they had to raise their hand to answer. This game was nearly impossible! After repeatedly interrupting them to inform them that they had to raise their hand and that they could not say the answer until one of the teachers asked them, none of the children could do it.

In another incident, I was giving an English class and had told the students after only 15 minutes of attempted work (as they were not paying attention) that I was going to give them a verbal quiz. One of the children, a young boy, said *"Graças a deus isso aula tá acabando!"* (Thank god this class is finishing!). As my patience was wearing thin, I swiftly responded to him showing him where the door was and that I did not like his attitude. I knew instantly that I should not have said that. This was one situation where my role as a volunteer and a researcher collided. Perhaps if I was only in the researcher role, I would have been able to sit back in a situation like that to see how it unfolded. As the children were not interested in anything we were doing that day, the other volunteers and I decided to send them home and we had a meeting.

We began to discuss how we were going to go about running the English classes specifically, and how we were going to set up some formal rules for the community center and its programs to run more efficiently. Some of the children, including the young boy, were still hanging around the community center and he began trying to cuddle up and hug the other volunteers (something that he did often) and he eventually made his way over to me. Usually, I was always welcome for a warm embrace, but in this instance,

I did not embrace his hug and instead, shrugged him off. He was clearly upset with me, and quickly turned to ask the other children if they had seen the way I had reacted. Looking at the reactions of the other workers, they too seemed to notice my behavior and shared their discouragement towards the situation. When the volunteers and I were packing up to go home around lunchtime, the boy was outside playing on the street. He came up to us, gave us hugs and said *"Tchau, eu não vou voltar aqui"* (Bye. I'm not going to return here). The volunteers and I knew that he was upset and so we told him good-bye and did not even make any comment at his remark. The irony of this situation was that the next day, he had sent a message to one of the teachers apologizing for his behavior, either admitting he was wrong, or surrendering to the power.

This situation made me as a CYC worker reflect on the ways in which we expect those who we work with to act. Was it appropriate to try to have these young individuals who grow up in different contexts and situations act in ways that reflect more middle class values? And by claiming that certain behaviors are middle class values, does that mean that any expectation of behavior is a reflection of middle class backgrounds and that therefore, when expectations cease to exist, this is reflective of non middle class backgrounds?

The difficulties in the complexities and intersections of my work with these young individuals at times became too overbearing for me that I started to avoid going to the community center altogether. I slowly began to distance myself for various periods of time from the community center to try and reconfigure my thoughts. I had many chats with my husband and my advisor Hans regarding my struggles to try and justify the way I was feeling regarding my roles. I often had difficulties in defining each role that I was

fulfilling (researcher, volunteer, and even fiancé) and often found myself seeking advice

regarding these sometimes-competing positions. Although always fighting my middle

class values and need to control, in the end, I always returned to the community center to

be with the children and continue my work.

One evening in June 2013 when I was over at my adoptive Brazilian family's

house to sleep over, Andreia started asking me about my research and how it was going. I

opened up to her, sharing my reflections regarding the children. I told her that it was

difficult working with the children who at times, did not want to leave the community

center at the end of the day, making it difficult for my husband and I to lock up and go

home. Some evenings, we would not make it home until 8pm, completely exhausted from

working with the children. I explained to her that I noticed that some of the children

wanted so much attention from the staff that this also had implications on our work. She

continued to explain to me that from her experiences of living in the favela and in

offering services to the children, a lot of the children do not get enough attention at home

and they were in need of *carinho* (care). Although my automatic response to this was to

think that this was a very Catholic view of poor children, I also recognized that care is

also an important aspect for all living organisms. I then reflected on my experiences with

this one particular young boy, who was constantly attaching himself to the various

volunteers and would drop a volunteer who neglected to show him affection as fast as he

could leech on to another. This then made me re-think the relationship of care in relation

to CYC practices. How does care look in CYC relationships? If we look cross-culturally,

can care be defined in various ways? How can care be implicated when taking into

consideration various laws and policies around professional relationships in different

contexts?

Child and youth care worker or ethnographer? Who am I?

On May 18, 2013, another organization that was funded by World Vision called

Projecto de desenvolvimento de areia (Project development of the Area) was using the

community center to run a program for parents of children in the favela regarding the

importance of showing love to your child and not physically abusing them. The

community center was packed as many parents had come and brought their families

(some of which had 4 or more children). The group of volunteers from Visão were asked

to assist and run games and activities to occupy all the children while the parents were

watching a lecture on the treatment of children. There were probably over 20 children at

the community center and probably about 8 volunteers. I decided not to take on a

dominant role as I usually did, but instead decided to float around from group to group,

and eventually made my way upstairs to listen to some of the discussion. Some of the

younger children of the families were hanging around upstairs in the room where the talk

was being given, but I noticed something that would not necessarily be characteristic of

mothers back home in Burlington, Ontario. The children, even though only 1 or 2 years

old in age, were playing completely alone in the corner, independent of their parents and

the watchful gaze of other volunteers. It made me reflect on the dependent nature that so

many families seem to foster in Burlington, Ontario, and this complete dependency where

our children cannot be out of sight for longer than 5 seconds. Although class also

mediates this notion of protection, or over protection, it made me question notions of

dependency for children. How was it that these young children, some of whom were still

infants, could be left alone to play without parents or other caregivers hovering over them? Are young children perhaps not so dependent as we think they are?

The frameworks that relationships were created in and carried out in in relation to Child and Youth Care services functioned more intimately than they do in North America. Workers within CYC frameworks were able to develop more intimate ties to their clients, helping them to better understand their daily lives and struggles. Workers were able to kiss, cuddle, and hug their clients, including children. They were able to exchange personal information and offer rides. They were even able to develop personal relationships outside of work.

On May 22, 2013, my husband had invited two young boys over for lunch who had been involved with some of the services and activities offered at the community center. I remember asking my husband about the boundaries involved in social work settings in Brazil and he assured me that he was not pushing any limits. This made me critically reflect about the work that I had been involved with in the past and the limitations and constraints put on my relationships with the people I worked with. These questions align nicely with Gharabaghi's (2008) arguments regarding CYC worker and client relations and the authenticity of the relationships we make. How can one truly argue that the work they do with their clients is of genuine caliber when there are so many other contextual limitations involved? I remember once being given a gift from a child in the favela and I remember automatically thinking that I could not accept it. The traditional social work positions that I was used to had created barriers in how I contextualized social service relationships and interacted with the young people where I did my research.

In all CYC work, there are some workers that children and young people hate to work with who are mean and cold and not fun, and then there are other workers that children and young people adore, acting as their shadows, and wanting to always be by their side. One of those workers was my husband. Alexandre had a special way with the children of the favela. He understood them, acted as their friend, and at times acted like their family, all while fulfilling his role as a CYC worker and running services. When children became frustrated with their homework, they ran to Alexandre. When children got hurt, they ran to Alexandre. When children were angry or upset with other children or other volunteers, they ran to Alexandre. Whether they were happy, sad, angry, confused, excited or disappointed, the young people always seemed to run to Alexandre. I will admit that at times, I was kind of envious of his disposition. Even when the children annoyed him to no end, or made him mad, he could still keep his calm disposition and always treated the children with the utmost respect. And maybe it was because of this respect that he gave the children, this is what they gave him in return. Either way, Alexandre had it all, but even Alexandre could be pushed, and often was challenged to his limits and capacities in his work with the young people.

On June 4, 2013, one of worst confrontations I had seen between volunteer and a young individual at the community center broke out. What had happened was a new female volunteer had decided to come and help out with the homework classes at the community center as more and more children were coming for help and we did not have enough volunteers. As the children did not know her, a young, 9 year old girl made a comment to the other children that she did not like her. The one young boy then went up into the female volunteers faced and yelled "She doesn't like you!!!!". The one male

volunteer who was 19 years of age did not approve of his behavior and started raising his voice towards the 14-year-old boy. The young boy then got into the volunteer's face and started yelling back at him. As I was not there and did not see exactly what had happened, I was told that the volunteer then grabbed the boy who then turned around and punched the volunteer. The young boy stormed out of the community center and went to grab his older brother who was a thief and was associated with the drug dealers. When he returned back at the community center with his older brother, his older brother only wanted to talk to my husband (as he was in charge at the community center) and wanted to know exactly what happened.

I was told that the young boy's brother was really upset at the situation, which I understand. He was saying that he was really upset that a 19-year-old male who is representing an organization that offers services for people would physically assault a younger, 14-year-old boy. My husband said he was very respectful and just wanted to discuss what had happened with him. The young man told him that he did not approve of what happened and if that volunteer returned again to the favela, his face was going to be smashed in.

My husband was upset as well that this had happened as it puts us all in awkward positions in relation to carrying out our work. Especially when we do work in an unstable community where the drug dealers have a lot of power, we need to be extra cautious about every move, every comment and every action we do, in order to ensure that we are not crossing any boundaries, or stepping on any toes. My husband continued to say how his actions impact us in the sense that the drug dealers have different attitudes and react

differently to situations than we would and instead of reacting with words, there is potential for them to react with actions and perhaps violence.

After this incidence between the volunteer and the young boy, it was interesting how the rest of the children reacted. The children took charge and could sense that all of the volunteers were on edge and feeling uneasy about the situation and so the rest of the young individuals at the community center started doing work by themselves. It was interesting to see them actually doing work initiated by themselves and without complaining. It was a very interesting dynamic.

Being pushed to the limits.

A few days later on June 11, 2013, over 20 children came to the community center for help with their homework. I had 3 different tables set up for the various children to work at in accordance to their year in school. I sat down at the table with the younger children and began to help the little boy that I usually helped. During this time, Alexandre had brought over two girls (Pippi and Tasnia) and asked if I could give them some simple math equations. After only a few questions, the girls started whining and complaining because they did not want to do work anymore. The one girl was complaining that she did not want to do multiplication while the other one was complaining that she could not do multiplication with double digits. I decided to take a moment and teach them how to do multiplication with double digits and teach them some of the tricks that I knew. After learning this new skill, the girls went off and ended up doing the math equations that I had given them, but little did I know that they needed so much attention that it made it nearly impossible for me to help anyone else. After each equation they completed, they came over to me and had me check it to make sure it was

correct. As I was the only worker who had showed up that day, I did not have the time to check over every single math equation that they did, as well as help all of the other children who were there as well. So eventually, Tasnia started acting out and began giving me a lot of attitude.

First, Pippi had started complaining that she was not going to do her work because she did not want to do multiplication and she only wanted to do subtraction, so I decided to leave her alone. At this time, the 5-year-old boy was off playing and not doing his homework (he was the boy I had mentioned previously who receives zero's when he does not come to the community center to do his work because he does not do it at home). So I called him over to go back and complete the work that he had received zero's on, and then asked him to complete his homework that he had been assigned for the day. Pippi eventually started to try to do the equations that I had given her, but she was reading the multiplication signs wrong and was doing everything using subtraction. She became really frustrated with it and was complaining that she could not do it, so I sat her down and walked her through it. Eventually, she started to understand and was even smiling when I told her she was doing it right.

Tasnia on the other hand was getting really annoyed and frustrated that I could not always attend to her when she wanted me too. When I would be talking with another child she would be yelling and whining at me to get my attention so that I could check her work. I politely asked her for another minute and she sighed loudly. There was one moment when I was helping the 5-year-old and she became so frustrated with me that I overheard her saying *"Ahhhhh viu! Tia Ashley esta sempre defendendo ele!!!!"*(Ahhhhh did you see? Aunt Ashley is always defending him!). She was frustrated that I had given

so much attention to the young boy that eventually, she started yelling in my face. With a million emotions running through me and my blood nearly boiling, I turned to her and said *"Calm down. Do I yell at you like this?"*. She was so frustrated that she eventually stormed off and sought out my husband to see if he would give her the attention she needed. He calmly told her to relax and that we were only able to do so much between the two of us, helping her and the other 19 children.

After assisting the young boy, I wanted to approach Tasnia and talk with her. I asked her to come over and talk with me when she was done speaking with my husband. I stood off to the side waiting for her to come over and chat with me, but when she was finished with my husband, she walked away. I tried calling to her to get her to come back and talk to me, but she kept on walking. I was infuriated! I did not know what to do. I asked my husband how I should proceed and he cautioned me to not yell at her but to either let it go or approach her calmly. So I decided to approach her calmly and asked her if she wanted my help. She still ignored me and so I continued to help the little boy again with his work.

Tasnia at this point attempted to ask for help from Pippi, who was engaged in her work and so then Pippi yelled at me, *"TIA! Ajuda ela!!!"* (Aunt, help her!). In a stern voice, I looked at the two girls and said *"Olha. Eu perguntei ela se ela precisa de meu ajuda. Ela não respondeu, então, eu não vou ajudar ela. E quando você grita comigo, eu não quero ajudar vocês. Ponto."* (Look. I asked her if she needed my help. She didn't answer, so I am not going to help her. And when you yell at me, I do not want to help you. Period). I was so frustrated. This probably ranked as one of my top 5 most difficult moments in the field, trying to deal with all of the children.

Eventually, Tasnia came back and asked me for some help. I sat with her and explained to her that I did not like her attitude and although I wanted to help her, there were also other people there that needed my help too. Everything ended up fine and we hugged it out in the end, and she even finished all of the questions I had given to her. So all in all it was a stressful afternoon, but it made me reflect about the expectations that child and youth care workers put on the people we work with. Is it fair to expect a certain behavior from the children (e.g., docility), especially if the behavior we are expecting is one that perhaps is not a valued behavior in their lives but may instead reflect middle class values?

Dealing with child aggression.

Often at the community center, we have siblings who come together to take part in the various services. There is one particular family that comes (an older sister, and two brothers) who have an interesting family dynamic. On June 18, 2013, the one brother came to the community center by himself. After attempting to do some group work with the young people, I noticed that there was some tension building between the 7-year-old boy and Tasnia. All of a sudden, the boy started kicking and punching everyone. Tasnia confronted him and started yelling at him. Every time she yelled at him, he would take a step closer and closer and eventually when he was close enough, he looked at her and yelled back. Not even backing down an inch while looking up at Tasnia who stood at least a foot taller than him, he said "You're not my Mum! My Dad! My godfather! My grandpa! And so I'm not going to listen to you!". He then turned away and continued to kick and punch the other children (even though some of them had been provoking him) until finally Alexandre broke them up.

On another day in June, 2013, the same boy returned to the community center but this time with his older sister, his little sister and their younger brother. All of a sudden, the little boy again started beating up his brother and sister and making them cry. The older sister (who was only 11 herself) got 3 chairs and put them right beside where she was sitting doing work. She then went over to her brothers and started hitting them, then grabbed her younger brothers by the back of their necks steering them towards the chairs she had set out and threw them into the chairs. She then removed her sandal and started beating her one younger brother with it who at that point started crying. She then took his hands and put them behind his back and shoved him into the wall. At this point, the young boy was screaming so Alexandre finally stepped in.

Alexandre later explained to me that the young girl was in charge whenever the mother was not present. He was saying that the girl had probably learned this behavior from her mother who could have been very abusive to the children and for her, the only way to deal with her brothers was to physically punish them as this is what she had learned. It was interesting to see the reaction of the girl when Alexandre had told her to stop hitting and being rough with her brothers. She almost seemed sad and disappointed that he had intervened and it seemed as if she was enjoying it. This really made me reflect about our role as child and youth care workers who work with populations of people who may be raised differently than we were. As child and youth care workers, what is our role in regards to conflict management? In dealing with the populations that we were dealing with where violence is a daily occurrence, are we supposed to just let it happen? Are we supposed to expect anything different from the young individuals when they are using our services? Is it fair to expect them to behave differently?

Those great days- the joys of CYC work.

In all of the frustrating moments of my work in the field, there were always those days that made up for the frustrations and annoyances of the days before. June 22, 2013, was one of those days. Some community members were setting up for a *Festa Junina* or June Festival, and the children were excited! Instead of having a traditional English class, I decided that it would be fun to have the young people engaged in the decorations for their festival through coloring and making signs. Eventually, one of the ladies had brought out a huge trampoline that needed to be assembled. I started to imagine the chaos that was about to happen with children fighting and arguing to push their way onto it, but I was pleasantly surprised (and proud!) of how they all contributed.

All the children helped by holding different posts and parts of the trampoline to assist in putting it together. When it was finally assembled, two children acted as the managers of the trampoline and decided to time groups of 3 children on the trampoline for 3 minutes at a time. I was so shocked to see all children waiting in line, not arguing or pushing and actually getting off the trampoline when their 3 minutes was up. The bigger children in line even let the little ones pass them so that they could go on before them. The most shocking of all of this was that the children themselves organized all this! No adults had intervened or even suggested that they do this- the children initiated this all by themselves. Even one of the boys who was handicapped helped out by holding banners in position while volunteers taped up signs. It was such an awarding experience. After organizing all of the events, Alexandre and I went home to prepare for the event that was going to take place later in the evening.

When we returned, it was so nice to see how the children treated us outside of our roles as Child and youth Care workers. We returned in the evening just to celebrate and spend time with some of the children and their families. When we arrived, we danced in traditional clothing (the theme is like a Western, cowboy/cowgirl country theme) and the children bombarded us with hugs. They were grabbing our hands and pushing us to go and play and eat with them, and introducing us to their friends and family. As it was a Saturday night and I was outside in the streets of the favela, which is usually somewhere very dangerous to be at that particular time, I was trying to take in as much as I could about the atmosphere. I noticed that the streets in the favela had a different feeling in the night, when they were dark and filled with music from the various bars lining the street. You could see some children as young as 4 years old running in the streets alone as their parents were off drinking at one of the local bars. There was also a lot more movement of the drug dealers at night.

When Alexandre and I left the party around 8:15pm (nightfall was around 5pm) you could feel that there was some tension in the air. When we walked passed the drug dealers, I did not seem to recognize them. One drug dealer was standing closer to the middle of the road and had a handgun that he was spinning on his fingers. Without starring, I noticed that he was sizing up my husband and I and it seemed that he would periodically stop spinning the gun to point it in our direction. Needless to say, the vibe was off in the favela that night and my husband and I could both feel the tension. After arriving safely home, later that evening we were awoken by gunshots- clearly something had been going on.

It was always nice to see some of the children we worked with when we were out in the streets. One day, I had been walking back from the gym by myself when I saw one of the 11-year-old boys walking with a friend. I was not quite sure how he was going to react to me as we were out in public, so I smiled and waved at him. To my surprise, he actually smiled back and came over to me to give me a kiss. He was asking me if I was going to go up into the community that day (as it was holidays, we had not been going to the community center and some of the children had been messaging and calling my husband asking when we were going to come back). I told him that we would not be back in the community for a few weeks until after the holidays and World Youth Day were over. He seemed kind of off put by my comment- not exactly disappointed, but more like "Oh, you are not going back anymore". I assured him that we would return shortly after holidays and to look out for Alexandre's car in front of the community center. It was always nice to know that the children were excited and missed us when we were gone.

Finally, in August, 2013 after holidays and after World Youth Day, Alexandre and I went back to our work at the community center. The children were so excited to see him! They were telling him how much they missed him, and that he could not leave again for that long of a period.

Caution about crossing the line.

As I knew I would be leaving Brazil shortly, I began to push the limits of my work. I attempted to take a more active role in conversing with the young people at the community center. I decided that I really needed to make the most of my time in the community center, especially with the children and talk to them and get their opinions about life in the favelas. After one conversation with one of the 14-year-old boys, he had

told me about his challenges with other individuals who had stereotyped him because he was Black and lived in a favela. Because of this, I wanted to talk to some of the other children and ask them if they too had had any of these experiences. Not really realizing that I was talking to a couple of children who were a bit younger and perhaps a bit more naïve, they defended themselves saying that they are able to do whatever they pleased, regardless of circumstance. They also proceeded to tell me that today they could be poor but tomorrow they could be rich. I was quite shocked and also pleased with their responses and their perspectives, but little did I know that by asking this question, I could have gotten myself into a lot of trouble. A few moments after this discussion, one of the children ran off to my husband saying *"Uncle, Uncle! Aunt Ashley told us that there are some people out there who don't think that we (people from the favela) can do anything (in regards to work or school). Can you believe that!?"*. He then after approached me and told me that I needed to be careful about what I am talking about with the children. He explained to me that although this one girl may have just seemed shocked that there are actually people out there who think this, other children like to gossip and if they had later decided to tell this to their parents, or to someone else, this could leave a bad taste on the people of the community in regards to the workers who are supposed to be there for them, and also for me as a researcher. Also, this could have huge consequences for me as a white, middle class girl from Canada, discussing how some people would say that because of being from where they are that they are limited to what they can do and who they came become.

This was a very interesting moment for me. I did not realize the impact that one question or thought could have and I did not think about the children's naivete. Although

I would like to say that I agree with them, and indeed would support their ideas around becoming who they want to be, I also realize the reality of the greater social inequalities that exist. It almost seems as though this one situation greatly sums up the meaning and purpose behind my research and work in the field. This one situation is the reason that I am so invested and concerned about the work that I do and what it means for those individuals having to grow up in the favelas.

CHAPTER THREE
Discussion

Discussion

So what does all of this mean in terms of Child and Youth Care? How does colonization really fit and work into the current lives of children growing up in the favelas, and how does it fit in CYC services that work with these children? How do I, as an ethnographer, volunteer, CYC worker, white, middle class female from Canada move forward in my work, and make sense of the intersectionalities that were created in my various experiences? More importantly, how do all my experiences influence my work as I move forward in Child and Youth Care both from within and outside the favela?

The stories in my research all work to tell a different tale that links to the greater historical, social or political ways of being that work to produce various CYC services. Their implications have significant consequences in relation to practices, relationships, roles and care provided within various CYC frameworks.

The discussion here will focus on the experiences and situations that were talked about in the previous section. It will discuss their implications in relation to theories and ideas around race and racism and greater postcolonial/colonial frameworks. I will also attempt to better understand my position with the young people and the intersections that I experienced with them in relation to the six mechanisms associated in the reproduction of oppression proposed by Windsor (2007) as she introspectively looked at her positionality and privilege of being a white female of upper class status in Brazil. The six mechanisms where oppression is "…justified, promoted and reinforced…" (Windsor, 2007, p. 509) are 1) through the use of jokes, 2) indirect comments and behaviours, 3) guilt, fear, personal responsibility, and avoidance, 4) invisibility, 5) social norm reinforcers and 6) through silence. I will discuss a few of these mechanisms throughout

the analysis in relation to how they work to address my intersections with the young

people and how they functioned to justify my actions, thoughts or behaviors at the time.

Colonization and Inequality

Throughout the analysis, many instances depicted race as a central theme

throughout my work. Race functioned in relation to access, health care, education, and

CYC work to create a dissonance between myself and the young individuals whom I

worked with.

I argue that colonization in Brazil, specifically looking in Rio de Janeiro, still

functions today, but under a different guise. Racism and inequality, although never really

directly addressed, hide their roots from colonization. The inequalities that have been

created in Brazil have been hidden under the assumptions that Brazil functions through a

racial democracy, which I argue, does not exist, or at least fails miserably in its attempts

to create equality among the races. The overrepresentation of Black students in some of

the worst off public schools in Rio is not a coincidence. The overrepresentation of Black

individuals living in poverty within the favelas, who have trouble finding work, who

struggle to afford to pay for medicine when they are sick, who amidst their attempts to

study and work hard to be accepted into University do not actually make it, and who can

be watched upon with a weary eye in local shopping malls, I do not think would agree in

this 'racial democracy' that apparently exists within Brazil. Now, I have to be clear here

and say that there are some cases where some families in the favelas do well for

themselves. Where their children and young adults study hard, get accepted into the best

Universities and find good jobs. I have met successful people and young individuals

within the favelas, who do well and do succeed gaining more or less, equal status among

their white, or whiter, counterparts. These individuals, when compared to the rest of the peoples living within the favelas, are the exceptions. And to note that they are the exceptions only reinforces my point that race, and racism, play a part in the inequality within Brazil. By acknowledging that there are 'exceptions' only means that there are inequalities in place in the first place, working to keep these individuals where they are, that is, in a state of poverty and dependence on a system that does not work to help them overcoming their circumstances. I believe this greater system is on a smaller scale, the shadows of colonization. If colonization in Brazil was the mountain on which Brazil was created and came to be, then the racial inequalities, although hidden under the guise of a racial democracy, is the shadow. It is not necessarily the problem at the forefront of Brazil, but is still there, existing within the shadows of the greater social problems existing within Brazil.

Understanding history.

There are many implications that can come from not understanding the greater historical contexts of where individuals come from. On an individual level, when children or young people do not understand where their ancestry comes from, or the history of their country, a certain disconnect can be made in relation to understanding the greater social facets of their lives, having further impact on their understandings of inequalities and racism. Much like what was demonstrated previously through the work by Diversi and Moreira (2012), and Kiri Davis (2005), it is important for young individuals to understand their heritages and family roots to better understand themselves as individuals. Part of this knowing also relates to understanding the greater historical contexts of where their family comes from to better understand the ways in which,

colonization, for example, has impacted their family and influenced the ways of the social worlds in which they are located. For example, it is important for young children to understand colonization, so that they can see the implications that have come as a result of colonization, like social inequality and racism, which exist today.

It is also important for young individual's to be aware of how history classes in education narrowly define the history of childhood in using a mainly white, middle class perspective on the history of Brazil (Diversi & Moreira, 2012). These issues also relate back to Davis'(2005) arguments regarding African American females who do not know their African roots, who are then forced to assimilate into white centric ways of being, denying them their cultural traditions and languages. This is problematic because it covertly reinforces colonial projects. This does so by denying young individuals of the truth behind the history of their past where some of their ancestry comes from. This then creates a disconnect in an individuals sense of self and understanding of who they are. Some of the African American girls in Davis' (2005) film described themselves as having anger for only understanding that they were from Africa, but not knowing exactly which country in Africa their roots were from. They described their unknown heritage as if they were missing a crucial piece of themselves that had been lost when their ancestors went to America. One girl even said that by young African American females not knowing and understanding their history and where they came from meant that they were then open to having society place their own preconceived notions of them (African American females) about what society thought that they should be and how they should act (Davis, 2005). This is problematic as it reinforces colonial relationships through this idea of assimilation in relation to how those individuals with power (those wealthier, white individuals in

America) are able to dictate for African American people what it means to be African American according to their own standards. The consequences are severe for those African American females who are trying to better understand themselves as a piece of their history, and in turn, their identity, is left out of the picture, leaving them with a big question mark and a sense of incompleteness.

In some of the stories I told in the previous section, various situations represented this unawareness of the greater historical, political and social climate of Brazil and the implications it had on some of the young individuals themselves. The one discussion with the young female in the favela who seemed so shocked at my questions regarding stereotypes around living in the favelas is a great example of the unawareness that some young individuals had about the realities in which they lived. Other examples, like the one conversation I had with a young boy who had sought help to find employment and who was treated differently because of his skin color seemed to demonstrate some social awareness around the racism that existed within Brazil and that worked to distance some *moradores* from other members of society.

These examples not only demonstrate the awareness around social inequalities (or lack thereof) but also demonstrate some of the intersections that existed between me, and the young people I worked with. Having me, a white, middle class female from North America, coming and pointing out some of these inequalities and examples of institutional racism that existed within Brazil to some Black peoples themselves felt uncomfortable and inappropriate. Who was I to say anything to them about the conditions of their lives?

I often wonder if this is what Freire meant (1970/2000) when he claimed individuals who suffer need to come to terms with the conditions of their own suffering in order to come together in a general understanding and fight against the oppression. What good is it for me to point out the oppression or suffering of others who may not be able to see it themselves, or who may disagree? Is this not just another indirect form of colonial behavior that I, the individual with power, can make such a claim that I point out the struggles in the lives of those who are oppressed?

In another situation where I described a major confrontation between a young girl who made a comment to a new volunteer and then the resulting physical dispute between a volunteer and another young boy, notions around trust can be linked back to colonial relationships. Perhaps the young girl's behavior, who claimed that the only reason she did not like the volunteer was because she did not know her and that she was used to the other volunteers who were at the community center on a more consistent basis could have been a subconscious display of mistrust that was rooted in past behaviors of volunteers who would show up to *help* when they pleased. Much like Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) notions of trust and mistrust, also linking to Deluze and Guatarri's ideas around catastrophe (as cited in Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2011), the mistrust that had been created in the catastrophe of colonization between the colonized and the colonizer could be seen between the young girls' interaction with the new volunteer. How is one supposed to trust when mistrust had been the foundation on which such relationships were made historically? When trust, power, and honesty were all confused and contested, how were these young people able to make trusting relationships with those individuals

who have historically, in colonization, built relationships that thrived in power, mistrust and dishonesty?

All of these questions have also made me wonder what the results of this situation (the young people taking it upon themselves that afternoon to do work and help each other with their homework) had meant in relation to Windsor's (2007) mechanisms for justifying oppression. Was it possible that the feelings of guilt, fear and personal responsibility were not only felt by those who were subjugating others, but perhaps were also experienced by those who were oppressed themselves, as a way of making their positions and behaviors more in line with what those in power wanted? So, for instance, the young people then after feeling these emotions also reproduce oppression by giving in to what the oppressors want in relation to behavior and disposition of a docile being? Perhaps the notions that Windsor (2007) had suggested in relation to the oppressors' justification of oppressing others also worked for those who were oppressed in a way that it forced them into buying into the desired outcomes, in this situation with the young people, their docility in relation to behavior at the community center. Therefore, certain situations also have the power to influence the emotions of those who are oppressed in a way that reinforces the oppressive behaviors in the first place.

Drugs, Drug Lords, Police and Power.

The drug dealers and the police had an interesting position in my research having an influence not only on my physical presence within the community, but also affecting the daily lives of the residents of the favela. I have to admit that the drug lords were creative in the ways in which they operated their business and demonstrated large intellectual capacities in their abilities to maneuver themselves and their products through

the favelas and the streets, while at the same time surveilling and protecting themselves and other *moradores* of the communities from the police. Their presence created mixed emotions among the residents of the favelas. Having continual knowledge around the flux of people coming in and out of the favela, the drug dealers acted like the police through the ways in which they conducted themselves, arming themselves with machinery and keeping control. The one main way that the drug dealers differed from the police, which was demonstrated through my examples, was that they actually worked to serve and protect the people of their communities in a different way than the police (although not always- and I can not speak for other favelas and some individuals would disagree with me on this). While the police could be found taking advantage of and abusing individuals who lived within the favelas which they were supposed to be protecting from the drug dealers, the drug dealers (for the most part) lived in accordance with an unwritten rule that you do not rob or abuse individuals from your own communities (unless when respective drug users did not pay the drug lords back in time). Through this, the drug dealers then could be seen as a protecting force for their respective communities.

So who then is *really* serving the communities?

Although the presence of the drug dealers meant to some degree that the favela was unstable and dangerous, some would argue that the presence of the police made the favelas more unstable and dangerous. Once the UPP had entered into the favelas in the North Zone of Rio, the constant media portrayals and protests all shed a negative light on the presence of the police in the favelas. I began to question the real motivations for having the police in the favelas in the first place.

Were the police put in the favelas on behalf of the state to intervene with the drug lords by taking away their power? Was this another example of domination and control over people, where the state of Rio, or the government of Brazil, wanted to ensure that they could regain the control and the power back over all the people? In relation to Freire's (1970/2000) previously mentioned ideas around manipulation, the state here is attempting to control the people by having the police act on behalf of the state and their commands. The reinforcement of the police therefore presents an ideology around 'trust' and 'safety' whereby if the residents just trust the state, the police will bring with them more safety to the areas that they pacify and their lives will be free from the danger and corruption that was said to come from the drug lords. But what happens when the police are actually the ones who disrupt this narrative around trust and safety, often being corrupt themselves and making the communities even more unstable? Although I am not currently living with the community and was only their for one month after the UPP pacified the favela, I have been able to note many instances where the people of the favelas have been clashing with the police and fighting for their rights and their dignities. When these people are already dealing with a system that further separates them from attaining equality in regards to the social strata, how then are these people supposed to trust the police, who have taken advantage of or abused their power towards these people?

I realized that the many times in which the police either directly elicited an avoidance behavior by myself, or by the residents of the favelas themselves, was an example of the avoidance mechanism proposed by Windsor (2007) that works to reinforce oppression- in this case, the oppression brought on by the police. During the

times that the UPP were trying to enter and take control of the favela or when they were entering to try to capture any drug dealers, the sense of fear and also avoidance of being within the physical boundaries of the favelas reinforced the power of the police and their control that they exerted over the people. This dynamic resembled a colonial relationship whereby certain groups of people were dictated as having more power over another group of people. It has implications in relation to respect, trust and honesty, all which are key aspects to the relationship that the police (although forced) are attempting to have with the residents who occupy the spaces in which they are attempting to invade. This cycle then gets repeated- the police induce fear, the residents then avoid being in certain places or confrontations with the police for fear of being hurt, injured, or taken advantage of, and therefore the power and position of the police in this colonial-like relationship is reinforced.

This situation is not only true of those individuals living within the favelas. The police as well have this relationship to all of society, but the implications specifically for the purpose of this thesis are discussed in relation to the lives of those who reside within the favelas. It is important to know and understand because it continues to reinforce the cycle whereby the residents of the favela are always seen as being on the bottom of the barrel, at the bottom of the food chain, as this is the general consensus reflected within society in general. This is further exasperated when looking to race relations in Brazil and ideas around racial democracy.

A Racial democracy?

Even though Brazil prides itself as a racial democracy (PBS, 2011), the reality is that race and racism play a very dominant part when you look at the social structures

within Rio de Janeiro. The numerous situations in which I outlined the overrepresentations of Black people, for instance, within some of the poorest public schools, living within the favelas, and working as maids or 'nannies', demonstrates the inequalities that work to further distance and separate Black people and their other white counterparts within Brazil[10]. Again, as stated previously, I am not arguing here that there are no successful Black peoples living within Rio, and that all Black peoples are doomed to a life of unequal access, poverty and mistreatment. Consequently, I am also not arguing here that white Caucasian individuals are all successful, as white individuals can also be found living within the favelas and on the streets. I am more or less focusing on the apparent overrepresentation of Black peoples in the poorest places (e.g., the favelas) and the apparent overrepresentation of white Caucasian peoples in the wealthiest places. I am simply noting the difference here, and implying that it is not coincidence, as I have been demonstrating the greater influences of colonization and how it fits into these discrepancies and inequalities within Brazil.

Within my research, race and racism intersected within many other facets including CYC work, education, health care, and jobs. Having its roots in colonization where the Black peoples were treated as slaves and were used at the disposal of their 'owners', the effects of these colonial relations link to the general preconceptions and stereotypes that work to negatively affect Black individuals growing up in Rio de Janeiro

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[10] Again, here I note that I am speaking from my experiences from not only the times when I did my research in Rio, but also through living and working in Brazil, and therefore, I am making reflections based on what I saw. I can also only speak in relation to Rio de Janeiro, as it is where my research was conducted, although having spoken with other friends who live in various other states within Brazil; it is safe to assume that matters regarding racial inequality can be found throughout Brazil as a whole.

today, specifically, those who live within the favela. Some of these ideas will be discussed in the upcoming sections.

Habitus and the favela- Living on the metaphorical 'outskirts' of society.

Relating back to Bourdieu's work on habitus, the favela has become a dwelling place where those individuals who embody its space are the only ones who understand the importance and appreciation of favela life. The favela is therefore understood only in its "marginalized relationship…with the mainstream" (Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2011), therefore only given status through its inhabitants. This can be demonstrated through the various examples in which stereotypes around those who live in the favelas were discussed in relation to the consequences they had for those individuals. As others attempt to outcast and distance those individuals from the favelas through stereotyping their ways of being, it is only the favela dwellers themselves who understand the great power and potentials they have from living within the favela.

Those very reasons that they are outcasted by others also works to serve them in ways that creatively provide them with an edge and resilience over the dominant ways of living within capitalist society so that these individuals demonstrate creative ways of resisting a comfortable life of conformity and conservancy. Their abilities to survive and maneuver their ways within the favelas that are so often contrived as being *dark and dangerous* means that these individuals can creatively produce their own meanings and ways of embodiment. This was demonstrated within some of the conversations with the children that I had in the favela who assertively told me that they were "rich in health" and that they "were not poor because [their] mother can buy them food". In these instances, the young peoples within the favelas themselves were demonstrating creative

forms of resistance through how they challenged traditional ways of looking at wealth from capitalist perspectives. The habitus then of the favela becomes an area where creative ways of challenging dominant ideals and representations becomes of value only to those individuals residing within its space.

Education, Race and Illiteracy-Oh my!

Having previously mentioned my husbands' experiences with *Alphabitizar Rio* (Alphabetize Rio) and the frustrations the children had in their inabilities to complete the testing, links to institutional racism can be seen. As my previous reflections note the overrepresentation of Black students in some of the poorest schools in Rio de Janeiro, one can question the failure then of the educational system as a whole to provide basic literacy skills to these children. How is it that children ages six to nine are unable to read or write, when the fundamental focus of early schooling is on literacy skills (Pães, 2013)? These individuals are then placed at an even higher risk of being unemployed when they are older, further segregating them from the rest of society and placing them on societies peripherals by not being able to read or write and therefore being seen as at-risk. So, for these individuals who are already discriminated against because of their skin color and the fact that they live in a favela, they are further distanced from attaining any sort of equality as their education system fails to teach them the basics of reading and writing.

In sum, those Black individuals who are overrepresented within the favelas are then overrepresented within some of the poorest public schools that then further separate them from the rest of society in their failures to provide an adequate education. Politically speaking here, those individuals in power (e.g., government bodies) will blame those individuals themselves for not being able to read and write, claiming that it is an internal

problem of theirs that they can not read and write, further reproducing inequalities for these individuals. These individuals will in turn need to rely on social services that are put in place in attempts to help them achieve basic educational standards, putting them 'back in the game' in relation to attaining equality in other facets of life including jobs. It is here then that those with power (non-Black individuals) hold the key to the Black Child's success, either through education or through the various social services that are offered. But ideas around the services that are provided and the ways in which the services that are provided are carried out come into question in relation to feasibility. Some of these notions will be discussed further in relation to Child and Youth Care in the favela.

Health care and its ills-The implications.

Health care and race functioned in similar ways in relation to how race affected education. Those individuals who needed health care the most were often the ones who did not have access to it. Upon falling ill, some individuals who lived within the favelas struggled to afford the associated medical costs or medication associated with their illnesses. As demonstrated in some of my previous examples, this posed a certain limitation on some individuals' abilities to participate in daily activities, as demonstrated by one of the young girls who was allergic to bug bites and was forbidden to participate in activities where the presence of bugs was more prominent. Here, race functions inadvertently through the greater inequalities that are prominent in middle and upper classes and the poor class, as set by the stage of colonization. Individuals in the favelas therefore struggle more when it comes to attaining access to medical help and the associated financial burdens.

Even when the Brazilian government responded to the outcry of the public during the protests in June 2013, and decided to have Cuban doctors brought over to help, the government still failed to realize exactly what the people were saying by placing the doctors in areas where the populations were sparse. I am not saying that I agree with the fact that the doctors should have been placed within areas where the populations were dense; I acknowledge the importance of providing health services to those areas where they may not be available at all. At the same time, as my research was situated within one of the biggest cities in Brazil, I saw a need for more health care services and easier access to quality health care for the people who lived there.

Understanding the health care system and how it works is important to understanding the people that you work with. As many of the young peoples I encountered were constantly sick, with runny noses or coughs, or could be found covered head to toe in bites, this affected their engagement not only with me and the services, but also influenced their daily lives in relation to school and home. When young people were sick, this placed more of a burden on their families who had to take time off work to take them to receive medical attention, and who had to take on the financial burden associated with the medical costs or medication. This also resulted in their productivity being reduced, which affected their ability to help out in the home. Health care issues were clearly of large importance for those individuals living within the favelas and the children themselves were aware of the importance of their health. It seemed, after all, that being "rich in health" was a protective factor for those individuals living within the favelas, and therefore, taking care of their health to prevent illness was of grave importance.

Attempting to make sense of the Church?

The church was an important part in the daily lives of many peoples whom I worked with. Frequent notions would be made towards God and Mary, and prayers as well were part of people's daily routines. The influence of the church in these peoples lives was very important to understand, especially looking at the church from a historical perspective. Noting the churches roles in colonization of Brazil and how the church forced baptism among the slaves has important implications on those individuals growing up within the favelas (Grabsky, 2000). I often reflected on the importance of the church within the lives of the people I worked with. Were people just accepting of the church because it has been something that has been engraved within the history of Brazil since the 1500's? Or were people actively engaged with the church because it was something they genuinely wanted to be a part of and it was a choice? Either way, the historical positioning of the church had many implications on the practices and ways that organizations worked and offered services for their peoples. This will further be discussed in relation to CYC practices in the favelas.

I also look back to the experience of when I used the church to my advantage by wearing a volunteer t-shirt while I was walking alone in the favela one day. This example reinforces the mechanism of fear, as proposed by Windsor (2007), which in turn allowed me to have a powerful feeling by associating myself with the *mighty and powerful Catholic Church*. By using the t-shirt as a form of protection, I reinforced its (the Catholic Church's) power and also, its heavily weighted connection to the colonization of Brazil where the questions that I pose above regarding the place of the Catholic Church become more prominent and the position of the churches power and control or influence

over the people (e.g., those poor peoples in the favelas) is magnified. My future work, however, should take more time to address these concerns and look more directly at the relationship of the Catholic Church and colonization to better understand its influence.

Making sense of inequality in relation to colonization and CYC practices.

The role of social services, or in this case, Child and Youth Care practices and the historical, social and political contexts that CYC work is situated in, is crucial in working with these people in order to help produce awareness towards liberating practices.

Colonization in Brazil has functioned through race and class to create a divide between those individuals with power (white middle class Europeans) and those without (Black and Indigenous peoples). This means that specifically young indigenous and Black individuals were given unequal access to things like education, health care, jobs and services. Social services are then created and aimed at helping provide assistance to those who wanted, but did not have equal access to those things. Social services, or specifically, child and youth care services can either successfully help individuals attain equal access, or can unintentionally reproduce the colonial projects that created this inequality in the first place. I found the problem in CYC work to lie specifically in the organization's abilities to understand the greater historical, social and political structures that directly and indirectly worked to function within the individual's lives that they provide services for. I argue that without being aware of the greater contexts of how your work is situated, you can actually be doing a disservice to the peoples whom you are attempting to help. But what does 'help' even look like in CYC work? And how exactly can CYC services reproduce colonial relationships while doing work under the notions of offering help and assistance to others?

Child and Youth Care Work- The historical, social and political contexts

Throughout the analysis, I set up a messy, somewhat chaotic representation of the CYC work that I was involved with in Rio and the various intersections that I had with the young I worked with. My work made me reflect on the roles of CYC workers and the constraints and confines of our relationships with the people we work with. It challenged the notions around expectations of what we expect from the people we work with. It also made me question what it means to help, and what care looks like. I found that a lot of the work that CYC workers are situated in is heavily political, bounded by greater historical and social contexts that have implications for the people in which the services are carried out with. Below I will attempt to unpack some of my experiences and extrapolate theoretically, some of their implications. Taking a look not only to the behaviors of the young people themselves, I look to my encounters with the young peoples and what my experiences mean in relation to the greater context of colonization, and other political and social contexts as well.

Roles in CYC.

I often found myself bound in my interactions by conceptual frameworks that worked to separate me as an ethnographer, a Child and Youth Care worker, and as a volunteer. But often, these frameworks were never quite clear and often overlapped creating a dissonance between the various roles I was fulfilling, influencing my engagements with the young people that I worked with. At times I could be the ethnographer, taking a back seat while attempting to take in everything that was going on around me. Other times, I was a CYC worker, dealing with some of the issues or problems the young individuals brought to me. And other times, I was a volunteer,

working with the church to help service the broader community. At times, all three of these roles collided- the ethnographer who just wanted to sit back and learn, the CYC worker who wanted to help but felt restricted by her role as a volunteer to the church. I started to question what CYC worker roles were, and how those roles differed from my roles as an ethnographer, and then again contrasted to being a volunteer for the church[11].

Gharabaghi's (2008) arguments regarding relationships and roles in CYC work and how they are bound through an organization's initiatives, policies, social rules and greater cultural and political contexts are of great importance when wanting to look at how we define who we are and what we hope to do with the people we work with.

In one situation where my husband invited two of the young boys over for lunch, I noted that the boundaries were different in CYC work in the favela. By inviting the young boys over, were we hoping to break down the barriers between adult and young person to help build trust. After all, how can we truly gain forces with those who are oppressed by setting up boundaries and limitations that work to further constrict our genuine relationships with those people? This example nicely demonstrates Gharabaghi's (2008) arguments when he questions the notions of relationships and their contextual limitations in CYC work.

Practicing CYC work within a favela in Rio was different in the sense that the political and social natures of how relationships are formed and defined were more flexible than the constraints I was used to, having practiced CYC work in North America.

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[11] It is important to note here as well that although I discuss my role as a CYC worker and a volunteer separately, there is a huge overlap directly between these two roles as my work as a CYC worker functioned through my work as a volunteer for the church, although sometimes, the more general work I did as a volunteer did not mean that I was practicing CYC work.

The freedom to create open and caring relationships with the young people as demonstrated in the analysis really helped to better understand and serve the young peoples in the favelas, but this also served as a way to limit and constrict my work with the young people as my life intersected with theirs. How could I, a white, middle-class, female from North America attempt to even understand the lives of these individuals who grew up in poverty and were socially on the margins of society, being out casted because of their skin color? How was I able to help console and work with these young individuals, attempting to help them gain access to better education and better healthcare, leading to better jobs, when the reality (as uncomfortable as this makes me feel to admit) is that because of the way society in Brazil has been set up, that these young individuals do not have much of a chance of becoming successful? How could I sit and console a young child who is crying because they are hungry or because they are frustrated that they can not do their homework, and tell them that everything will be ok, and that everything is going to work out? Will life for them really get easier if they work really really hard, or is the reality that society has not been set up this way. What if the 'racial democracy' that Brazil prides itself on is nothing more than a distant dream, only attainable to those who have been born into wealth, power or prestige. So what was my role now?

The one situation where a young boy had threatened me telling me that he was no longer going to return to the community center after I did not vote for him during a talent show is an example of the this fight for power- by him acting in such a way, it seemed as if he was trying to impose (for once) and demand power and control over the situation as a way of maneuvering and dealing with the oppression that he experienced daily. His

response the next day in the form of an apology for his behavior could be seen as a way of forfeit, that he realized that he could not stand up to the power of the oppressive relationship between adult and child, white women and black young male, or CYC worker and client. So how does this intersection of a white, adult, Child and Youth Care worker play out in regards to the role of a non-oppressor, older individual who wants to *help*[12]?

It is hard here to also locate what it means to *help*, and many times, I questioned the *help* that I was providing (or failing to provide). There was one day where I had been talking to my host family about my research and how there had been one particular young boy who always leeched on to the workers and volunteers, and how for me, his needy behavior became too much. After reflecting back on this situation, I can not help to think that maybe he really needed someone to listen to him for once and give him love, care and affection when he and his family were continually being maltreated by society and the system. Maybe I failed to be the person for him that he could talk to and receive the care and attention that he needed. Maybe I failed to recognize my proper role within Child and Youth Care. Am I too spoiled and privileged to realize when another person needs care? And what does it even mean to care? Are there different frameworks of care in CYC work? And by saying that maybe he needed the care and affection from me, am I re-appropriating a colonial relationship whereby I hold the power and I can chose to care and not care when I want and that my care is something desirable for these people who

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[12] The word *help* is italicized here as I feel it important to note the problems with using the word *help* in the first place. The word *help* positions someone or groups of people with power and authority over someone, or groups of others in a way that the latter group are in need of assistance or are less abled to attain what they need and are therefore, in reliance upon the other, more abled or powerful group. This relates to the notion of being in *need*, which I have previously questioned.

may not have this same care at home? There are so many questions I have surrounding my roles in CYC work and what it all means. These questions become entangled as well within my various intersections not only with the young people, but also with my multiple roles.

There is a not a CYC work manual that tells you what to do when your role as a worker intersects with the reality of the work you are attempting to do. These experiences demonstrate Loiselle et al.'s (2012) notions around getting comfortable with the uncomfortable in CYC work to really immerse yourself within the work that is emerging, no matter how messy it may be. It is here that Skott-Myhre and Skott-Myhre (2011) claim you build advocacy in working with the young to overcome the greater historical, social and political constraints that further work to reproduce inequalities. But what happens when those individuals within CYC work fail to understand or account for the historical contexts that have produced injustice to various peoples in which they are attempting to *help* now. How does power look in these relationships and how is power linked to the history of the colonization of Brazil?

Expectations of behaviors on Colonial Relationships in CYC Work.

One of the greatest reflections I made while doing CYC work in the field was around expectations of behaviors. I noted the struggles I had around what was considered appropriate behavior that should be expected of the young individuals whom I was working with. Reflecting back on these instances, the disconnect was found within my own expectations, coming from a white, middle class perspective of how one should conduct themselves. My reflections around how I thought young people should behave

and how they were actually behaving created an interesting intersectionality that existed within the actual living conditions and realities of the young people I worked with.

Something else that is worthy of mentioning is my Type A personality and its effects on my need to control and therefore, its effects on my work. Always having to be organized, scheduled and in control affected my disposition with the young people in a way that my patience at times was tested-not because of their behavior, but because of my uptightness. Much like Windsor's (2007) struggles with herself to better understand her privilege within her research, I as well struggled with this. Many times while in the field and also after, while analyzing my data and speaking about it with my advisor, I was told that I needed to be more reflexive about my dispositions, attitudes, and values. This was difficult for me as I later discovered (as previously noted) my behavior and interactions with the young people either justified or reproduced colonial relationships with myself and those I worked with.

This need to control affected and influenced situations where the young people's behavior then elicited a response congruent with reinforcing social norms and therefore reinforcing oppression (Windsor, 2007). In the situation with the young girl who had come for after school homework help was an example of this behavior. After the young girl yelled at me and I nearly yelled back at her, my need to control then permitted me to reinforce social norms around adults needing to be the ones in control. This situation also becomes more complicated when looking at the race relation between me and the young girl- the young girl is Black and I am White. As stated by Windsor (2007), "Wealth and power [are] also very effective in maintaining the status quo", and in this situation, it was true. My need to be in control and have power allowed me to reinforce norms around

adults being in power, which made this power more desirable and something to maintain, therefore justifying my behaviors associated with my attempts to regain control and power from the children. So much like how "…compliments from powerful white males made [Windsor] feel powerful…" they also "…discouraged [her] from challenging these men's oppressive behavior, even when [she] felt very uncomfortable around them" (p. 512). So therefore, even though she knew that it was wrong to sit back and not challenge the men's comments, the compliments that she received from the men having power were enough to keep her quiet, reinforcing oppression. Similarly, by buying into the norm (which I consciously try not do as much as possible), and reinforcing the power of the adults (or white women), my behavior can be seen as a way of reinforcing social norms and justifying oppressive behavior.

This same situation was also implicated in relation to my need to control and have respect. After the one young girl had yelled at me, and after I attempted to provide help for her and she refused, I became annoyed at her refusal, and then rejected her need shortly after for help. In this situation, I was demonstrating and exerting that I was in control and I held the power and the knowledge that she needed and that she must respect me in order to receive help (or have access to the knowledge she needed). It was not until she played by my rules and waited for my instructions that she received the help she wanted. My need to control was therefore satisfied with her behavior and the respect that she gave me while waiting for my assistance, and therefore, I was eventually able to move forward and help her once this respect was given.

After analyzing this situation a bit more, I realized that my behavior in this situation was a way to minoritize the young people I was working with. de Finney et al.

(2011) claim that the unequal distribution of power is a key aspect in the social inequalities that "…place children, youth, and families at risk and contribute to the very conditions [they experience]" (p. 364). By trying to exert my power and authority over the young people in this specific situation, it was a way for me to further reproduce inequalities for these young people. This is problematic as it then resembles colonial relations between myself and the young people, further making the work I do less successful in terms of reaching its goal (which in this case, would be greater access and equality to services, education and health care) and reinforces colonial norms. Without being aware of my position, behaviors, and my actions, I can problematically and unintentionally provide disservices for those populations which I am attempting to help. It is therefore important to reflect on my expectations of others' behavior, as well as my own, in order to not only understand what my expectations are, but also where they come from. Understanding this helps me to better position myself in my work and be reflexive in my practices with others.

Negotiating power, rules, and behavior.

To understand the consequences that came from my own preconceived notions around appropriate behavior, I look to Rebecca Raby's (2012) research on school rules. Raby (2012) looks to the importance, and consequences of how school rules function and serve students within school settings in Ontario, Canada. She looks to the meanings and engagements that students themselves bring to rules that have been set up for them in their schools. Raby asserts that certain ways of conducting oneself and behaviors has benefitted white, middle class individuals and is therefore what is reflected within the schools rules. Therefore, Raby posits that school rules have narrowly and wrongfully

been defined through white, middle class frameworks, reflecting behaviors and attitudes that are acceptable according to these standards. The consequences then that come from these narrowly defined school rules lead to inequality in negotiating how these rules should be followed out, and consequently, how punishment or disobedience should be executed.

Raby (2012) found that for Black girls, specifically those coming from lower class backgrounds, that they were punished more harshly when they did not reflect white middle class values around civility while they were being talked to. An example she gave was when a Black girl was being talked to for breaking a rule- she had been shifting in her boots while the teacher was reprimanding her. The teacher had felt that this behavior did not reflect the notions around civility that the teacher had conceived in her mind and therefore, the young girl was further punished for her 'dis-respect'. Raby (2012) notes that these behaviors reflect then a different cultural capital that intersects with white, middle class ways of being. A behavior, attitude, or way of being that may be seen as something ordinary and typical in one culture, is therefore contested and unwelcome in another. These ideas then also relate back to colonial rule, where certain ways of being are privileged over others.

The notions around Raby's (2012) school rules and how we expect young people to behave and how we go about defining acceptable behavior are rooted in the greater historical, social and political contexts that we live in. These ideas around acceptable behavior were a prominent issue for me while I was doing work in Rio. I often found that the ways in which the children acted and behaved were not well aligned with my white, middle class values that I had been taught growing up in Burlington, Ontario Canada. I

wrongfully attempted to impose these expectations of behavior on these young peoples, who had grown up emulating other cultural capitals reflective of life within the favelas. This was problematic as I then mediated my behaviors based around the fact that these young people were not obeying what I personally deemed as important characteristics and behaviors. They were therefore either punished or were limited within their access to things including services, help and various other recreational activities.

Raby (2012) also notes in her research that the children were more likely to follow and become invested in the rules if they themselves helped contribute to the rules that were being made. Instead of having the rules dictated from an adult with power who decided to make rules and expectations for the children to follow, when children themselves were included in making the rules and expectations, they were more likely to understand the importance of the rules and had more respect for abiding by the rules. Reflecting back on my one experience of being frustrated with the behaviors of the young people, and then kicking them out of the community center and sitting down with other adults to make up rules that we wanted the children to respect, I began to wonder why did we not include them with us in making the rules? Did we not see them as capable beings who were able to exhibit agency in developing these rules and regulations in which they themselves were to follow? And did they not have expectations of us? Moss and Petrie (2002) note the importance and implications in this top down process whereby adults, those who are seen to have the control and power often make rules, regulations and form policies for those children and young peoples, but often, the formation of the rules and regulations do not include those groups of peoples who the rules and regulations are made out for. Relating to Raby's (2012) arguments, those individuals then may not

understand the reasons or justifications behind the regulations that have been made and are therefore, more unlikely to uphold the rules that have been set out. Perhaps then, including the young peoples in defining the rules regarding the expectations of their behaviors may have been more beneficial and less oppressive, offering a different dynamic for the CYC work being done in the community center.

Unfortunately, it was not until closer to the end of my time in the field that I began to realize this disconnection between my expectations and their behavior and the consequences that came from it. All of the time in which I had become frustrated with their behaviors was actually just a reflection of my unrealistic (and inappropriate) expectations that I had had for the young people. These expectations unintentionally reproduced the colonial projects by forcing these young individuals to adhere to rules and expectations set by other individuals that are not in line with their way of life, or ways of being. I am not offering here that those individuals who work within CYC frameworks cannot set rules and expectations, but rather that CYC workers need to be reflexive in their practices and work together with the people they work with to create a mutual understanding of the expectations that they will have. Without doing this, the expectations will privilege those in power, working to create further inequality for those whose services are set out to assist in the first place, distancing them from being able to act in accordance to values that do not work well for them. This further segregates the two groups of people and reinforces colonial relationships, and works contradictory to the goals of the services in the first place.

So in these situations, I wrongfully blamed the young people's behaviors on themselves, claiming that the young people themselves lack education and manners,

when in reality, the problem is with me. As Windsor (2007) would claim, I have been

socially conditioned (as a white, middle class female) to wrongfully reproduce these

ideals around minoritization by either promoting, justifying or reinforcing one of the six

mechanisms of oppression as defined earlier. In promoting one of the six mechanisms, I

reproduce colonial relationships that are at the core of the failure of these minoritized

groups to achieve equality (Loiselle et al., 2012). I therefore am limited in the work that I

can do with these individuals, often producing inadequate services at the expense of those

who are minoritized.

CHAPTER FOUR
Conclusion

Conclusion

So What? The bottom line

After looking back and analyzing the various instances where I actively chose to avoid going to the community center because of the intersections I was having with the children, I see the implications and the colonial frameworks that were working to help reproduce oppressive behaviors in my actions. Much like Windsor (2007), I knew that by not going to the community center, that I was wrong, but instead "…these feelings operate[d] to shape my behavior independently of what I rationally considered right or wrong…it became clear that I was subconsciously using these feelings to avoid seeing and dealing with the painful issues" (p. 511). The painful issues that I was avoiding were my intersections with the young people that stemmed from my needs to control and my white, middle class frameworks that worked to distance myself from the young people. Instead of dealing with my own issues around control, I drove myself away from the community center and put the blame on the young people- I claimed that it was their behavior and not mine that was the problem.

When looking at the jealousy I had in regards to my husband and his disposition with the children, I did not stop to think that it could have been my own personal struggles and intersections with the young people that created this dissonance between us. Perhaps, as Alexandre came from a similar background (although not growing up in the favela himself, but growing up living beside the favela and in a poor family when he was younger) and having a darker skin tone himself, the young people could engage with him better and trusted him more. Maybe I was liked because I am exotic to the young people and for some of them, I may be the only connection to something outside of Brazil that

they would ever have (although I would like to think differently). Like the glamorous life of the rich and famous, I, the white researcher from Canada became the exciting spectacle. Being a white person of privilege, perhaps the attractiveness of my exoticness became something that was fantasized by the young people. I therefore not only held power in my position as an adult or CYC worker, but also held power within my embodiment of being white- a position that the young people themselves knew was associated with power, opportunity and privilege within Brazil. This was something that I later learned that I needed to become more aware of and how it affected my work and CYC work in general.

So although my work as a CYC worker attempted to reduce social inequalities within Brazil, I also had to understand the mechanisms that functioned to reproduce oppression in the relationships that I had. It was through my research and later, reflections on my experiences that I attempted to uncover my position within my research, not only as an ethnographer, researcher, volunteer and friend, but also as a CYC worker. Like many have stated before, this process can be messy, uncomfortable, painful, and difficult, but it is about becoming okay with the messiness and uncomfortablility that such practices and research bring in order to better position yourself and understand the greater systems and influences that effect the work that we do (Skott-Myhre, 2004; Loiselle, de Finney, Khanna & Corcoran, 2012; Thomas & Greene, 2007).

It is here that it is of utmost importance for CYC workers to reflect on the greater historical, social and political contexts that can work to constrict their work. As demonstrated within the frameworks of behavioral expectations and also through the greater social contexts of inequality that function in these young peoples lives, CYC

workers need to be reflexive in their practices, taking the time to look to the greater

social, historical and political contexts that they themselves are situated in, and also those

contexts of the people they work with. Understanding these contexts can help to better

locate CYC practices in relation to the ontology of where the need for services has come

from. As CYC workers become more aware of the greater contextual limitations of their

work, they can truly join forces and began to work together with the young people to

create liberating practices where the individuals themselves are not blamed for the

problems they must deal with.

The understanding of oppression- Education as liberatory?

At the end of the analysis, I talk about one specific example where I was unsure if

through my multiple roles as ethnographer, Child and Youth Care worker, friend and

volunteer, had crossed the line in a conversation with a young female. In talking with her

about stereotypes about people in the favelas and the racism and discrimination they face,

the fact that this young girl was not aware of, or perhaps was choosing to repress such

thoughts, left me wondering if I had done something wrong. That my position as a white

person who is in a position of power can point out something to someone who is black

and is subordinate in the relationship (according to colonial power relations) was perhaps

another form of oppression that had been conducted by me. But what does it mean when

those who are being oppressed themselves do not realize or understand the conditions of

their own oppression, but me, in a position of the oppressor is able to acknowledge it and

talk about it? Perhaps then, is education really the key to understanding and combating

oppression (Friere, 1970/2000)? That in education, the learning needs to go both ways

and become bi-directional where the oppressors are learning more about the history of

their privilege and oppressive actions and where those who are oppressed are better coming to terms with their situations of oppressions? Perhaps then education is the first step then in understanding oppression and it is through education where oppressed individuals will better understand the terms of their oppression and come together so they can stand up and fight back. Perhaps then for those individuals, specifically talking about those individuals who live in the favelas in Brazil, education is key to bettering the understanding of their history, the politics of their history, and the social climate of where Brazil has come from. Until then, will these young people within the favelas continue to just maneuver themselves and navigate their lives through the system, never really understanding or realizing their own creative potentials to overcome the conditions of their own oppression?

The cultural politics of ethnographical research- Writing and Representation

The various contexts and ways in which one chooses to talk and represent the culture of the group in which they are studying in ethnography is politically rooted within contexts bound by greater socio-political institutions, and is further bound by writing and representation. The institution of the academy generally supports research in which Western research is the core phenomenon to be studied, and when the core phenomenon to be studied is based on other, non Western areas, the researcher (usually someone of white middle class background) is asked to conduct research in such a way that privileges Western knowledge and therefore, seeks to devalue or critique the other ways of knowing (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Some dominant Western 'knowledge's' were even at one time indigenous knowledge's that had been critiqued, and then re-formulated and claimed as Western knowledge. Tuhiwai Smith (1999) posits that because of this mistrust that had

been characteristic of western researchers, especially in ethnography, or historically, in adventure and discovery tales, many indigenous tribes are skeptical of 'research' and the political, abusive and mistrustful relationship that is often brought with it. She offers that research is conducted by those who have the right access to language and education and who therefore use it as a means to conduct, control and produce inequalities. This skeptical relationship between researcher and those who are being researched also translate into the politics of what is written and what is represented in the final report.

In recognizing culture as written, Clifford and Marcus (1986) note the difficulty in encapsulating the full picture as being located in time and space as it is something that is constantly changing and evolving. Culture then becomes a series of codes and representations and therefore, researchers need to be weary of the language and rhetoric they use when attempting to describe the cultures that they studied. The ways in which I choose to write about the culture of the favelas in relation to CYC practices also has implications in relation to the greater political contexts of writing. I found implications in using terms such as *discovered*, *help*, *care*, *poor* and *Black* within my research. The term *discovered* has political implications in regards to the history of Brazil and colonization of the indigenous peoples. In saying that Brazil was *'discovered'* is a colonial term that does not take into account the large population of Indigenous peoples who were first on the land.

Help is a term that positions certain individuals with power over another group in their ability to provide some sort of assistance to the other, who would be equated as lesser, and therefore in need of help. I had issues in using the word help as for me, one can critique what the word help even means, and also I found this word to be

reproductive of the very colonial notions in relationships that I was trying to get away from.

Care is another word in which relations of power and authority are present, in relation to one who needs or wants care, and the other who provides care. In using help or care, I tried to be careful of how I positioned them within the text, trying to not convey a colonial relationship between those who can provide help or care with those who may be depicted as in need of them.

Poor was also a term that I contested its use of in my work. My very first day in the favela back in 2011, I was told that being poor was a matter of perspective and that one could be poor of money but could be rich in life. This perspective now always sits in the back of my mind when I attempt to talk about certain aspects of being poor, as being poor in the sense of money has close ties to capitalist notions of wealth and power, which also have consequences in this type of postcolonial research.

Another interesting aspect of the politics of writing has to do with representation, which can also link to the use of the term 'Black' to refer to the color of someone's skin, and in this case, someone particularly from the favela. By identifying myself as a white, middle class female from Canada, I am outwardly stating that I am not Black, or a poor individual who has grown up in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. But what exactly does it mean to claim that I am not Black? In Brazil, there are a multitude of variations around the skin color Black and no one wanted to be associated as being Black. In some cases where young individuals appeared of Black skin colour, and not mulatto (mix of Black and White), I was sternly informed that I was wrong to think that such individuals were Black. These notions around skin colour and skin colour association need much more

attention and were not the main focus of my work, although the intersections that skin colour provided were important and crucial to understanding my privilege as a researcher and CYC worker.

The issues of skin colour linked to my research, mainly around representation and notions of whether if I, a white middle class female is able to represent them. Those individuals who have undertaken postcolonial research, or research with groups from different social statuses claim here that it is imperative for researchers to then be clear about their intentions and they must be willing to challenge their own beliefs, values and knowledge in their work (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; de Finney, Dean, Loiselle and Saraceno, 2011; Loiselle, de Finney, Khanna & Corcoran, 2012). Even after doing this, it is still not okay to make claims on behalf of others who you have researched, or done research with, but being reflexive in this practice at least makes you responsible to the group in which you are attempting to present.

It has never been my intention in this research to give a voice to those who have been marginalized or powerless, as doing so would mean that I had the power in the first place to give to those individuals. My aims were to better understand the life of the young peoples who grow up in the favelas and as such, to locate CYC practices in the favela within the greater historical, social and political contexts of Brazil. In doing my research and participating in CYC work, my practices became entangled within power, race, class and privilege creating an intersectionality that distanced myself in some ways from the young people whom I was working with. It was through this research and the creative process of writing, reflecting back on political contexts of ethnographies, relationships and expectations in CYC work, and the influence that colonization has had on those

growing up in the favela in Rio de Janeiro that the postcolonial entanglements in CYC

work were rooted. But where and how could reconciliation fit into these entanglements?

After years of injustice through the reproduction of colonial relationships, how can CYC

practices move forward in their attempts to better serve the populations they work with?

Although not the focus of my research, but perhaps an area for further research in

the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil is the CYC practices awareness of, albeit sometimes

unintentional reproduction of these relationships. What does reconciliation look like?

And is reconciliation possible? Perhaps reconciliation can be found in CYC work where

not only working together with the people is the focus and having the people actively

contribute to their own liberations, but also where community sustainability is the focus.

After all, isn't the goal of CYC work to eventually be able to work yourself out of a job?

If the success of our roles depends on our abilities to help liberate those individuals from

the colonial projects that inappropriately create further inequalities, then wouldn't their

own success stories and self-sustainability be the end goal?

Limitations and Future Research

Like any other research conducted, there are a variety of limitations to this

research project, some already having been mentioned. In addition to the questions that I

have posed along the way, a few more specific areas need further attention.

First and foremost, I do not live in the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, nor am I a person

of color, and therefore, notions around representation and the social inequalities rooted in

colonization are a concern, as I myself, did not have any of these experiences. I did

however become entangled in the postcolonial nature of my work with the young peoples

through my position of privilege in relation to adult-child relations, my middle class

background and my whiteness. This serves as a limitation as I will never fully be able to understand the very nature of their lives, and will always be seen as having privilege in relation to them.

Another limitation is in the methodology itself, as this was the first ethnography that I have conducted. In attempting to be reflexive while in the field, while at the same time making sure to be respectful to the *moradores*, respecting their lives and being aware of the greater power imbalances that existed within my research was challenging. Fulfilling multiple roles, not only including fiancé, daughter in law, niece and friend, I also had to fulfill my roles as a researcher, an ethnographer, a volunteer and a Child and Youth care worker. The complexity and chaotic nature of all of these roles at times lead to confusion around which role should be taken on at which times. In working with the children, was I their friend, or the CYC worker, or the ethnographer? Could these roles be simultaneously fulfilled?

Another limitation that can be tied into the methodology was the language barrier. Although I can speak and understand Portuguese very well, I am still not 100 percent fluent. This meant that at times, especially when the young individuals in the favelas use a different dialect with much slang, I was not able to completely understand word for word what was going on. Fortunately, I did have the help of my husband who is fluent in English and Portuguese and was therefore able to help me when I needed it.

Doing work for the church also posed as a limitation in certain ways for me. Instead of being able to act in the ways I wanted, or talk about the things I wanted to talk about, the church acted as a type of governing body, indirectly controlling what I said or how I acted. Although at times I wanted to have discussions with the young people about

certain sex related topics and relationships, I was unable to as I had to respect the fact that I was representing the Catholic Church in my work. This impacted the work I did with the young peoples and also limited and constricted my relationships with them. It also influenced a lot of the questions I have around the colonial nature of my work.

Future research should look more to the importance of the church within the favelas. Research should focus on the roles of the church in relation to liberation of the people. Future research should also look to better understand how and if reconciliation can be made in relation to the church, to services and to programs in conjunction with the roles of colonization on the peoples lives growing up in the favelas. It is important to attempt to understand reconciliation and its place within CYC work so that as CYC workers, we can move forward in our practices, working together with the young people in hopes for liberation.

More research also needs to be done in relation to race and how Brazil as a country interprets the effects of colonization. More work should be done looking at the political structures and social structures including health care and education in relation to race relations and the inequalities faced by those mainly from the favelas.

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