

ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF BUSINESS AND LAW

TRANSFORMATIONAL RESILIENCE, RESISTANCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE:
THE ROLE OF CREATIVE SOCIAL LEGACY INITIATIVES IN RIO'S FAVELAS

NICOLA CADE

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Abstract

This thesis explores how *CriaAtivo Film School (CriaAtivo)*, a social mega-event legacy initiative, enabled marginalized young people to overcome the disruptions and socio-cultural challenges they were confronted with when Brazil recently hosted mega events, specifically the Rio 2016 Olympic Games. Disruptions included forced and violent evictions and political strategies such as the *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP - Police Pacification Unit)* intervention. These measures further exacerbated many existing social inequalities and exclusions that marginalized communities had been experiencing. Research to date has highlighted that it is these ‘invisible’ individuals and groups who are often forgotten and excluded in mega-event plans and developments. This research finds that creative social legacy initiatives are important for young marginalized individuals in facilitating social change at the micro, meso, and macro-levels. Such initiatives can assist young people in learning new creative skills, creating and developing new social network structures and increasing their social capital. Essentially, legacy initiatives can be a key factor in helping individuals develop personal resilience against future mega-event disruptions and assist them in strengthening their everyday resistance. By drawing on the theoretical concepts of resilience, resistance, and social capital to explore how they are mutually assistive, this study demonstrates how these aspects link together to bring about a process of ‘transformational resilience’. In-depth qualitative data was generated within a case study methodology (*CriaAtivo*) using multi-method techniques (focus group, semi-structured interviews and an online survey). Thematic network analysis was used to systematically interrogate and interpret the emergent data. Exploration into the transition stages of the *CriaAtivo* process found it had empowered marginalized young people to overcome adverse social conditions that affected them – socially, culturally, and economically. Furthermore, *CriaAtivo* clearly acted as a catalyst in generating social capital and fostering positive social change for marginalized young people living in Rio’s peripheral and favela communities. It is recommended that similar social legacy initiatives are adopted in International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) regulations for a wider impact on their effectiveness. This research highlights the invaluable role that social legacy initiatives play in marginalized communities affected by mega-events.

Key words: Transformational resilience; everyday resistance; mega-events; Rio; marginalized communities; social capital; social legacy; *CriaAtivo Film School*

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List of Abbreviations

BOC	Brazilian Olympic Committee
BRT	Bus Rapid Transport
CCTV	Closed-circuit television or video surveillance
CIC	Community Interest Company
CIG	Cultural Interest Group
FIFA	<i>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</i>
FIFA 2014	FIFA 2014 World Cup
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
LONDON 2012	London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games
MAR	<i>Museu de Arte do Rio</i> ' (The Art Museum of Rio)
MCMV	<i>Minha Casa Minha Vida</i> (My house, my life)
MUF	<i>Museu de Favela</i> (Favela Museum)
NFPO	Not-For-Profit Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OGGI	Olympic Games Global Impact
OOC	Olympic Organising Committee
PAC	Growth Acceleration Programme
PMERJ	<i>Polícia Militar do Estado do Rio de Janeiro</i> (Rio Military State Police)
RIO	Rio de Janeiro
ROOC	Rio Olympic Organising Committee
SDP	Social Digital Platforms
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPP	<i>Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora</i> (Police Pacification Unit)
VLT	<i>VLT do Rio de Janeiro</i> (Light Rail)

Copyright declaration

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- i) Anglia Ruskin University for one year and thereafter with
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The structure of the thesis

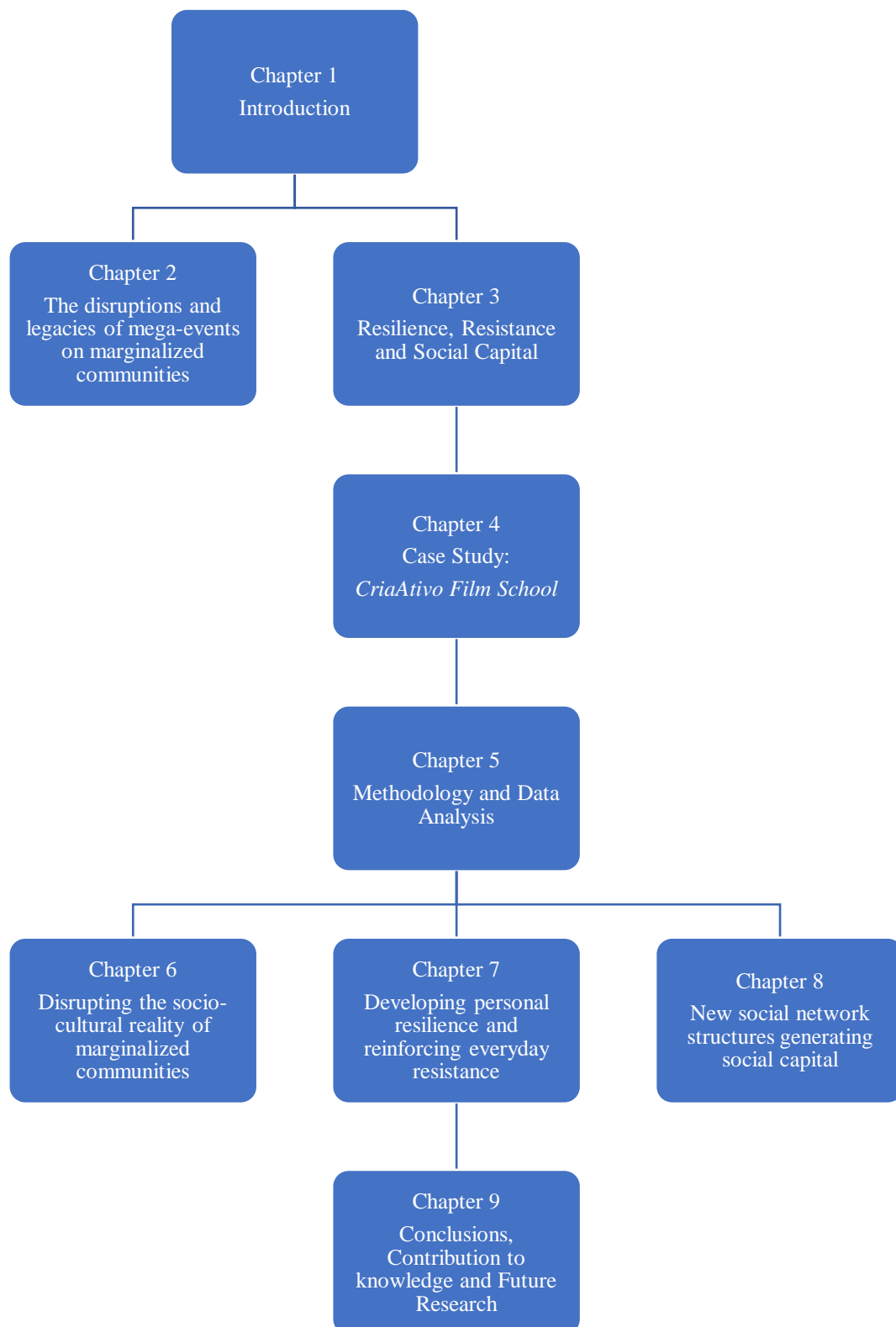


Figure 1 - The structure of the thesis

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to research focus

Mega-events can bring many disruptions to a host city and these can include developments and major alterations required to host and stage an event like the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro 2016 (Rio 2016). Such disruptions can include the urban developments that affect host communities and their short- and long-term implications of planned and/or unplanned legacies (Preuss, 2015). The outcomes of such (re)developments can bring both positive and negative changes that affect the host city in the short- and long-term, both tangibly (e.g. physical impacts) and intangibly (e.g. social impacts).

Many bid plans include proposed legacy plans as per the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) requirements (IOC, 2019). However, legacy plans are not always the key focus in the preparation to host the Olympic Games. Staging and delivering the main event usually takes priority, often leaving such plans forgotten or unintended. Additionally, many legacy plans are often just political rhetoric in an attempt for the city to win the hosting bid over other candidature cities (Minnaert, 2012). Proposed legacy plans are expected to include the 'triple bottom line' of economic, social and environmental factors for sustainable development as per IOC guidelines. However, the social element of delivering a sustainable Games is often ignored or overlooked, and it seems that little empirical evidence exists on social legacies that affect mega-event host communities.

Such plans and proposals to deliver an 'inclusive' Olympic Games often fail to specify exactly who the stakeholders are that will benefit. Rio's Olympic Organising Committee (ROOC) proposed to deliver an inclusive 'Games for All' but this was highly controversial in who they meant by 'all'. Rio claimed to deliver an 'inclusive' Games, but these well-intentioned

proposals were mostly sacrificed due to the core imperatives of constructing and completing the main event venues during a time of political and economic crisis (Steinbrink, 2013; Gaffney, 2015). This leaves a lingering question of ‘who is meant by *all*?’

The IOC's 2012 sustainability report proposed that Rio 2016 would address social inclusion and sustainable development for its community:

“A wide range of programmes have been developed in support of the Games while forming the foundations for long-term sustainable development, social inclusion, housing provision, training and jobs.”

(IOC, 2012: 88)

Furthermore, Rio's Olympic Organising Committee (ROOC) proposed that the Games would provide a positive legacy for young people as confirmed by the IOC in their sustainable legacy report in 2012:

“Rio 2016 views its Olympic Games as an opportunity to permanently improve the city for the benefit of its citizens, the region and the country. Beyond physical changes, Rio 2016 is also determined to provide a legacy for young people in a country that has 65 million young people aged 18 and under.”

(IOC, 2012: 88)

Despite these positive projections, Rio's mega-events were expected to heighten existing marginalization and social exclusion for marginalized communities specifically its favelas. Social exclusion is defined as: “Exclusion from the prevailing social system and its rights and privileges, typically as a result of poverty or the fact of belonging to a minority social group.” (Oxford University Press, 2019a). It has been evidenced that many socio-cultural and socio-economic disruptions affected many of Rio's marginalized communities, specifically its favelas, from the FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016 plans and developments (Steinbrink, 2013; Gaffney, 2015).

Marginalized communities, in this context, are considered to include the favela and peripheral communities across Rio who are excluded socially, culturally and economically (Oxford University Press, 2019b). Favelas are commonly defined as ‘slums’ in many dictionary definitions (e.g. Oxford University Press, 2019c). However, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) defines them as:

“[...] subnormal urban agglomerates, irregular settlements in areas considered inappropriate for urbanization, such as the steep hillsides of Rio’s mountains: a set constituted by at least 51 housing units (shacks, small houses, etc.) occupying – or having occupied – till recently, land owned by a third party, private or public); disposed in general in a disordered and dense form, and lacking in their majority, essential services, public and private”

(IBGE, 2011 cited in UNESCO and LSE, 2015: 4).

However, I perceive favela communities as creative, robust, chaotic, vibrant, resistant and resilient, despite their social exclusion and inequality. Marginalization and social exclusion of favela communities is a social, political and economic circumstance in Rio and unfortunately, it is these disadvantaged groups of individuals that are often the losers in Olympic plans, developments and outcomes. Rio’s mega-events were considered as a façade to hide existing social conditions of favela communities (Steinbrink, 2013) and this can be explained through concepts such as the ‘carnival mask’ (Harvey, 1989) and the ‘revanchist city’ (Tufts, 2004), further explained in Chapter 2. Such exogenous disruptions to local socio-cultural landscapes from hosting Rio’s mega-events have essentially brought negative effects to communities and impacted their daily lives, resulting in damaging outcomes and negative social legacies for these individuals. Rio city government and event organisers (e.g. Rio’s Olympic Organising Committee - ROOC) attempted to create a positive touristic image at the expense of the marginalized communities, namely the favelas, subsequently exacerbating Rio’s existing social inequalities.

Rio's 2016 Sustainability Report written in 2014 proposed their Olympic Games delivery mission as:

“To deliver excellent Games, with memorable celebrations that will enhance the global image of Brazil and promote sustainable social and urban transformations through sport, contributing to the growth of the Olympic and Paralympic Movements”

(ROOC, 2014:34).

Yet, many researchers, journalists and stakeholders disputed this predicted outcome. Rio's favela communities were effectively erased from bid books and promotional publicity images and videos (Steinbrink, 2013; Vox, 2016). They were also targeted through a variety of measures to re-appropriate and transform these spaces within the city. These included many forcible evictions and relocations that were most pronounced for FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016 which resulted in the displacement of entire communities (Steinbrink, 2013; Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016; Talbot, 2016; Müller and Gaffney, 2018).

These marginalized voices are rarely empirically explored in the context of mega-event research (e.g. Minnaert, 2012; Maharaj, 2015; Pappalepore and Duignan, 2016); and their experiences and perceptions are usually excluded from impact analysis studies of the Olympic Games (Hiller and Wanner, 2017). Therefore, my research attempts to address this gap in empirical research and generate rich qualitative data on an under-explored area within the context of mega-events.

1.2 Research aim, objectives and questions

The aim of my research is to contribute knowledge on how marginalized young people effectively leveraged creative social legacy initiatives to foster social change within Rio.

The aim is achieved through the following two research objectives:

- I. To explore how young people living in Rio's marginalized communities built up resilience, resistance and developed new social support networks to foster social change for better futures.
- II. To identify ways marginalized young people can develop resilience and resistance to overcome mega-event disruptions that affect their socio-cultural and socio-economic environments.

The objectives are addressed by exploring individual experiences and perceptions of students from a cross-cultural social legacy project – *CriaAtivo Film School (CriaAtivo)* – and the following research questions emerged to shape and guide the research:

- I. Through the lens of a case study, how does a process of transformational resilience help marginalized young people overcome mega event disruptions that threaten their socio-cultural environments?
- II. How can creative social legacy initiatives bring positive social change for marginalized young people in mega-event host destinations?

1.3 The case study: *CriaAtivo Film School*

This research explores the Rio 2016 Olympic Games and the social impacts and legacies that affected marginalized communities, specifically young people. It is these communities in Rio, namely the ‘favelas’, that are most at risk from social exclusion and social inequality (UNESCO, 2013). This demographic of individuals is the most ‘at risk’ from social exclusion, particularly in the global South (Black and Northam, 2017). It is also these social conditions that affect the future opportunities of these young people through lack of access to opportunities such as education and employment. UNESCO (2013) reported that professionals living in Rio’s favelas earn approximately ‘4.8 times’ less than those living outside the favelas.

Therefore, my thesis explores *CriaAtivo Film School* (*CriaAtivo*), a cross-national collaborative social legacy project between the United Kingdom (UK) and Brazil, funded by the British Council and Newton Fund ‘Institutional Skills Development’ programme (British Council, 2019). The project was run from April 2017 to March 2018 with the aim to help marginalized young people between the ages of 18 and 24 years, affected by Rio’s recent mega-events (e.g. FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016). The project intended to provide these young people with the opportunity to learn new creative film production skills and visibilise their social realities which would in turn access and break the barriers to the creative industry. *CriaAtivo* was delivered in the Triagem ‘*Nave do Conhecimento*’ (*nave*), a Rio 2016 Olympic legacy public space provided by Rio City Hall government, as non-financial support for the project to be delivered effectively. The specific details of my case study are presented in detail in Chapter 4.

1.4 The conceptual framework

This study is shaped and underpinned by a conceptual framework that draws together the concepts of resilience, resistance and social capital. Personal resilience skills are assets that an individual possesses or develops over time to overcome adversity and daily challenges that threaten their socio-cultural landscapes simultaneously learning how to manage coping strategies when confronted with such situations (Richardson, 2002). The consensus between scholars is that resilience exists when individuals or systems recover to a pre-existing state prior to adversity. However, to date, this concept has not included those who return to higher levels of well-being after adversity. Instead, this research suggests that the concept of transformational resilience can be employed to explain this situation and therefore, it is this concept which has been adopted as my overarching analytical and theoretical framework—‘Transformational resilience and everyday resistance’ (as presented in Figure 6, page 149).

Transformational resilience is a process termed by Doppelt (2016) as an educative way for individuals and communities to effectively manage climate change in their destinations. According to Doppelt (2016), transformational resilience requires three fundamental elements: (i) building personal resilience skills; (ii) robust social support networks; and (iii) close collaborations among local organisations. Doppelt (2016) states that there is ample research to suggest that individuals and groups who develop effective resilience skills can effectively overcome trauma and disruptions that adversely affect their personal or social well-being. He further claims that by developing effective resilience skills, individuals and groups can recover more quickly using disruptions as catalysts to increase their well-being to higher levels than previously displayed – termed as ‘post-traumatic’ (Adger, 2006) or ‘adverse-based’ (Doppelt, 2016) growth.

Based on Doppelt's core elements, transformational resilience is adopted in my study as a useful framework to encapsulate how a social legacy project effectively 'transformed' marginalized young people who participated in the project. This theoretical framework explores how marginalized young people participating in *CriaAtivo* overcame their initial vulnerabilities and insecurities exacerbated by mega-event plans and policies (e.g. evictions and UPP interventions). It is evidenced in Chapter 7 how *CriaAtivo* effectively empowered these young people to develop personal resilience skills and display post-traumatic growth through learning new skills (e.g. creative, networking, etc.) and visibilising their social realities. The concept of 'everyday resistance' (Scott, 1990) is also explored in how it can assist the resilience process in individual's self-development and fight against social oppression, marginalization and exclusion, a proposition by Bourbeau and Ryan (2018).

The second and final elements (robust social support networks and close collaborations among local organisations) of Doppelt's transformational resilience are explored through the three core elements of social capital – bonding (emotive strengths between individuals), bridging (unsecured links between diverse individuals and external communities) and linking (trusting connections between institutions and political structures) (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). Putnam (1993: 67) defines social capital as “[...] features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.” Social capital is rarely embraced as a critical factor within resilience studies and can influence community resilience (Aldrich and Meyer, 2014). Furthermore, Doppelt (2016) proposed that maintaining, strengthening and expanding social capital networks can help to build transformational resilience. Such social networks are considered extremely important for satisfying social needs and bringing social change for marginalized communities (Hanifan, 1916; Guo et al., 2018). Therefore, the three elements of social capital are adopted to theoretically underpin the internal and external networks that *CriaAtivo*'s students developed.

Additionally, as *CriaAtivo* is a cross-national project working in collaboration with both local and international institutions and political structures, these networks are framed within the final element of transformational resilience and the linking element of social capital.

By combining the three concepts of resilience, resistance and social capital, they can collectively help to develop effective transformational resilience to mega-event disruptions and social exclusion. This is presented in Figure 3.1 (page 44) as the ‘Triangular relationship of resilience, resistance and social capital’. By adopting this theoretical framework, *CriaAtivo* was identified as an effective catalyst in developing personal resilience, reinforcing everyday resistance and forming new social network structures for marginalized young people, fostering social change for their futures.

1.5 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis makes three main contributions to knowledge:

- i. An empirical contribution that evidences the effects of mega-events on host communities, specifically marginalized young people, as little empirical evidence currently exists on such issues;
- ii. A theoretical contribution on how the concepts of resilience, resistance and social capital assist one another to develop effective transformational resilience;
- iii. A methodological contribution as presented in the ‘Digi-cal’ (digital and physical) nexus (Figure 5.6, page 104) in how leveraging digital methods of access to physical high-risk and less accessible research settings can help to reduce time and money constraints for any chosen methodological approach. By adopting digital methods to

leverage physical access into high-risk/less accessible research settings can help to build networks, trust and relationships between researchers, key gatekeepers and locals, in the context of favela communities. The adoption of social messaging platforms (e.g. WhatsApp) are rarely explored as tools for accessing research settings. This contribution to knowledge is further evidenced in my co-authored published Tourism Geographies paper on '*Leveraging digital and physical spaces to 'de-risk' and access Rio's favela communities*' (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019).

1.6 The structure of the thesis

This thesis is presented in nine chapters that each address elements of my research and its results, as well as the conceptual underpinnings that helped to frame and interpret the findings. The literature review was revisited throughout my research and is divided into two key chapters (Chapters 2 and 3). Chapter 2 discusses the existing literature on how mega-events can affect their host communities through urban regeneration plans and developments and the positive and negative outcomes of this (e.g. mega-event legacy). This chapter also introduces the key mega-event plans and developments that affect marginalized communities that disrupt their socio-cultural and socio-economic landscapes. Such mega-event disruptions include the displacement of entire favela communities, as well as the displacement of criminal drug gangs and their associated violence to other peripheral communities in Rio resulting from the *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* – Police Pacification Unit (UPP) intervention programme. It illustrates that these negative effects can have a wider impact on many marginalized communities and not just those directly living within the Olympic corridor.

Chapter 3 explores and explains the concept of resilience (Section 3.1) and how it has become a process for responding to adverse conditions. I extend this thinking to include mega-event

disruptions and how these exacerbate initial vulnerabilities and insecurities caused by existing political pressures of social exclusion. This chapter also explores the concept of resistance (Section 3.2) and its different forms (e.g. covert and overt ways of resistance) and Scott's (1989) concept of 'everyday resistance' (Section 3.2.2). The final section (3.3), explores the concept of social capital and its three elements of bonding, bridging and linking, and how these may all interlink (Guo et al., 2018).

Chapter 4 presents my chosen case study, *CriaAtivo Film School* – a social legacy initiative that was developed from Rio 2016 for marginalized young people affected by Rio's mega-event plans and developments. It offers an insightful narrative into how this creative social legacy was established and what it intended to achieve for marginalized young people.

The methodological decisions made throughout my research are presented in Chapter 5. This chapter is separated into my research plan (Section 5.2) and conduct of study (Section 5.3). It also presents the ethical considerations of this research (Section 5.4). A reflexive account (Section 5.5) of my research is also discussed highlighting 'hidden' aspects of knowledge construction during my field work. It presents three dynamics of critical reflexivity as proposed by Everett (2010) of 'physicality', 'performativity' and 'positionality' to identify the micro-moments of research that are so often excluded and reported as 'unscientific'.

Given the highly reflexive and inductive approach throughout my research (Section 5.2.2), I have chosen to write in the first person to reflect the nature of my personal reflection. By writing oneself throughout my study ensures that I am central to my research and that I acknowledge I am not adopting a non-reflexive approach like other studies of similar issues tend to do (see Pernecky and Jamal, 2014). Building on Everett (2010) who has argued that researchers must be aware of the 'god trick' (Trauger and Fluri, 2012) of research in tourism

studies, I have purposely made my role in this research visible and by doing so, writing myself into my research acknowledges my epistemological standpoint (presented in section 5.2.1).

An inductive qualitative case study approach was adopted (Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) using data generation methods that included a focus group, semi-structured interviews and an online mixed-methods survey (Sections 5.3.2.1-5.3.2.5). Data was analysed using thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001) to systematically explore and interrogate the key themes emerging from the data, and to identify themes among them (Sections 5.6 and 5.7). This chapter also provides a reflective account of the strengths, limitations and implications of my methodological decisions and processes (Section 5.8).

Chapter 6, '*disrupting the socio-cultural reality of marginalized communities*', presents my findings and discussion on the socio-cultural disruptions that affected marginalized young people and their communities. This chapter is separated into two main sections of (i) forced evictions and displacement: exacerbating social issues (Section 6.2 and 6.2.1); and (ii) displacement of drug gangs: forced migration of crime, conflict and violence (Section 6.3). These sections identify many of the mega-event plans, developments and policies that destroyed entire communities, businesses, and exacerbated existing social issues such as exclusion. It illustrates how young marginalized people remain threatened by oppressive social injustices and exclusions despite the mega-events finishing. Such social injustices and insecurities can enhance the vulnerability of young marginalized people and this is presented in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 discusses the emerging key theme of '*developing personal resilience and reinforcing everyday resistance*' throughout the *CriaAtivo* process, satisfying the initial core element of '*building personal resilience skills*' in transformational resilience. This section is divided into three core areas of constructing personal resilience skills: (i) overcoming vulnerabilities and

insecurities (Section 7.2); (ii) learning new skills and visibilising social reality (Section 7.3); and (iii) bouncing forward: improving emotional well-being (Section 7.4). This chapter also presents the concept of everyday resistance (Scott, 1990) and how resilience and resistance are mutually assistive (Bourbeau and Ryan, 2018).

Chapter 8 discusses the key theme of *'forming social network structures through bonding, bridging and linking social capital'*, satisfying the core element of *'robust social support networks'* in transformational resilience. This chapter is separated into three main parts presenting social network structures within the concept of social capital (i) Building personal relationships: bonding social capital (Section 8.2); ii) Building professional relationships: bridging social capital (Section 8.3); and (iii) Reaching inaccessible external social networks: Linking social capital (Section 8.4). This chapter addresses the internal and external relationships and connections that marginalized young people developed during the *CriaAtivo* process that extended beyond their existing personal family and friends support networks increasing their levels of social capital.

Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and Chapter 8 present and discuss the key themes that emerged from my data; and collectively they narrate how a social legacy project can aid marginalized young people to develop transformational resilience and everyday resistance against threats from mega-event strategies and outcomes (e.g. social exclusion). I conclude in Chapter 9 how my findings and results answer my research questions and how *CriaAtivo* effectively fostered positive social change for marginalized young people (Sections 9.1 and 9.2). This chapter also presents the overall strengths and limitations of my research (Section 9.3), transition to PhD (Section 9.4) contribution to knowledge (Section 9.5), and recommendations for future research (Section 9.6).

2 Literature Review: The disruptions and legacies of mega-events on marginalized communities

2.1 Introduction to literature review

A review of literature was undertaken to map the conceptual terrain of mega-event impacts and to identify any gaps in knowledge and understanding that could form the basis of my thesis. By reviewing existing literature and theory, the underpinning framework for my study emerged and was gradually developed as levels of theoretical engagement deepened (as presented in Chapter 1.4).

The literature review is separated into two main chapters: i) mega-event impacts and legacies (Chapter 2), and ii) resilience and resistance of individuals and communities (Chapter 3). The first chapter provides a critical appraisal of existing knowledge on the impact of mega-events on host cities. In the course of the review, it highlights that the social impacts of mega-events are under-explored compared to the tangible impacts such as urban regeneration thus, highlighting the need for more empirical research. It draws on existing literature and previous studies to critically assess urban regeneration plans and developments that are imposed on deprived communities when hosting such events. This aims to present the underlying social issues that mega-events bring to marginalized, underprivileged and ethnic minority groups. The chapter also investigates mega-event legacies, focusing particularly on the under-researched aspect of social legacies which to date, is an element of legacy that has attracted very limited empirical attention.

The second chapter (Chapter 3) is organised into three key conceptual thematic areas: resilience, social capital and resistance. These three concepts can help to explain and conceptualise how social legacy projects can be effective catalysts for developing personal

resilience skills, everyday resistance and increasing social capital for marginalized young people. Section 3.1 focuses on ‘resilience’ which is generally defined as an individual’s, societal, or system’s ability to adapt to adverse conditions. This concept became increasingly relevant in thinking about how individuals affected by mega-event disruptions can build personal resilience skills to improve their well-being, and in turn, its role as a contributing factor in fostering effective transformational resilience.

Section 3.2 focuses on the concept of ‘resistance’ and explores the literature that addresses how individuals use overt and covert forms of resistance against daily disruptions to their local socio-cultural settings. Section 3.2.2 draws out the concept of ‘everyday resistance’ proposed by Scott (1990), supplemented with further arguments which support and dispute his claims. Through an in-depth review of different forms of resistance, my study has been able to capture the varying ways that marginalized young people can be resistant to adverse conditions (e.g. mega-event disruptions), depending on the situation in which they find themselves. A review of this literature also reveals how both concepts of resilience and resistance may be mutually assistive rather than mutually exclusive in times of adversity. These concepts are further explored with specific attention given to Doppelt’s (2016) proposed process of ‘transformational resilience’ (Section 3.1.2). Within this chapter, Bourbeau and Ryan’s (2018) proposition that resilience and resistance are mutually exclusive is also presented (Section 3.2.4).

Section 3.3 concentrates on the concept of social capital and its three core elements of bonding, bridging and linking (Section 3.3.1) as a way of developing effective transformational resilience. The work in this section informs my research on how building social networks can assist in building resilience and reinforcing everyday resistance to social exclusions for marginalized young people. It also satisfies Doppelt’s (2016) key elements of transformational resilience in social support networks and close collaborations with local organisations. The

three concepts of resilience, resistance and social capital, when combined, help deepen our understanding of how marginalized young people can overcome disruptions to their socio-cultural environments caused by mega-event disruptions.

The key areas of focus within the literature review that inform my study and contribute to my theoretical framework include:

- i) Exploration of mega-event disruptions and social legacies that affect marginalized communities of host cities to contextualise the effects that mega-events may bring to favela communities (Chapter 2);
- ii) Transformational resilience (Section 3.1.2): a concept that proposes how individuals can ‘bounce forward’ rather than ‘bounce back’ from adverse situations through the key elements of building personal resilience skills, social network structures and collaborative connections (Doppelt, 2016). This is explored through the lenses of resilience (Section 3.1), resistance (Section 3.2) and social capital (Section 3.3) to frame Doppelt’s three key elements for effective transformational resilience as presented in my study (Figure 3.1, page 44).
- iii) ‘Everyday resistance’ (Section 3.2.2), as proposed by Scott (1990) who claims individuals can covertly resist daily threats. This presents the varying ways in which individuals and communities may display resistant acts and how favela communities may respond to social exclusion exacerbated by mega-event plans and policies;
- iv) Bourbeau and Ryan’s (2018) argument that both resilience and resistance are mutually assistive and not mutually exclusive (Section 3.2.4). This informs my study on how the two concepts are mutually assistive in the context of Rio’s favelas and how they may occur at different moments when they are confronted with adversity; and finally:

- v) The concept of social capital (Section 3.3) and its three elements of bonding, bridging and linking as a contributing factor in developing resilience. This informs my overarching theoretical and analytical framework (Figure 6, page 149) in how building social network structures and close collaborations with external organisations (key elements for effective transformational resilience) can help to increase social capital for marginalized young people.

2.2 What is a mega-event?

Back in the 1980s, Ritchie (1984: 2) referred to large-scale global events as ‘Hallmark’ events, broadly defining them as: *“Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term.”* The success of such events depends on their uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention. He further extended this categorisation to include major sporting events, although acknowledged not all would qualify as hallmark events. There seemed to be a blurred line between which sporting events qualified as hallmark events and which did not. Hallmark events can potentially catalyse economic growth by generating employment, tourism, and an overall ‘feel-good’ factor (Girginov and Parry, 2006). However, Ritchie’s work (1984) failed to distinguish the difference between the type and scale of hallmark events and defined them primarily as tourist attractions (Müller, 2015), thus requiring a further breakdown of what constitutes a ‘hallmark’ event.

Perhaps more helpfully, Roche (2000) later defined large-scale global sporting events as ‘mega-events’ by means of scale, transience and lasting effects and linked this categorisation to modernity. Roche (2000) understood modernity as globalisation of mega-events within

social and cultural structures influenced by politics. He included events like the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, FIFA World Cup, Rugby World Cup, and World Fairs/Expositions. He later suggested that mega-events are temporal mediatized events that are usually ‘once in a lifetime’ for host nations, particularly the Olympic Games (Roche, 2006). The term ‘mega-events’ has also been applied to many other kinds of events such as political summits, conventions or festivals (e.g. Hiller, 1995; Rose and Spiegel, 2011) and many major sporting events such as the Rugby World Cup and Super Bowl (e.g. Gold and Gold, 2008; Fourie and Santana-Gallego, 2011; Maennig and Zimbalist, 2012). However, these smaller-scale sporting events do not require major physical transformations to a host city’s infrastructure (e.g. transport links, event venues and stadia) for the event to take place, like hosting the Olympic Games.

Based on these earlier definitions, Müller (2017) developed mega-event studies by determining whether an event can be recognised as a mega-event based on its scale and character. Müller (2015: 629) argued that such earlier definitions of mega-events failed to include dimensions of tourist attractiveness, reach of the media and mediated reach of the audience, event-related costs, and urban transformative impacts. He then defined them as “*ambulatory occasions of a fixed duration that (a) attract a large number of visitors, (b) have large mediated reach, (c) come with large costs and (d) have large impacts on the built environment and the population*”. Based on this definition, Müller proposed the term ‘giga-events’, defined as an emerging and rare class of the largest events in the world such as the Beijing 2008 and London 2012 Olympic Games and the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil.

Müller’s (2017) hierarchical classification of major-, mega- and giga-events suggested that these events could be measured through a multi-indicator approach with four proposed dimensions (tourist attractiveness, reach of the media and mediated reach of the audience, event-related costs, and urban transformative impacts). He concluded that these four

dimensions could build a more complete and systematic record of such events because evidence is mostly circumstantial in relation to the dimensions of costs and urban transformations. He argued that transparency is necessary regarding event costs, benefits and outcomes that consequently shape the host city's future. He further argued that if these transformational and multi-dimensional large-scale events continue to increase in size then categorising them as 'giga-events' may become the norm rather than the exception. However, Müller's definition seemed to lack the dimension of social legacy and applied a rather objective approach in measuring value, benefits and impacts of major- mega- or 'giga-event' with more focus being directed toward urban legacy dimension. Therefore, the term 'mega-event' is used throughout this thesis to include both the FIFA World Cup and Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games are generally considered to be the most transformational sporting-events due to their large-scale developments and infrastructures (Smith, 2012; Preuss, 2015; Müller, 2017). These can include major structural and transformational (re)developments to a city such as sport stadia, transport links and infrastructures, and infrastructure to accommodate participants and visitors to create a positive destination image (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Roche, 2015). These urban transformations to a host city are encouraged by governing bodies such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), and can have an immediate and lasting effect on the host city and host community.

Yet, these urban transformations bring both positive and negative effects to host cities and their regions (Roche, 2015) and more specifically, their host population. Although such effects have been previously been reported by Raco and Tunney (2010), Gaffney (2015), Pappalepore and Duignan (2016), and Müller (2017), and these include evictions of entire local communities and businesses, gentrification of local areas, which both resulted in the displacement of people thus, more empirical exploration is needed to fully understand this phenomenon. More recently,

Müller and Gaffney (2018) conducted a comparative quantitative case study drawing on existing studies of six recent mega-events to understand the impacts of urban development. Their study found that these impacts were diverse and chiefly moderated by political and economic contexts in the Olympic Games host cities of Vancouver 2010, London 2012, Sochi 2014, and Rio de Janeiro 2016, and both the FIFA World Cups in South Africa in 2010 and Rio de Janeiro 2014. They argued that impacts should not be generalised from one event to another as more state-led economies (i.e. Rio) experienced considerably more negative effects than more democratic market-led economies (i.e. London) who were better able to mitigate negative effects such as displacement. However, the social impacts that resulted from these urban developments, except for displacement, were not discussed and the focus was given to the political and economic aspects of urban development (commonly referred to as ‘urban regeneration’) so, there is a need for further empirical exploration into the social impacts of mega-events.

2.3 Urban Regeneration of mega-event host cities

Due to the expansion of urban areas through urban population and economic growth over the past two to three decades, cities have seen emerging trends in urban regeneration, socio-economic impacts, and neoliberal agendas (Muñoz, 2015). As a result, many government approaches to renew and regenerate post-industrial cities and economies suffering degeneration (see Coaffee, 2011; Poynter and Viehoff, 2015) have increasingly been written into bid books as a strategy to host mega-events. It is such strategies that facilitate city expansion with new constructions which contribute to city image and attract new investment (Munoz, 2015).

Calvo (2014) emphasized that mega-events have the potential to create long-term legacies of sustainable development from regenerating post-industrial and deprived areas. This supports Poynter and Viehoff (2015), who claimed that mega-events are legitimised large-scale urban (re)developments that hopefully induce positive long-term legacies. Additionally, Preuss (2007: 207) claimed that governments of hosting cities often follow ‘event strategies’ as mega-events have the potential to increase a “general spirit of optimism, create combined visions, attract exogenous resources and accelerate city development”. Acceleration in city development has been identified as one of the common strategic reasons to host a mega-event because existing plans for city development may take longer (or not happen at all). Accelerating city development and regenerating deprived and post-industrialised areas have seen a continued trend since the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games in how city space and social relations were restructured, setting the footprint for successful urban redevelopment and social relations through mega-event hosting (Gaffney, 2015). However, it has been argued that the 21st century has seen the main urban regeneration developments through mega-events such as Sydney 2000, Athens 2004, Beijing 2008 and the London 2012 Olympic Games (Muñoz, 2015; Roche, 2015), thus, urban strategies have become a major objective and key motivator for competing to host global sporting events (Minnaert, 2012; Maharaj, 2015).

Based on these successful urban (re)developments, emerging economies particularly BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries have slowly become contenders for hosting mega-events with hosts are no longer confined to developed economies of the western world. These recently rapid developing countries in the East, Middle-East and South, competitively bid to host mega-events (Poynter and Viehoff, 2015) as they are seen to aid the removal of the stigma of ‘underdevelopment’ if delivered successfully (Steinbrink, 2013; Euromonitor, 2013). Smith (2012) stated that regeneration plans have become long-term ambitions that attempt to rectify issues within deprived areas. He further added that mega-

events facilitate urban regeneration through transformation and improvement of the physical environment (i.e. renewal and building facilities, parks, recreational areas and/or transport infrastructure). However, Preuss (2007) argued that infrastructures developed for mega-events are not always sufficiently utilized post-event.

Such extensive transformations are more commonly associated with the Olympic Games rather than other mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup or World Expositions, as they require extensive (re)developments to house such an event. Girginov and Parry (2006: 119) asserted that such transformations to the host city justifies the Olympics "inclusion as a strategy in urban policies, and specifically as a means of enhancing a city's landscape and physical appearance". Rio was no exception. Rio explicitly sought to use the Olympic Games as a vehicle for redeveloping its urban areas and catalyst for social and cultural rebranding of the city through art and cultural amenities and symbolic place-making projects (Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016) – mostly within the Porto Maravilha region of the city. Some of these proposed urban developments in Rio were presented in the IOC's sustainable legacy report:

“[...] large-scale regeneration projects involving the transformation of the harbour area into a major accommodation, entertainment and tourist district, reconnection of the port to the heart of the city, new housing, retail and leisure outlets and extensive sport, recreation, transport and other infrastructure developments.”

(IOC, 2012: 88)

Previous studies by Weed and Bull (2009), Coaffee (2011), and Pop, Kanovici, Ghic and Andrei (2016) all suggested that regeneration will inevitably generate many minor or dramatic physical changes to a city that must be endured to host a mega-event and may involve demolition of existing structures for new developments. A key issue here is that the Olympic Games are an intense transient spectacle that require extensive planning, organising, and

(re)development to be successful. Such extensive physical changes may cause both positive and negative impacts upon the economic, social and environmental dynamics of the host city. This was supported by Roche (2015), who argued that although the Olympics can help regeneration projects in urban areas, they can also bring many complications to the host city. This has been noted in some of the recent Olympic Games hosting. For example, Black and Northam (2017) argued that although London 2012 bid plans aspired to redevelop poorer areas of London's east end, the long-term benefits of those who were evicted remain controversial even though such developments were concentrated to one area of the city (Müller and Gaffney, 2018). More recently, to accommodate Rio 2016, the extended developments led to the construction of the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT), two Olympic Parks, Metro line and demolition of many favela communities through violent and forced evictions (Steinbrink, 2013). These kinds of impact need to be further explored to help better contextualise the effects for future host cities wishing to deliver a mega-event.

Smith (2012) suggested that events can assist urban regeneration in abstract ways, making the distinction between 'event-led regeneration' and 'event-themed regeneration'. 'Event-led' regeneration is based on projects that require new developments i.e. new facilities – "the process of change is driven by the event" (Smith, 2012: 11). He also explained that 'event-themed' regeneration is where events are leveraged to gain wider impact such as parallel physical regeneration to the local landscape developed alongside the event but not necessary for staging the event itself, or 'catalytic events' as termed by Müller and Gaffney (2018). Although, sometimes these catalytic events (Müller and Gaffney, 2018) do not always go to plan as witnessed and admitted by Rio's then Mayor Eduardo Paes, "Brazil has lost a great opportunity with the World Cup [...] FIFA asked for stadiums and Brazil has only delivered stadiums" (cited in BBC, 2013). According to Smith (2012), 'event-themed' regeneration includes the element of 'social regeneration', a parallel initiative within event hosting that is

often ignored or forgotten, with more focus towards the physical regeneration that occurs such as urban place-making.

Poynter and Viehoff (2015) argued that these large-scale developments are legitimized for inducing long-term legacies but conflictually, they have provoked social discontent between host populations, political elites and event organisers. This was evident during Atlanta's 1996 Games and resulted in a 'legacy of distrust' due to the disruption and displacement of communities (Smith, 2012). Although, social discontent is a current and critical issue in mega-event hosting, the short- and long-term effects that such transformations bring to the host city may be more detrimental. These effects from mega-event developments are likely the catalyst for social discontent between local populations and remain under-explored. Moreover, the requirement for (re)development of deprived and dilapidated areas for mega-event infrastructure often results in government attempts to hide disadvantaged communities from tourists to create positive images, such as the case for Rio's favelas (see Steinbrink, 2013; Talbot, 2016). Rio's ability to create a contrasting landscape among the formal structures was overlooked (Steinbrink, 2013; ISSC, IDS and UNESCO, 2016). The Olympic Games socio-cultural and socio-economic impacts on socially excluded groups have attracted both support and criticism on how governments use mega-events to achieve social goals.

2.4 Social impacts and benefits from mega-events

Many authors have argued that mega-event studies tend to focus upon urban regeneration strategies and fail to consider the direct impacts upon the host community from a socio-economic or socio-cultural perspective. This is particularly the case for marginalized communities, ethnic minorities and small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (e.g. Raco and

Tunney, 2010; Minnaert, 2012; Pappalepore and Duignan, 2016). Seemingly, it appears that mega-event cities have previously failed to incorporate social impact concerns into their bid plans (Minnaert, 2012). Both Minnaert (2012) and Maharaj's (2015) studies found that underprivileged and socially-excluded groups are rarely the beneficiary targets from mega-events and such events exacerbate existing socio-economic inequality and social division within the host city. This was supported by Raco and Tunney (2010: 2070) who argued that urban regeneration efforts contradict what is happening to such communities and "...can destroy pre-existing socio-economic practices and paradoxically erode employment opportunities and the quality of life for existing residents." Furthermore, Roche (2015) argued that mega-events can restructure the political-economic and socio-cultural aspects of host cities through transformational developments.

The importance of engaging locals in the event process is paramount for increasing positive social benefits and restricting negative social impacts (Smith, 2012). However, urban regeneration strategies which claim to incorporate host communities geographically located at the core of such proposals are open to speculation. Notably, many bid plans rhetorically claim to benefit the host city and its population to create long-term legacies (further discussed in Section 2.5). However, research suggests that they often exclude those they initially claim to help so, there is a need to develop this further in research.

Throughout Rio's bid books there was no mention of the term 'favelas', despite the diverse and culturally rich communities they represent (Steinbrink, 2013). Rio's event organisers, local and state governments ability to create a contrasting landscape among the formal structures was overlooked (Steinbrink, 2013; ISSC, IDS and UNESCO, 2016). Instead, these communities were targeted through a variety of measures to re-appropriate and transform these spaces within the city (Steinbrink, 2013; Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016). This situation could be described as representing a 'carnival mask'. In contemporary urban studies, the 'carnival mask' is viewed

as “an agent of deception” (Smith, 2012: 32), seen to be worn by cities and their governments behind which existing social conditions and problems can be hidden. Harvey (1989: 21) used the term ‘carnival mask’ with reference to the superficial regeneration of cities, claiming that this “diverts and entertains, leaving the social problems which lie behind the mask unseen and uncared for.” Furthering this, Brownhill Keivani, and Pereira (2013: 111) stated that the carnival mask “acts to soften and hide the unequal processes, entrepreneurial governance and socio-spatial polarization associated with Olympic urban transformations.” This metaphorical term is essentially regarded as a way for governments and cities to hide the social inequalities that lie behind the façade.

Smith (2012) claimed that mega-events act as substitutes for regeneration instead of agents of regeneration, providing ‘smokescreens’ in which existing urban problems can be hidden. The darkness of deception from governments in using mega-events to restructure host cities results in the ‘invisibilisation’ of marginalized communities. The ‘touristic staging’ of the mega-event consequently politicizes what Urry, (1990) has referred to as the ‘tourist gaze’ (Steinbrink, 2013). Furthermore, Smith (2012) argued that host cities may instead keep their existing social, political and economic systems and practices instead of initiating positive change through mega-events contradicting the main principle of regeneration. Therefore, what are the positive changes brought to host cities and their communities from urban redevelopments if these existing systems and practices are thought to remain the same or worsen existing practices? Coaffee (2011) argued whether initial proposed promises written into bid plans and documents are in fact met, ignored or forgotten. Much research into host community issues from mega-events seem mainly descriptive with the aspect of social issues being difficult to measure (Minnaert, 2012) thus, a more exploratory empirical investigation into these effects is needed. Previous studies by Minnaert (2012), Li and McCabe (2013), Steinbrink (2013) and Maharaj

(2015) all argued that social impacts can occur from mega-events and many of the bid plans to include such issues are greatly contested.

2.4.1 Marginalizing the marginalized

It is important to highlight that mega-events are inherently ‘youth-centric’, this being not just the competitors but also referring to the generation most likely to be affected by mega-events and their outcomes (Black and Northam, 2017). These authors argued that “In the context of the global South, youth constitute the largest and most ‘at risk’ demographic.” (Black and Northam, 2017:11). They argued that this demographic should be incorporated throughout the entire event process and perhaps more importantly, in post-event legacy plans.

Rio has long been associated as a city of “social implosion, brutal inequality, and tremendous violence wrought by the drug trade.” (Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016: 39). UNESCO (2013: 21) reported in 2013 that “Favela communities were pushed underground [since 1970/80s due to drug trafficking], their actual sociability hidden away by fear, geography and socio-economic limitations while represented symbolically by stigma and negative representations.” Rio is thwarted with drug gangs and violence that increases stigmatism and prejudices of such communities (see Talbot and Carter, 2018). Attempted occupation of Rio’s favelas by drug gangs, and the war between them and the police, exacerbates violence and severely heightens homicide death rates of young people between 15 and 24 years of age (UNESCO, 2013). Sadly, inequalities and oppression against young black people mean that they are the race most likely to be killed. UNESCO (2013) reported that for every young white person murdered, two or more young black people are murdered in the same way. Catalytic Communities (CatComm, 2019) support this, reporting that between 2010 and 2013 there was a 40% increase in the

number of black Brazilians killed annually over that period. The most common affected are young black men from Rio's favelas who are victims of police violence – "1,275 registered cases of killings by on-duty police, 99.5% of victims were men, 79% were black and 75% were aged between 15 and 29." (CatComm, 2019). It is these statistics that evidence the severe brutality and social inequalities that exist in Rio (Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016), and the dangers that young black people are confronted with daily.

It is such gangs that take control of favelas by regulating and commanding the life of the young people who live among them. This, alongside the danger of 'easy death' from straying bullets, "produces a psychosocial ecology of danger" (UNESCO, 2013: 45), constructing a social normality of crime and violence. Despite these dangers, the lack of opportunities for Rio's young people from oppression including social disintegration and discrimination, often results in them following a life of crime and the pull of the drug gangs offers socio-economic benefits through money and recognition (UNESCO, 2013) – essentially giving these young people a sense of belonging and identity in a city where they are often ignored and excluded. Young people want to be recognised and this makes this life trajectory appealing for those who are vulnerable and lack other options.

As identified in Section 2.4, marginalized communities like Rio's favelas, have tended to be the most affected by mega-events. However, the IOC encourage host cities to include marginalized and indigenous communities through grassroots projects in the lead up to, and in the Olympic Games:

"The IOC works to include indigenous communities not just in the Games themselves, but also in the lead-up. It encourages grassroots sports and healthy lifestyles to both indigenous and underprivileged communities."

(IOC, 2012: 77)

They further stated that:

“Fundamental to sustainable development is bettering lives and livelihoods especially of those living in poverty and those who are socially disadvantaged or excluded”

(IOC, 2012: 88).

Unfortunately, such positive statements and recommendations are not always followed and can result in further social exclusion and division so more knowledge is needed on how mega-events can exacerbate already existing critical social conditions of marginalized communities.

2.4.2 Evictions of underprivileged communities

Mega-events can contribute both positively and negatively to social conditions, particularly in underdeveloped areas (Smith, 2012). According to Minnaert (2012), these social effects can be both infrastructural (tangible or hard impacts) and non-infrastructural (intangible or soft impacts). In her 2012 study, Minnaert investigated the non-infrastructural outcomes of the Olympic Games from Atlanta 1996 to Beijing 2008 for socially-excluded groups, acknowledging that limited literature was available at that time on the non-infrastructural impacts. These non-infrastructural impacts included both individual (health benefits, mental health, skills and social capital) and community impacts (image, status, and sense of place).

Steinbrink (2013) deliberated that some of the dwellings of the poorer communities located in areas that mega-event infrastructures need to be (re)developed can impact the city's image-building efforts, as seen previously in section 2.3. This can result in various consequences that have been evidenced in many Olympic host cities such as the displacement of local communities which results in loss of home, businesses, livelihoods and entire communities. Examples of such evictions and displacement have been reported in literature and included

Raco and Tunney's (2010) case study on a small business community who were evicted in 2007 for the development of the London 2012 Olympic Village.

Raco and Tunney (2010) admitted that the London 2012 evictions and displacements were not as prominent as other host cities. In Beijing, it was reported that many communities were evicted to create space for the 2008 Olympic Games infrastructure with entire communities removed (Minnaert, 2012). Later, Maharaj (2015) reported that the South African World Cup in 2010 also evicted and displaced informal communities in several of the host cities for necessary stadia and infrastructure to be constructed to host the football competition. In these South African cities, public-policy targets of affordable housing were not met.

In addition to such evictions, Müller and Gaffney (2018) reported that both the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics and the London 2012 Summer Olympics increased house prices and living costs which resulted in gentrification and displacement of underprivileged communities. Gaffney (2015: 1134) expressed that the common consensus in literature for gentrification is that it "involves the displacement of one social group by a wealthier group that exhibits different cultural patterns."

Many plans and policies to 'clean-up' host cities have seen many forced evictions of underprivileged groups and their communities living in deprived areas targeted for regeneration. This is particularly the case to sanitize spaces to promote the destination image for tourists and media alike. According to Talbot and Carter (2018), 'beautification' and 'clean-up' initiatives of areas within the 'Olympic Corridor' are prevalent in mega-event strategies and this was highly evident in Rio through its evictions and gentrification of such areas. It is the impact of such effects that have to date, been under-explored for Rio and empirical work is particularly limited on how they affected underprivileged and marginalized communities.

2.4.3 Political interventions masking social issues

Beginning in 2008, Rio state government implemented an intervention policy of occupying and pacifying Rio's favelas located those within the Olympic corridor or zones (Gaffney, 2015). This intervention programme was the *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* – Police Pacification Unit (UPP, n.d.) directed by the Polícia Militar do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (PMERJ - Rio Military State Police) and financed by the Rio state government. Gaffney (2015) and Bellégo and Drouard (2019) claimed that the spatial and social logistics of the UPP were to gain control of Rio's favelas in preparation for Rio's mega-events e.g. FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016. These authors further reported that due to the recession in Brazil in 2015, the UPP programme gradually weakened and some of the drug-trafficking groups and militias started to reclaim some of the previous lost territories. These authors further reported that in 2018 violence escalated and the Rio government deployed military soldiers to take control of the city's public security. Gaffney (2015) claimed that the UPP pacification resulted in areas becoming gentrified and subsequently increased house prices and cost of living throughout the city, including the favelas located within the south zone.

A further consequence of pacifying Rio's favelas meant displacing drug gangs to other more peripheral and poorer communities in Rio which had received even less public investment than the south zone region (Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016). As per Gaffney (2015), Figure 2.1 displays the pacified favelas showing their proximity to the Olympic venues identifying that those pacified were within the Olympic zones – confirming such claims that a positive destination image for Rio was an agenda by local governments.



Figure 2:1 - Rio's Pacified Favelas (Rekow, 2016: 76)

Smith (2012: 32) suggested that many observers refer to a more sinister way in which locals are affected by mega-events, seeing these as characteristic of ‘a revanchist city’ (i.e. political suppression of marginalized groups). The revanchist city is a concept that refers to extreme right political agendas. Although this is a more radical way to view the social issues surrounding mega-events, it regards events as opportunities to pacify the masses as well as suppress and control those deemed ‘to not fit in’. Tufts’ (2004: 50) case study on Toronto’s bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games to transform into a ‘competitive’ global city claimed that “[...] the Olympics are also very much implicated in the revanchist city, playing a crucial role in not only processes of accumulation, but also the social control of marginalized groups through coercive and non-coercive means.” This claim implies that mega-events are used as a

strategic tool to restructure underdeveloped cities such as Rio, and results in the most deprived usually suffering the most punitive costs (Smith, 2012).

Minnaert (2012) argued that although social impacts are reported in the literature, very little empirical evidence exists, and they are usually generalised without a clear direction of the specific effects the host population suffers. Perhaps due to social impacts being hard to measure, much previous mega-event research or assessment of a host city has been focused on urban regeneration efforts, economic implications, or the positive and/or negative effects of tourism (Hiller and Wanner, 2017). Furthermore, Minnaert (2012) emphasized that research into mega-events and their social impacts have been rarely applied to socially excluded groups and remains an under-researched area, highlighting the suggested need for empirical investigative research into such impacts. Hiller and Wanner (2017) supported Minnaert's views that host city residents' perceptions and experiences are rarely analysed in relation to the impacts of hosting the Olympic Games.

Minnaert (2012) further claimed that gathering information from different social groups towards the social and cultural impacts from hosting mega-events provides a better understanding of who benefits and who is excluded. In turn, this may reveal hidden realities within rhetorical bid plans and proposed urban strategies that often worsen existing social divisions and depravity of underprivileged and socially excluded communities. It has been argued by many authors such as Minnaert (2012), Raco and Tunney (2010), and Pappalepore and Duignan (2016), that the benefits of hosting a mega-event do not extend to the local communities. Although, such social impacts exist in literature, very little empirical investigation exists on this aspect of event and mega-event research. This oversight is common in many event studies and is a noticeable gap within mega-event research that needs to be addressed. Research into social issues may help host communities to effectively plan and manage mega-events to secure positive legacies.

2.5 Mega-event Legacy: tangible and intangible legacies

The International Olympics Committee (IOC) introduced the ‘Olympic Games Global Impact’ (OGGI) project in 2000 to prompt host organising committees adopt more economic, social and environmental responsible planning approaches, as well as a consistent methodology to capture the Games’ effects over eleven years from the bidding stage (Preuss, 2007; Coaffee, 2011). However, this approach is considered to result in more positivistic and outcome-oriented studies (Homma and Masumoto, 2013) requiring more constructivist approaches to capture the effects of legacy, particularly individual experiences from those affected from mega-events. The OGGI project was the IOCs response to the United Nations (UN) sustainable development plans presented at the Rio Summit in 1992. Sustainable development includes the three pillars of economic, socio-cultural and environmental factors. Although Preuss (2007) argued that the IOCs OGGI proposed time-scale was not enough as it only extends for two years post-games therefore, the long-term legacy cannot be effectively measured.

The IOC formally introduced the term ‘legacy’ in 2003 as a criterion for hosting the Olympic Games and evaluating bids in the Olympic Charter by the IOC. The IOC claimed their role was “to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games for the host cities and host countries”. (IOC, 2015: 19). The IOCs evaluation of candidate cities includes “an assessment [...] of sustainability and legacy.” (IOC, 2015: 73). The IOCs current definition of Olympic legacy “[...] includes the long-term benefits of the Olympic Games that serve the host city, its people, and the Olympic Movement before, during and long after the Olympic Games” (IOC, 2019). However, this definition seems to contradict itself. It first claims that Olympic legacy ‘includes the long-term benefits’ (which denies the aspect of negative impacts) and then claims ‘to

serve...before, during and long-after the Olympic Games’, thus, it appears that the IOC consider aspects of legacy to occur immediately when a host bid is won.

Based on the IOC’s introduction of ‘Olympic legacy’, this phenomenon rapidly became of interest to researchers and stakeholders alike. Preuss (2007) claimed that varying literature concepts of legacy provide many examples ranging from common ‘tangible’ legacies (e.g. urban planning) to less documented ‘intangible legacies’ (e.g. cultural identity). Preuss (2007) classified ‘intangible’ and ‘tangible’ legacies respectively as ‘soft’ legacies (e.g. knowledge, networks, cultural identity) and ‘hard’ legacies (e.g. sport infrastructure, facilitating infrastructure such as transport, communication and power). Legacy research has been diverse in its approaches and aspects, with many studies extending past the core areas of social, economic and sporting legacies to include “law, politics, urban regeneration, education and environment...” (Dickson, Benson and Blackman, 2011: 292). Questionably, the three core areas of legacy should be the socio-cultural, economic and environmental aspects as these are essentially the core elements in sustainable development that the IOC aim to promote.

Based on varying examples of legacy, Preuss (2007) argued that there is no satisfactory definition of legacy in the context of mega-sporting events, asserting that a broader definition of legacy was required to encompass all various elements of legacy, independent from qualitative or IOC suggestions. However, Preuss’ claims seemed to encourage a quantifiable approach to defining legacy which results in an objective definition of legacy that potentially excludes individual experiences and perceptions of those affected by mega-events – those who are often forgotten or rarely explored empirically. Preuss (2007) proposed his definition of legacy as: *“Irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself”* (Preuss, 2007: 211).

Despite Preuss' (2007) definition, Brownhill, Keivani, and Pereira (2013) later argued that a more appropriate definition was required, highlighting that within bid documentation and academic literature there is no agreed definition to guide potential host cities. More recently, Preuss (2015) argued that it is extremely difficult to identify sport event legacies holistically, due to not being able to easily differentiate between event-related and non-event related changes that occur from hosting a mega-event. Therefore, debatably, is legacy not better defined independently for each aspect of legacy based on all its variances, impacts and benefits?

Many definitions, like Preuss (2007) seemed to focus on 'sporting' legacies that potentially excludes other mega-events such as World Expositions (e.g. Roche, 2000). Furthermore, Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011) argued that a more structured albeit flexible, approach was required to enhance the effective evaluation of legacies. Consequently, they developed a 'legacy radar framework' using both Cashman's (2006) and Preuss' (2007: 291) earlier works, to reintroduce the 'time' and 'space' aspects as key dimensions. In adding 'costs', it attempted to provide "...a more dynamic approach to researching the legacy of mega-events.". However, these authors also specifically focused on the 'sporting' tourism legacies and use previous studies to create a Likert scale radar. This framework may be useful to plot future legacy benefits and costs for host cities, but it may require an extensive mixed-methods approach to encompass all elements of legacy.

Although, the IOC claimed longitudinal studies are vital to measure legacy, (supported by Roche (2000) who claimed that any measurement of legacy requires a longitudinal study), they are not always possible due to time and monetary constraints of researchers. This request for longitudinal research was later contested by Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011), who argued that temporal and spatial dimensions of legacies are important and should be done over

time in stages and not holistically. Although it is reasonable to suggest that legacy is a post-event concept, the period after the event has passed is questionable. For legacy to exist, something must be left for a long-term legacy, for example, people's memory of the Games, destination image, mega-event venues and infrastructures, as well as other tangible and intangible assets and/or liabilities (positive and/or negative). Therefore, legacy can be assumed to exist immediately after the event has been staged, or arguably even before this time as soon as planning and development begins as per IOC's definition.

Moving on from this, Preuss (2015) later recognised such issues with his earlier definition. Thus, Preuss (2015) proposed six dimensions of legacies. His original four proposed elements of legacy included: who is affected by them, how long they last, and whether they create or destroy value. He subsequently found that Chappelet (2012) provided a useful fifth dimension he had not considered which was an 'intentional' versus 'unintentional' legacy which Preuss suggested indicated that legacy can also be negative. He also claimed that Chappelet's defined dimensions also considered a sixth dimension which was space. The 'space' aspect was addressed twice as it differentiated between sport-related and non-sport-related effects. Based on these new dimensions, Preuss (2015) developed his six fundamental elements of a legacy definition as shown in Table 2.1, offering a clear insight into what dimensions of legacy may exist.

1. “It lasts longer than the event and its directly initiated impacts. Legacies can derive from structures already completed before the event, but most legacy stems from changed location factors after the event takes place (time)
2. It produces new opportunities out of an initial impact and may even develop its own dynamics over time as the environment changes (new initiatives)
3. It consists of changes that bring positive outcomes for some stakeholders and negative outcomes for others (value)
4. It may be tangible or intangible, or material or non-material (tangibility)
5. It is essentially limited to a defined space, that, is a city, but some of its effects may be extend beyond the city. It can be individual (affecting only one person) and local, or international and global (space)
6. It is often developed indirectly by the event. A negative legacy reminds us that outcomes may be unintentional (intention)”

Table 2.1- Preuss' (2015: 21) six dimensions of mega-event legacy

In addition to the issues with the IOC's definition and measurement of 'legacy', a more urgent matter lay with the IOC's promotion of a 'positive' Olympic legacy. Legacy has been commonly associated with the positive outcomes of hosting a mega-event by cities that choose to host them (Roche, 2015). Many scholars, critics and various stakeholders have greatly contested this outcome, more specifically host city community stakeholders in whether the mega-events bring positive benefits. In addition, the terms 'legacy' and 'impact' have been used interchangeably, but many have argued that 'legacies' differ to 'impacts' in that legacies refer to 'long-term effects' and impacts refer to 'short-term effects' (Homma and Masumoto 2013: Li and McCabe, 2013). In proposing the six fields of legacy as sport; economics; infrastructure;

information and education; public life; politics and culture; symbols, memory and history, Cashman (2006) argued that the concept of legacy is assumed to be entirely positive by the IOC and Olympic Organising Committees (OOCs) and that negative legacies appear to not exist.

For a positive legacy to exist, good continual planned management is required from the first stages of hosting a mega-event. Legacy is a strategic narrative combined within government urban regeneration plans to ensure effective event preparation and avoidance of ‘white elephants’ after the event as seen after the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens that resulted in the worst Olympiad legacy (e.g. Alm, Solberg, Strom and Jakobsen, 2016). Extensive literature on the ‘white elephant’ concept of mega-event highlights the way venues are often left to become disused spaces or fall into a state of disrepair and yet this is the immediate tangible legacy that is usually considered positive and planned. However, many venues used for mega-events remain empty and disused post-event as the plans for post-event usage are often overlooked thus, determining whether they become positive or negative legacies and for how long.

Homma and Masumoto (2013) argued that locals and visitors may prefer to see tangible legacies but, in some cases, the intangible legacies may be more significant and cannot be ignored. However, there is increasing research to suggest that long-term ‘legacies’ may not be positive for the very stakeholders they intend to benefit - the host community (see Chalip, 2006; Preuss, 2007; Raco and Tunney, 2010; Gaffney, 2013; Steinbrink, 2013; Ziakas, 2015; Pappalepore and Duignan, 2016). Therefore, it is appropriate to explore this ‘community’ aspect of legacy, an aspect that many authors agree is difficult to measure (e.g. Minnaert, 2012; Roche, 2015).

2.5.1 What social legacy?

According to Preuss (2015), investigations into the social, environmental and political legacies of mega-events only came into fruition after 2005 (e.g. Minnaert, 2012; Chappelet, 2012; Li and McCabe, 2013). Yet, the one element of mega-event legacy that remains under explored is the social legacy. Li and McCabe (2013: 390) argued that ‘hard legacies’ are the tangible assets such as urban regeneration, infrastructure improvement and tourism legacies which are easily observed. On the other hand, ‘soft legacies’ are the intangible assets such as social sustainability, and those claimed to be less observable.

Li and McCabe (2013) proposed a legacy framework that sought to include the social element of legacy. They measured legacies of mega-events, the three main parts included a definition and dimensions of legacy, measurement factors of legacy, and the time dimension of legacy. They divided legacy into three categories of economic, social and compounding legacies. Although they included the social benefits and costs within their social dimension, they focused their investigation on tourism legacy and rejected the social impacts from the perspective of the host community. Prior to this, Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011) claimed that host community social legacies are mostly ignored in research, as identified at the end of section 2.5, as is social capital development through sporting mega-events. Therefore, more research is required into effective social legacies and how they can inform other social legacies that future host cities can consider and adopt which this study aims to achieve.

Many ‘intangible’ legacies e.g. knowledge, seem to be the consequences of the tangible structures e.g. urban transformations creating a blurred line of what exactly exists as a social legacy from mega-events. Social legacy appears incorporated within the overall ‘legacy’ definition although, as identified earlier, this definition is also inconsistent and lacks clarity. Therefore, perhaps requiring further investigation into individual cases of the varying aspects

of legacy – both event-led and event-themed, which is outside the scope of this research study. Yet, they must be explored in their entirety rather than assuming they all interconnect – supporting earlier claims of time and space dimensions of legacy (e.g. Dickson, Benson and Blackman, 2011). Although, each effect will impact another e.g. urban regeneration, that results in displacement of local communities (Section 2.3), the effects from this cannot be seen and must therefore, be considered. There seems to be a lack of existing studies encapsulating social legacies and these appear mainly focused toward the social impacts and what is left for the host community futures, rather than what may also exist (e.g. social benefits) before, during and post-event delivery thus, requiring further research to uncover all dimensions of social legacies. Although no specific definition of social legacy exists, Preuss' (2015) proposed elements of legacy (Figure 2.1) appear useful to encapsulate the social aspect of legacy and this will be explored in this study. Social legacies may appear unplanned and unintentional (not planned or organised by the event organisers), but some other more commonly addressed dimensions (e.g. sporting legacies) are also unplanned or unintentional and can result in positive outcomes for marginalized groups, not just negative.

Future planning is not always included in the first-stages as public stakeholder participation is often lacking in bid documents which is immensely problematic for sustainable urban development (Gaffney, 2013). Many host cities act opportunistically rather than strategically in their event initiatives (Chalip, 2006; Hall, 2006). It is well reported and documented that social legacy is less, if at all, planned or considered, and any form of legacy indicated in Olympic bid plans are rarely developed before, during or post-event development and delivery due to time and money constraints. This is heightened by the IOCs high demands and requirements that demand urgency from the event organisers and city governments to be ready in time to stage the ultimate event. Therefore, investigations into social legacies are important for the future hosting of mega-events to better develop ideas of how effective plans can deliver

a more positive outcome for host communities affected by such events, which is what this current research is seeking to do.

As previous mega-event and legacy literature suggests, there are many issues that arise from cities choosing to host a mega-event that affect their local community, and more specifically marginalized communities and ethnic minorities. A lack of empirical research into these communities and how they are affected exists and warrants further research to address these gaps. Furthermore, social legacies seem rarely explored regarding how marginalized communities are affected or may have benefited from mega-events. However, what remains important is analysis of how these communities, who are seemingly ill-treated throughout the mega-event process, overcome such disruptions to their socio-cultural environments. It is evident that many resource-dependent communities have experienced significant impacts associated with economic and social restructuring brought by mega-events (Matarrita-Cascante and Trejos, 2013). It is these implications from mega-events that now leads to the exploration of the mutually assistive concepts of 'resilience' and 'resistance' in Chapter 3. It is suggested that these concepts are useful processes for exploring and conceptualising how marginalized young people can overcome adverse social conditions exacerbated by mega-event strategies.

3 Literature review: Resilience, Resistance and Social Capital

This chapter explores the three concepts of resilience, resistance and social capital. In reviewing the literature, these three concepts emerged as relational when occurring in specific circumstances (see Figure 3.1). During the course of analysis, it was clear that they could be regarded as relational and come together in a transformational resilience framework. The emergence of this framework builds on literature and research on the disruptions that mega-events bring to marginalized individuals and communities. In turn, drawing together such concepts in a previously underutilised manner, presents useful ways in which socially excluded groups may overcome mega-event disruptions as well as everyday social exclusions.

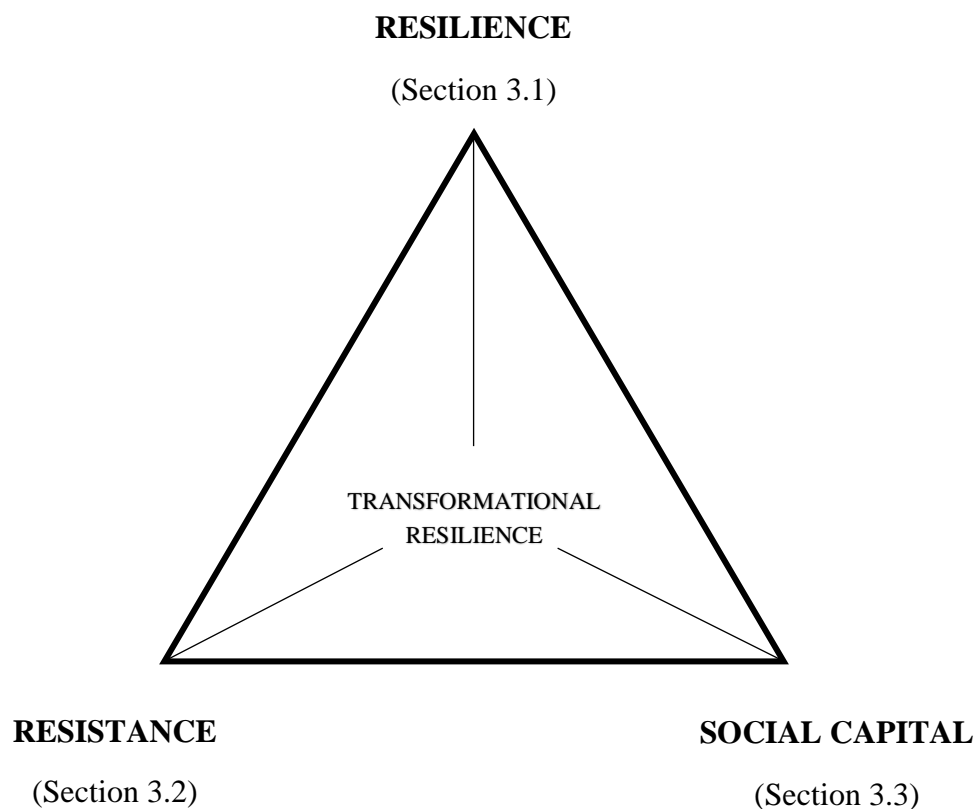


Figure 3:1 - Triangular relationship of resilience, resistance and social capital (Author own)

This chapter is divided into the following sections, starting with resilience (Section 3.1), followed by resistance (Section 3.2), and finishing with social capital (Section 3.3). Section 3.1 presents the various concepts of resilience including social/community resilience (Section 3.1.1) and transformational resilience (Section 3.1.2). Section 3.2 presents some of the varying forms of resistance such as overt and covert forms (Section 3.2.1) and everyday resistance (Section 3.2.2). Section 3.3 presents the three elements of social capital that include bonding, bridging and linking (Section 3.3.1).

3.1 The conceptual development of resilience

Resilience has been defined in many ways and applied to many different domains such as health, ecology, and tourism studies. Its multitude of uses and applications perhaps requires more specificity in its definition depending on the domain in which it is applied. Despite a multiplicity of definitions, resilience has been generally agreed as “[...] a system’s ability to adapt to change, disturbance or adversity [...]” (Guo et al., 2018: 2). Also, many researchers agree that resilience is concerned with individual responses (‘variations’) to risk, and it is important to recognise that resilience is ‘relative’ and ‘variable’ rather than ‘absolute’ (Rutter, 1990).

The original scientific concept of resilience originates in physics in relation to “[...] the quality of a material to regain its original shape after being bent, compressed, or stretched.” (Doppelt, 2016: 301). However, as a theoretical concept, resilience originated in ecological studies (Holling, 1973) and was later extended to psychology (see Rutter, 1979; Werner and Smith, 1982; Richardson, 2002; Bonanno, 2004; Poortinga, 2012), disaster research in tourism studies

(Sharpley, 2005; Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes, 2013; Aldrich and Meyer, 2014; Guo et al., 2018) and social sciences (Henderson and Milstein, 1996; Ledesma, 2014).

In ecological studies (primarily climate change studies), the term resilience describes the system's ability to adapt to changing climatic conditions by projecting and adjusting for future impacts to try and maintain relatively stable levels of homeostasis (Doppelt, 2016). Holling (1973) defined resilience as an [ecological] system's ability to absorb disturbance and maintain function. Resilience appears strongly within the health domain and is usually linked to exploring the mental health aspects of psychology and pathology (Ballenger-Browning and Johnson, 2010). In this field, 'resilience' has been interpreted as a person's ability to 'bounce back' to a previous state following adverse or traumatic events that disrupt their mental state. The most common agreed definition of resilience in psychology was presented by Luthar in 2006 as 'positive adaptation despite adversity'. According to Richardson (2002: 308) resilience emerged through "...phenomenological identification of characteristics of survivors, mostly young people, living in high-risk situations." Although, Richardson's reference was concerned with 'at risk' children and their social living conditions, this could be interpreted as any condition or environment in which an adverse situation disrupts the social conditions of an individual and/or community, such as mega-event effects on marginalized young people.

In many tourism studies, the adoption of resilience as a concept tends to relate to post-disaster management from both natural and national disasters such as severe weather impacts and terrorism. Other studies included competitive tourism destinations (see Hartmann, 2015) and tourism in protected areas (see Strickland-Munro, Allison and Moore, 2010). Lew and Cheer (2017: 35) defined tourism resilience as a way of "[...] understanding how to maintain tourism activities and a tourism community's overall quality of life at desirable levels [...]". Resilience is mostly discussed as a theoretical concept applying little empirical evidence within tourism studies (Lew, 2014). The term is often used to explain the vulnerability of destinations from

shocks (rapid-onset events) and stressors (slow-onset events) in response to socio-economic and environmental settings and may include political unrest and terrorist attacks (e.g. Calgano, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes, 2013). Lew (2014) further argued that resilience in tourism studies can become a practical and alternative approach to the sustainable development model and considered that it may be helpful to explore the dimensions of ‘resilience’ rather than ‘sustainability’ in tourism. However, the adoption of the concept of resilience in tourism studies has been limited and focused to very specific areas. Despite this, there is an opportunity to extend the concept to other areas such as mega-event disruptions and their consequential effects on marginalized young people (as explored in Chapter 2, Section 2.4), as this research intends to explore.

Luthar (2006) claimed that resilience is a construct with two distinct dimensions: significant adversity and positive adaptation. Based on Luthar’s perspective, Fleming and Ledogar (2008) argued that resilience has never been directly measured but instead indirectly inferred from evidence of Luthar’s two distinct dimensions. These authors claimed that both Rutter’s (1990) and Luthar’s (2006) definitions of resilience can range on a variety of outcomes that may not always be positive and can vary in different domains. For example, an individual who displays resilient qualities in one situation may not display the same resilience in another. Basically, resilience can exist as both positive and negative and is dependent upon the specific circumstance in which the individual finds themselves. Further supported by Luthar (2006: 741) who claimed that resilience is “never an across-the-board phenomenon”. This suggests that the process of resilience is specific to a given context (e.g. social/environmental conditions such as socio-economic status, culture, etc.), domain and age.

Richardson (2002) suggested that earlier investigations into resilience were invaluable contributions in identifying resilient qualities that assisted people in recovering from adverse conditions. These early resilience studies were concerned with the resilience of individuals, but

more recently resilience has been extended as a feature of entire communities. Investigations into resilience have started to explore social systems and the resilience of communities (Poortinga, 2012; Matarrita-Cascante and Trejos, 2013).

3.1.1 Social/Community and Cultural Resilience

Interest in the community and cultural effects of resilience in individuals has featured within resilience studies with increased interest focused on how resilience is a feature of entire community and cultural groups (Fleming and Ledogar, 2008). Many theoretical and empirical studies concentrate on the economic, institutional, physical and geographical conditions, and social factors which create and maintain community resilience. The concept of ‘community resilience’ has recently been denoted in many academic domains including psychology (e.g. Bonanno, 2004), sociology (e.g. Ledesma, 2014), socio-ecological systems (e.g. Holling, 1973), and tourism and disaster research (e.g. Aldrich and Meyer, 2014).

According to Adger (2000: 361), social resilience was somewhat undefined and difficult to assess, subsequently defining it “...as the ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure.”. It is important to note that Adger’s definition is particularly apt for resource-dependent communities that are subject to external traumas in two different forms. Firstly, environmental variability (e.g. climate extremities); and secondly, in the form of social, political and economic disruption (e.g. state interventions). These latter external influences should also include mega-event disruptions as these events can also disrupt the socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic environments of a host population as previously discussed in Chapter 2. Such changes according to Adger (2000: 361) “[...] will allow innovation, coping with change and social learning in social institutions.”

Janssen and Ostrom (2006) later argued that “community resilience research should consider the perceptions of community residents and the social construction of resilience” (cited in Guo, 2018: 3). This supports Schwarz, Béné, Bennett, Boso, Hilly, Paul, Posala, Sibiti, and Andrew (2011), who more recently claimed that community residents’ adaptation responses to shocks and disruptions are influenced by their subjective realities. This is an interesting point, as marginalized and underprivileged communities inevitably have different socio-epistemological positions compared to other communities across varying mega-event host cities. Furthermore, these authors argued that a better understanding of the social and institutional factors that influence individual and/or community capacity to respond and adapt to uncertainty and changes is required. They further argued that empirical investigations are required “[...] on how to operationalize these theories to make them meaningful and applicable to local communities in developing countries.” (Schwarz et al., 2011: 1138) - a call to which this current research on how marginalized young people in Rio overcame mega-event disruptions through a social legacy initiative now responds.

Fleming and Ledogar (2008) conducted a review of literature on aboriginal communities and resilience. They discovered what many psychologists have realised over the years which is resilience originates outside of the individual. More simply, resilience is not always considered as an intrinsic trait, suggesting that it may be a process. Such studies on aboriginal communities and resilience included exploration into how ‘Anglo-Indian’ South Africans responded to the Apartheid oppression (e.g. Sonn and Fisher, 1998) and how these individual communities responded to violent and adverse socio-economic conditions in the post-Apartheid era (e.g. Ahmed and Pillay, 2004). Additionally, Healy (2006) applied community resilience in his study of indigenous people’s struggle for greater political control in Bolivia. This discovery led to many psychologists seeking resilience factors at the individual, family and community levels

and more recently - the cultural levels. Although, some psychologists still retain the view that resilience is an individual asset (e.g. Luthar, 2006).

Despite increased interest in the relationship between culture and resilience, Fleming and Ledogar (2008) argued that this aspect of resilience was rarely explored prior to 2008. Cultural resilience is a term often “...used to denote the role that culture may play as a resource for resilience in the individual.” (Healy, 2006: 2). Healy (2006: 2) further defined community and cultural resilience as “[...] the capacity of a distinct community or cultural system to absorb disturbance and recognise while undergoing change so as to retain key elements of structure and identity that preserves its distinctiveness”. Moreover, Guo et al. (2018) discovered that resilience is better conceptualized as a process or an ability rather than an outcome that is cumulatively built through repeated pathways or mechanisms (Brown and Kulig, 1996; Skerratt and Steiner, 2013). Fleming and Ledogar (2008) also considered this within contemporary resilience research and it became clear that varying risks can affect resilient factors, which suggests resilience is a process and it is appropriate to consider the process of ‘transformational resilience’ conceptualised in Doppelt’s work (2016).

3.1.2 Transformational resilience in individuals and communities

According to Bourbeau and Ryan (2018), resilience is considered ‘transformational’ in many subject disciplines including psychology, ecology and disaster management. However, Doppelt (2016) argued that many management policies within climate, environmental, mental health and disaster awareness domains are flawed in their approach to manage adverse climate conditions. Management plans for withstanding climate impacts involve strategies that attempt to improve understanding of science and the introduction new technologies. In mental health,

post-disaster treatment is introduced to improve their mental state, whereas the disaster awareness domain appears to hold both views.

Doppelt (2016) suggested two foundations of transformational resilience exist that relate to resilient growth (*presencing*) and recovery from trauma (*purposing*). ‘Purposing’ is associated with finding meaning in our lives, direction and hope amid adversity which subsequently benefits our well-being. He argued that ‘Purposing’ occurs when new social narratives shift individual focus to something greater than themselves such as “[...] helping the wider community [...] provide invaluable sources of meaning, purpose, and hope in their lives.” Doppelt (2016: 9). Additionally, he argued that there is growing evidence that “[...] building personal resilience skills, robust social support networks, and close collaborations among local organisations, not the physical infrastructure, natural resource adaptation, or post-trauma treatment, are the keys to enhancing human resilience.” (Doppelt, 2016: 9). These proposed means are what he considered as the collective core elements of ‘transformational resilience’. These elements of transformational resilience can be considered in event impact studies to investigate how marginalized individuals and communities can respond to adverse conditions such as exacerbated social exclusion brought by mega-events. This supports Bahadur and Tanner’s (2014) findings that the combined concepts of resilience and transformation can effectively reduce vulnerability and bring sustainable change for marginalized communities.

However, Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes (2016) argued that short-term coping actions such as trauma support, can give way to longer-term transformations. These can include ‘reflection, self-organisation, social learning and embracing emerging opportunities’, all critical interventions for determining future vulnerability and resilience. Regardless of these interventions, these authors claimed that positive change is not always guaranteed. However, Bourbeau and Ryan (2018) noted that resilience is about persistence and transformation.

Based on the devastating effects of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, USA, in 2005, Doppelt (2016) argued that ‘transformational resilience’ exists when people can “[...] increase their sense of wellbeing above previous levels” by caring for others and/or improving their natural environment and climate (Doppelt, 2016: 3). He further argued that “[W]e must build the capacity of individuals and groups worldwide to increase their sense of wellbeing [...]” (Doppelt, 2016: 3). He emphasized that individuals and communities must ensure that they are aiming higher than simply adapting to changes or returning to a previous state and termed it as ‘adverse-based growth’. Fleming and Ledogar (2008) earlier referred to this as ‘resilient reintegration’ which is when individuals who are confronted with adverse events are led to a new level of growth. Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2010) extended this thinking by claiming that there is a relationship between social support and ‘post-traumatic growth’. Post-traumatic growth is defined as a “positive change as a result of experiencing a traumatic event” (Ballenger-Browning and Johnson, 2010: 17). Essentially, this explains how most people have the capacity to extend past ‘adapting’ or ‘bouncing back’ from adversity to normal ‘status-quo’ or previous levels which are the common views of resilience.

However, Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2010) included the aspect of ‘social support’ as a contributing factor for post-traumatic growth to occur. Guo et al. (2018) later supported this view, arguing that community resilience is not just vital for post-disaster recovery but also critical in managing other unexpected changes in strengthening community residents’ adaptive capacity. The resilience of the socio-economic system depends not only on physical factors but also social factors, that include learning, social networks, trust and social capital (Guo et al. 2018 – further discussed in Section 3.3). These social factors are what Adger (2000) suggested play a vital role in a social system’s ability to manage disturbances and stressors. Therefore, requiring further investigation on the relational factors that increase resilience, which will be explored in this study.

As outlined above, resilience is distinguished from other terms as it is viewed by many researchers as a dynamic process that occurs under a specific circumstance(s) and not an intrinsic trait. However, Bourbeau and Ryan, (2018) suggested that the concept of resilience is closely associated with (and cannot be completely separated from) the equally powerful concept of ‘resistance’, to which this literature now turns.

3.2 Resistance

Many scholars have described the term ‘resistance’ however, it differs in its theoretical underpinning and no agreement exists on its definition due to wide variation in its application. The historical attention to resistance tends to be within anthropological studies and political science. However, it has recently gained a considerable amount of interest within sociology and spans across many disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies, geography, political science and women’s studies (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Passive theories of resistance have included consumption (resistance through consumptions e.g. Everett, 2008) or ‘resistance-as-appropriation’ (in cultural studies) with many studies focused on specific categories such as women, low-skilled workers, migrants, minorities, and specific themes such as resistance and stigma (Buseh, Stevens, McManus, Addison, Morgan, and Millon-Underwood, 2006).

Resistance is an incredibly complex concept associated with individual and collective thoughts, behaviours and actions (Ortner, 1995: 175). Hollander and Einwohner (2004) attempted to offer insights to sociological intellectuals by observing the dimensions of variances of resistance since 1995, describing its core elements to identify whether all forms could be defined under the same terminology. These authors did not seek to verify or falsify explanations

and contentions of resistance, but instead attempted to unjudgementally analyse the varying opinions of published work that had failed to acknowledge various dimensions of resistance. Such complexities make it difficult to identify certain and/or specific actions as resistance. “Dichotomizing resistance and dominators ignore the fact that there are multiple systems of hierarchy, and that individuals can be simultaneously powerful and powerless within different systems” (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004: 548). Moreover, resistant actions can be at the micro (e.g. individual), meso- (e.g. collective) and/or macro-levels (e.g. institutional). These can also be widespread or limited to local areas, occur in a range of settings (e.g. political systems, workplaces), and appear observable (overt acts) or concealed (covert acts) to intended targets and third-parties.

3.2.1 Overt versus covert acts

The overt – covert dimensions of resistance are associated with the visible and invisible acts of resistance. However, Hollander and Einwohner (2004) argued that visibility is an issue in resistance studies, questioning whether an oppositional act must be observable and recognised as resistance to be acknowledged as resistance. Overt resistance of social movements and revolutions, and individual acts of refusal to certain actions and/or circumstances that are intended and observable to their targets as resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Secondly, covert resistance is subtly subversive and although intentional, goes unnoticed to the targets to which they are directed. However, covert resistance is recognised by culturally aware observers as a form of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004).

Much debate surrounds the recognition of resistance and whether this is a necessary element to be considered as resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Understanding the concept of

resistance requires comprehension of the interaction between resisters, targets, and third-party groups and are all participative to the social construction of resistance. Scott (1985) argued that resistance does not need to be recognised as such to count as resistance, yet other scholars argue that a behaviour must be recognised to be considered as resistance. Foucault famously stated, “where there is power, there is resistance” (1978: 95-96) however, it is just as true to argue “where there is resistance, there is power” by (Abu-Lughod 1990: 42). But what is ‘power’ in terms of resistance? Much social science research is associated with exploring power in a Foucauldian sense yet, power is often isolated from resistance inquiries (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013; Lilja, Baaz, Schulz and Vinthagen, 2017), thus Lilja et al. (2017) claimed that if power changes then resistance must change as well.

Factor, Kawachi and Williams (2011) proposed a social resistance framework against power in society whereby non-dominant minority groups engage in unhealthy behaviours such as smoking, alcohol and drug-use, sexual risks, overeating, poor exercise and unsafe driving behaviours. Such minority groups may feel detached and alienated from the rest of society because of historical and present discrimination to their race, gender, social and economic class. Factor, Kawachi and Williams (2011) applied their ‘social resistance framework’ as a coping mechanism to the above unhealthy behaviours that may occur in society. However, resistance is more oriented towards the intended or unintended actions (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004) of individuals against an action that they believe to be threatening – either to themselves or their locality. Therefore, it seems that Factor, Kawachi and Williams’ (2011) proposed framework is not a coping mechanism but instead a framework for identifying resistant behaviours within individuals on both micro- and macro-levels. Their work opens-up the need for empirical investigation into the distinction between resistance and coping, due to an overlap between both concepts. Although the term ‘coping’ may be considered within the concept of resilience and how marginalized young people may overcome socio-cultural shocks

caused by mega-event disruptions (as discussed throughout Chapter 2) when they can no longer resist against social exclusion.

Bourbeau and Ryan (2018) argued that three interrelated issues occur in attempting to understand the connection between the concepts of resilience (as outlined in Section 3.1) and resistance: i) resistance and resilience are treated as dual concepts rather than processes; ii) simplistically conceptualises resilient subjects as apolitical subjects; iii) it avoids the ‘transformability’ aspect of resilience. Additionally, these authors stated that the relationship between resilience and resistance was not sequential but rather acquired and evolving. To demonstrate how both concepts are relational, they used Scott’s 1990 concept of ‘infrapolitics’, now introduced.

Resistance is often associated with political movements (see Rycroft 2003; Hollander and Einwohner; Lilja et al., 2017) where public and collective resistance dominates, requiring a need to examine the social interaction of ‘everyday resistance’ (Everett, 2008 – PhD thesis), an individual, concealed, and not politically articulated form of resistance – ostensibly invisible or ‘infra-politics’ an interchangeable term proposed by Scott (1990). Everyday resistance suggests a form of ‘normality’ as it is embedded into social life and identity-based (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Lilja et al., 2017). It is not dramatic (Vinhagen and Johansson, 2013) or easily recognised like ‘organized resistance’ (Lilja et al., 2017). ‘Infrapolitics’ was a term proposed by Scott in 1990 to describe covert ways in which subordinate groups resist dominant power (‘hidden transcripts’ - Scott, 1990) – against their subordination. Scott (1990), through forms of ‘infrapolitics’, drew attention to ‘hidden transcripts’ of repressed subaltern groups to develop and sustain their everyday resistance, survival, dignity and class. Scott has inspired numerous empirical studies on ‘everyday resistance’ and this form of resistance has been considered across varying applications to include specific social spaces such as the workplace,

family, as well as others. A discussion of ‘everyday resistance’ is where this literature now turns.

3.2.2 Everyday Resistance

Everyday resistance is a sociological concept recognised by James Scott in 1990 as a different kind of resistance to more confrontational, visible and collective forms such as riots, demonstrations, and other organised articulations of resistance (e.g. active forms of resistance). Everyday resistance is a hegemonic process and recurrent social phenomenon that is often ‘ignored, feared, demonized or romanticized’ (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013: 3). Scott described everyday resistance as:

“What everyday forms of resistance share with the more dramatic public confrontations is of course that they are intended to mitigate or deny claims made by superordinate classes or to advance claims vis-à-vis those superordinate classes. Where institutionalized politics are formal, overt, concerned with systematic, de jure change, everyday resistance is informal, often covert, and concerned largely with immediate, de facto gains.”

(Scott, 1990: 32-33).

Scott (1990) identified how ‘subaltern’ (Antonio Gramsci – b.1891- d.1937) group behaviour may have been a form of everyday resistance rather than ‘acting up’. He argued that certain behaviours of subaltern groups such as escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, disloyalty, slander, avoidance or theft are survival tactics they used to survive and undermine oppressive domination particularly where ‘organized resistance’ (Scott, 1989) is considered too dangerous to demonstrate. This is common in Rio where its reputation as a violent city is due to drug gang and police violence and conflict. Talbot and Carter (2018) reported that

political tactics, namely the UPP, (discussed in Chapter 2.4.3) have been more damaging to residents of Rio's favelas, further marginalising them from other parts of society, specifically during the lead up to the Rio 2016 where (un)lawful police violence towards residents was heightened. Scott (1990) also discussed the disparities between political dominance and subordinate power and how this is arbitrarily practiced with the more the subordinate groups performing stereotypical and ritualistic roles. Scott rearticulated: "[...] the more menacing the power, the thicker the mask" (1990: 3) – as per the 'carnival mask' metaphor proposed earlier in Section 2.4 - and explained that such disparities can range across one extreme to another.

Furthermore, a recent incident on the 30th December 2018, in one of Rio's north zone favelas - *Pedreira* (Soares, 2019) - resulted in the death of an 18-year-old young person shot and killed by Rio's Military Police that was recorded at the police command centre as an "act of resistance followed by death". His cause of death was "encephalic laceration, perfunctory forceful action" and his mother believes that her son was 'executed' on the way to the hospital and was targeted without cause as he had no criminal record (Soares, 2019). Although four police officers have been charged with this crime it remains an open investigation. This highlights the need for these communities to find other ways in which they can fight against social marginalization, exclusion and oppression – this is of course not helped when mega-events exacerbate such issues. It is this element of 'risky' resistance that this research explores and aims to discover assistive ways that marginalized young people can overcome such adversities within a paradigm of resilience helping to reinforce everyday resistance. This is supported by Bourbeau and Ryan (2018: 15) who argued that "communities develop strategies to adjust to difficulties are also potential sites of resistance to the structures, inequalities or injustices that have necessitated these adjustments." Thus, they explain that by enacting resilience individuals can find a way to continue with "daily life without acquiescing to political, economic or social situation[s]" in which they find themselves (Bourbeau and Ryan, 2018: 15). Consequently,

getting on with daily life among protracted conflict or structural upheaval marginalized young people may engage in resistance that is supported by resilience.

In this context, resistance could be considered as a ‘pre-response’ to the mega-event disruptions that arose during Rio 2016 (Chapter 2). An example of this are the evictions favela residents faced in the lead up to Rio’s mega-events. This was felt in Vila Autodromo - a favela whose residents were violently evicted ahead of Rio 2016 for the Olympic Park to be built (see Tapley, 2012; Phillips, 2016; TeleSUR, 2016; Watts, 2016). During this time, the residents of Autodromo displayed great resistance alongside other cariocas (Brazilian locals) to fight against evictions, with some twenty families refusing to give up their homes and businesses, whereas other residents accepted to be rehoused by the government. The remaining families were tasked with rebuilding their socio-cultural environments and reinvent themselves to align to their new forced way of living. This scenario illustrates how these families were able to adopt a form of resilience and highlights their capacity to recover and start rebuilding their community after such adversity – a form of social disruption. Therefore, in the context of mega-events and host community impacts, at the pre-event stage, communities may display some form of resistance, and at the post-event stage, they may display some form of resilience (further discussed in Section 3.2.4).

Moving on, Lilja et al. (2017) viewed everyday resistance in a different way to Scott’s conceptualisation. They claimed that everyday resistance is not always hidden, quiet, dispersed, disguised or otherwise seemingly invisible to the powerful as per Scott’s (1990) assertions. The argument of resistance not being entirely invisible was also reinforced by Hollander and Einwohner (2004) in that resistance provokes recognition and reaction from others. Secondly, Lilja et al. (2017: 46) diverted away from the interconnectedness of ‘power’ towards ‘a more relational view of the resisting subject’, essentially arguing that ‘self-reflection’ is the foundational element for an individual to exercise everyday resistance – a subversive identity

position. Lilja et al. (2017: 49) summarised that “organized resistance encourages everyday resistance, and reflexivity.” Essentially, subjective resistance essentially goes against the general rules and disciplines, rebelling against the norms – whatever the norms are identified to be.

3.2.3 Intentional versus unintentional forms of resistance

As previously identified in Section 3.2.1, ‘intentional’ acts of resistance may not be appropriate or even humanely possible, particularly in the context of Rio’s favelas. Vinthagen and Johansson (2013) identified that resistance is recognised in a diverse range of behaviours and settings, establishing that two core elements to resistance are commonly agreed: action and opposition - “Resistance is not a quality of an actor or a state of being, but involves some active behaviour, whether verbal, cognitive, or psychical, and another component common to almost all uses is a sense of opposition.” (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 537). However, Hollander and Einwohner (2004) identified disagreements and debates of resistance and discrepancies on two key issues: recognition and intention.

Hollander and Einwohner (2004), Vinthagen and Johansson (2013), Lilja et al., (2017) have all argued that resistance is not always intentional and can be unintentional. The intent that lies behind the resistant act is also central to the debate of resistance studies, particularly the issue of consciousness (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Again, these authors questioned whether actors of resistance must be intentionally aware of resisting some form of power to qualify as resistance. Intent is usually associated with small-scale and everyday acts of resistance as scholars agree that large-scale acts of resistance are mass-based movements that clearly represent resistance with intent (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Intent is addressed in three ways: consciousness of the actor; accessibility of intent; and, actors’ intentions. These authors

argued that determining intent is difficult when researchers and actors are not located within the same culture as the same action may have different meanings across cultures consequently missing the intended resistant act. Additionally, the authors also stated that a further issue occurs between the different parties (actors, targets, observers and researchers) in how they varyingly interpret the behavioural intent behind the resistant act.

Hollander and Einwohner (2004) suggested that intentional resistance is then closely followed by unintentional forms of resistance. Unintentional (covert) resistance contains 'self-defined targets', who may be the only ones who recognise the behaviour as resistance e.g. 'target-defined resistance'. Hollander and Einwohner (2004) further categorised 'missed resistance' whereby the resistant action is recognised by their target but is unnoticed by third-party observers. Additionally, they characterised 'attempted resistance' which refers to an actor's intentional act that may go unnoticed by both targets and observers (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 544-547). A separate category that these authors further distinguish is: 'externally-defined resistance'. This refers to acts of resistance that are neither intended or recognised as such by actors or targets but instead labelled by third-parties such as academic researchers and journalists.

However, Williams (2009) argued that Hollander and Einwohner's (2004) attempts to construct typologies of resistance into distinct types was problematic as they develop mutually exclusive categories that fail to represent individuals' understanding of what is going on. Although, Hollander and Einwohner (2004) claimed to highlight the underlying circumstances in which resistance occurs rather than a(nother) definition of the concept. These authors further argued that such circumstances "can contribute to core areas of sociological inquiry such as power, inequality, and social change." (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 535). In response, Williams (2009) argued that resistance is multidimensional and can be analysed across one or more of the three dimensions in which resistance functions:

- i) passive ←————→ active (as seen in Section 3.2.2);
- ii) micro ←————→ macro (as seen in Section 3.2);
- iii) overt ←————→ covert (as seen in Section 3.2.1).

He proposed that these three dimensions can occur simultaneously along a continuum and are not mutually exclusive, but instead multidimensional, in that any event or action may be simultaneously analysed across one or more of the identified dimensions.

According to Hollander and Einwohner (2004), overt resistance may be macro- (e.g. social movements) or micro-oriented (e.g. individual acts of refusal). As per earlier presented examples of ‘risky’ resistance, covert acts of resistance could be the only option for marginalized young people and their communities when confronted with such dangerous dominating power.

Intent is a significant factor in both overt and covert acts of resistance and is a key factor in how active resistance is explicated (Williams, 2009). Williams (2009: 28) and although “[...] resistance is intentional at the level of the individual thought, the desire for recognition might not be.” However, Williams (2009) argued that the level of intention in a resistant act is the distinguishing factor between passive and active resistance. Williams (2009) clarified that theoretically, the more intentionality (see Hollander and Einwohner, 2004) that exists within an act of resistance, the higher the level of agency expressed by the individual or group.

Furthermore, Lilja et al. (2017: 51) concluded that ‘resistance encourages or creates resistance’ and it is not only created from power (e.g. through provocation and targeted opposition). Resistance studies largely ignore this fact. Lilja et al. (2017) recommended that future research is required in the interaction between different forms of resistance and power to understand

social change. “Individual processes of self-reflection might, then, contribute to our understandings of how different forms of resistance feed each other. Thus, to understand how resistance feeds resistance we must take a detour around the concepts of subjects, subjectivities, self-reflection and reflexivity.” (Lilja et al., 2017).

To summarise, like resilience, resistance seems to exist (be powerful) or not exist (be powerless) depending on the circumstances thus, supporting the arguments that resistance may also be processual and not only an individual trait given its dependence on a wide range of factors and circumstances in which the individual finds themselves. Essentially, resilience is highly relational and not static by nature because it relies on adaptation and flexibility. Bourbeau and Ryan (2018: 28) argued that “Resilience (as well as resistance) can be shaped by conditions of subjugation or hardship, by material need”. They further argued that both concepts of resilience and resistance are relational thus, requiring further attention.

3.2.4 Resilience and resistance nexus

Many studies of resilience examine exogenous challenges to explain actions, attitudes, and responses, such as individuals caught up in violent conflicts (see Spalek and Davies, 2012). Many scholars argue that resilience is a by-product of contemporary neoliberalism (see Foucault, 1991) and beneath resilience lays a dehumanising political agenda and continuity of state domination (Walker and Cooper, 2011; Duffield, 2012). However, Evans and Reid (2013) argued that resilience distinguishes between those who have the ability and power to secure themselves from risk and those who are forced to live up to their responsibilities being susceptible to the social conditions. A view that was supported by Fleming and Ledogar (2008) who stated that investigation was required into understanding how such protective factors of

resilience interact with external risk factors, and other protective factors, to assist with relative resistance.” Later, Joseph (2013) claimed that resilience is best understood in the context of ‘rolling-out neoliberal governmentality’, arguing that current policies of resilience constitute a strategy for states to abdicate responsibility in crises, subsequently displacing burden of responsibility from social institutions to the individual. He envisaged that resilience may disappear through governmental language and procedural changes hoping that communities will continually lose interest in the idea of being resilient, and instead direct interest to a ‘more inspiring French term’ – resistance (Joseph, 2103: 11).

Conversely, Bourbeau (2015) proposed that by reducing resilience to a neoliberal by-product, results in an incomplete and biased understanding of resilience in the context of world politics. However, Hall and Lamont (2013) contended that resilience developed and strengthened as a societal response to the challenges provoked by neoliberalism. These authors use social resilience to demonstrate that the capacity to adapt is an essential characteristic of societies to enhance collective well-being in the face of neoliberal governance. Schmidt (2015) furthered this viewpoint, in that resilience may not be a continuation from neoliberalism but instead a response to its inherent obstructions. Both Evans and Reid’s (2013) and Joseph’s (2013) deterministic viewpoints of the neoliberal-resilience nexus have received much contention from later scholars, particularly Bourbeau and Ryan (2018).

Bourbeau and Ryan (2018: 3) questioned that if communities should instead opt for resistance over resilience as per Joseph’s (2013) claims, it raises the obvious question: ‘resistance to what?’. They posited many questions that included “How exactly would a community ‘resist’ a catastrophic natural event such as a tsunami? Has neoliberalism permeated and contaminated the full set of behaviours of social groups and individuals around the globe [...] with the same strength and comprehensiveness?” (Bourbeau and Ryan, 2018: 3-4).

There are many questions raised in the ‘separation’ of resistance and resilience as mutually exclusive concepts. Referring to Bourbeau and Ryan’s question: ‘if a community was to suffer a natural disaster such as a tsunami, how would they resist such an incidence?’ Essentially, what happens when an individual or community can no longer resist incidences that threaten their social conditions? What happens to the individual or community? Do they become exposed to the conditions that threaten them and succumb to the consequences as some neoliberalist scholars believe, such as Evans and Reid (2013)? Or do they discover ways that they can overcome such threatening conditions – such as through processes of resilience? Although, this does not claim to include everyone who is affected by such disruptions, some may not be resilient as it is a process that relies on specific circumstances and not an intrinsic trait. Furthermore, in some cases, some individuals may not have the ability to resist.

Interest in the connection between resistance and resilience has recently increased, especially within critical studies. According to Bourbeau and Ryan (2018), there is much debate about the relationship between resistance and resilience. They advocated a relational approach to the processes of resistance and resilience, proposing that both are mutually assistive rather than mutually exclusive. Although their study is based around International Relations (IR) and the role of resilience in the social world, this enhances the knowledge through interdisciplinary research being applied and contributing to future investigations on the topic. This approach is usefully applied in response to investigating marginalized young people faced with exogenous challenges from mega-event staging to explain their responses and actions to social exclusion in this research. Many scholars argued that both concepts are mutually exclusive and that an individual or society can either be resistant or resilient and not both yet, Bourbeau and Ryan (2018) argued that attempting to conceptualise resistance and resilience as mutually exclusive reflects a *substantialist* ontological position rather than a *relationalist* one.

According to Bourbeau and Ryan (2018), from a relational perspective, understanding the relationships between resilience and resistance can be approached in different ways. Prolonged acts of resistance (e.g. protests in a fight against social exclusion) may require the development of resilience strategies for marginalized communities to overcome social disruptions that are exacerbated by mega-event plans and policies (Chapter 2.4). On the other hand, resilience can occur immediately after the disruption and before strategies of resistance are implemented. The final form of approach that Bourbeau and Ryan referred to is the triangulated relationship among resilience and resistance with other concepts such as vulnerability or trauma, as well as many others. It is this form of triangulated approach that explores the relationship among resilience and resistance with another concept, specifically, the concept of social capital (as presented earlier in Figure 3.1). As presented in Section 3.1.2, social support structures are important in resilience and a core factor in effective transformational resilience, thus requiring further investigation on how these elements are relational, which this research intends to explore.

As identified earlier, Guo et al. (2018) claimed that when exploring social resilience, the theory of ‘social capital’ is often adopted however, these authors also argued that it is not one-dimensional. The impact of social capital on community resident’s perceived resilience varies significantly depending upon the political and social dimensions of the destination. Adger (2000: 352) claimed that social resilience can be observed “[...] by examining positive and negative aspects of social exclusion, marginalization and social capital”, thus supporting Guo et al. (2018). This is an important point raised by both Adger (2000) and Guo et al. (2018).

Much negativity has come from Rio’s recent mega-events affecting its favela and peripheral communities and heightened existing social conditions of social exclusion and marginalization. As identified earlier in Section 3.2.2, resistant acts to such social disruptions are sometimes ‘risky’ for these individuals and their communities. Therefore, social capital may support

strategies of resilience and resistance for marginalized young people in their fight against social exclusion and marginalization, which this research intends to explore further. Yet, Guo et al. (2018) argued that few empirical studies have focused on how social factors influence community resilience and instead have tended to prioritise the economic and physical aspects. Both Szreter and Woolcock (2004) and Poortinga (2012) raised the issue of social capital being a broad concept, making it difficult to determine explicitly the social processes that enhance resilience. Furthermore, Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2010) highlighted that many resilience scholars agree that more research is required into determining if social support impacts resilience, which this research will also explore. Therefore, the concept and evolution of thinking regarding social capital requires attention.

3.3 Social capital

Hanifan (1916) first alluded to the concept of ‘social capital’, stating that it is accumulated through individuals’ interaction and participation within a group. Later, Bourdieu (1985) proposed that “...social capital is a potential or actual resource composed of a network of durable relationships.” (cited in Guo et al. 2018: 4). In 1990, Coleman (1990: 302) defined social capital as “not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure”. Both Bourdieu and Coleman emphasized social capital as an intangible character relative to other forms of capital such as economic capital and human capital. However, Putnam (1993: 67) later defined social capital as “[...] features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.”.

There are many various definitions of social capital that indicate how it can explain action and enhance society's efficiency and produce something of value to the individuals involved. Szreter and Woolcock (2004) supported Hanifan's, Bourdieu's and Putnam's views that social capital is an asset accrued to individuals through their association in groups. They asserted that "[...] social capital must be the property of a group or a network." (2004: 655). They further argued that neo-classical economists regarded social capital as an individual quality (e.g. social skills), whereas at the other extreme, political scientists alluded to entire societies as having high or low social capital and those authors positioned in-between the two extremes desirably include or exclude additional features such as 'norms' and 'trust' (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004: 654). However, Poortinga (2012) emphasized that there was still large uncertainty of whether social capital was an individual resource or a collective characteristic. Wilson-Forsberg and Gagnon (2012) shed light on this uncertainty and stated that individuals must be related to others to possess social capital, and it is these others that are the source of advantage not the individuals themselves. This supported Szreter and Woolcock's (2004: 655) earlier assertions that if social capital is not an individual property, it is a property of collectives and the individual relations with one another that "occupy the abstract socio-cultural space of relationships between individuals."

As identified, social capital is not a commonly defined or agreed in its concept and is interchangeably dependent on the study of investigation (Guo et al., 2018). Social capital is a multidisciplinary concept that is mostly rooted in sociology and political science combined with economics. Many authors appear to view social capital in its economic form and fail to consider its multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary nature (see Day, 2002). However, it is rare for consideration to be given to social capital in its social form, e.g. how social network structures at the micro, meso- and macro-levels of society can help to develop new and robust relationships to generate social capital and contribute to increasing resilience. An argument

that has continued since Eastis (1998), who argued that for social capital to have any value it must be conceptualised within its multi-dimensions. Later, Field (2008: 8) argued that by “defining ‘connections’ as a form of capital, the concept points broadly towards a set of explanations that can link the micro-, meso- and macro-levels together”. Strengthening these arguments, Doppelt (2016) claimed that maintaining, strengthening and expanding bonding, bridging, and linking social support networks (also known as ‘social capital networks’) can help to build transformational resilience.

3.3.1 Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital

It is generally agreed among authors that the three main types of social networks where individuals can build social capital are: bonding, bridging and linking (Kawachi, Kim, Coutts, & Subramanian, 2004; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Aldrich, 2012; Poortinga, 2012; Guo et al., 2018) as presented in Figure 3.2.

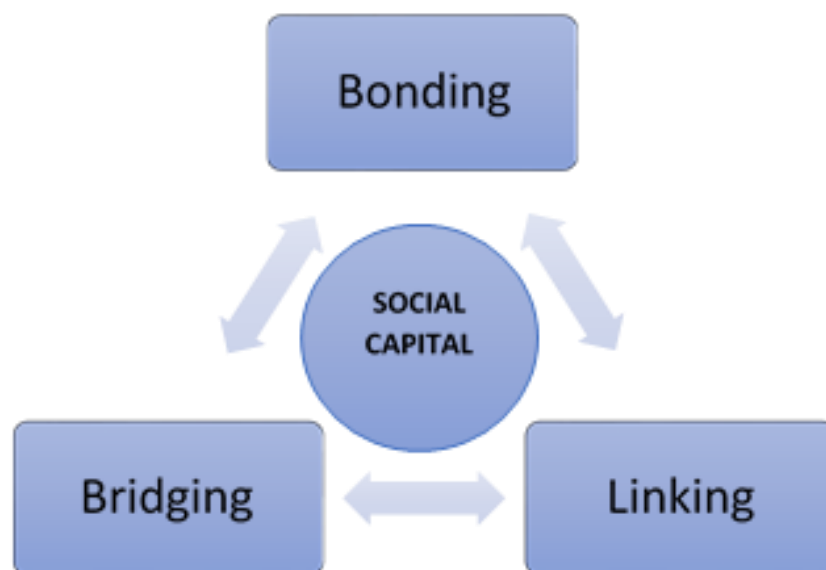


Figure 3:2 - Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital (Author own)

These three core elements of social capital are associated with an individual's internal and external relationships. According to Szreter and Woolcock (2004), 'bonding' social capital is the emotive strength between individuals such as family members, who regard themselves as sharing social identity (e.g. favela communities). They further added that 'bridging' social capital refers to unsecured links between diverse individuals and external links such as communities, based on common interest and critical for external information and support. Furthermore, these authors identified that 'linking' social capital is a more recent concept which involves respect and trusting connections between institutions and political structures such as NGOs and authoritative institutions in society.

According to Hanifan (1916), the individual is socially helpless if alone, and just being within a family unit does not satisfy the need for being part of a larger group. For example, if marginalized young people connected with other members of an extended community this accumulated social capital satisfies social needs and potentially benefits social and living conditions of the community (Hanifan, 1916). He also explained that firstly, community social capital must be accumulated and realised through "*sociables*" (Hanifan, 1916: 131), and community gatherings such as public entertainment. *Hackney Wicked* was a local festival formed by residents affected by London 2012's extensive developments and regeneration in East London to build the Olympic Park. The locals of the festival responded to the challenges and opportunities arising from exclusion to their local area from mega-event staging during a period of extensive transformation. Stevenson (2016) found that although this festival increased social capital in the area, it also exacerbated existing social inequalities increasing tensions in the development of social sustainability. Her study identified that social capital may not always be beneficial to all members of society and can heighten existing social divisions. Although, those who benefited from the local festival gathering, "...have become acquainted

with one another and have formed a habit of coming together upon occasions for entertainment, social intercourse and personal enjoyment, [...] sufficient social capital has been accumulated...” (Hanifan 1916: 131), Stevenson’s empirical case study found very different outcomes relating to social legacies focused on the learning and development of marginalized young people affected by mega-events. Her work contests Hanifan’s argument that social capital can only be accumulated through social entertainment and personal enjoyment. More recently, relationships formed through social structures can generate all three elements of social capital of ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’ and ‘linking’ and some authors (e.g. Guo et al., 2018) have identified that they are interlinked, with some appearing more important than others.

Guo et al. (2018) explored social capital in their investigation of the relationship between social capital and the adaptive capacity of Chinese community residents from Jiuzhai Valley National Park when confronted with sudden change. They investigated how community resilience was important in destination recovery post-natural disaster. Their findings suggested that social capital in its three forms of ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’ and ‘linking’, had significant positive effects on a community’s perceived resilience and identified interaction between all three types. They further claimed that the ‘linking’ element of social capital was to be found the most important.

A further study by Aldrich and Meyer (2014) on disaster management argued that strengthening a social infrastructure such as social capital affects levels of community resilience. They further argued that social capital is yet to be embraced as a critical factor within resilience research [and disaster management] and is an “underutilised resource that strongly influences resilience at the community level” (Aldrich and Meyer, 2014: 263). Therefore, social capital is explored as a critical element in effective transformational resilience for marginalized young people in the context of this research. These study findings extended Doppelt’s (2016) assertions that strong social support networks have been proven to play a key role for people recovering from adversities and can reduce the likelihood of individuals

committing crime and violence. This was, and remains, a current and critical issue in Rio's peripheral and favela communities (see Besser, Vadot, Hoffman, Nemzer, and Al-Sharki, 2016) amplified through mega-event intervention strategies which resulted in the displacement of gangs and violence to communities without any pre-existing troubles in this regard, as identified earlier in Section 2.4.3. Additionally, social support networks importantly enable people to constructively manage discrimination and stigmatism as well as other forms of systematic oppression (Doppelt, 2016). Experiences of such injustices can bring insecurities to individuals such as lack of hope and depression. Conversely, oppression can empower individuals to find ways to force social change with the help of social support structures that can help them reinforce resistance against such issues of social exclusion.

3.4 Summary of literature review

Chapter 2 identified that there are many implications for a city hosting a mega-event and that such events can bring many positive and negative changes to local settings and communities. The literature highlighted the complexity in assessing whether legacy can really be broadly defined when considering cross-cultural differences and the variances in economic stability of host nations. However, this is not to suggest that a broad, descriptive analysis of the term is not useful. An umbrella term for legacy may encapsulate all the variances entirely, but its definition still requires a more focused approach to the multiple aspects that characterise this concept, more notably, the social implications of legacy which are the most complex. This can perhaps only be achieved through the generation of empirical evidence which provides valuable insights into the lives of those that mega-events affect, which this research intends. Building individual and specific cases can help contribute and construct understanding of such disruptions from mega-events and bring marginalized communities and their socio-cultural

environments to the fore. Empirical work is needed to open the path for future studies that seek a suitable definition of ‘legacy’ which can direct and inform the approach of future host cities. Additionally, if the spectrum of effects and impacts (both positive and negative), are gathered and presented it may help prompt organising committees to ensure that such effects are minimised and if not, they are held accountable.

Chapter 3 highlighted how the concept of resilience may help marginalized people overcome disruptions that exacerbate their existing social conditions through the concept of transformational resilience. This chapter also highlighted the argument that resilience and resistance are relational and can take many forms including triangular approaches with other concepts such as social capital (Figure 3.1). As identified, social capital can support the development of resilience and resistance, particularly in developing transformational resilience thus, it is these three concepts that contribute to my overarching theoretical and analytical framework as presented in Figure 6, page 149.

Primarily, this study explores how a mega-event social legacy initiative (introduced in Chapter 4) empowered marginalized young people to build personal resilience and resistance skills, generate social capital and bring positive social change. This research builds on the theories of resilience, resistance and social capital and aims to address the lack of empirical investigation into the positive and negative outcomes that mega-events bring to host communities. These elements all contribute to an overarching theoretical framework that offers a generalizable model that can be applied to identify how marginalized individuals can overcome adverse conditions and improve their emotional well-being, as well as creating positive social change with support from social structures and organisations. This study shows how marginalized young people from Rio’s favelas and peripheral areas can develop personal resilience skills through a transformational process and generate social capital, subsequently empowering them to overcome daily challenges in which resistance may be difficult or impossible. Consequently,

this research is contributing to empirical knowledge on how both concepts of resilience and resistance can be mutually assistive when challenged with aspects of social exclusion and oppression that are exacerbated before, during and post mega-event planning and delivery.

4 The case study: *CriaAtivo Film School*



Figure 4:1 - CriaAtivo Film School - Source: Creative Wick (n.d.)

My research adopted a case study strategy which is explained in detail in Chapter 5. Before discussing the methodology, it is important to present where this research took place. My case study focused on the *CriaAtivo Film School* (*CriaAtivo*) (Figure 4.1), a collaborative cross-national partnership between a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) '*Instituto Cultural Pólen*' in Rio, Brazil, and a not-for-profit organisation (NFPO) '*Creative Wick*' in London, UK. *CriaAtivo*'s aim was to provide marginalized young people affected by Rio's recent mega-events with new skills for development through the creative industry.

The initial idea originated from William Chamberlain, the founder of *CriaAtivo*'s sister organisation - Creative Wick Hackney Wick and Fish Island CIC in 2013; a Creative Regeneration Agency in Hackney Wick, Fish Island and East London (UK) that aims to increase economic resilience alongside the ongoing development of the Queen Elizabeth

Olympic Park built for the London 2012 Olympic Games (Creative Wick, n.d.). Creative Wick seeks *“to facilitate a permanent, sustainable, creative economy for local residents, businesses and institutions with an interest in the long-term viability and continued authenticity of the arts, culture and creativity [...]”* (Creative Wick, n.d.). The idea was extended by Fabricio Mendez, a social entrepreneur and freelance worker at Creative Wick, to Rio with Charles Siqueira, a social activist and community leader. William, Fabricio and Charles all worked together as co-directors with Saulo Nikolai, as self-made photographer, who was actively involved in the project delivery.

The *CriaAtivo* project was funded by ‘*Institutional Skills Development – Brazil*’ - a joint British Council and Newton Fund (UK) initiative. The Newton Fund (until 2021) is a *“£735 million fund that promotes the economic development and welfare of vulnerable people in partnering countries.”* (Newton Fund, 2015). The British Council is a UK international organisation with the objective of *“promoting cultural relationships and education opportunities.”* (British Council, 2018). The British Council is a delivery partner of the Newton Fund in Brazil that aim to fund capacity building projects. The Institutional Skills Development programme:

“aims to support new training and/or capacity building and/or community engagement programmes for staff or key community partners of Brazilian public and civil society institutions, science museums and botanic gardens, where these programmes are focused on developing specific scientific (including natural, biomedical, mechanical and social sciences) or creative and innovative skills (technologies, methods, new ways of doing things) and are developed in conjunction with an expert counterpart organisation or specialist in the UK.”

(British Council, 2018).

The programme offered funding between £40,000 and a maximum of £100,000, co-funding 50% of the costs to provide training, capacity building and community engagement programmes designed by Brazilian public and civil society institutions, science museums, and

botanic gardens (British Council, 2018). *CriaAtivo* was considered by its founders as an exception to be awarded funding, compared to other initiatives such as museums and universities like the Museum of Tomorrow in Rio and Oxford University in the UK (Fabricio Mendez interview, 2018).

The funded projects had to operate for a duration of twelve-months beginning on 1st April 2017 and be completed by 31st March 2018 and support at least five participants. The project activities had to contribute to the economic development and social welfare of Brazil, specifically providing benefits to underprivileged, historically excluded and/or vulnerable communities (British Council, 2018). The training programme had to have a direct or indirect positive impact on such communities that continued for three to five years post- training and disclose how it would both effectively and efficiently address matters related to poverty and development issues within areas that demonstrate local challenges in Brazil, drawing on the strengths of UK institutions/experts (British Council, 2018).

A condition of the funding was that the projects had to co-fund the proposed funds either from the lead Brazilian beneficiary institution or another reputable source such as a Brazilian grant, a corporate partner/sponsorship but they could not be a publicly-funded UK institution. Interestingly and importantly, the co-fund could include non-financial contributions such as working space, allocated project researchers and management costs (British Council, 2018). Remarkably, *CriaAtivo* was awarded the maximum available funds of £100,000 and they sought a non-financial contribution from the Rio City Hall government for the use of all the facilities available at the '*Nave do Conhecimento*' (*nave* – presented in Section 5.2) in Triagem, north Rio (Fabricio Mendez interview, 2018 – see Figure 4.2).

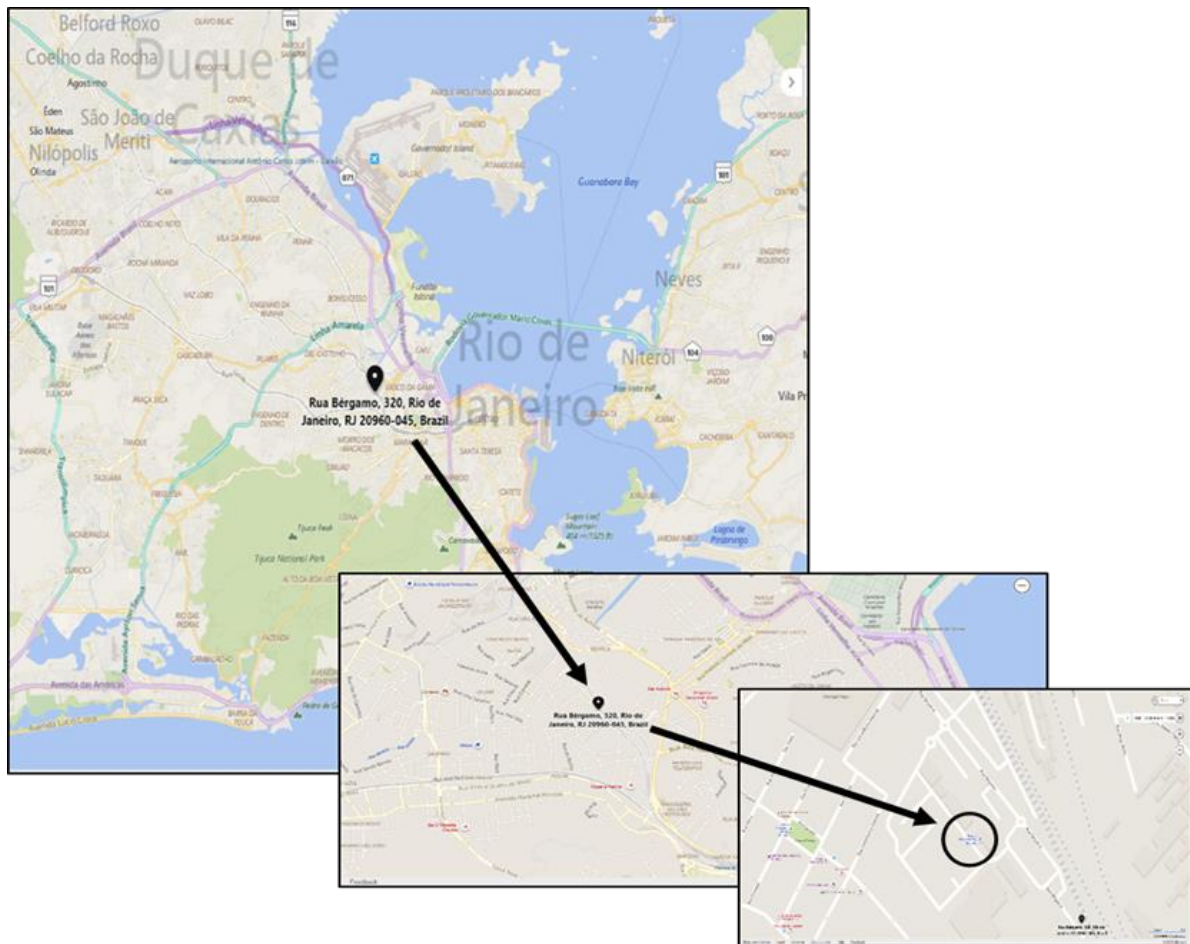


Figure 4:2 - Geographical location of research - Triagem, Rio de Janeiro

(Source: Google Maps, 2019)

4.1 Nave do Conhecimento (Nave) - A ship of knowledge

“Nave do Conhecimento, [is] a public space from Prefeitura do Rio, administrated by Secretaria de Desenvolvimento, Emprego e Inovação e REDEH - Rede de Desenvolvimento Humano”.

(Nave do Conhecimento, 2019)

The Nave do Conhecimento ('ship of knowledge' – Figure 4.3) are public-use buildings located across Rio that provide democratized access to the digital universe of collaborative and creative environments including: workshops, courses and events related to basic computing, creative economics, information technology, robotics and programming, work and entrepreneurship (Nave do Conhecimento, 2019).



Figure 4:3 - Nave do Conhecimento in Triagem (Field photos)

There are nine 'naves' in the north and west zones of Rio: Engenho de Dentro, Irajá, Madureira, Nova Brasília, Padre Miguel, Penha, Santa Cruz, Triagem e Vila Aliança, all of which are geographically remote and dramatically visually different to the south zone scenery. These communities are those that were targeted within Rio's digital inclusion and social exclusion policies (see Nave do Conhecimento, 2019).

Some of the various resources and equipment available to *CriaAtivo* and its students through the Nave are presented in Figure 4.4. The technological equipment included Apple Mac computers, laptops, interactive screens, desktop computers and many interactive rooms with iPads so they could communicate digitally with teachers and effectively learn new skills (Field notes, 2018).

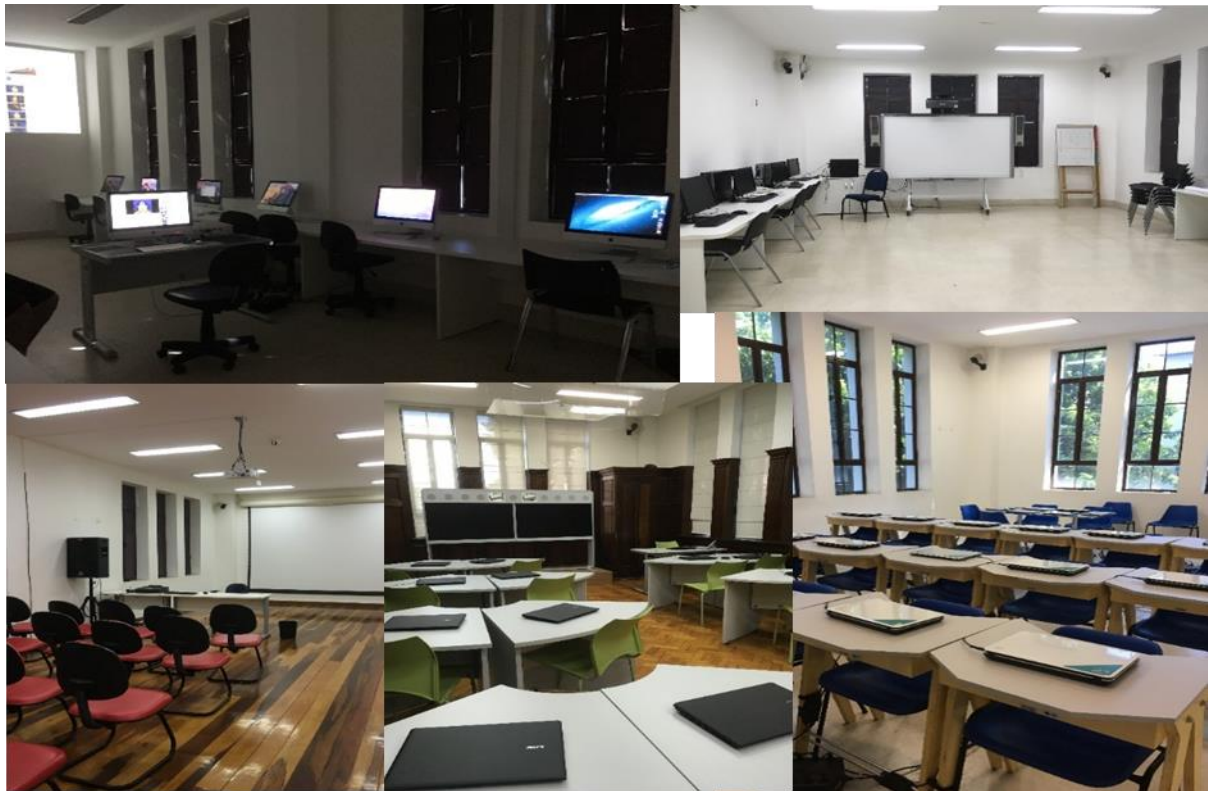


Figure 4:4 - Technological Resources available at Nave do Conhecimento (Field photos)

Within the Nave building, the open public space of the '*Santiago Andrade Learning Centre*' is designed for all of Rio's public. This space provides a safe-haven for recreation, learning, and work space (see Figures 4.5 – 4.7). The *naves* aim was to promote both technological and social inclusion to overcome such differences within Rio. Although the technological divide may be easier to bridge than the social division of favela residents.



Figure 4:5 - Interactive information board in Nave do Conhecimento (field photos)



Figure 4:6 - Relaxing space in Nave do Conhecimento (field photos)



Figure 4:7 - Young children enjoying access to the digital library (field photos)

The re-housing of these communities resulted in socio-cultural disruption to their social norms as they were from the geographically and culturally diverse favelas of Manguinhos, Bananal, Varginha, Morro de São João, Metrô-Mangueira and parts of Complexo do Alemão (Healy, 2014). These communities found themselves being forcefully immersed in a diverse socio-cultural mix with many cultural differences. This confronted them with developing new relationships, (re)building a new community, and potentially creating new cultural identities within the *Bairro Carioca* community. It was reported that many of the commercial needs were not met due to the design and restrictions of the housing project requiring residents to step outside of the *Bairro Carioca* boundaries (Healy, 2014) – an unambiguous difference to favela life.

Although, this development is an exception to other MCMV housing projects as it is located within very close proximity to the metro, bus and rail stations – making it unique (Robertson, 2016). Unfortunately, many other communities were pushed out to other housing programmes that were in the extreme peripheral areas of Rio, with 50% in the west zone, approximately two hours from the centre of Rio with unsuitable transportation infrastructure. Although, many of these programmes introduced to rehouse some of those evicted such as the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC), Morar Carioca program and the former Favela Bairro project these have all since been put on hold due to lack of funding (Roller, 2011), perhaps signalling a failed social legacy.

Contrastingly, outside these seemingly secure and safe walls is a less secure atmosphere with drug gangs starting to appear within the community (field notes, 2018). The *Triagem nave* is within the grounds of the *Bairro Carioca* - ‘Rio Neighbourhood’ – a social housing project from the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (MCMV – ‘My House, My Life’ (Healy, 2014). This housing development was another Olympic legacy initiative from Rio City Hall to rehouse some of the evicted families from the favela communities across Rio. Many favela residents were relocated due to ‘government-designated risk areas’ or displacement caused by urban mega event developments such as transport infrastructure e.g. Bus Rapid Transport (BRT), as presented in Chapter 6.

The *Bairro Carioca* development offers other amenities such as a school, health centre, market complex (selling food, hairdressers, as well as others) and a gym (Figure 4.8). Unfortunately, the gym is not in operation as before it was officially opened to the community, it was ransacked and destroyed by thieves who ripped out all the valuable fixtures and fittings (see Figure 4.9) – Charles explained that this was likely to fund drug habits and it became a ‘crack-users’ haven (field notes, 2018).



Figure 4:8 - The gym at Bairro Carioca in Triagem (inside and outside - field photos)



Figure 4:9 - Bairro Carioca's gymnasium vandalised changing rooms (field photos)

The gym is in a current state of disrepair and there are no funds to repair or rebuild parts of the gym and its changing room areas (Figure 4.9), a sorrowful affair according to Charles due to ‘lack of management’ from the government to maintain and support its future (field notes, 2018).

These images and conversations with Charles present a dark contrast between the safe-haven inside the *nave*, compared to what lies outside its doors. The dangers and undesirable social

realities still visibly exist, and these young people are never far away from the dark side of Rio. Therefore, requiring resilient and resistant individuals to circumvent this all too often ‘easy’ or ‘only’ option of life for marginalized young people who are confronted with constant barriers of exclusion and access to education and employment opportunities.

Rio’s mega-events were expected to worsen these existing social conditions for marginalized communities such as Rio’s favelas. This makes this research important in how such a legacy can help marginalized young people overcome social issues as well as steer them away from the undesirable alternatives of drug gang affiliation towards better and brighter futures.

As identified in Chapter 2, these marginalized voices are rarely explored empirically and many authors report that the aftermath of Rio’s Olympic Games failed to benefit these socially excluded and minority groups (e.g. Minnaert, 2012; Steinbrink, 2013; Maharaj, 2015; Pappalepore and Duignan, 2016). Therefore, my research addresses this gap in empirical research by generating rich qualitative data on an under-explored area within the context of mega-events. This thesis offers a detailed insight of how a mega event social legacy project fostered positive social change for marginalized young people who are often excluded from mega-event plans and developments, and everyday social integration, and results that may be extended in future studies.

5 Research Design and Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The main eight sections of this chapter are outlined below in Figure 5.1. Each section presents different aspects of the systematic methodological decisions and processes adopted for this study.

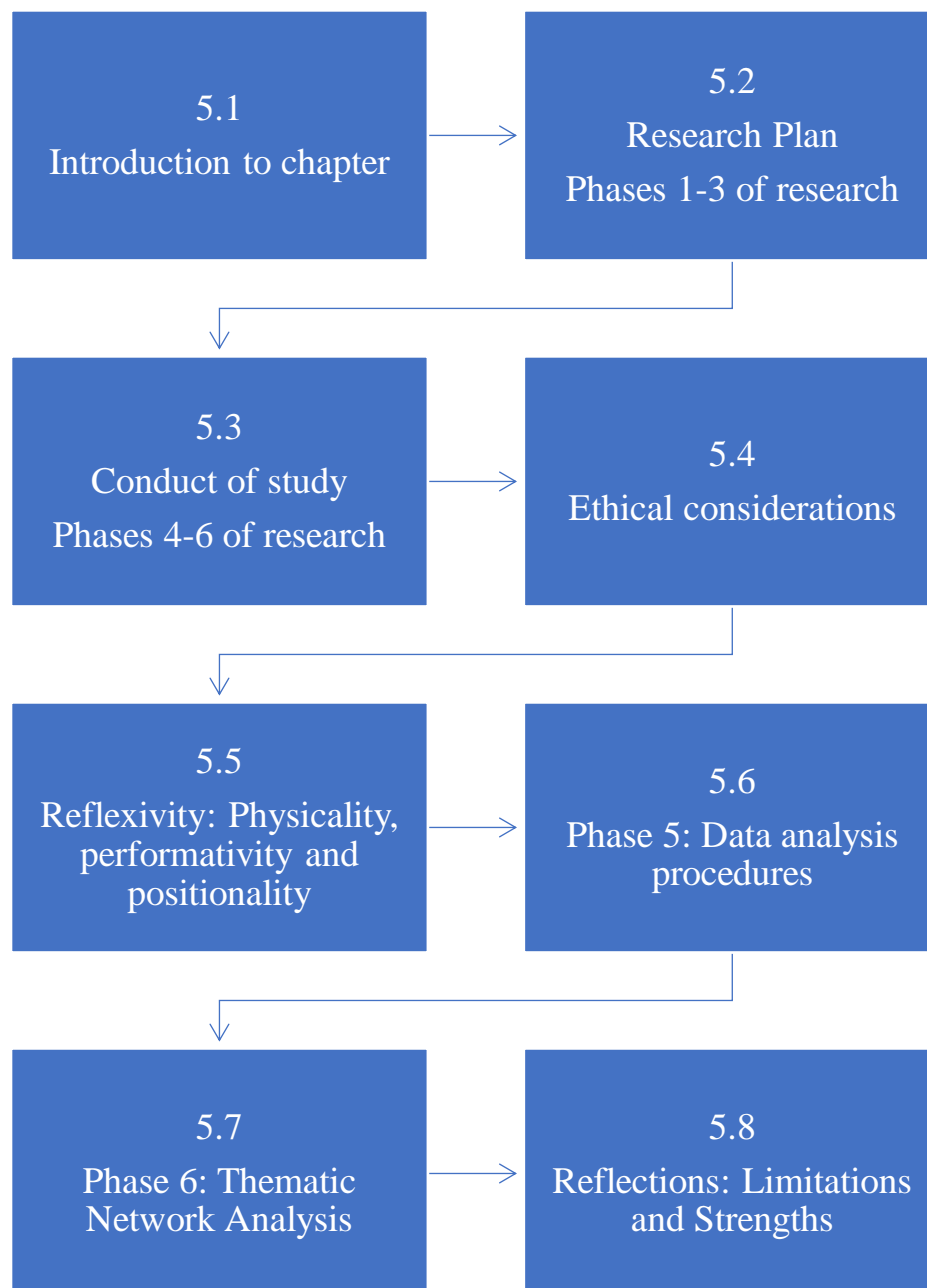


Figure 5:1 - Structure of Chapter 5

As outlined in Chapter 4, my research applied a qualitative case study approach that focused on marginalized young people within the *CriaAtivo Film School (CriaAtivo)* in Rio de Janeiro – a social legacy project leveraged from Rio 2016 Olympic Games.

Therefore, I revisit my research questions to illustrate the close alignment with my methodological decisions.

- I. Through the lens of a case study, how does a process of transformational resilience help marginalized young people overcome mega event disruptions that threaten their socio-cultural environments?*
- II. How can creative social legacy initiatives bring positive social change for marginalized young people in mega-event host destinations?*

5.2 Research Plan

This section presents the intended research design and approach for the study. This section reviews and assesses my proposed philosophical position, principles and practices adopted throughout my research plan. It presents my epistemological position of a social constructivist (Section 5.2.1), an inductive research approach (Section 5.2.2), and case study research design (Section 5.2.3). This section also discusses Phases 1-3 of my research plan (Section 5.2.5) that presents my initial research process prior to accessing my research setting.

5.2.1 Epistemological position

Before conducting research, it was important that I determined my ontological and epistemological positions. According to Pernecky and Jamal (2010), previous tourism studies

lack or fail to include discussion on their philosophical and theoretical positions. Our interpretations of how we understand how the world works and our conception of reality and existence determines our personal philosophy and essentially guides our research procedures (Birks and Mills, 2015: 2).

The ontological assumption is concerned with the nature of reality, “...*the essence of the phenomena under investigation*” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 1), and whether social reality is external and therefore, ‘objective’, or socially constructed and therefore, ‘subjective’ (Burrell and Morgan; 1979; Collis and Hussey, 2014). Ontological assumptions can be considered as *relativism* versus *realism*. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), *realism* is associated with one truth existing ‘out there’ and is the ontology that underpins most quantitative research. This rather positivistic approach tends to follow highly structured methodologies emphasizing quantifiable observations through statistical data analysis. On the other hand, *relativism* is where ‘reality is dependent on the ways we come to know it’ (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 26). Relativism, however, believes multiple constructed realities exist and what is believed to be ‘real’ and ‘true’ differs across time and context (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Such a construction of reality is underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm and reflects “[...] *differences between individuals and our role as social actors*” (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007: 106). The interpretivist paradigm emphasizes the difference between conducting research among people and objects and therefore, shapes my research paradigm of a relativist approach.

Epistemology is concerned with the nature of knowledge and what we consider to be ‘true’ and accept as valid and trustworthy (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007; Braun and Clarke, 2013). From a relativist perspective, epistemology states that knowledge is always perspectival, and no singular, absolute truth exists. Subjectivism assumes that “*social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of those social actors concerned with their existence*” (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2015: 108). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill

(2015: 108) further add that subjectivism is *“a continual process in that through the process of social interaction these social phenomena are in a constant state of revision”*.

The importance of studying a situation and all its specifics to understand the reality or the reality working behind them, is often referred to as ‘constructionism’ (Remenyi, 1998: 35). Crotty (1998) discusses variances in epistemology of objectivism, subjectivism and constructionism, with preference toward ‘constructionism’. Constructionism is how *“meaning arises from human interaction in the world; the subject attributes meaning to the object on the basis of experience with it.”* (Preissle, 2000: 73). The reality is constructed by the researcher through constructing meaning within the realities of the individuals. Some authors refer to this as ‘constructivism’ (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 2000), and although many scholars use both terms interchangeably, Pernecky (2013) argued that there are differences. Crotty (1998) earlier argued that constructionism and constructivism are distinct, suggesting that constructivism is relative to epistemological considerations that examine the meaning-making activity of the individual. Conversely, he claimed that constructionism is concerned with the collective generation and transmission of meaning. Yet, despite Crotty’s early concerns, both terms remain inconsistent in their application across the social sciences. According to Pernecky (2013), the issue remains with tourism academics failing to address distinction between both terms and vagueness of their applied philosophical foundations. However, both terms follow from interpretivism in understanding the world through culturally-derived and historically-situated patterns (Preissle, 2000) to understand the motivations of social actors through subjective meanings (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2015). Therefore, the epistemological position that I adopted was a social constructivist as I intended to try and make sense of individual meanings that represented the subjective and distinctive experiences of each of my participants. A similar approach has been adopted by many authors investigating mega-event impacts on host communities such as Pappalepore and Duignan’s (2016) investigation into

small creative businesses affected by London 2012 cultural programme exploring individual perceptions and experiences of business owners. McGillivray and McPherson (2014) applied a similar approach in their study on Scotland's London 2012 Cultural Programme. They adopted a social constructivist approach to explore various stakeholders' views directly or significantly involved in the formation of the cultural programmes.

This approach enabled me to interpret and understand how marginalized young people perceived *CriaAtivo* as an effective and/or ineffective social legacy, justifying their individual views. However, it can be challenging to enter the social world of research subjects and understand the world from their perspectives (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2015). Therefore, it was important that during my research I adopted a sensitive approach when conducting my research. In the context of my case study, the social reality of marginalized young people in Rio compared to other young marginalized people in other mega-event host cities (e.g. Barcelona 1992, London 2012) are very different in terms of socio-economic status (see Carvalho, 2016). This is due to their own world views and their diverse socio-cultural settings, essentially their socio-epistemological variances (Freire-Medeiros, 2012).

As identified in Chapter 2.4, the social impacts experienced by Rio's favela communities were allegedly significant for many reasons including forced evictions and political intervention through UPP pacification (see Chapter 6). The 'subjective' view is concerned with understanding how the "...individual creates, modifies and interprets..." (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 3) the world around them, rather what is unique and personal to the individual experience compared to the general and universal. Essentially, communities interact with their environments as well as seeking to make sense of it through their interpretation of certain events and the meanings behind such events (Pernecky, 2013). Subsequently, their own actions may appear meaningful to others "...in the context of these socially constructed interpretations and meanings" (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007: 109). Therefore, it is my responsibility

to construct meaning of the subjective reality of these marginalized young people, making sense of their motives, actions and intentions in a meaningful way. Although the results are constructed collectively in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, individual representations are provided for credibility and justification of their subjective experiences.

5.2.2 Inductive research approach

My research required a methodological approach that would be suitable to explore and understand the complex nature of how a social legacy project helped marginalized young people who were affected by Rio's mega-event disruptions. Qualitative research in tourism studies is often questioned in its ability to provide reliable and interpretive validity due to its investigative nature (Wilson and Hollinshead, 2015). However, by applying multi-method techniques to empirically explore the perspectives of marginalized young people, the construction of meaning was developed through each individual response adding breadth and depth to my investigation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) thus, providing reliable and interpretive validity.

Research can be approached either deductively or inductively although, a deductive approach is usually associated with a positivist approach and involves developing a theory or hypothesis and designing a research strategy that tests the hypothesis (Johnston, 2014). However, the complexity of the phenomena in my study required a specific research design that would capture the experiences and perceptions of the individuals under investigation. Therefore, I applied an inductive approach as this is associated with an interpretivist position allowing ideas to emerge gradually through qualitative data generation and analysis for theory to be constructed (Johnston, 2014).

Adopting an inductive approach enabled exploration of the complexity surrounding individual experiences and perceptions of marginalized young people affected by Rio's mega-events. To understand the contextual factors of how the *CriaAtivo* (introduced in Chapter 4) process enabled marginalized young people to overcome mega-event disruptions and foster positive social change, exploration of the *a priori* themes that emerged from the literature included mega-event disruptions (Chapter 2), resilience, resistance and social capital (Chapter 3). These superordinate themes were reduced to smaller basic themes for in-depth analysis (Section 5.7.2). Examples of these basic themes included: evictions and displacement; self-development; learning new skills; breaking barriers of exclusion; visibility of social reality; internal social network structures; and external social network structures. The analysis process is further discussed in Sections 5.6 and 5.7.

5.2.3 Case study research design

As presented in Chapter 4, *CriaAtivo Film School (CriaAtivo)* was where my research study took place. Therefore, a case study approach was adopted as it enabled many inter-relating features (e.g. mega-event disruptions such as forced evictions, displacement and UPP interventions) to be investigated comprehensively through a well-structured approach (Thomas, 2011; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2015). According to Yin (2013: 16), a case study approach holistically investigates contemporary phenomenon “[...] *within its real-world context...*”. As identified in Chapter 2, many authors argued that there are very few empirical case studies that investigate host community impacts from mega-events (e.g. Pappalepore and Duignan, 2016) and indirect socio-cultural/-economic impacts of event hosting (e.g. Christie and Gibb, 2015), particularly for marginalized and ethnic-minority communities (e.g. Minnaert, 2012; Maharaj, 2015). Therefore, an exploratory case study approach was preferred

to investigate such impacts on marginalized communities. According to Robson (2002: 59), this approach is valuable in ascertaining “[...] *what is happening; to seek new insight; to ask questions; and to assess phenomena in a new light [...]*”. Much research into mega-event impacts on local host communities are taken from existing secondary sources such as previous studies or official documentation and reports without offering sources of empirical evidence that explores the direct impacts and consequences on individuals (e.g. Steinbrink, 2013), particularly those from Rio’s marginalized communities. Therefore, a qualitative observation was preferred, as it is based on addressing the gap in empirical evidence of silenced and marginalized voices.

It was easy to see from existing literature (e.g. news reports from Rio On Watch news blog reporting on the mega-event impacts on favela communities) and previous studies (e.g. Steinbrink, 2013; Gaffney, 2015; Talbot, 2016) that Rio’s favela communities were severely impacted from Rio hosting both FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016 in many ways (Chapter 2). It is these individuals and their communities that are often the most affected by mega-event plans, developments and policies, and this too lacks empirical research into their views and perceptions of how they are affected on a socio-cultural level. Although, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007) suggest that choosing a suitable case study for investigation may suggest that they are more important than the other. The *CriaAtivo* methodology intended to help these marginalized young people and provide them with hope for better futures, thus highlighting its importance and uniqueness for such young people.

Marginalized voices were explored through the social legacy project of *CriaAtivo Film School* (*CriaAtivo* – as outlined in Chapter 4), an Olympic legacy project in Rio de Janeiro funded by the ‘*Newton Fund Institutional Skills Development Programme*’ from the British Council in the UK. This project was a cross-cultural partnership between Cultural Interest Group (CIG) not-for-profit organisation (NFPO) *Creative Wick* in London and *Instituto Cultural Pólen*, a

Brazilian NGO, initiated in 2017 (Creative Wick, n.d.). *CriaAtivo*'s aim was to provide professional qualifications within the film industry to marginalized young people from Rio's favelas and peripheral areas affected by mega-event led regeneration plans (Creative Wick, n.d.). For this project to be delivered effectively, it required a match fund as part of the conditions of the awarded funding. This was through a non-financial contribution (work space and technological equipment) from Rio City Hall government through their Rio 2016 Olympic Legacy project *Nave do Conhecimento* (ship of knowledge), located in Triagem in the north zone of Rio (see Figure 4.2, page 78).

A single case refers to a critical or extreme case, or unique, and offers the capacity to study a phenomenon that has been rarely considered previously (Yin, 2013). Yin also states that multiple case studies establish whether the first case study findings also appear within the subsequent cases of research. As *CriaAtivo* was a unique case, it was considered an exception in Rio's 2016 legacy by its founders, directors and students, and they believed it to be the only positive outcome from Rio 2016. Therefore, a critical project for marginalized young people affected by Rio's recent mega-events. A comparative case study approach was not suitable in this instance as *CriaAtivo* was such a unique project for marginalized young people who rarely have access to such opportunities.

Yin (2013) further argues that a single case study requires strong justification for why it was chosen, and many may prefer a multiple case study approach for this reason. Müller and Gaffney (2016) argue that multiple case studies are lacking in mega-event research regarding urban developments, they claimed that most research studies in this domain are dominated by single case studies due to research limitations. However, as Brazil is a developing country, it would have been extremely difficult to compare Rio to other host cities due to extreme variations in their socio-cultural/-economic/-political and environmental conditions (see Freire-Medeiros, 2012). Much research investigating Rio's favelas is based on single case

studies such as Torres' (2012) investigation into urban inclusion in Rio de Janeiro with the focus on the '*Museu de Favela*' (MUF - Favela Museum). Torres applied a qualitative approach using data generation methods of interviews, participant observation and document analysis. Many tourism case studies exploring Rio's favela communities are mainly focused on 'slum tourism' and the implications of such tourist activity on the residents. Others are focused on tourist perceptions from visiting various favelas, mainly those popular with tourists operating third party tours (e.g. Freire-Medeiros, 2012; Frenzel, Koens, and Steinbrink, 2012; Freire-Medeiros, Vilarouca, and Menezes, 2013; Frenzel 2016). Other case studies on favelas include urban developments and relocations of favela communities in general or specific cases (e.g. Cavalheiro and Abiko, 2015).

Therefore, due to time, language barriers, time and financial costs, and research setting constraints (further discussed in Section 5.8), it was not suitable to apply a multiple case study approach in my research for the given reasons. This is a story that needed to be unveiled to contribute to knowledge in how social legacy projects are important for marginalized young people and their communities in fostering social change, while providing them with a voice that is so often ignored.

5.2.4 Research Process: Phases 1-6

My research process is presented in Figure 5.2 across six phases. The six phases of the research offer a transparent and logical insight into the methodological process adopted. Phases 1-3 were my intended research plan (Section 5.2) and Phases 4-6 were stages during the conduct of my study (Section 5.3).

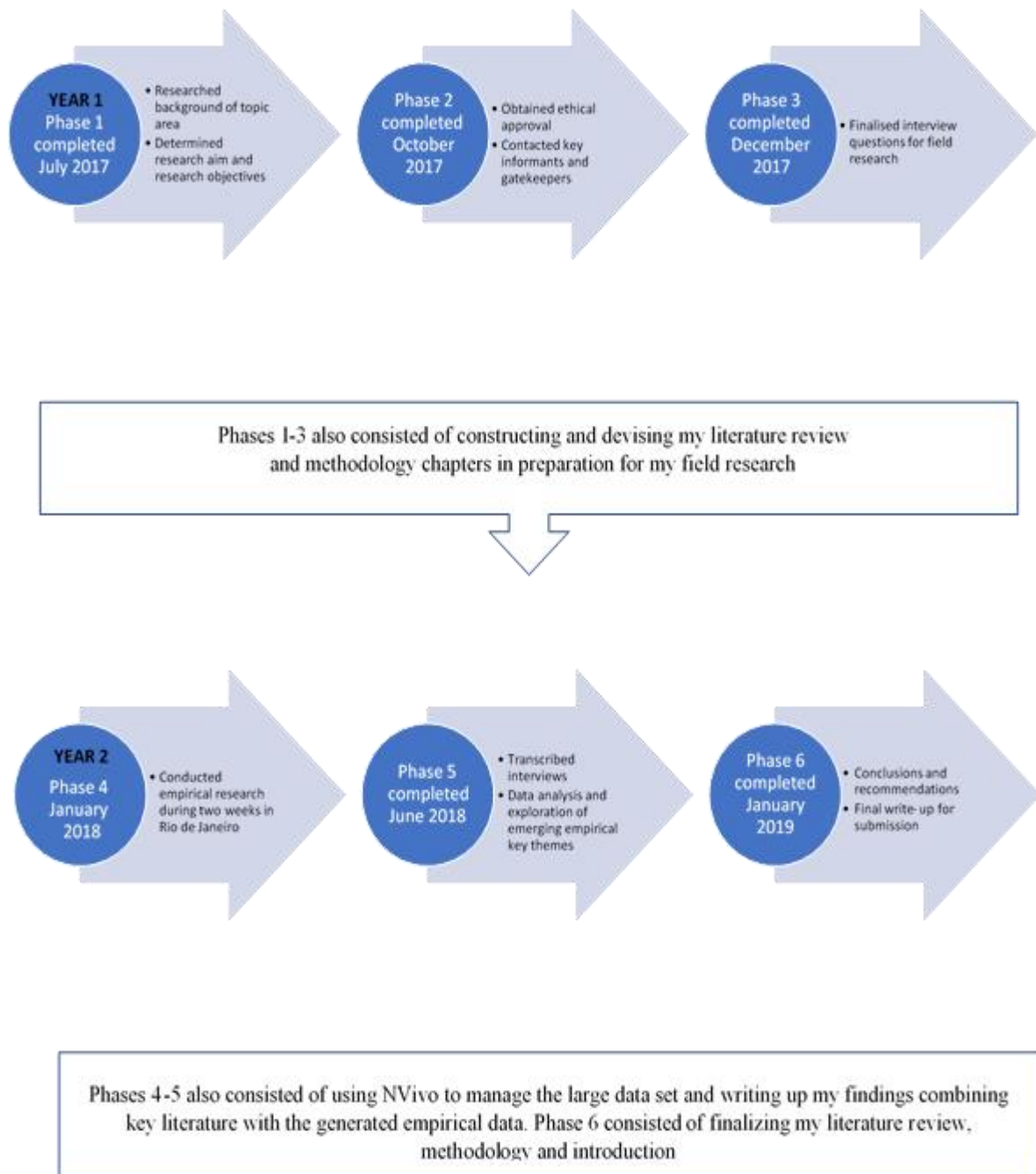


Figure 5:2 - Phases 1-6 of my research process

5.2.5 Phases 1-3 - Initial literature review and informing stage

This section presents the first year of my research process from February 2017 to December 2017 until the point of field research (introduced in Section 5.3.2). Figure 5.3 below, displays phase 1-3 of my research, identifying the different areas of focus that included my initial literature review, sourcing contacts, key informants and gatekeepers, and finalizing interview questions for field research data generation.



Figure 5:3 - Phases 1-3 - Initial review and informing stage of research

5.2.6 Phase 1: Investigating literature and refining research questions



Figure 5:4 - Phase 1 of research

An initial critical literature review on mega-event impacts and mega-event legacy was conducted that informed my initial research objectives prior to data generation for an insight into existing evidence to help develop my focus group/interview questions. This helped to identify the key issues that mega-events impose on host marginalized communities before conducting my primary research, not only to help refine the research questions and develop suitable participant questions, but also to build a solid foundation for the research and for gaps in research to be identified (Collis and Hussey, 2014; Corbin and Strauss, 2015; Yin, 2018). This is supported by Corbin and Strauss (2015) who argue that a literature review should initially inform the research questions and be revised after research is completed to validate the findings and identify how the theory supports, contributes or amends existing theory. Therefore, my opening research objectives informed by my literature review included:

- To explore the socio-economic impacts of mega-events on local host communities;
- To identify mega-event disruptions that affect the socio-cultural settings of marginalized communities;
- To investigate how marginalized communities can overcome mega-event disruptions.

These research objectives were refined post-research to validate my findings to support and contribute to existing theory into the following research questions:

- Through the lens of a case study, how does a process of transformational resilience help marginalized young people overcome mega event disruptions that threaten their socio-cultural environments?
- How can creative social legacy initiatives bring positive social change for marginalized young people in mega-event host destinations?

5.2.7 Phase 2: Locating key gatekeepers and informants of research



Figure 5:5 - Phase 2 of research

Yin (2013: 38) argues that although the literature review provides the ‘blueprint’ of the theoretical propositions, this can also be achieved through identification of key informants to identify the key issues on the ‘ground’ for a deeper understanding, helping to determine which

data to generate and the most appropriate strategies for analysing the data. The informing stage of research provided a valuable insight into the initial key themes and gaps in existing knowledge, subsequently informing the primary stage of empirical research. I initially applied a purposive sampling technique (further discussed in Section 5.3.2.2) to contact suitable participants best suited to inform me of the key issues that marginalized communities were confronted with before, during and after Rio's recent mega-events. It was fundamental that NGOs and persons working closely with marginalized communities (e.g. favelas) were contacted prior to my field research as they are what are considered as 'key informants'.

Initial contact was made with Theresa Williamson (permission to be named) founder of *Catalytic Communities* (<http://catcomm.org>, an NGO working for Rio's favelas, and online news blog *Rio ON [Olympic News] Watch* (<http://www.rioonwatch.org>), reporting the effects of Rio 2016 on the city's favelas. Theresa became a key informant to my research and provided me with specific details of the issues that marginalized communities had been confronted with from Rio hosting its recent mega-events.

Creswell (2007) argues that gatekeepers can act as 'key informants' as they can provide detailed information and provide connections to further information and participants - a key outcome in my research. Although, Campbell, Gray, Meletis, Abbott and Silver (2006) argue that this may not always be the case in other research studies as gatekeepers may only provide access to research subjects without providing any further information. Very few studies exist that explain the researcher-gatekeeper relationships making it incredibly difficult for novice researchers to understand what the best methods are for accessing chosen research settings (Low and Everett, 2010). However, this issue was addressed in my co-authored paper '*Leveraging digital and physical spaces to 'de-risk' and access Rio's favela communities*' (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). The approach in how my relationship with my gatekeepers were developed and formed to access a high-risk research setting warrants further discussion.

5.2.7.1 *Accessing gatekeepers and high-risk research settings*

According to Campbell et al. (2006: 98), the reconceptualization of fieldwork not only has many epistemological implications in the nature and construction of knowledge, but it also *“highlights both the importance of human relationships in the field and the “humanness” of researchers.”* Such relationships are critical in conducting successful research, yet many studies consider the researcher-gatekeeper relationships as ‘unidirectional’ (Campbell et al., 2006). Researcher-gatekeeper relationships are far from one-directional as an element of trust must exist between them denoting that trust must be reciprocal (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). Campbell et al. (2006) supports this position by stating that once access to research settings are established, the researcher-gatekeeper relationship appears to stay the same and mention of such relationships post-access is rarely mentioned. This suggests that gatekeepers only appear important in initiating research. This assertion supports my earlier suggestion (Section 5.2.7) that gatekeepers can act as key informants as well as just initiators of access. This is evident throughout my research in Rio and my personal and professional relationship with my key gatekeepers and informants.

In addition to providing key insights into the impacts of Rio’s recent mega-events on marginalized communities, Theresa (Section 5.2.7) provided contact details of an English-speaking contact, a self-made photographer and co-director of *CriaAtivo*, who provided me with a contact telephone number of a man named Charles Siqueira. Charles became my highly influential key gatekeeper from one of Rio’s dangerous, although pacified, favelas - *Morro dos Prazeres* in the *Santa Teresa* neighbourhood of Rio. He put me in touch with another key gatekeeper, Fabricio Mendez, who was based in London and worked for Creative Wick, working with underprivileged young people in East London.

As outlined above, I initially employed a purposive sampling technique although, it quickly became a purposive-come-snowballing technique (Browne, 2006 – Section 5.3.2.2) that secured my key informants and subsequently my key gatekeepers who permitted access to suitable research participants. Both Charles and Fabricio also became my key informants providing me with a deep insight into my case study prior to entering the field. Additionally, they both spoke a high-level of English reducing the language barriers and implications of identifying and recruiting research participants in my study (further discussed in Section 5.8.3). Moreover, they provided me with access to an English-speaking translator, who is introduced in Section 5.8.4.

5.2.7.2 Building researcher-gatekeeper trust

Crowhurst (2013) explains that the pivotal aspects in gatekeeper-researcher relationships are ones of ‘trust’, ‘respect’ and ‘power’, and their impacts on the research, are less accentuated in practice. It is also important that a level of mutual trust is developed between the researcher and participants to generate a credulous relationship, and there must be some level of empathy from the researcher. In addition to this, credibility is considered as another critical factor in accessing inaccessible places (Sixsmith, Boneham, and Goldring, 2003). However, Emmel et al. (2007) state that both credibility and trust are built when the researcher is immersed within the research space. Yet, in this instance, trust was achieved through the continual contact and communication between myself, Charles and Fabricio and was maintained through digital means, specifically *WhatsApp* (<https://www.whatsapp.com>) – a key digital method used throughout my research (presented in Section 5.2.7.3).

Social Messaging Platforms (SMPs), as proposed in Cade, Everett, and Duignan (2019), are rarely used as a tool in accessing gatekeepers and fostering constructive relationships between the researcher and key informants. Without the application of digital methods, this research may have inevitably been costlier, time-consuming, and problematic considering the distance between myself and my research setting. Ultimately, this research may never have come into fruition without adoption of a creative methodological process (limitations discussed in Section 5.8). We further argue that the utilisation of digital methods is not unique to qualitative research and can be replicated in other methodological approaches in quantitative and mixed methods studies.

5.2.7.3 Leveraging digital methods to access high-risk physical spaces

Traditional forms of qualitative approaches in accessing research settings are often time-consuming and usually involve face-to-face communication, telephone conversations or postal correspondence (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016). Such communications have been improved through the introduction of SMPs such as Facebook Messenger, *WhatsApp* and direct messaging applications on Twitter and Instagram. Much qualitative research discusses online social platforms as useful tools in gathering data (see Henderson, 2011; Kapoor, Tamilmani, Rana, Patil, Dwivedi, and Nerur, 2018). However, such tools are rarely explored for leveraging access into research settings (Côte, 2013; Maramwidze-Merrison, 2016) and initiating contact between researchers and gatekeepers, key informants and participants (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). *WhatsApp* was a key tool in my research for connecting and communicating with my key gatekeepers and creating relationships of mutual trust and rapport between us, while simultaneously de-risking the research setting and building relationships with research

participants. This ‘gatekeeper-researcher’ relationship to ‘de-risk’ the research setting is presented in the ‘Digi-cal’ model that we developed in Figure 5.6.

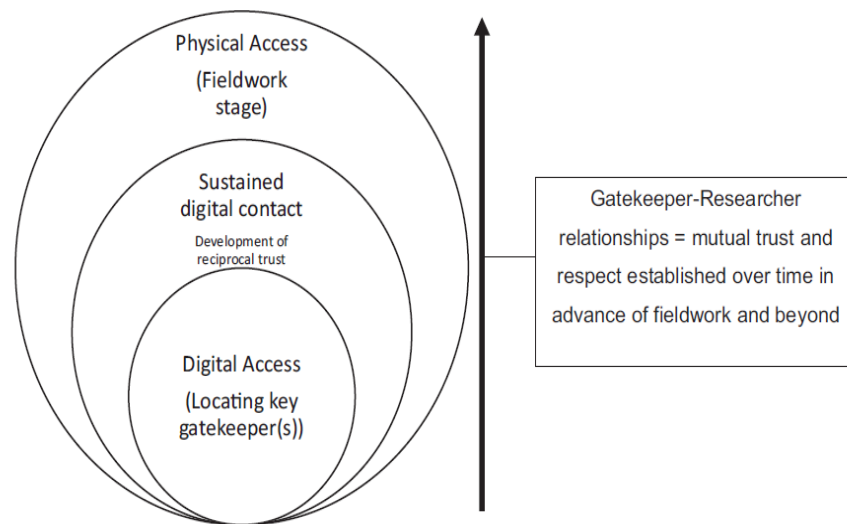


Figure 5.6 - The 'Digi-cal' model: traversing the digital and physical nexus of research (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019: 21)

Accessing unpredictable research settings such as Rio’s marginalized communities can be incredibly risky for researchers, especially those traveling alone, and not to mention time-consuming (see Shefner and Gay, 2002).

Many researchers investigating such unfamiliar and risky settings have implemented many ways to gain access by establishing and negotiating contact with resident associations (usually run by drug gang leaders or ‘chiefs’) and raising visibility of research individuals and teams (see Perlman, 2010). However, much research into accessing these incredibly chaotic, dangerous and unpredictable settings is rarely explored and many opt for easier options, perhaps a key reason for not many empirical studies into mega-event impacts on marginalized and underprivileged communities (e.g. Cataldo, 2008). Lack of investigation or reflection on how access is gained into such communities can be problematic and daunting for any researcher wishing to conduct research in such areas, particularly the novice researcher. Such lack of

reflection can be unnerving for those who have no previous experience or comprehension of the best research approach to undertake when confronted with high-risk research settings, other than remaining within the agreed ethical boundaries (discussed in Section 5.4). The requirement for more critical investigation into tourism research and more reflexive approaches of ‘writing one-self’ (see Everett, 2010) into research is evidenced throughout my research process and further explained in Section 5.5.

5.2.8 Phase 3: Finalizing interview questions



Figure 5:7 - Phase 3 of research

In final preparation for my field research, I employed various qualitative data generation methods of a focus group, semi-structured interviews and an online (mixed-methods) survey. According to Corbin and Strauss (2015) there are three different types of interviews: unstructured, semi-structured and structured. I wanted to ensure that I was covering the initial key issues as discovered in the literature (Chapters 2 and 3) therefore, semi-structured interviews were used for consistency and flexibility (Corbin and Strauss, 2015).

Open-ended semi-structured questions were generalised and exploratory to guide conversation between myself/translator and my participants. The questions were based upon asking ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions, with an emphasis on ‘why’ to be open and entice as much detail from the participant as possible. This is supported by Yin (2018) who asserted that in-depth interviews can provide detail and insight into the affairs and actions of individuals, as well as provide other relevant sources of information. However, an issue with these types of interviews makes it harder to identify any underlying issues that the participant may wish to express. Such issues can include that the participants may feel it is not relevant, or the researcher is not interested in that topic as it has not been mentioned throughout the interview (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Additionally, it was important that I did not ask questions that were offensive or threatening to my participants to protect them, but at the same time, I needed to ensure that the questions would generate enough in-depth detail to answer my research questions.

5.3 Conduct of Study

This section presents the conduct of my study (Phase 4 of my research) and discusses how the intended research plan (Section 5.2) changed in response to the situations I found myself in. It offers a reflexive account of my research process presented in section 5.5. Based on my philosophical position (Section 5.2.1) and research approach (Section 5.2.2), the research design presented here follows this approach. However, during the field research and data analysis stages some issues arose that required slight adaption to my initial research plan. These changes are discussed within the relevant subsections of this chapter for a detailed account of what was done. Section 5.8 discusses in more detail my overall reflections that presents the limitations and strengths of my methodological decisions and research design. These are further discussed in Chapter 9.3 presenting my overall reflections, strengths and limitations.

5.3.1 Phases 4-6 - Field Research, Analysis and Findings



Figure 5:8 - Field research, analysis and findings stage of research

This section discusses year two of my research process from January 2018 to January 2019. I present phases 4-6 of my research process in Figure 5.8. Phase 4 presents my field research conducted in January 2018 conducted for two weeks in Rio de Janeiro. This section includes the qualitative methods used for data generation that included a focus group (Section 5.3.2.3); semi-structured interviews (Section 5.3.2.4); and an online survey (Section 5.3.2.5).

I later present Phases 5 and 6 of my research processes that discuss the data analysis procedures adopted (Sections 5.6 and 5.7) to produce my findings and discussion chapters (Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

5.3.2 Phase 4: Field research in Rio de Janeiro and *CriaAtivo Film School*

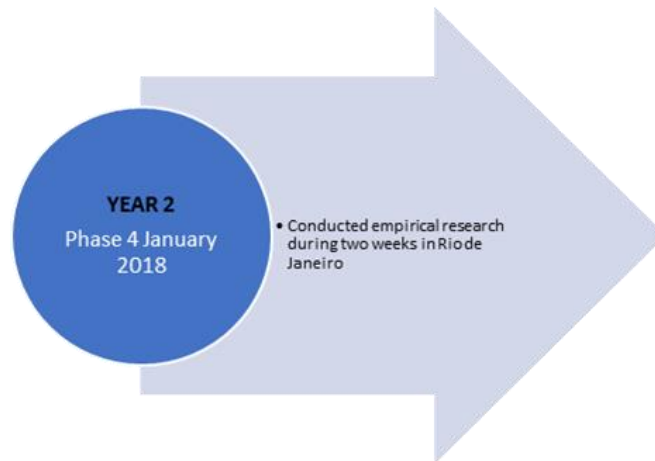


Figure 5:9 - Phase 4 of research

5.3.2.1 *Qualitative methods of inquiry*

This research was also conducted alongside research for my PhD (which follows this MPhil submission). However, Corbin and Strauss (2015) claim that it is problematic to collect all data at once and recommend that data should be analysed after each interview to direct the researcher and prevent them from feeling overwhelmed. Although this is common practice in the grounded theory approaches to research, my research was conducted in a condensed space of time due to being conducted in Rio, so it was a one-chance opportunity to ensure that I conducted as many focus groups, interviews, and meetings that I could during my stay. In addition to these methods, I also kept daily notes and a field diary (with photographs). This section discusses the data generation methods used to generate data that contributed to answering my initial research questions (as presented in Section 5.2.6):

A case study approach usually employs a range of data sources as presented in Figure 5.10 (Swanborn, 2010) to help answer the research questions.



Figure 5:10 - Six sources of case study evidence (Yin, 2018: 114)

My data sources extended beyond this to include an online collaborative survey of both open-ended and closed questions, as well as unstructured face-to-face conversations that were recorded, with permission, and later transcribed, as well as digital methods such as *WhatsApp* conversations between myself and my key gatekeeper and informants. Although not much data arose from these conversations – they helped to add strength, context and meaning to the emerging data generated by the interviews, focus group, field notes and observations made in-the-field. Conversation analysis is a technique that is common within ethnomethodology research (see Silverman, 1993; Swanborn, 2010). Although, my research employs an interpretive phenomenological approach and not ethnomethodology, the pursuit of applying interdisciplinary methodologies (Janeswick, 2000) and techniques from other areas of research are useful from other methodologies and research processes to help and obtain detailed and

adequate data to answer the research question. This is supported by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) who claim that the use of qualitative multi-methods is useful as they can provide better opportunities to answer the research question and better evaluate the extent to which research findings can be trusted and inferences made from them. A major strength of conducting case study research is that you can draw on multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2018). Drawing on multiple sources enabled me to explore the idea of ‘crystallization’.

Rather than triangulation, the concept of ‘crystallization’ is a less objective approach and recognises the multi-facets of a qualitative research design and the various disciplines that are incorporated within it (Janeswick, 2000; Ellingson, 2009). ‘Crystallization’ provides a multi-angled deep and complex meticulous partial understanding of the phenomenon that assumes no ‘truth’ exists ‘out there’ but instead multiple and partial truths that researchers co-construct (Ellingson, 2009). As a social constructivist approach was taken, following on from its interpretivist foundation, data is not collected or readily available it is instead generated by the researchers and co-generated with the participants (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Cade, Everett, and Duignan (2019) posit that integrating different research methods can help to provide clarity and generate richer data for lost and hidden narratives. In seeking and applying methodological practices from disciplines outside of tourism helps build new knowledge and confidence in applying such methods.

5.3.2.2 Research sample

The focus of my research moved specifically towards marginalized young people who were involved in a social legacy project, instead of the initial focus of marginalized communities affected by Rio’s recent mega-events. This was due to the opportunity to access up to 200

potential participants, marginalized young people, from various favelas and peripheral areas across Rio. This research was aligned to the work of *CriaAtivo* and how it successfully empowered marginalized young people to develop resilience and resistance against mega-event disruptions and social exclusion. Therefore, this was representative of the population not only involved in *CriaAtivo*, but also those who lived within Rio's marginalized communities. The research sample provided a valid insight into how marginalized young people are socially excluded and how such circumstances are exacerbated from hosting mega-events supporting my research approach (Section 5.2.2). The sample identifies how a small group of individuals were able to successfully leverage a social legacy project for fostering social change. This also presents how such social legacy projects are effective in reducing mega-event disruptions for host communities and 'including' rather than 'excluding' those who already suffer such exclusion.

Based on the research sample, I adopted non-probability, purposive sampling, as the initial participants were selected based upon their relationship and experience of Rio's recent mega-events. Consequently, a purposive- 'snowball effect' (Browne, 2002) occurred as identified in Section 5.2.7.1, that provided an extended participant sample through existing contacts. For example, Charles introduced me to Fabricio as he felt he could better explain the *CriaAtivo* process. It is considered that there was little bias in my sample for the focus group as my key gatekeeper, Charles, asked the students who would be willing to participate, and they offered themselves and they are also representative of the sample population as they were all displayed similar demographics and social background as discussed above.

5.3.2.3 *Focus Group with CriaAtivo Film School students*

As intended in my research plan, a focus group was conducted in Rio de Janeiro that consisted of nine students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, from *CriaAtivo* who chose to participate in the focus group. I planned to conduct two focus groups consisting of six students in each group, but not all arrived. Therefore, the decision was made to put all nine students together in one focus group due to their individual time and travel constraints. Focus groups involve recruiting a small group of people to moderate discussion that revolves around the area of investigation (Yin, 2018). The focus group consisted of participants from the first cohort of students in 2016 and were a mixture of both the first and second cycle of the course (Fabricio Mendez, 2018). They studied a range of different courses, but the majority seemed to study the ‘script’¹ course - see Table 5.1 for participant details.

¹ The ‘script’ course is where students learned to be screenwriters.

Participant	Age	Course
1	18	Script
2	19	Script
3	23	Script
4	19	Editing
5	19	Editing
6	23	Editing
7	22	Script
8	20	Directing
9	26	Script

Table 5.1 - Focus group courses

These students were critical to my research as they were the individuals participating in the social legacy project and able to provide detailed insights into how *CriaAtivo* had helped them through tough times of heightened social exclusion. Furthermore, many had suffered the effects of Rio's mega-events and provided critical empirical evidence of how they were affected, both positively and negatively. As identified in Section 5.3.2.2, most participants lived in the peripheral areas of Rio therefore, the focus group participants received reimbursement for their travel and food, so they could participate. This decision was made because *CriaAtivo*'s British

Council funding paid for the students to travel to *Triagem* and for their food to make it possible for them to attend the film school.

The focus group was conducted by my translator (discussed further in Section 5.8.4) who was briefed on my study focus in advance of conducting field research. The translator was given a set of suitable open-ended questions to guide them to ensure that a discussion was established between them and the participants and that the key areas in my research were covered. This moderated discussion deliberately attempts to surface individual views and creates a discussion and debate between them (Krueger and Casey, 2015).

The focus group questions (see Appendix 1) were focused around how marginalized communities had been affected by Rio's mega-events plans and developments caused by mega-events. The questions probed the young people on how *CriaAtivo* had helped them in their fight against marginalization and social exclusion to explore how a social legacy project enabled them to overcome mega-event disruptions of forced and violent evictions and political interventions (e.g. UPP) to their socio-cultural structures. It was important that I got a deeper understanding of how *CriaAtivo* had helped them to overcome such mega-event disruptions affecting them and their communities and the processes that contributed to this. Therefore, questions of 'what' *CriaAtivo* meant to them and 'how' the project had helped them as individuals were proposed.

5.3.2.4 *Semi-structured interviews*

To support the focus group perspectives, it was important that I also interviewed *CriaAtivo*'s founders and directors for a crystallized and constructivist approach (as introduced in Section 5.3.2.1), supporting my epistemological standpoint. Interviews were chosen as a suitable

method for data generation as interviews are an essential source of evidence when conducting case studies as they usually involve human actors (Yin, 2018). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the directors of *CriaAtivo Film School* (Table 5.2) and were important in contributing to my understanding and narrative of the social legacy project and its intentions for marginalized young people.

The questions (see Appendix 2) were informed by the focus group responses as the focus group was conducted first. These interviews also identified some of the current issues that marginalized young people were confronted with through mega-event hosting and exacerbated social norms of exclusion. However, Yin (2018) explained that interviewee responses can be subject to bias, respondents can have poor recollection, or responses can be poorly articulated. Therefore, it was important that the data generated from this method was corroborated with other sources as adopted in my study (e.g. focus group and online survey). These interviews also supported the young people's experiences and perceptions, providing strength to my argument. For example, Saulo Nikolai had key insights into experiences of marginalization and social exclusion as he was from a local favela, thus reinforcing views of the focus group participants and offering another perspective from a successful entrepreneur.

The opinions and experiences of the directors were important for providing context and strength to my argument to provide clarity and richer insights for lost and hidden narratives to be revealed (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). Although, from a relativist standpoint, their experiences were not necessary as they were not the selected research sample of marginalized young people participating in *CriaAtivo*

Interviewee	Organisation	Justification for inclusion in study
Fabricio Mendez	Creative Wick – Community Manager; Director of <i>CriaAtivo Film School</i>	Works with young favela residents to improve young people's futures through creative industry in Rio and London; Able to provide key 'ground' issues that marginalized communities face; Gatekeeper to marginalized young people participating in <i>CriaAtivo</i> ;
William Chamberlain	Creative Wick Founder	Founder of Creative Wick in London; Provided detail in how Creative Wick and <i>CriaAtivo</i> were formed;
Charles Siqueira	Morro dos Prazeres community leader; Social activist; Director of <i>CriaAtivo Film School</i>	Inspires young favela residents to become entrepreneurs through creative industry; Community leader of favela and key gatekeeper to my research; Lives in a favela and able to provide context to marginalized communities; Able to provide key 'ground' issues and access to other young entrepreneurs from other favelas; Established numerous projects within the community to include tourism;
Saulo Nikolai	Self-employed photographer; Photographer and co-director of <i>CriaAtivo Film School</i> ;	Works with residents of favelas; Self-employed photographer across Rio; Lives in a favela in Rio so could provide rich detail on living in a marginalized community;

Table 5.2 - Interview participants

5.3.2.5 Online survey

The importance of using a variety of methods to help generate data, supported my rationale of a case study approach. According to Yin (2018), generating a variety of data from multiple sources provides in-depth and contextual data for analysis. Although not in my design, a collaborative survey was created between *Instituto Pólen* and Creative Wick to investigate the opinions of marginalized young people who participated in *CriaAtivo* on ‘*Legacy Regeneration in Rio de Janeiro after ten years of the sequence of mega-events (e.g. Pan American Games 2007; Confederations Cup 2013; FIFA World Cup 2014 and Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games)*’. It was agreed by my gatekeepers (Charles and Fabricio) that I could ‘piggy-back’ the survey and introduce questions of ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ to existing questions to generate qualitative data that would help answer my research questions and provide strength and validity to my argument. The importance of introducing the ‘why’ question was imperative for my epistemological position as I was attempting to seek multiple truths and constructed perceptions and experiences of how a social legacy project enabled the process of resilience and resistance against mega-event disruptions to foster social change for marginalized young people.

The survey was distributed online to two-hundred students of *CriaAtivo* in Rio who were geographically located across Rio’s favela and peripheral areas as presented in Figure 5.11. We received a high response rate of 47.5%, with ninety-five responses generating lots of quantitative and qualitative data. Although as previously mentioned, I only focused on the qualitative data that emerged in my analysis as it was decided that the quantitative results of this survey would not be included as data for the purposes of my research. This was due to the aim, research questions and research approach specifically focusing on the empirical views of marginalized young people. This supports my inductive social constructivist approach (Section

5.2.1) in exploring experiences and perceptions of those who are rarely explored as identified in Chapter 2, contributing to the gap in knowledge (Section 9.5).

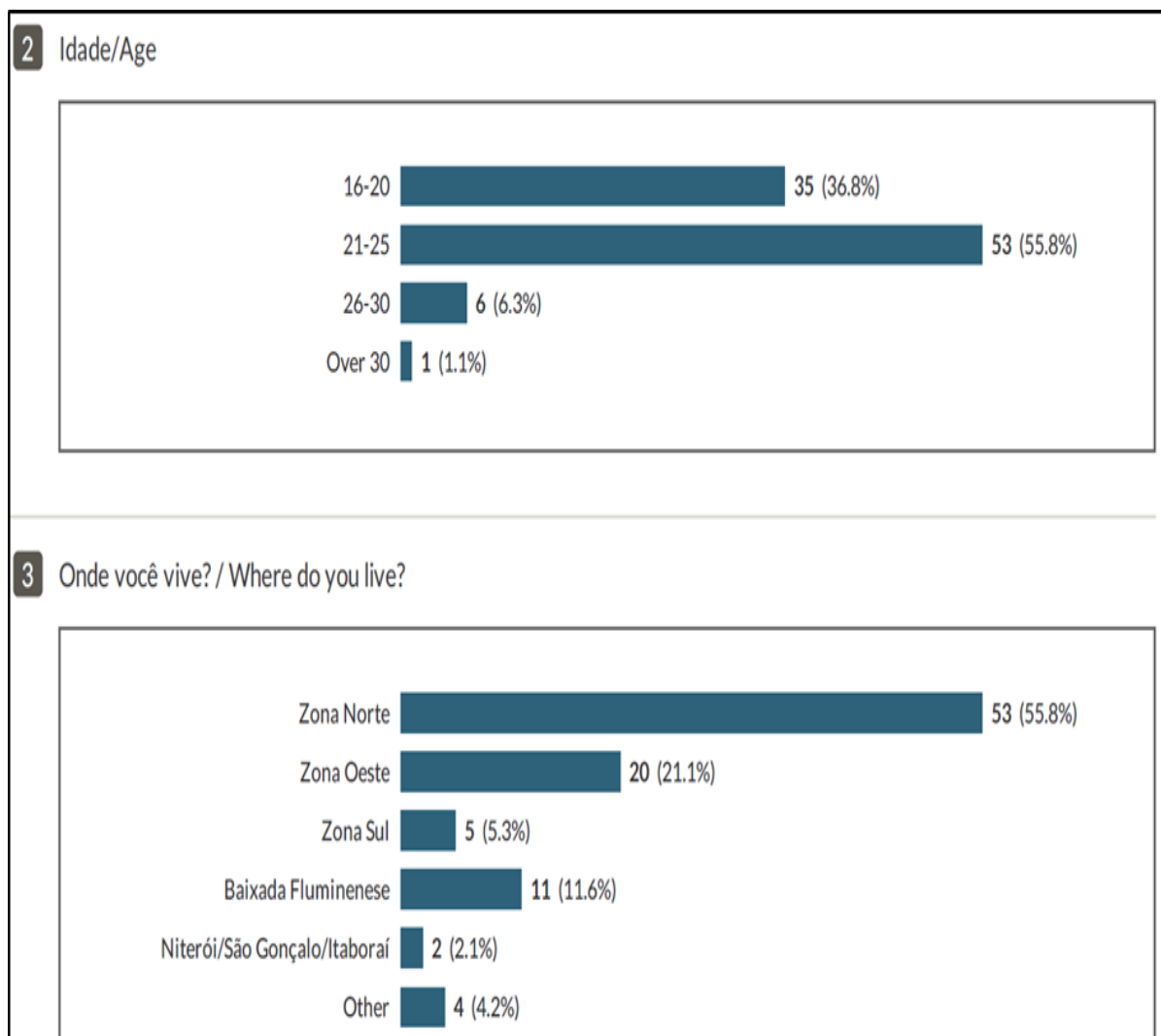


Figure 5:11 - Demographics of survey respondents

The questions were based on the legacy of Rio's recent mega-events and allowed for data to emerge that identified the positive and negative impacts of such events. A copy of the survey is attached as Appendix 3. This method of data generation provided an opportunity for a larger group of respondents to be included in my study and generation of a larger data-set for analysis.

This was important to my epistemological position as it enhanced the views of the focus group participants and provided different perspectives across Rio giving breadth and depth to my data. Based on this, using the survey responses was key for developing validity and strengthening my conclusions through crystallization of the perspectives. This supports Yin (2018: 128) who asserts that the findings or conclusions reached within a case study are “likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information”.

Due to my relativist standpoint, the focus group responses became my main evidence for my findings and discussion in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8. This was because my research aims, and research questions were focused specifically on how *CriaAtivo*, as a social legacy project, empowered marginalized young people engaged in processes of resilience and resistance to overcome mega-event disruptions and social exclusion for better futures. However, the survey responses provided the core structure and main source of evidence in Chapter 6, presenting the overarching disruptions from FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016 that exacerbated social exclusions, vulnerability and insecurity in these young people.

5.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical representations occur in all methodological strategies; and methods employed and can raise ethical questions about the representation of others (Ellingson, 2009). Such ethical implications include obtaining informed consent from all participants involved in the study; protecting those who participate as well as yourself as the researcher; protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants; and treating all participants equitably to ensure no individuals are unfairly excluded (Yin, 2018). These ethical issues were considered

and addressed in my ethical application and risk assessment approved by my institution (attached as Appendix 4).

5.4.1 Obtaining consent and protecting the study participants

Throughout the research process it was imperative that ethical procedures were considered and adhered to (Denscombe, 2005) for the participants of the research, the research itself and the researcher conducting the research (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). As my research involved human subjects, there were many ethical implications involved that required thorough consideration prior to conducting my research.

Being transparent is vital in research that involves human participants and disclosure of the research process to the participants is paramount. Schnackenberg and Tomlinson (2016) proposed three-dimensions of transparency when conducting research. The first dimension of transparency refers to the disclosure of information, providing the most relevant information. The second dimension refers to ‘clarity’, where clear and comprehensive information is provided. Clarity ensures that the information provided is clear and understandable and differs from disclosure in this way. Thirdly, accuracy is to ensure that the given information is correct. Schnackenberg and Tomlinson (2016) argued that accuracy is unique to the other two dimensions - disclosure and clarity - as it refers to the reliability of the information rather than absoluteness or comprehensibility. They concluded that all three dimensions uniquely increase stakeholder confidence though contributing to the overall level of transparency.

Following Schnackenberg and Tomlinson’s (2016) approach to transparency in research and to protect my participants, I designed a participant consent form (PCF – Appendix 5) and participant information form (PIF – Appendix 6). The PCF and PIF were emailed to my

translator prior to my arrival in Rio for translation into Portuguese. Both forms were handed to each participant at the beginning of the focus group and interviews, so they had full understanding of my research and the choice to participate or not. All interviews were recorded for analysis purposes with prior consent given on the PCF by all participants.

Throughout the data analysis and writing-up stage of my research, I ensured that the participants of the focus group remained anonymous so that their identities were kept confidential, as set out in my PIF. However, my gatekeepers, key informants and the directors of the film school were all happy to be named throughout my research and prior consent was given. In addition to protecting the identities of my research participants, the data were stored on password protected computers and encrypted USB memory stick that meant data could only be accessed by myself personally.

5.4.2 Safety issues of the researcher in high-risk research settings

Another ethical issue in research includes the safety of the researcher themselves. The research setting was in an unpredictable, chaotic and dangerous city of Rio de Janeiro. As identified in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2, Rio is plagued with many issues of crime and violence mainly within its favela communities. The socio-economic conditions of Rio, e.g. social divisions and poverty make the city a risky research setting, particularly for a novice lone-female researcher (see Section 5.5). However, conducting this research was extremely important for those whose voices and stories are often ignored. The strong determination to achieve the best possible outcomes in my research was overshadowed by the ethical implications involved in accessing the notorious parts of Rio to conduct my research. However, I was fully aware of the implications involved in obtaining ethical approval for high-risk research. These issues were addressed in my ethics forms and risk assessment of how I would minimise such risks.

Additionally, the moral standpoint of my relationship with my research participants was to provide voice for my participants as these individuals are rarely given the opportunity to express their views and experiences within mega-event research, contributing to the gap in empirical research. This leads me to reflect on my research and offer a reflexive account of the impact my research had on me as a lone-female researcher entering a high-risk and unfamiliar setting.

5.5 The three dynamics of reflexivity: physicality, performativity and positionality

In the context of my inductive approach and adopting the use of ‘first-person’ (introduced in Section 1.6), the reflexive nature of my investigation was highly influential in how I co-constructed meaning between myself and my participants for my research findings. I discuss my own personal accounts throughout this thesis, but it is important to specifically address how this facilitated my own personal insights into the research context (positionality), relationships between myself and my participants (performativity), and the socio-cultural and power dynamics of my chosen research setting (physicality).

Based on the subjective nature of my research, it is important to address the issue of reflexivity to offer transparency and quality to my investigation and methodological decisions (Finlay and Gough, 2003). Reflexivity is a recent phenomenon in sociology etymologically described as ‘to bend back upon oneself’ which requires a critical self-reflection and self-awareness of the “intersubjective dynamics between the researcher and the researched” (Finlay and Gough, 2003: ix). There are many variances in how reflexivity can be approached and adopted resulting in many different ‘types’ of reflexivity (Finlay, 2003; Feighery, 2006). I refer to Feighery’s

(2006: 270-271) explanation of reflexivity as “the act of making oneself the object of one’s own observation, in an attempt to bring to the fore, the assumptions embedded in one’s perspectives and descriptions of the world.”

The call for more critical and reflexive accounts of research has been at the forefront of many academic arguments in the tourism field (e.g. Tribe, 2005; Feighery, 2006; Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan, 2007; Everett, 2010; Crossley, 2019). According to Everett (2010), the ‘reflexive turn’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) in tourism studies can reveal our knowledge construction, addressing them as inter-related topics of ‘physicality’, ‘performativity’, and ‘positionality’. Adopting Everett’s three topics of reflexivity, I highlight my own reflexive account of this research using examples from the field that demonstrated how my personal interaction with my participants influenced social interaction, methodological decisions and an immersive writing approach using the first-person.

5.5.1 Physicality: locating ourselves in our research

Everett (2010) states that physicality is concerned with locating ourselves within our work, the local scene and environment to acknowledge our physical presence and impact on our studies and subjects (Everett, 2010). This feature of reflexivity involves the interactive processes of participant-observation with our chosen subjects and places of research. According to Everett (2010: 165-166), little work exists on the “day-to-day physicality of empirical research [...]” and how different spatial contexts are significant in the role of knowledge construction and development. The acceptance of locating ‘oneself’ in the field is a notion that must be adopted for developing and sustaining the postmodern field of tourism research (Tribe, 2005). Hence,

the adoption of writing myself into my text, supporting Sparkes (1995: 165) assertion that “an author needs to be written into, and not out of, the text.”

An example of my own physicality was my ‘insider/outsider’ perspective of entering a high-risk research setting (Section 5.2.7.1). Rio and its communities would appear unfamiliar and daunting as a novice and single white female researcher entering the field for the first time although, I was conducting research in a relatively safe space, i.e. *Bairro Carioca* - the film school premises. However, my field research was conducted alongside my field research for my PhD thesis (see Cade, Everett, and Duignan, 2019) that also required accessing one of Rio’s dangerous favela communities – *Morro dos Prazeres*. As presented in Chapters 2 and 3, Rio’s favelas are unpredictable, chaotic and fundamentally dangerous for those living within them, let alone those simply visiting.

I entered an unknown, different, and often dangerous world that was slightly unnerving being a novice researcher who had never visited Rio previously. Accessing a high-risk and unpredictable research setting meant that I was entering a world of differing socio-cultural and economic surroundings requiring me to adopt new ways to effectively and urgently adapt to any issues that may occur such as unpredictable and instantaneous shootings. Such challenges of entering a community where young men carry handguns and drugs is not a situation that I am used to, or one that sat comfortably prior to my arrival. Despite the acceptance of ethical approval to conduct my research in a favela community and the potential issues, it was still quite daunting prior to physically accessing the community. Everett (2010) also experienced this anxiousness during her field research as a lone-female researcher as she approached tourists at food festivals for interviews. Although Everett’s setting was not as unpredictable or as risky as my own, the feelings of anxiety may have been similar by sharing the feeling of ‘not knowing’ what may occur and when.

However, my ‘outsider’ perspective and my own assumptions were very quickly quashed once I became an ‘insider’. I was made to feel welcome and safe by all locals and these fears soon became more apparent outside of both *Bairro Carioca* and *Morro dos Prazeres*. My acceptance within these communities made me feel at ease and changed my views of the social dynamics working within them. This did not mean that I let my guard down as it was important that I followed advice from my gatekeepers to ‘hit the floor’ should a shooting occur (Field notes, 2018). It meant I was more prepared for this to happen and I was for the most part ‘safe’ and felt ‘protected’ not only by the locals but also the drug gang in the favela where I was mostly based. I reflect on this from my field notes:

‘I will never forget this day for as long as I live. I met this extremely tall, black ethnic man wearing thick gold chains and other complementing jewellery who was introduced to me as the ‘gang leader’ of the *Comando Vermelho* (Red Command) criminal group in *Prazeres*. Yes, the nervousness kicked in! However, he came to greet me with arms open wide, hugging me (very tight) and telling me in Portuguese ‘feel welcome and feel safe, you are safe here’. That was not what I expected! But phew! I did not expect to see the ‘leader’ of one of the most infamous drug gangs in Brazil, let alone be welcomed by them. As I was in the company of ‘criminals’ I was not permitted to take any photographs as they fear that they will be used against them as evidence by the police. I could understand this as I observed the area and saw lots of young men sat around square tables preparing drugs (cocaine) and well-equipped with weapons! I suddenly felt a rush of excitement that I had met the drug gang leader and some of the ‘soldiers’, the power of the favela right here, right now and I was listening to music and socialising within metres from this operation. Truly fascinating and what an experience!’ (Field notes, 2018).

I fully believe that being walked around Morro dos Prazeres (PhD case study) and *Bairro Carioca* in Triagem (location of this case study), meant my face was recognised and I was there for a reason, safely under the wing of Charles. I felt this sense of safety and security – one that I did not have outside of these communities. On reflection, I felt more anxious walking through the main streets of Rio (and London!) than I did in a favela, as ironic as that may seem! This was supported by my observations and reflected in my field notes:

‘Observations of area (Bairro Carioca) was one of poverty, danger and liveliness. It was not easy to take photos as per Charles instructions, but he offered on my behalf. Charles advised that the north zone is one of the most dangerous areas of Rio and people protect their houses with security. Not CCTV (Closed-circuit television) but with barbed wire!! The locals in this area of Rio were safe indoors, but on the streets, they became vulnerable to thieves.’ (Field notes, 2018)

These observations made me more conscious of the spatial dynamics in which I was working and just how different my initial assumptions of Rio and its communities were.

5.5.2 Performativity: acting out our research

Everett (2010: 169) describes ‘performativity’ as “[...] a useful metaphor for our active role and impact on our participants [...]”. This concept is how we perform as visible actors within our own research compared to being hidden backstage. Research is a two-way process that needs to be recognised as such.

Finlay (2003) terms this as ‘personal reflexivity’ explaining that it is closely aligned with ‘psychoanalytic theory’ where intersubjective dynamics are at play between the researcher and the researched. Finlay refers to Hunt’s (1989) work on the police, highlighting that researchers

“structure their choice of setting, experience in the initial stages of fieldwork, and the research roles they assume. The transferences that are situationally mobilised in the fieldwork encounter have implications for the questions researchers ask, the answers they hear, and the materials they observe.” Furthermore, Finlay suggests that Hunt importantly explains “transferences structure the researcher’s ability to develop empathic relations with those subjects who provide the essential source of sociological data” (Hunt, 1989: 81; cited in Finlay, 2003: 10).

In the context of my research, a memorable experience that presents my performativity, was during the focus group (Section 5.3.2.3) session, where I was ‘thanked’ by some of the students for researching *CriaAtivo* and asking for their personal opinions on Rio’s mega-events. They stated that ‘our voices are never heard or listened to, so all we have is to thank you for taking the time in speaking to us and asking us our opinions’ (Field notes, 2018). This made me feel incredibly honoured that what I was doing was making a difference to them. I was able to share those feelings with them as my research was not only important to me, but also my participants.

Everett (2010: 169) stated that “when you are fully immersed in your field research, it becomes more than a project, it becomes an obsession.” In other words, you never really ‘switch-off’ and you are constantly relaying everything in your head. I extend this notion to include ‘passion’ that fuels your determination to succeed despite the physical barriers and challenges that may occur. My strong desire to provide a voice to these marginalized young people was at the forefront of my research, it was in my opinion, the very least they deserved for their participation and what it meant to them.

5.5.3 Positionality: the lone-female researcher

Positionality is very closely linked to the performative role in my research process. This concept relates to the personal encounters of research and our socio-cultural identity and

background that inform how we react when investigating the social world (Everett, 2010). As a monolingual researcher with some basic knowledge of Spanish language and limited understanding of the Portuguese language, wider Brazilian and local favela culture and customs, I knew I had to find ways to overcome these challenges. However, it can be challenging to respond and be engaged with such issues when we are exhausted by the cumulation of conducting interviews, observations and travelling associated with our research (Everett, 2010).

There were many socio-epistemological variances (Freire-Medeiros, 2012) between myself and my research participants that existed in terms of my socio-economic background and significant cultural, lifestyle and language coming from the UK, leaving me wondering what to expect on my arrival. However, conducting research in a different social dynamic than what I was used to as a solo-female researcher may have influenced the way in which I was accepted and essentially ‘adopted’ by my gatekeeper and participants.

My positionality as a white British solo-female researcher may have appeared unassuming to the community locals and less confronting had I been male (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). The discussion surrounding gender in research suggests that it plays an influential factor in shaping the research process. Similarly, Everett (2010: 170-171) reflected on her own field research explaining that she felt ‘adopted’ by her participants and in her opinion, stating that this was due to her being a ‘solo female researcher’ travelling alone. Comparing to Everett’s own experiences, I also felt like my key gatekeeper (Charles - introduced in Section 5.2.7.1) was like a ‘father figure’ to me in how I felt protected, welcomed and offered access to all areas with him accompanying me. Our relationship clearly helped in reducing the barriers for building good rapport with my research participants prior to my arrival, enabling me to build mutual trust, relationships and strike friendships more quickly (Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). As Everett (2010) also discovered in her research, being female strongly influenced my

social interaction and the insights generated from the focus group and interviews throughout my research.

To finally illustrate my positionality, I recall the following reflection from Day 6 of my research that demonstrates my strong sense of ‘self’ within the community:

‘I am starting to feel like a resident myself! Most of my time has been spent here, or if outside of the favela I am with at least one resident (mostly Charles!). The only thing I am yet to do is sleep here!’ (Field notes, 2018).

This thesis now turns to the data analysis stages (Phases 5 and 6) of my research and presents how the generated data was explored (Section 5.6) and interpreted using a thematic network analysis approach (Section 5.7).

5.6 Phase 5: Data analysis: Exploration of the data

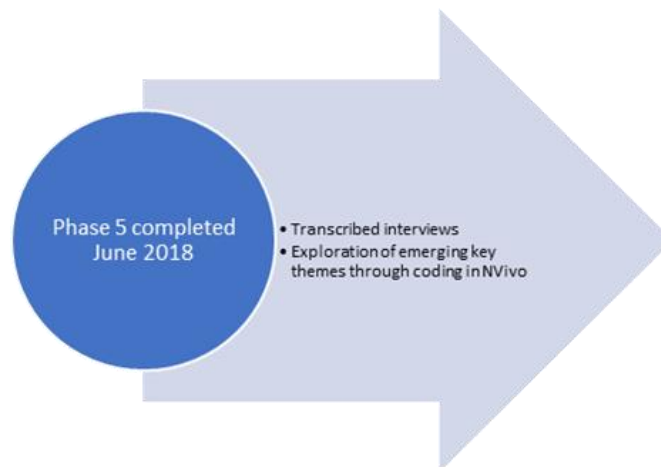


Figure 5:12 - Phase 5 of research

5.6.1 Transcribing the data for analysis

Braun and Clarke (2013) claim that transcribing the data is part of the analytic process as it helps to familiarise yourself with the data and can sometimes give some analytical ideas. Although, the authors state that the ‘real’ analysis begins after this initial process. All interviews were recorded and initially transcribed verbatim by the researcher to ensure that the context and accuracy of the responses were not lost. Some authors argue that prior to analysing the data, researchers should not transcribe all their interviews first, they should start coding them individually, or at least two or three, so comparisons can be made within the data (Grbich, 2013). This process suggests that the researcher can transcribe their interviews without being verbatim and instead use what data fits within the already coded data. However, had I not transcribed my interviews verbatim I would have inevitably lost a large amount of generated data that I may not have considered as important at the time or relevant to my research. Without

carrying out verbatim transcriptions, some data may have been lost that may inform future publications.

Cohen, Khan and Steeves (2000) claim that verbatim transcriptions allow for the researcher to be taken on a journey of individual experiences. However, it is recognised that this may be challenging when the audio data is transcribed after translation as some of the context or feeling may be lost through this. For example, with same language participants the researcher can ‘hear’ the emphasis placed on what they say whereas translating from another language at the point of interview may lose this emphasis as the researcher will not realise or know the original emphasis placed when transcribing (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). This further supports my justification for transcribing my interviews verbatim as some data may have already been misplaced during translation from Portuguese to English (see Section 5.8.3 for language barriers in research).

During the transcription stage, I immersed myself in the generated data by familiarising myself with the content through listening and reading the material repeatedly. When I transcribed the data sets (focus groups, interviews, and survey data), I listened in detail to each section as I transcribed it for my initial thoughts and interpretations to come through without bias. I did this with my initial research aim and questions in mind to think about how the narrative may fit within them, making notes of ideas in the document margins. This was also done for areas of interest that were emerging from the data such as overall impressions of the data, a conceptual idea, and more concrete issues. My ‘personal noticings’ as Braun and Clarke (2013) allude to, were not referred to again until the ‘researcher-interpretation’ stage of my analysis. This was an important part of the analytic process, as they may have influenced my focus on participant meanings and experiences during the initial transcribing stages.

It was important that participant confidentiality and anonymity were protected throughout all stages of research (as identified in Section 5.6). This was ensured throughout my data analysis by using codes when mentioning specific respondents. Table 5.3 identifies the codes used throughout Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

Participant coding	Code used to identify participant
Focus Group participants	FG (e.g. FG04)
Survey respondents	R (e.g. R036)
Interview participants	Permission to be named (Table 5.2)

Table 5.3 - Participant coding used

5.6.1.1 Identifying a suitable analytical process

Qualitative methods in research have received much attention throughout the social sciences however, Attride-Stirling noted in 2001, that analysis procedures of qualitative data lacked necessary attention. This view was later supported by Swanborn (2010) who argued that the lack of justification for case study analysis procedures has consequently remained obscure and not many researchers discuss the choices they make when using a case study approach. Furthermore, Yin (2018) emphasized that the advancement of analysis procedures in qualitative case study research studies are still lacking.

Various methods of qualitative data analysis can appear suitable for analysing data, yet it must be suitable to meet the research aim and address the research questions. Narrative analysis, conversation analysis and discourse analysis were not appropriate for analysing my data as they

explore either long-term personal experiences from regular occurrences, natural speech and/or artificial speech. Although, I used conversations in my analysis, I did analyse them in this way but instead used them as supporting evidence for validating my data. Similarly, content analysis and grounded theory approaches were not suitable as I explored individual views of my participants allowing them to create the narrative of my research through the co-construction of meaning.

My research was concerned with gaining insights into feelings, perceptions and lived experiences of marginalized young people and how a social legacy project enabled the process of resilience and resistance for positive social change. Therefore, I was committed to interpreting my data in a way that provided voice for marginalized young people but simultaneously provided a theoretical underpinning that strengthened and located ‘meaning’ in individual views and experiences to present strong narratives. Such interpretative analysis involved more interrogation and theorising of the data compared to descriptive analysis, through ‘unpicking’ participant narratives and asking questions of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Interpretative analysis attempts to gain a deeper understanding of the gathered data, looking ‘beneath the surface’ (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 174), to understand how and why such narratives were generated, essentially providing “*a conceptual account of the data, and/or some kind of theorising around this*” (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 174). Based on my underlying epistemological position, empirical thematic analysis “[...] *validates the meanings, views, perspectives, experiences and/or practices expressed in the data.*” (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 21). Therefore, thematic analysis was used to construct thematic networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001) to identify interrelating themes for analysis and interpretation to take place.

5.7 Phase 6: Thematic Network Analysis

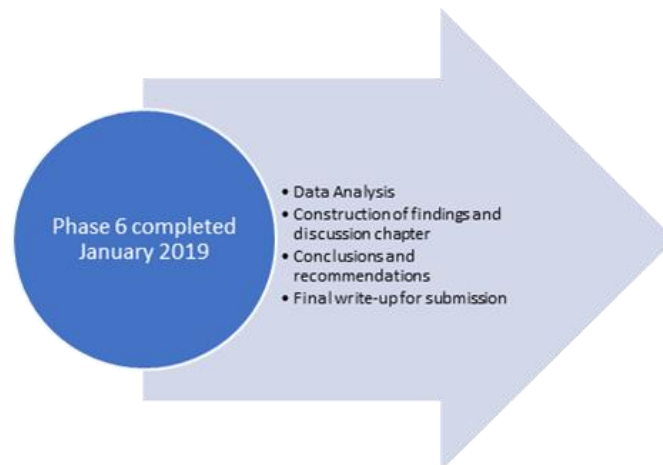


Figure 5:13 - Phase 6 of research

Gerald Holton developed thematic analysis in the 1970s and it has gained momentum by being recognised as a distinctive method within qualitative data analysis with clearly outlined procedures for social sciences (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It has been applied by previous PhD researchers such as Debbie Sadd in 2012, and her investigation ‘Mega-Events, Community Stakeholders and Legacy: London 2012’; and Michael Duignan’s similar focus in 2016 on ‘Examining the spatial implications and exclusions on local business communities preceding and during the live staging of London 2012’. Furthermore, Hales Dredge, Higgins-Desbiolles and Jamal (2018) applied a thematic analysis approach exploring ‘academic activism’ and the need for greater critical and reflexive engagement by researcher’s, expanding the argument for critical issues in tourism research approaches (e.g. Tribe, 2005). Qualitative research methods and older texts in this area are becoming rapidly outdated; and the process of qualitative research is to move from descriptive to interpretive through some identified process. However,

many new critical forms of approach to academic inquiry must embrace more reflexive accounts in the new ‘postmodern’ phase of tourism research (Hall, 2004; Tribe, 2005).

As thematic analysis is a flexible approach to data analysis, there are strengths and weaknesses within it, like any other forms of analysis. One of the weaknesses is that it is considered to lack substance of other named approaches such as Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). IPA is a recent analytical approach within qualitative methods developed by Jonathon Smith (1996) in the 1990s and is popular within the health domains of research, particularly psychology. An issue of concern with using thematic analysis is reliability of the data as thematic analysis requires more interpretation in defining the data and applying codes than word-based analyses such as narrative analysis. However, my research approach was inductive therefore, I was fully immersed in my data allowing the emerging data to construct its own meaning through my own interpretations. This inductive approach is usually demonstrated through the grounded theory approach (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2015). However, Yin (2018) argued that such an approach can be applied to all case studies and not wholly to grounded theory analysts. It is important to note, that I did not manipulate the data but interpreted the informants’ statements about their perceptions and finding meaning beneath the data – essentially constructing meaning to their opinions and beliefs, maintaining my epistemological position in my research. The use of thematic analysis to analyse my data set allowed for themes to emerge naturally without categorical imposition.

Importantly, thematic analysis is a theoretical construct that allows novice researchers to learn basic data-handling and coding skills (Braun and Clarke, 2013) which made this a suitable approach to my data analysis. Thematic analysis allows for commonality in the data and explore any differences that may exist among the varying perceptions and experiences of marginalized young people (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Hales et al., 2018) potentially offering

some useful insights into the disruptions that mega-events can bring to marginalized communities helping to inform future mega-event studies. This approach also allows for examination of the reflexive voices and experiences of the author and the co-construction of meaning linking back to my epistemological position (Section 5.2.1) and inductive research approach (Section 5.2.2). A common issue when coding data is that many researchers code just a few words or sentences and subsequently risk decontextualizing the data (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013; Grbich, 2013). For example, using small sentences or phrases without explanation to what it was the respondent was referring to can make analysis problematic for the researcher. Therefore, I ensured that I did not fragment the data into small pieces e.g. into individual words or sentences, as I feared that some context of the data may be lost. Instead I took large fragments from the transcriptions and survey responses, sometimes in form of paragraphs, to ensure that what was being said was taken in its holistic form. Additionally, in the case of the focus group, some of the full discussions between the participants were taken and coded holistically for each person as some conversations between the students were back-and-forth and therefore large amounts of data could not be separated out from one another as it would have been decontextualized.

Braun and Clarke (2013: 178) claimed that thematic analysis is rather unique within qualitative analytic methods as it is only a method “[...] *it does not prescribe methods of data collection, theoretical positions, epistemological or ontological frameworks*”. They further argued that thematic analysis is flexible in its approach and can be used to answer most research questions; analyse almost any type of data with large or small data sets; data can be driven from a ‘bottom-up’, data-driven, or ‘top-down’, data used to explore theoretical ideas; applied in varying ways such as experientially or critically; develop descriptive account or aspect of a phenomenon; develop a critical, constructivist analysis that identifies concepts and ideas beneath the data, or assumptions and meanings.

As minimal studies empirically investigate local's perceptions and experiences in the context of mega-events, my case study analysis approach was from a 'ground up' approach (Yin, 2018). This approach allowed me to explore and 'play with the data' (Yin, 2018: 169) that provided useful and emerging insights and concepts without assuming or applying any immediate theoretical propositions.

5.7.1 Thematic coding through NVivo

As data was generated through from multi-method techniques, this generated a large data-set making it problematic in arranging, managing and theming. In support of this, Swanborn (2010: 113) suggested that the researcher is tasked with reducing large amounts of data "*in order to obtain an answer to the research question*". However, Corbin and Strauss (2008) claimed that naming a concept or topic assists with organising the data and contributes to analytical thinking. Thematic analysis uses 'themes' to identify and describe both implicit and explicit notions within the generated data (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012; Braun and Clarke, 2013; Corbin and Strauss, 2015).

This thematic approach was complemented by using NVivo 10.1 as a data management program to manage and arrange the data, as it would have been too complicated and unwieldy had I chosen to conduct this manually. NVivo is a data-driven software that provides an inductive approach to analysing the data, supporting my research design and methodology but the process is different for each user and dependent upon the methodological approach (Bryman, 2001). The application of NVivo allows for a more proficient, transparent and faster analysis to take place over manual methods to analyse qualitative data as well as providing greater development of explanations and interconnectedness of key and emergent themes

(Bryman, 2001). Yin (2018) argues that NVivo is an assistive tool for managing data and the process of identifying meaningful emerging patterns still requires a high-level of thinking and analysis by the researcher.

5.7.2 Thematic network analysis process

This process of thematic analysis permitted the systematic development of thematic networks beginning with a collection of the lowest order themes (basic theme), that were then categorised according to the underlying story (e.g. aligned to the research questions) to become the organising themes. These organising themes were then reinterpreted together with their basic themes to illustrate a superordinate theme, that is the global theme (see Attride-Stirling, 2001: 389 – Figure 5.14).

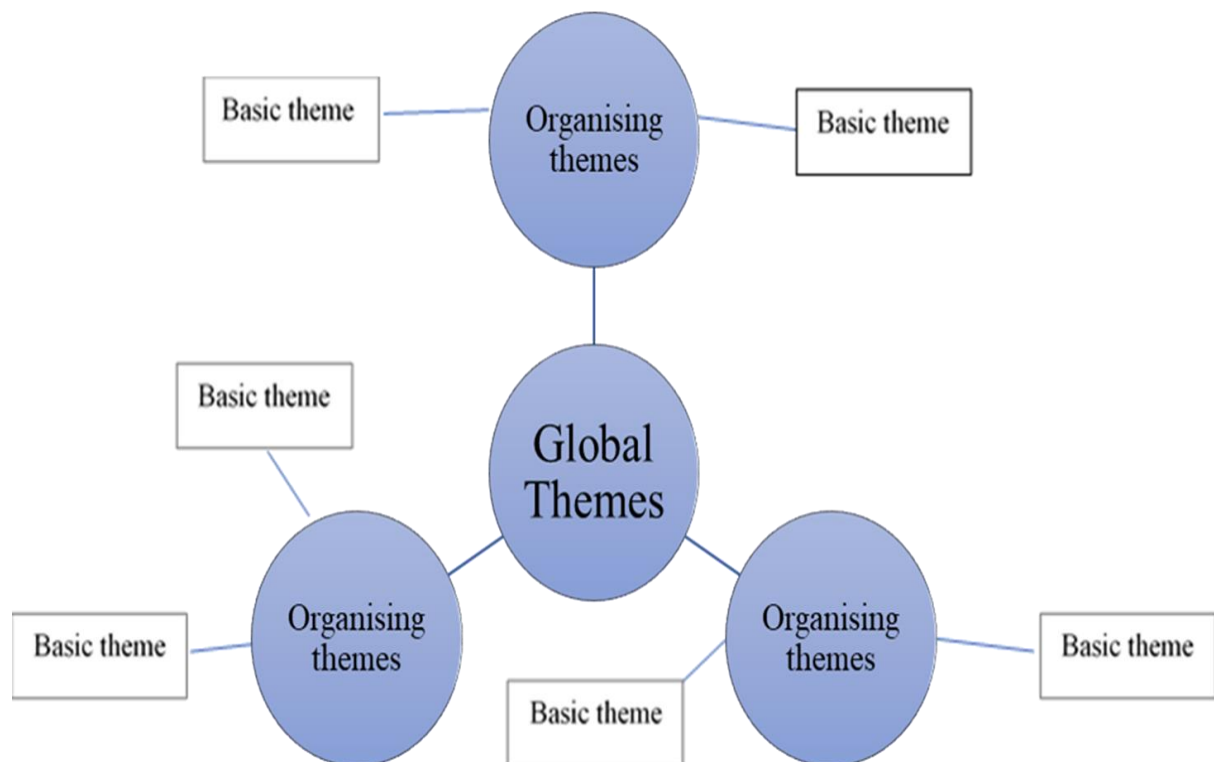


Figure 5:14 - Thematic Networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001: 391)

This coding process attempted to reduce the number of codes by collecting and mutually relating the codes and ordering them into an analytical framework (see Figure 5.15). Thematic analysis is a process whereby data reduction takes place, and this is done through exploration of the data that may not have been considered within the research question(s) during the preliminary data collection. The aim of this was to reduce the number of codes, find the overarching codes (global themes) and to relate each code to one another (basic and organising themes). I began with interrogating the data to immerse myself within my data to identify patterns, insights, and/or concepts, manipulating the data between the different responses.

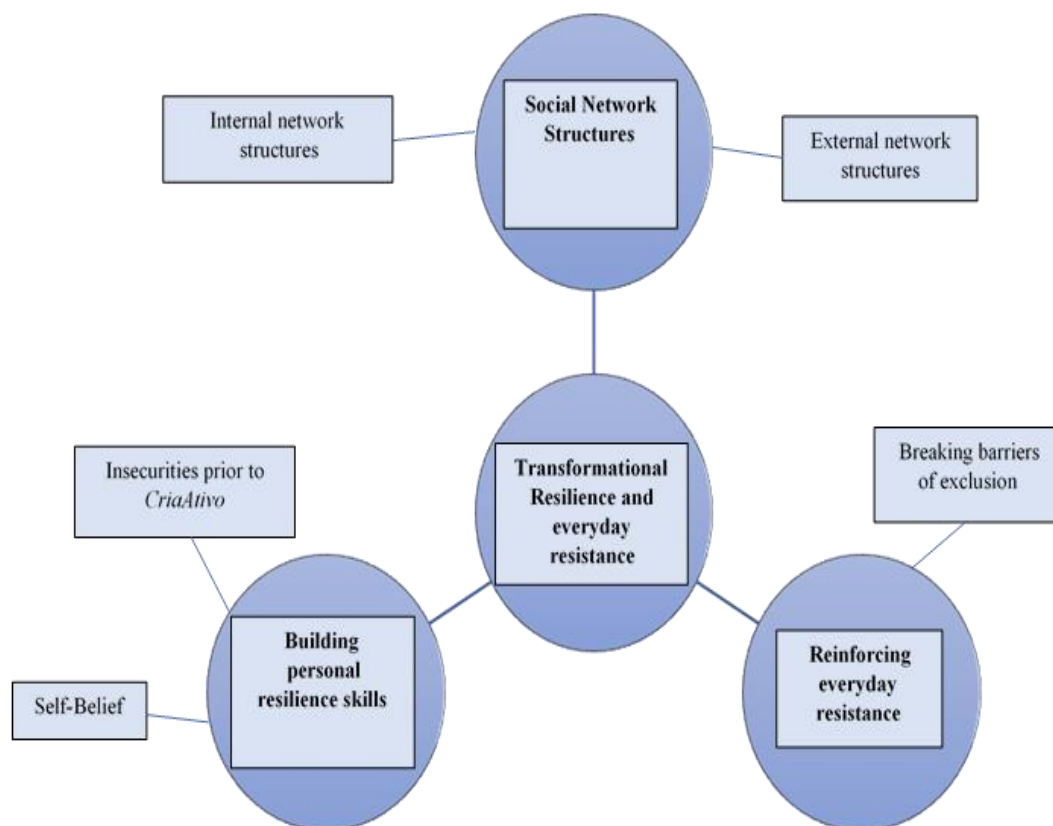


Figure 5:15 - 'Transformational Resilience and Reinforcing Everyday Resistance' - Adapted from Attride-Stirling (2001: 391)

Initial *a priori* codes were developed and assigned to various data with each code representing a concept of interest to my research or abstract ideas of further interest. These themes were based on the initial key areas of significance that emerged from the literature (Chapters 2 and 3).

The basic themes were developed through dividing the transcriptions into ‘fragments’ giving each one a label. The fragments of data were sometimes given more than one label depending on what the respondent was stating, and this was dependent upon my interpretation of this. I started to re-group my data into more specific groupings as well as merging some within the overarching aim and research questions to allow my data to be manageable within the overall focus of my study. A ‘bottom-up’ approach was used to identify *a priori* themes (presented in Section 5.2.2) and it was important that the initial themes were data-driven. These *a priori* themes were categorised into basic themes, organising themes and then finally, global themes (see Attride-Stirling, 2001), to develop *a posteriori* themes that emerged from my generated data.

These *a priori* themes included ‘disruptions of mega-events’, ‘resilience’, ‘resistance’ and ‘social capital’. I had some theoretical ideas to bind the analysis such as ‘*resilience*’ theory and ‘*resistance*’ theory that helped to gather data with similar meaning together within a theoretical framework essentially a top-down approach, that helped manage the large data set to ensure narrative was not lost. This combined approach to my data analysis allowed me to ensure that the participants voice was underpinned by theoretical concepts of resilience and resistance.

Abstract thinking was applied through my analysis process to consider other aspects of research such as journal article publications, and where the data could be coded under more than one abstract or concept, ensuring that my generated field research data was not disregarded or

specifically embedded in this research. Therefore, all relevant data was coded, and broad themes developed via thematic analysis. This also allowed for multiple interpretations of the data to come through maintaining various interpretations that lay within the data.

The basic emerging themes included ‘evictions’, ‘self-belief’, ‘visibility’, and ‘new friendships’, as well as many others. These were then categorised into organising themes that included ‘Political strategies’, ‘Personal resilience skills’, ‘Social network structures’, and ‘Resistance’. These themes were then all organised within the key global theme of ‘Transformational Resilience and Everyday Resistance’. Some of these example themes are presented in Figure 5.15.

The overarching core themes that were developed from the analysis were ‘disruptions to socio-cultural realities’ (Chapter 6), ‘developing personal resilience and everyday resistance’ (Chapter 7), and ‘generating social capital’ (Chapter 8). These themes collectively contributed to my results and discussions chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8) and my conceptual framework of ‘Transformational resilience and everyday resistance’ (the global theme).

5.7.3 Summary of data analysis

As my methods generated copious amounts of data, thematic analysis was adopted as a methodical systematic approach of analysis, aiding organisation of emerging and underlying themes and their presentation, as well as offering an insightful and rich exploration of underlying patterns in the data providing transparency (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Hales et al., 2018).

Each identified theme had a clear focus, scope and purpose and collectively provided a rich, coherent and meaningful representation of the dominant patterns in the data that address my research questions of:

- I. Through the lens of a case study, how does a process of transformational resilience help marginalized young people overcome mega event disruptions that threaten their socio-cultural environments?
- II. How can creative social legacy initiatives bring positive social change for marginalized young people in mega-event host destinations?

The key themes were closely related therefore, Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are interrelated and subsequently inform one other throughout the analytical process.

5.8 Reflections: limitations and strengths of methodology

This section discusses some of my methodological limitations including ‘locating the research setting’ (Section 5.8.1); ‘Accessing a high-risk research setting’ (Section 5.8.2); ‘Language barriers in research’ (Section 5.8.3); ‘Using a translator’ (Section 5.8.4); and ‘Money and time constraints’ (Section 5.8.5). Wider limitations for the study are discussed in Chapter 9.

5.8.1 Locating the research setting

It was incredibly challenging to source original government, mega-event planners and organisers and tourism organisations involved in FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016 early on in my research. In addition to this, once a suitable source was located and contacted via email, I would

rarely receive a response. However, my determination to seek a suitable ‘gatekeeper’ who could grant me access into my chosen research setting and participants remained constant. It was not long before contact was established and this was way beyond my expectations. The full support from my key gatekeepers, Charles and Fabricio, resulted in me being able to access many areas in Rio that I thought never possible as seen in Section 5.5.

5.8.2 Accessing a high-risk research setting

As presented in Chapter 2, favelas are risky places due to the drug gangs that reside within them. There are minimal investigations in how researchers can access such hard-to-reach and high-risk communities through obtaining access to such communities, e.g. on how researcher-gatekeeper relationships were formed and developed and maintained. Many researchers opt for communities that can be easily accessed (e.g. Cataldo, 2008) and focus their research settings on the more accessible touristic favela communities such as the Santa Marta favela (see Freire-Medeiros, Vilarouca, and Menezes, 2013).

Every step was taken to ensure that I was safe throughout my time in Rio by not entering certain areas of the city alone and remaining vigilant during my stay. Prior to my arrival, my key gatekeeper (Charles) confirmed that the housing development of *Bairro Carioca* in *Triagem* (north zone), would be safe and that he would be with me throughout my research to ensure my safety (as presented earlier in Section 5.5.3). Additionally, interviews were conducted in public areas that included the focus group that was conducted at the *Nave do Conhecimento* where *CriaAtivo* is located, and interviews were conducted in communal areas in Rio and offices in London.

Many studies into favela communities (e.g. Alves and Evanson, 2011) appear to use various approaches that include qualitative, quantitative and/or mixed methods however, they fail to explicate the approaches they use and rather just present the methods employed in generating/collecting their data. This posed a problem in identifying what methods work in the context of researching such communities as there are little reflections on whether previous chosen methodologies were suitable or whether different methods may have provided different results. A lack of reflection on how methodologies are approached and executed is problematic for novice researchers as there are no best practice ‘guidelines’ when choosing riskier research settings as discussed by Cade, Everett and Duignan (2019).

5.8.3 Language barriers in research

As mentioned earlier in section 5.5.3, language barriers were a central limitation of my study between myself and my participants. Prior to conducting my field research, it was imperative that I ensured I had a reliable translator in place prior to conducting my field research for this reason. However, some detail can be lost through this method of translation and transcription. However, Kvale (1996: 165) posits: *“Transcribing involves translating from an oral language, with its own set of rules, to a written language with another set of rules. Transcripts are not copies or representation of some original reality, they are interpretive constructions that are useful tools for given purposes.”*

I was fully aware that some of the original context may be lost through the translation-transcription process and expressed unequivocally that it was significantly important that each interview be transcribed verbatim – although this is likely to have lost some context based on language differences and translated meanings it still however, maintains the core narrative of what the individuals allude to.

5.8.4 Using a translator: Transcriptions of interviews from Brazilian Portuguese to English

My translator was a fluent English-speaking Brazilian national who had completed their Master's in in the UK. They were an important person in my research as I had to give them my full trust to effectively conduct the focus group and interviews and gather in-depth data for analysis. The translator was recommended by one of my gatekeepers, Fabricio, so I trusted their recommendation on this.

I was in no doubt that the language level was suitable for translating some of the interviews and focus group. It was initially planned in my methodology and agreed between myself and my translator to translate the focus group at point of interview verbatim from Portuguese into English. However, this caused many problems in transcribing the data. Although I relied on my translator to conduct the focus group, I was present and able to observe reactions and gain general understanding of the key issues through the direct translation. However, I overcame the challenge of not fully integrating myself by taking notes at the end of the day and revising my interview questions where necessary based on the themes emerging from the data.

As the focus group was translated in real-time, I was able to transcribe the recordings myself. However, my translator was rather quietly spoken and whispered the responses which made it incredibly difficult to hear fully what they were saying. This also resulted in much of the context being lost while I was trying to transcribe and resulted in incomplete sentences and loss of coherence. This was problematic at the transcription stage of my research as my translator had received payment for their services and no longer had time to offer her help to transcribe it from original Portuguese responses directly to English. Instead, my gatekeeper,

Fabricio, offered to transcribe and essentially ‘fill-in-the-blanks’ of any interviews that I required help with. Although this improved my transcription for analysis, it was not perfectly verbatim. In addition to this, my translator failed to identify the participants at the time of response therefore, I lost who was responding or speaking at certain times that resulted in extra time being used to identify the participants, pushing back my proposed time-scales by approximately two months. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in English therefore, these were self-transcribed.

Another issue with transcriptions is that the emotional nuances are lost through written words and it is important to annotate what actually happened at the time of interview (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013) – this was done in some cases but not all as I was not aware of the context in which things were spoken in some of the interviews that were in Portuguese, as I did not conduct all the interviews myself, I was not able to engage or familiarise myself with some of the data at this stage of the research. Bazeley and Jackson (2013) argue that transcribing initially appears as a pure mechanical task although, it is interpretively overwhelming. To engage with the data, the translator and I agreed that they took notes at point of interview (in English) that I could refer to post-transcription – unfortunately these were point-driven rather than interpretive. The only engagement, as such, with participants who did not speak English, was through observation and body language on my part collected in form of field notes.

Instead of considering the issue with recordings not being clear, I had only anticipated the possibility of misplacing my data. I used my personal voice recorder and mobile phone as well as my translators’ mobile phone to record all interviews as a back-up in case of a failure to record or accidental damage, loss or theft of these devices. These recordings were all uploaded to my password protected Microsoft OneDrive account at the end of each day. All data held on voice recorder and mobile phones were deleted after back-up files were saved.

5.8.5 Money and time constraints

As research was conducted in Brazil it was inevitable It would bring many costs in achieving my aim. Thankfully, my university helped to fund some of my field research which helped tremendously, as without it I would not have been able to conduct my research in Rio. Based on this, my time-scales were tight, and I had to ensure that I had conducted my research within two weeks. This resulted in a solid timetable structure being created between myself and Charles. As I conducted my research for my PhD (following this study), it meant that I did not get many days to ‘experience’ the rest of Rio.

Preface to final chapters

The findings and discussions are presented together within three separate chapters. Chapter 6 discusses *'disrupting the socio-cultural reality of marginalized communities'*. It is separated into two main sections that present the socio-cultural disruptions that Rio's mega-events inflicted on marginalized young people and their communities through forced evictions and displacement of locals and drug gangs. Chapter 7 discusses *'developing personal resilience and reinforcing everyday resistance'* through the *CriaAtivo Film School*. This chapter is separated into three main sections which focus on how this social legacy project empowered marginalized young people to overcome insecurities and vulnerabilities exacerbated by mega-events, to help increase their well-being through learning new skills and visibilising their social realities. It also focuses on how these young people reinforced their everyday resistance to social exclusion. Finally, Chapter 8 discusses *'Forming social network structures through bonding, bridging and linking social capital'*. This chapter is separated into three main sections and explores three elements of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) and how young people formed new relationships through *CriaAtivo* which increased their social capital and network reach.

These chapters illustrate how resilience and resistance are relational; and when triangulated with social capital (Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3), all three concepts can assist in the transformational resilience process for marginalized young people. All the sections are presented in Figure 6 and are mapped against the theoretical themes of transformational resilience and the reinforcement of everyday resistance.



Figure 6 - Structure of findings, discussion and overall analytical framework

6 Disrupting the socio-cultural reality of marginalized communities

6.1 Introduction to chapter

This chapter presents and discusses the overarching theme of '*Disrupting the socio-cultural reality of marginalized communities*'. It is divided into two key sub-sections: (i) Forced evictions and displacement: Exacerbating social issues (Section 6.2); and (ii) Displacement of drug gangs: forced migration of crime, conflict and violence (Section 6.3). The structure of this chapter is presented in Figure 6.1. This chapter outlines the disruptions and socio-cultural issues that marginalized young people and their communities were confronted with from Rio's mega-events. Such disruptions included the forced eviction of entire favela communities, and the displacement of marginalized communities and drug gangs which resulted in migration and exacerbated social inequalities, exclusion and marginalization.

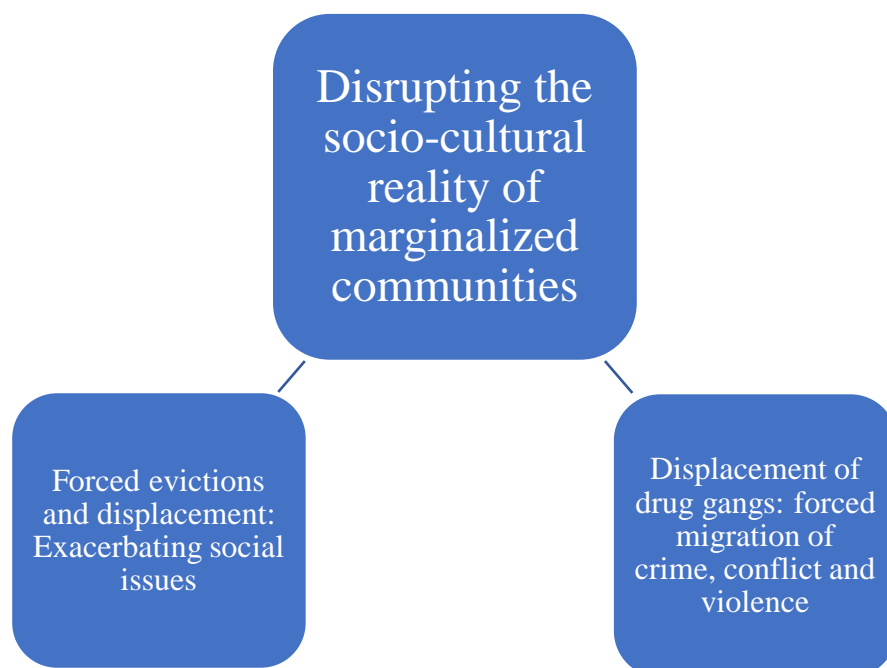


Figure 6:1 – Network of key theme: Disrupting the socio-cultural reality of marginalized communities

6.2 Forced evictions and displacement: exacerbating social issues

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are many disruptions that affect mega-event host communities. Many of Rio's marginalized communities were evicted from their homes for urban regeneration and mega-event developments to take place. This was evidenced in the following responses:

"Families lost their houses, they were removed and there was no concern about it from the public power." (R056)

"Many families were removed. To be honest, the psychological terror was worse given the fact that they said that they would remove a lot more families." (R044)

"The revitalization of some areas of the city of Rio de Janeiro was negative because the majority of the population that lived in those places were expropriated and forced to live in other places." (R017)

These responses evidence that that evictions were widespread across the city in preparation for Rio 2016 and affected many diverse marginalized communities. The consequences of evictions also resulted in loss of businesses, livelihoods and opportunities.

"Some lost their houses, people who were forced to move far away from the place they were born in order to receive houses from the government that in truth were prisons." (R008)

"It [evictions] left people with no opportunities." (R071)

"Many independents [businesses] had their stores and goods destroyed." (R083)

"People had their houses and markets taken away because of the BRT installations and they received less indemnity values than the real estate market values." (R048)

All the above responses highlight that many lost their homes, businesses and livelihoods because of evictions for mega-event developments and policies imposed by Brazilian and city government and event organising committees (e.g. BOC) such as social housing programmes, as introduced in Chapter 2. Such policies led to the displacement of entire families and communities. This supports Brownhill, Keivani and Pereira (2013), who argue that mega-events displace local deprived communities and local businesses to make way for Olympic venues and infrastructures. The responses from the young people in this study clearly suggested that forced evictions affected them and their communities in varying and negative ways.

This attempt to ‘rebrand’ Rio was catalysed by the Olympic Games (re)developments to socially and culturally reconstruct run down areas of the city such as the Porto Maravilha region of the city. This echoes Talbot and Carter’s (2018) views, that the ‘clean-up’ of host cities is witness to many evictions of marginalized groups and such impacts were prevalent in Rio’s mega-event strategies. The Porto Maravilha region witnessed major transformational ‘place-making’ developments that evicted many favela communities, specifically from the Morro da Providência favela – Rio’s first favela community to revitalize and connect the area. Such developments included the ‘*Museu do Amanhã*’ (The Museum of Tomorrow), ‘*Museu de Arte do Rio*’ (The Art Museum of Rio - MAR), and the ‘*VLT do Rio de Janeiro*’ (Light Rail) (Figure 6.2) with the intention to become Rio’s cultural district integrating Rio’s slavery legacy with local cultural institutions to promote the contemporary artistic vibrancy of the city (Jaguaribe and Salmon, 2016). As previously outlined in Chapter 2, Smith (2012) claimed that ‘social regeneration’ is often overlooked in mega-event plans, developments and legacy plans with more focus towards physical regeneration efforts. However, in this instance, Porto Maravilha appears to have received some positive social regeneration outcomes from such cultural initiatives to revitalise the area, but this was not without consequence.



Figure 6:2 - Contrasting landscapes: VLT and Providência favela in Porto Maravilha, Rio (field photos)

Figure 6.2 captures the end of the VLT line with the Providência favela across the street (to left of image), highlighting the contrasting landscape between new expensive mega-event transportation developments and those living in poverty who lack public investment and access to basic resources. Such contrasting social and cultural recasting developments, alongside the revitalisation of this deprived and important historical area, resulted in some positive outcomes. However, this was at the cost of those already suffering exclusion and oppression as well as destroying some of theirs and Rio's important history:

*“Removing people that were part of the neighbourhood's history from their houses.”
(R095)*

Although, such stolen histories were not unique to this part of Rio, they were widespread across the state:

“So, where I live (in Penha) there were a lot of modifications because of the Olympic games. I live in a suburban area of Rio de Janeiro it is not exactly a community, but I am surrounded by communities. I live near to Complexo do Alemão and next to Cidade Alta, so I always had many friends from these areas so was near to these territories, in walking distance, so one thing that happened in the Olympic Games was the BRT [...] so, this construction has stolen the history of many people who lived there, these people were removed from there.” (FG05)

The above response highlights how the mega-event developments devastated many families and stole their histories. It appears that many evictions were the result of constructing the transport infrastructures such as the BRT and Metro.

“I had to move so the subway could be built and the indemnity we received was not as good as we thought we would receive.” (R028)

“They created the BRT, but they have devastated many houses and public places.” (R018)

“The Olympic park would have had its positive side if it hadn’t wrecked hundreds of family’s houses that used to live in the region before.” (R043)

The above responses suggest that Olympic venues such as the Olympic Park, and transportation infrastructures such as the BRT (Figures 6.3 and 6.4), destroyed Rio’s favela and peripheral communities. This is further illustrated in the responses below:

“People from my locality were forced to sell their homes for a very cheap price so the BRT could be built.” (R092)



Figure 6:3 – BRT buses at BRT station in west Rio (field photos)

“Several houses and businesses were destructed for the construction of the BRT. This means the transport at that time was already considered a controversial one for travelling such a long distance. Nowadays, it no longer fulfils its function and has already begun to be overtaken by City Hall.” (R068)

The lack and failure of some of the transport infrastructures were reported by some of the respondents:

“The BRT cancelled most of the regions buses and we were forced to used it. Expensive service that doesn’t support the passengers’ demands.” (R043).

“I see the changes in public transportation have a minimal impact in urban mobility. When you put it on a scale, the negative impact is much bigger. Gentrification, millionaire works, gigantic construction works for almost nothing. BRT and VLT are mere makeups, many bus lines were cancelled for modals implementations, damaging a significative part of the Carioca population. The Naves do Conhecimento, as I see it, were the greatest initiatives and can generate a positive impact for the population, but for that it’s necessary that they are well utilized and don’t turn into a white elephant. Initiatives like CriaAtivo make those spaces really useful and bring a positive return for the peripheral population, which was the most penalized portion of bad public money managing.” (R033)

“So, the government made, they have done a ‘make-up’ it seemed like a dream or a film thing you know. So, now I know that was just to maintain visitors interested in Rio and make image for who is abroad. So, it’s like my friend said,

there is no legacy on the country so, this just shows that the government doesn't make us their priority. (FG04)

These proposed 'legacy' initiatives in Rio's bid plans were considered by the respondents as ways for the government to broaden and deepen social exclusion:

"Expensive structures [legacy initiatives] that aim to keep the peripheries far from the rest of society, giving them transportation so they don't have excuses to mix [socially]." (R062)

"They [legacy initiatives] were important, even though they did not reach the poor municipalities of Rio's North and West zones limitations. It generated a lot of opportunity for integration, education and culture for an area that was once scarce." (R065)

These responses indicate that such transportation infrastructures were not efficient for the entire city – contradicting the ROOC claims that Rio's 2016 Games would benefit *all*. Although, some respondents believed that these transport structures failed to benefit peripheral communities, they also claimed that they integrated those communities that they reached. However, most responses were negative in relation to such developments, R036 particularly reflected this situation:

"Several houses and people were removed from their dwellings in an abusive and authoritarian way. The developments that then came looked like a 'white elephant' or a 'Trojan horse' and it was exactly what happened, schools that wouldn't work in less than three months were built to feed the pockets of big construction firms, [...]. None of those works [mega event developments and infrastructures] for example, had any use in our daily lives, no one really cares about what their own community needs, trash is something that was never a state project in the favela [...]" (R036)

This interviewee claimed that such developments built in place of Rio's evicted communities were essentially 'white elephants' or a 'Trojan horse'. The initial term 'white elephants' refers to the disuse of venues and developments used for mega-events, and how they are often left to

fall into a state of disrepair due to lack of funds and management (Alm et al., 2014). This echoes Preuss (2007) who claimed that not all mega-event developments and infrastructures are utilized post-event. This was witnessed in Athens after the 2004 Olympic Games where the Olympiad legacy was argued to be the worst ever seen, as well as the football stadium in Cape Town built for the South African FIFA 2010 World Cup (see Alm et al., 2014).

The other term that R036 refers to is the ‘Trojan horse’. This term is often used to describe the justification of any intervention used when hosting mega-events that modernises and promotes the city as acceptable and necessary for deadlines to be met (Casaglia, 2016).

Another reason for the failure of many mega-event-venues being underutilized or being utilized at all, may be due the economic crisis that Rio suffered during preparation for FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016. During this time, Rio was facing an economic and political crisis that resulted in many of the mega-event plans and proposals being sacrificed due to lack of funds and corruption (see Steinbrink, 2013; Gaffney, 2015).

“A lot of money involved, very little money invested in schools, healthcare and art.”
(R045)

“They [mega-events] affected us with the public funds deviations that happened for the construction works.” (R051)

“It [social impact of mega events] rekindled the passion for sport for much of the population. Many bad political arguments, many initiatives aimed at including the community in various sports were not invested in.” (R068)

The above responses suggest that the public money invested in Rio’s events could have been better spent on public services such as education, healthcare and basic resources for favela communities. It was clear that the extended infrastructural and venue developments of the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT), Olympic Park and Metro, brought many forced and violent evictions.

High costs diverted funds from public money which further exacerbated existing social issues for Rio's marginalized communities.

Many evictions are required for the development of major infrastructures and developments to host such transformational events. Although, underprivileged communities are the main target and losers in these circumstances. This is supported by Roche (2017), who argued that such developments can bring many challenges for a host city. What is evident from the responses and existing literature (Chapter 2) is that Rio's evictions seemed far more wide-spread than the evictions noted for London's 2012 Games. Müller and Gaffney (2015) claimed the evictions in London were concentrated to one area and not widespread across the city, as witnessed in Rio. The response below captures that such evictions in Rio, although widespread, seemed to target ethnic minorities and underprivileged communities:

"I live in the Pedreira complex- northern zone so, it didn't affect us for the fact that we really are in Rio's periphery and not so close to the selected centres where the athletes travel, and games happen. However, one thing in common with these communities is black 'outsiders', and no matter if the removals were made there, most of the affected people were those poor and mostly black people. Historically following the racist treatment and gentrification of our State." (R027)

Such tactics unfortunately, resulted in challenging outcomes for these underprivileged communities (socially, culturally, and economically). These forced evictions evidence that socially excluded groups do not benefit from such events and instead their socio-economic inequalities are worsened. This echoes Racó and Tunney (2010) who argued that urban regeneration efforts contradict social conditions of these communities and can destroy their entire socio-cultural and socio-economic quality of life. This also supports Smith's (2012) assertions that these groups of individuals and their communities are those who suffer the most punitive costs from mega-event hosting.

6.2.1 Displacement of marginalized communities: marginalising the marginalized

The consequence of these evictions resulted in many locals being displaced to other areas across Rio. Such displacement was captured in the following responses:

“The gentrification generated big nuisance to many Carioca communities that were kicked out from their origins in an unfair way, many times violently. Today the city is marked by the central areas communities’ separation [...] affected the life of who lost their house and is now living far from where they’re working and/or studying.” (R010)

“People were removed from the place they lived for years to live in faraway regions and the promised benefits weren’t accomplished.” (R009)

The above responses highlight the way many locals were displaced and forced to migrate to more peripheral parts of Rio. Such displacements affected these peripheral communities socially, culturally, and economically:

“It [evictions] was negative because many people migrated to my region inadequately.” (R079)

The physical impacts affecting these communities have an intangible lasting effect on these marginalized communities and their socio-cultural infrastructures, heightening the existing social divide and inequalities in Rio. However, Doppelt (2016:70) suggested “[...] minimizing the destructive human reactions that will magnify and prolong the harm caused by physical impacts and learning how to use those adversities as catalysts to enhance personal and social wellbeing [...].”

Based on this, social exclusion of these marginalized communities can qualify as an adverse condition, and such social conditions were intensified during Rio’s mega-events. This strongly

supports Adger's (2000: 359) views that "*social institutions are subject to external pressures and shocks associated with both political and economic change.*". This is further supported by Burchardt and Huerta (2008) who suggested that social exclusion qualifies as an adversity in which an individual may or may not display resilience. As identified in Chapter 3.2.2, many of Rio's mega-event disruptions inflicted on local marginalized communities resulted in protests and violent conflict between residents and the UPP police enforcing the evictions. Many of these communities such as Vila Autodromo and Complexo do Alemão, displayed overt acts of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004) against such violent and undignified removals from their homes. The consequent displacement from these forced evictions and the gentrification of areas restructured the socio-cultural dynamics for such marginalized groups, exacerbating their oppressive treatment and extending their marginalization. These outcomes support Jaguaribe and Salmon's (2016) views that Rio is a brutally unequal country.

All the effects of eviction and regeneration of these local areas consequently resulted in certain areas becoming gentrified, as Charles explained:

"Vidigal is one the famous mountains here, especially because of gentrification, it is one of the most powerful examples of this because it is a very beautiful view in south zone and very close of this area. So, when they started this process of with mega-events it was one of the most affected places here, many foreigners, many people that have money bought their houses. It became very expensive for people that live here and we talk about gentrification process [...]. Generally, we talk about gentrification we talk about this, about Vidigal; and Vila Autódromo is at the Olympic Park, Olympic Golf. Vila Autodromo was completely removed [...] it was a very polemic process [...] So, when we talk about polemic questions, we talk about displacement at Vila Autodromo, gentrification in Vidigal, Rocinha and Babilonia." (Charles Siqueira, 2018)

Such gentrification resulted in increased prices as Fabricio explained:

"because if the idea is to sell a specific part of Rio, the Olympic Corridor, let's say, this area became like a Monaco, very expensive, [...] it is very expensive at the moment, but especially 2014, if we are talking about 2017, 14' was the World Cup, you know, THE event, [...] prices went up like a month before the Olympics they went up like,

unbelievably, it was really, really, high; and there was two different menus, the menu in English was really pricy. It is common and its unavoidable I know.” (Fabricio, 2018).

Furthermore, reports that many were forced to more peripheral areas where suitable transport links did not exist, despite new transport developments such as the BRT (Section 6.2) were captured in the following response:

“Besides that, there were a lot of cuts in the bus lines in my area in detriment to new lines going to the touristic zones. So, there was a clear effort to move all the suburban people getting them out of south zone [touristic zone], I had a bus that used to take me to the south zone. But nowadays I must take three different buses, two buses and one metro. So, it’s complicated. So, nowadays we live this ‘consequence’ for example, we have the BRT line as a promise of a high-quality transport for the poor and after the mega events it’s all been undone and dissolute. Most of the BRTs stations are broke and there are a lot of thieves there and no safety. We [Rio]are broke.” (FG05)

The above response suggests that Rio’s marginalized communities are now living in this ‘consequence’ after the mega-events finished. This suggests that after all the transformational changes to the city, it restructured and broke accessibility for these young people and their communities. This was further captured below:

“It impacted negatively the public transportation change, removing important bus lines. The increase in violence with the farce of UPP also left the city more chaotic.” (R043).

This above response highlights that the disruptions to the transportation system for these communities, and the increased violence across the city, resulted in Rio becoming more ‘chaotic’. Such consequences and displacements resulting from Rio’s mega-event developments left these individuals feeling more excluded. Many evictions and displacements resulted in migration to more peripheral areas of the region that negatively affected these communities. As well as losing access to suitable transport links and becoming more excluded, these displacements also forced migration of the drug gangs and their associated violence.

6.3 Displacement of drug gangs: forced migration of crime, conflict and violence

Many of the drug gangs from Rio's favelas were forcibly displaced, but this just shifted the problem to other, more peripheral, areas of Rio. Some of these disruptions and consequences from political interventions (e.g. *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* (UPP) presented in Chapter 2.4.3) to pacify such communities in preparation for Rio's mega-events were revealed in the following responses:

"My parents live in a city 50km from Rio, called Nova Beassu, which became much more violent from 2007 because these drug dealers, these gangs were spreading around the state now". (Fabricio Mendez, 2018)

"The crime that was once centred in some localities has spread throughout the whole country." (R022)

"It seems that the UPP has put the leader, the gangs to different places, my grandmother's neighbourhood was a very quiet place and now there is a lot of theft. Sometime ago there wasn't any houses; it was all very rural, with cornfields, mainly agriculture. Recently violence increased so much that even bus lines have stopped working. Once my Dad went there and was told somebody had tried to set fire to his car and could have died. He managed to convince the guys not to kill him as well. Now the buses have restarted again, but it's still bad, the situation is too bad." (FG01)

These responses reflect on the way Rio's drug gangs were forced to migrate to more peripheral communities where gangs and violence did not previously exist. This echoes Jaguaribe and Salmon's (2016) claims that such intended strategies such as the UPP pacification programme, displaced gangs to poorer areas of Rio that suffered even less public investment in basic resources. This brought many socio-cultural issues to these communities destroying their peaceful environments and exacerbating existing social issues, as highlighted in the following responses:

“The postmen used to work very well, but now the letters are not delivered at some parts because they are informed, that these parts are dangerous parts. So, postmen are not going there anymore. As for example, a place where I live, I live in the access street to a favela two years ago there wasn’t drug dealing gangs up my street so, the drug dealers used to go up the hill but now they are doing it down the main street.” (FG04)

“I don’t know if I was impacted from UPP, but for some reason in the periphery place which isn’t exactly a favela, but it’s a peripheral place, the violence has increased a lot, my neighbourhood used to be quiet, used to be residential, now I have a lot of thieves and death [through criminal activity], so violence has increased.” (FG05)

The displacement of such drug gangs from the favela communities was the result of UPP intervention. As previously mentioned, the UPP aimed to pacify many of Rio’s dangerous favelas particularly in the lead-up to the mega-events. This was evidenced by Fabricio:

“So, 2007 to 2017, [...] the Pan American Games and that’s when the UPP started, OK, [...] they expanded after the World Cup as well, but originally you go to Prazeres, a famous favela in Santa Teresa, one of the most famous places in Rio – UPP. Rocinha, famous, Vidigal, Mangueira in front of Maracanã, Santa Marta, the Michael Jackson favela – UPP, that’s the first one, that’s the model.”

Fab’s response clearly articulates that the UPP were strategically located across Rio’s favelas to generate a positive destination image in the touristic areas. He added:

“So, you know, and by that time the word favela and the idea of the favela, the favela tour, they were going up, the economy was going up and all that and they started to sell Rio as a touristic product, kind of. So I think short-term, the mega event benefited these favelas, only these favelas and as a consequence, it got really worse for the other favelas, you know, because what they did here was like an agreement with each of the drug dealing gangs saying “OK guys, you can still sell weed and coke here, but you can’t walk around armed [...]. If in 2007 you decide to finish with drug dealing in favelas and you finish like this [clicks fingers], like three days in eleven favelas, I don’t understand why we are killing 60,000 boys, black boys, from favelas for twenty years and we still do that.” (Fabricio Mendez, 2018)

Fabricio's response highlights that in the beginning there was a positive consequence from the UPP intervention from some favelas. Many were able to create a touristic product through favela tours in the short-term. However, this was not the case in most of the favelas with UPP intervention.

The UPP initiative consequently resulted in the displacement of the criminal drug gangs that resided and controlled many of Rio's favelas. This political strategy seems to illustrate the concept of the 'revanchist city' (Chapter 2.4.3). Rio's city and state government attempts to 'pacify' and suppress favela communities, were tactics for eradicating drugs, criminal activity and essentially, the dangerous and violent gangs. These tactics mimic the concept of the 'revanchist city'. The pacification that these individuals and communities endured supports Tufts' (2004) findings in Toronto, that using such coercive strategies like the UPP to suppress and control the masses that are deemed 'to not fit in', were strategic tools for restructuring the city while severely impacting its most deprived people.

This intervention programme forced many gangs out of the favelas located within the Olympic corridor (as seen in Chapter 2, Figure 2.1), but not all. It is reported by Bellégo and Drouard (2019) that the UPP programme failed in its methodology by not ending the territorial control by the drug gangs. Since Rio's mega-events, many gangs returned to the favelas to take back control of these communities and set-up their criminal drug businesses. This was captured in the following response:

"Besides that, I have also been through the UPP process (pacification) of Alemão and Vila Cruzeiro. So, I have seen they were trying to sell an idea of Rio police as a hero, as a good guy, but what I can say is that they were trying to control it and trying to control the territories. So, this works for the UPP who were very present in my life, and I have seen my friends in these bad situations in this context. So, after all the mega-events the stages have broken down, the police were removed from the favelas so, we have seen the power increasing but it has never finished it was just an image of safety for people coming to see and visit Rio." (FG05)

This response highlights that the UPP appeared to control the territories themselves rather than making them safe and supporting the community. Also, some the favelas have since been reclaimed by drug gangs, supporting Bellégo and Drouard's (2019) reports that this was a consequence of the recession in Brazil. This is strengthened in the following response:

"I don't know if it is intentional, what is worrying is the UPP are a kind of authorisation, to some irregular services to happen inside favelas. For example, there was a law that could have two, or three, or four buildings in favelas, when UPP comes, for some reason that I don't know, these laws aren't followed. So, [...] some of them just made their homes a place of entertainment, a place of parties. So, during the place where the UPP was working there was a lot of, in the whole of Vidigal, where people who came, were people from the wealthy part of the city, playboys. But now they have finished the parties, the mega-events, the violence has come back because the power [gang] is trying to take their power back. So now with the financial crisis, the state speculation of the homes also has frozen up a bit. So, this decision about who will get this decision, the UPP, the drug dealer. How long is this going to take? And how many lives will be taken because of that? That we don't know. We could not keep selling the image of a peaceful Vidigal, we'll save, now we are living in a dangerous time, especially being election time." (FG02)

The outcomes of Rio's mega-events left such communities with a negative impact both tangibly (physically) and intangibly (socially), through socio-cultural upset which affected many communities across Rio, even those not evicted. The tremors caused by forced evictions and displacement of favela communities and drug gangs commenced at the start of the Olympic Games developments (e.g. Olympic Corridor) and were felt across the city of Rio, disrupting entire socio-cultural and socio-economic landscapes of such communities in varying ways.

"Huge increase on violence as a consequence of the pacified communities on the Olympic corridor." (R001).

In a city where social inequality is widespread, Rio's mega-events seemingly exacerbated these social conditions and left a negative legacy for those the events had intended to support (see IOC, 2012). This new forced way of living and learning to cope under such oppressive and unequal conditions is an adverse condition that disrupted not just entire communities, but also the entire marginalized areas of the city. The legacy resulting from these events fit all elements of the six elements of legacy proposed by Preuss (2015 - see Chapter 2.5.1) – albeit in a negative way.

“So, after the Olympic games had finished, I could see that my place was going down because it's clear that the war between the government and community for example, at my, in front of my house, I could see a lot of shootings/gunfire, so this peace of the beginning was the kind of 'make-up' it didn't bring anything. I mean the only legacy is CriaAtivo because I have decided that it [Rio 2016] is just 'make-up' it was not really to change, it was just to make people 'buy' the idea of mega-events, besides that.....all the same.” (FG04).

Many respondents mentioned marginalization of favela communities, especially those of black ethnicity and how the mega events have caused increased violence and death of young black people.

“Where I live it almost had no conflict, but when the government decided to install the UPP there, so, it brought us come conflict between the residents and the police, in many times they have stopped me on my way home, for instance.” (FG03)

Despite many drug gangs within Rio's favelas, many communities lived without any issues from their presence. However, the above response reveals that UPP intervention brought their community conflict and violence and a control that affected residents who are not gang members. As reported in Chapters 2.4.1 and 3.2.2, young black men are often the target of police intervention in Rio regardless of their innocence. Much social injustice exists in Rio and can heighten the vulnerability and insecurity of these young people (presented in Chapter 7). The social injustice and war on favelas were captured in the following responses:

“[T]he favela I live, many people have died because of those same mega events [through conflict between gangs and police]. Therefore, what we once thought that would be reaffirmed, and the black youth would be massively murdered, has only grown to become a worst scenario. We’ve started living under war tension, although only one side [police] is armed and killing and profiting from those deaths.” (R036)

“They wanted to demonstrate safety as they know it, by killing and being violent, isolating us.” (R062)

“Rio de Janeiro’s state has, for example, 12 thousand hooded boys of the army with guns in their hands inside de Manguinhos favela. The state doesn’t care about my community. They kill people before the mega events to clean the city.” (R008)

These responses highlight how Rio’s mega-event strategies impacted them and their communities. It brought disruption to their entire socio-cultural landscape and brought violence that did not previously exist, worsening their social conditions by increasing the associated stigmatism of such individuals. These inflicted social conditions may result in many of these young people being susceptible to such social conditions (Evans and Reid, 2013). The above responses echo Jaguaribe and Salmon’s (2016: 39) claims that Rio has always been associated with “social implosion, brutal inequality and tremendous violence.”

The heightened marginalization and social exclusion that Rio’s favelas and peripheral communities experienced before, during and post-Rio’s mega-events, highlight the ‘dark side’ of Rio and mega-event strategies that have been termed as the ‘carnival mask’ and ‘revanchist city’ (the latter previously mentioned in this section). The responses throughout this section indicate that Rio’s city and state governments attempted to ‘mask’ existing social issues of the city to visitors. This echoes the ‘carnival mask’ ideology - the ‘agent of deception’ (Smith, 2012). As identified in Chapter 1, Rio’s favelas were reportedly erased from the 2016 Olympic Games bid books and promotional tools such as images and videos (Steinbrink, 2013). Based on these tactics to ‘invisibilise’ (see Raco and Tunney, 2010), the unequal social processes that

these individuals and communities suffered throughout Rio's mega-events, were essentially a way for Rio's city government and political elites to divert interest away from existing social conditions and inequalities of the city, leaving them hidden "behind the mask" (Hanifan, 1916: 21). Leaving these socio-spatial polarizations and social injustices hidden behind the 'carnival mask' gives visitors a false and 'smokescreen' (Smith, 2012) image, consequently politicizing the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990) of Rio, as seen in Chapter 2.4.

The social reality of these individuals is constructed through every day relentless social exclusion, oppression and marginalization with restricted access to basic resources and basic human rights (e.g. Talbot and Carter, 2018). These multi-disruptions are supported by Adger's (2003: 348) definition of social vulnerability:

"the exposure of groups of people or individuals to stress as a result of the impacts of [environmental] change. Stress, in the social sense, encompasses disruption to groups' or individuals' livelihoods and forced adaptation to the changing physical environment. Social vulnerability in general encompasses disruption to livelihoods and loss of security. For vulnerable groups such stresses are often pervasive and related to the underlying economic and social situation, both of lack of income and resources [...]"

Adger's definition suggests that, exposure to disruptive change of physical structures such as forced evictions of entire underprivileged communities for mega-event developments (see Chapter 2), can result in vulnerability of individuals and groups, specifically marginalized groups such as Rio's favelas. Such vulnerabilities are exacerbated by Rio's mega-events and this is further discussed in Chapter 7.

6.4 Summary of chapter

The transformational changes and disruptions that marginalized communities in Rio endured before, during and post-mega-events, were not specifically attributable to the mega-events, but

they undoubtedly exacerbated social norms for affected individuals and their communities. The responses throughout this chapter clearly emphasize that marginalized young people and their communities were the greatest losers when Rio hosted its mega-events. These young people remain threatened by oppressive social exclusions and injustices despite the departing of these events. Many individuals and their communities were confronted with many socio-cultural disruptions from evictions and displacement, as well as migration of drug gangs to more previously safe areas.

It can be argued that such groups were included in Rio's mega-events but only through devastating and unjustifiable strategies imposed on them by city and state governments and event organising committees (e.g. BOC and ROOC). Such social injustices and consequences can cause many insecurities for these young people who experienced such disruptions to their socio-cultural settings. The vulnerability of marginalized groups and their exclusion from the decision-making process of mega-event hosting is well documented (e.g. Gaffney, 2013; Steinbrink, 2013). These vulnerabilities and insecurities that marginalized young people experienced and overcome through *CriaAtivo*, are now critically analysed in Chapter 7 – *'developing personal resilience and reinforcing everyday resistance'*.

7 Developing personal resilience and reinforcing everyday resistance

7.1 Introduction to chapter

The second overarching core theme which emerged from the data was '*developing personal resilience skills*'. This chapter discusses how marginalized young people effectively developed personal resilience skills throughout the *CriaAtivo* process – a core element of transformational resilience (Doppelt, 2016). This chapter is divided into three core areas (see Figure 7.1) relating to the development of personal resilience skills: (i) overcoming vulnerabilities and insecurities (Section 7.2); (ii) learning new skills and visibilising social reality (Section 7.3), and (iii) bouncing forward: improving emotional well-being (Section 7.4).

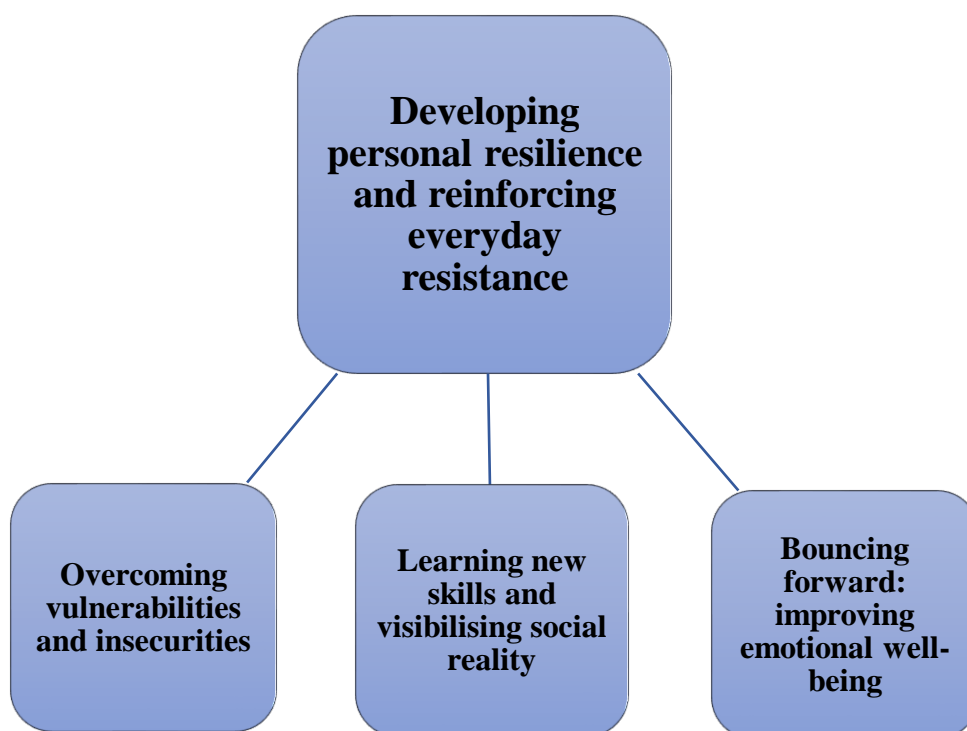


Figure 7:1 – Network of key theme: Developing personal resilience and reinforcing everyday resistance

This chapter discusses how some of Rio's marginalized young people improved their emotional well-being by reducing their initial vulnerabilities and insecurities. These transformations were aided by the *CriaAtivo* process which was focused on learning new creative skills and increasing self-development. The students did not tend to frame their transformations in terms of building resilience skills (this is the theoretical explanation used in this thesis), but their responses indicated that they had overcome low levels of insecurity by increasing their emotional well-being throughout this process. This was also reflected in a strengthening of their everyday resistance to existing social conditions of marginalization and exclusion, that were exacerbated by Rio's mega-events.

7.2 Overcoming vulnerabilities and insecurities

Dominant themes emerging from the data included '*social alienation*', '*vulnerability*' and '*lack of emotional stability*'. Physical urban changes and the subsequent disruptions that affected these marginalized young people and their communities during Rio's mega-events were presented in Chapter 6. Issues such as forced evictions and displacement seemed to exacerbate the existing social conditions of these young people, thereby increasing their vulnerabilities and insecurities. Building upon this, the social alienation and social exclusions that these young people experienced during this period are illustrated by the following responses:

"My community was not connected and there was no hope for the young." (R061)

"From the start, it was visible that all those events would be destined to privileged social classes. Who could go to those events? Certainly not the poor from the periphery. Not to mention the invisibility and marginalization that all of that created. Police operations/ military ostensive in the favelas (where the shows/ events would happen), expropriation of lands (for example, the Maracanã village), from some favelas, etc. They spend a lot in stadiums and all in order to generate money, profit

for the city, but even so the money won't reach the favela. And if it does, it won't come that peacefully.” (R027)

“The goal is to exclude, keeping us trapped in a world of absence, taking us from one place to another, removing us from the bourgeoisie with acetone as if we were old paint in our own territory's nails. They build prisons, and call it apartments keeping us inside, increasing the price of travelling like crazy and closing us inside of our houses” (R008).

These responses suggest that these young people were treated unjustly by Rio's government which seem to increase their marginalization and make them feel more isolated from the rest of society. Other respondents also voiced these views:

“They [government] wanted to demonstrate safety as they know it, by killing and being violent, isolating us.” (R062)

“[T]hey [government] will try to let the population more alienated as possible, just left them to what they are doing in our country, all their corruption, it is messy.” (FG01)

“These types of events already tend to exclude part of Rio's population, the black and poor people here, already marginalized, suffered even more.” (R068)

These responses highlight that Rio's marginalized young people felt they were treated oppressively, and they were the demographic most negatively affected by Rio's mega-events. This supports Black and Northam's (2017) views that marginalized young people are the most 'at-risk' generation, particularly in the global South. Although, as previously identified in Chapter 2.4.1, the IOC proposed that these individuals should be the beneficiaries of such events. However, it was clear this was not the case in this instance. The above responses seem to contradict recommended IOC guidelines in that marginalized and indigenous communities should be included throughout the Olympic Games planning and delivery through participation in grassroots programmes (see Chapter 2.4.1). Furthermore, such sentiments seem to sit in

direct contradiction to the initially proposed ROOC and Rio city government intentions that aimed to deliver a ‘Games for All’ and to leave a positive legacy for the younger generation of Rio. Instead, the focus group and survey data suggest that ROOC and Rio city government excluded those from the favela and peripheral areas of the city and exacerbated the existing social issues for such communities. This disregards the IOC recommendations that the Olympic Games should better the lives of those living in poverty and those who are ‘socially disadvantaged or excluded’ (IOC, 2012).

Despite this, the *CriaAtivo* process seemed to reduce such social issues for these marginalized young people. When prompted with the question ‘where do you think you would be without *CriaAtivo*?’ the focus group participants responded with various issues concerning their vulnerable state and presented many insecurities that they had about their futures. Some of these responses included:

“Emotionally, CriaAtivo filled a very important hole in my life because I had a very complicated moment of my life. I was very vulnerable so, if I had not produced everything I had done, I’d probably be in a different emotional place that I am today.” (FG02)

“I also come to a very complicated moment in my life, so it came, I was without structure emotionally speaking, so, probably I would be worse and without prospects of my skills and I wouldn’t be positive.” (FG06)

“[Emotional] Stability is something I never had [before CriaAtivo].” (FG07).

Such open and transparent insights into the students’ underlying insecurities prior to *CriaAtivo*, echo Evans and Reid’s (2013) position that vulnerability is the underlying ontology of resilience, and for individuals to become resilient they must first accept that they are vulnerable. Vulnerability is person-specific and is dependent upon an individual’s exposure,

sensitivity and adaptiveness to change (Evans and Reid, 2013). These views are certainly supported by Adger (2006: 268) who defined “the state of susceptibility to harm from exposure to stresses associated with environmental and social change and from the absence of capacity to adapt”.

The insecurities that these marginalized young people presented may have been exacerbated by the changing social conditions brought on by Rio’s mega-event disruptions that affected their socio-cultural/-economic landscapes - further alienating them from society (e.g. UPP intervention - see Chapter 6.3). This resonates with Davidson (2009), who claimed that suppressed opportunities, repeat disappointments and frustrations are likely to cause a lack of self-belief and self-esteem for marginalized people. Although Adger (2006) identified stressors in relation to ecological systems and resilience, his definition of vulnerability is strengthened when placed within the context of Rio’s marginalized young people. This is particularly apparent in how they are plagued with socio-economic disparities and neglect from local and national governments, especially when hosting mega-events. Such social injustices were further highlighted in the following responses:

“It takes visibility from real problems that the community and other parts of the city are going through.” (R028)

“Disorder, inequality. Works and superficial reforms to present the country and city to the world in an illusory way.” (R048)

“I was afraid for the people that are publicly invisible and how they become more vulnerable when the whole country has their eyes turned to entertainment and fun. If some groups are already invisible without mega events, even more will with their presence and it’s an opportune moment for the ones that are in power.” (R053)

These respondents reported that Rio's government attempted to suppress existing social issues, providing further evidence to support the 'carnival mask' concept (Chapter 2.4), in the case of Rio's political elites. Other respondents further illustrated this:

"They [Rio's government] built a wall saying that it was an acoustic barrier, a protection for the locals, when in fact has the purpose to hide the favela for when the tourists got to Barra da Tijuca." (R036)

"The impact should've been more positive because the government "painted it" as a nice city when in reality the population and the city remained the same as before the event." (R032)

Based on these responses and those quoted earlier in relation to 'social alienation', it appears that many of these marginalized young people believed that Rio's government largely ignored them and their communities throughout the mega-event process. As previously identified in Chapter 1, there was no mention of the term 'favela' in bid books, thereby entirely excluding them from the decision-making process (e.g. Minnaert, 2012; Gaffney, 2013; Steinbrink, 2013; ISSC, IDS and UNESCO, 2016).

Such exclusion and marginalization of favelas and peripheral communities reverberates the 'carnival mask' metaphor. It is clear from the responses presented above, that these young people believed that ROOC and Rio's city government neglected them and their communities in favour of portraying a positive destination image of the city. Such attempts to hide existing social injustices and social conditions of these marginalized communities supports Harvey's (1989) and Brownhill, Keivani and Pereira's (2013) views, that attempts to disguise existing social conditions is a way for governments to divert attention away from such pressing issues that lie behind the façade of mega-events.

“Something common within communities is black “outsiders” and no matter if the removals were made there, the majority of the affected people were those. Poor and mostly black people. Historically following the racist treatment and gentrification of our State.” (R027)

“[Legacy initiatives] Expensive structures that aim to keep the peripheries far from the rest of society, giving them transportation so they don’t have excuses to mix [socially].” (R062)

The above responses suggest that these marginalized young people were treated oppressively and discriminated against by political elites during Rio’s mega-events. These responses were further supported by other respondents from the focus group:

“I think the government really wants to keep us oppressed and living in the middle of all that violence.” (FG06).

“Brazil is a capitalist, unequal, racist country. Any action of the government is a failure to me, I already imagine what is going to result from this investment. And “we’re the ones paying”. (R008)

The following response summarises such discrimination that reverberated the marginalized communities across the city:

“I don’t believe in politics ruled by media spectacles. I understand the money moves, the generating rent through tourism, etc., but since I started trying to understand the world in a whole vision, I never knew that politics of that type wouldn’t cause exclusion or would, in fact, make a change in the everyday life. It always ends up as a show and it’s always the people cleaning the dirt of the stage, that to me is not normal. These big events, from the territory/ country picking are already deals involving political alliances. People of my colour are not included in this deal, except if they’re meant to be executed. Not different from that, on the favela I live, many people have died because of those same mega events. Therefore, what we once thought that would be reaffirmed, and the black youth would be massively murdered has only grown to become a worst scenario. We’ve started living under war tension, although only one side is armed and killing and profiting from those deaths.” (R036)

These responses present some of the existing issues that marginalized young people suffer at the hand of political elites to exclude them from the rest of society. This position provides further evidence which supports the concept of the *'revanchist city'*. The political control of Rio's marginalized social groups during mega-event staging provided the opportunity to suppress and pacify such groups. However, this is not uncommon in their everyday lives. Marginalized young people and their communities are frequently rejected and are afforded limited access to basic resources and opportunities, so they seek alternative ways to resist oppressive and unjustified political demeanours. However, resistance against such issues that threaten their socio-cultural existence means that these young people must also find ways to overcome the adversities caused by political mega-event strategies and interventions (e.g. forced evictions and UPP; as seen in Chapter 6). This is supported by Bourbeau and Ryan (2018) who suggested that finding alternative ways to continue with life despite many barriers, (e.g. to opportunities, education and employment) allows these young people to resist without accepting the social conditions in which they find themselves. Thus, by building resilience to overcome such barriers supports and reinforces their everyday resistance to such social conditions and threats against their existence. This echoes Doppelt's (2016) assertion that for resilience to be truly transformational, it requires building personal resilience skills to overcome adverse social conditions.

The following responses suggest how political mega-event strategies in Rio affected them during this time:

"Negative because it increased the number of police incursions in my favela, consequently having the number of death occurrences and power abuse grow. We were also escorted as thefts instead of protected as the citizens we are." (R039)

"Families lost their houses, they were removed and there was no concern about it from the public power." (R056)

Initially, strong overt acts of resistance were documented throughout the lead up to FIFA 2014 and Rio 2016, in the form of protests to fight against evictions and social exclusions from mega-event developments, as seen in Chapters 2 and 3 (see Steinbrink, 2013; Talbot, 2016; Talbot and Carter, 2018). However, as the form of power changed, so did the nature of resistance to social exclusion and political initiatives such as the UPP.

As official developments and engagement became less confrontational after Rio 2016, so did the responses and resistant acts from marginalized individuals and their communities. This situation echoes Lilja et al., (2017) who suggested that where power changes, then resistance must change too. Put simply, the power of domination in evicting entire communities for mega-event staging no longer threatened them so it morphed. Although, social exclusion and oppression of these young people and their communities are still dominated by power. However, the power intensity changed after Rio's mega-events finished. Such threats towards them no longer remained confrontational or immediate. Although, confrontational threats against these young people were no longer at the forefront but instead remain in the background and are played out through existing social injustices and exclusions. Also, the UPP still remain in some of the favelas causing conflict and violence between the drug gangs and UPP officers. It is such daily challenges that continue to threaten their socio-cultural settings and force these young people to find alternative ways to fight against them, thus making them unintentionally resistant. This supports Scott's (1990) views of 'everyday resistance' (further illustrated in section 7.3).

Due to such issues of social exclusion and injustices, many of the marginalized young people resisted such threats and attempted to seek alternative paths and opportunities. During my interview with Fabricio, he explained that:

“[...] because it [social context of Rio’s favelas and peripheries] is a process of total exclusion, you know, like access to university, access to study, um, it’s really, really, tough, you know, and the inequality like it’s, you saw, you went there, suddenly you are in a favela and then you see like a millionaire house, a big millionaire house, it is a context of exclusion and that’s why I think this project is so powerful because in three months probably, technically you are not, you’re not, the best in the market, but in terms of confidence, you are ready to further training or even employment, you know, and that’s my whole point – roots to market.”

It was clear that *CriaAtivo* was a powerful way for marginalized young people to resist social exclusion, as were other social projects that these young people participated in within their communities. Social projects are important for creating opportunities for such young people to access better education and employment opportunities. This is captured in some of the following responses:

“I have also participated in a social project [...], the object was helping people but not be paid but really helped me to get into university and gave me the knowledge that I needed but couldn’t afford. So, nowadays I have university, it was because of my high school and also because of this local social project.” (FG04).

“I have also taken part, I have studied music in a social local project as well, I have studied guitar and I also have participated in this project where I could develop my musical skills, I could play different instruments and so I have started singing as well so participating in a project was really important in my life, to make me who I am. This union of everything I managed to learn in my life because of those social actions were really important for me. And I also took part in the ‘Theatre of the Oppressed project’, which was a very strong experience and an interesting experience. And I carry the outcomes of that until today.” (FG06).

A response from one of the focus group participants when asked to explicate, ‘Did it [social projects] make a difference in your life?’, responded with a positive and negative view of the social projects that they have taken part in:

“The theatre project, yes, the others, no. Because of Nós do Morro I could get a job working in cinema as a receptionist, then I found another job still there at Cinemark

chain. The other projects not really, I think that the three things that made a difference in my personal life, as someone from the periphery, gay, suffering racism when looking for work, etc. were the theatre organisations: Nós do Morro, CriaAtivo and the public school. I can polarize myself and think that I can get any place I wanted and just keep my focus and put my thoughts on that.” (FG02).

These responses clearly illustrate that these marginalized young people used their own initiative to seek alternative ways of resisting against subjugation. In addition, it was clear in the last response that such social projects provided these young people with ways to separate themselves from all the stigma that usually confronts them. Essentially, these projects became an escape route from their everyday realities enabling them to channel positive thoughts on their futures. By leveraging local creative social initiatives (e.g. music, theatre, preparatory university courses), entrepreneurial, education and other accessible opportunities, marginalized young people can unintentionally form ways of fighting and overcoming marginalization, oppression and social exclusion. This echoes Lilja et al.’s (2017) assertions that ‘resistance encourages resistance’. In seeking alternative opportunities, these young individuals showed independence in a fight against adverse conditions that affect their future development by choosing paths that they can access to generate further possibilities. Such social projects act as assistive ways in which these marginalized young people can overcome socio-cultural challenges that affect their personal and social development, assisting them in their ‘everyday resistance’ to social exclusions and injustices.

As outlined in Chapter 3.2, there are many arguments about the visibility of resistant acts and how they need to be visible to ‘targets’ (e.g. political bodies) to be considered as such (e.g. Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). This assertion is questionable, as is the apparent necessity put forward in their work that external third-parties need to recognise it as ‘resistance’ for it to be considered so. Such claims are highly misleading. Individuals may not recognise and label their actions as a form of ‘resistance’ (Williams, 2009), but the data clearly showed acts against

marginalization and social exclusion such as participating in social projects, are being enacted and displayed by these young people, in what Scott (1990) has described as ‘everyday resistance’. In choosing to leverage other opportunities through such available means (e.g. social projects), marginalized young people are ‘safe’ and use less ‘risky’ confrontational and visible ways to resist social exclusion and marginalization in the face of adversity which has been heightened by mega-events – an issue presented in Chapter 3.2.2.

As identified in the responses above, without *CriaAtivo* these young people would have been in a ‘*poor emotional state*’ or ‘*not be in a good place*’, thus *CriaAtivo* helped them to overcome these vulnerabilities through developing personal resilience skills. It was clear in Chapters 2 and 3, that not all marginalized young people may be resistant and may require additional ways that can help them to overcome adversity. As identified in Chapter 3.2, resistance can take many forms, yet little empirical evidence exists on how the concepts of resistance and resilience are mutually assistive (Bourbeau and Ryan, 2018). External disruptions from mega-events to existing socio-cultural conditions can often result in them being defeated, forcing affected young people into seeking alternative ways to overcome socio-cultural rejection and barriers to opportunities. Some ways that marginalized young people can fight against social oppression and exclusion have been identified through leveraging social projects to access further opportunities, and these can be framed as everyday forms of resistance (as seen previously in this section). However, these mentioned projects did not foster transformational change for these young people:

“That’s [CriaAtivo] the first project, the first social project that I can really congratulate, which we should all congratulate. Because all the other [social] projects I’ve been involved in, I really learned a little more from what I already knew to be quite honest. For example, I have started a course of admin support, that I haven’t learned nothing new but that led me to a job. After that I went into university and I have paid two years, it didn’t get me anywhere, any vocational directing really for some

professional path, this [CriaAtivo] is the first course that really, I understood in what I want to work.” (FG03).

“CriaAtivo just showed me that I could put together everything I was learning here and what I was learning at university and that has proven to be the right way for me.” (FG05).

Previous social projects were incredibly important for these marginalized young people in fighting against social exclusion and marginalization. However, these responses articulate that *CriaAtivo* was the only social project that had really benefited them through transforming their learning and developing their futures.

Other social projects that these respondents highlighted, including theatre and music projects, can be framed as traditional forms of resilience, where individuals ‘bounce back’ to their original state before disruption (see Adger, 2000). However, in stark contrast to this, *CriaAtivo* was found to increase these young people’s previous levels of emotional well-being and they ‘bounced forward’ into a more permanent state, thus contributing to, what is theoretically framed, as transformational resilience. This illustrates that both concepts of resilience and resistance were assistive processes in this instance supporting Bourbeau and Ryan’s (2018) argument that they are mutually assistive depending on the situations in which they occur.

This finding contests Evans and Reid’s (2013: 85) views that resilience and resistance must be treated as mutually exclusive entities. These authors addressed resilient subjects as “*subjects that have accepted the imperative not to resist.*”. Furthermore, they speculated that a resilient individual is one who is unable to “*conceive of changing the world, its structure and conditions of possibility*” (Evans and Reid, 2013: 85). Disputing this, responses have clearly evidenced the ways in which these young people have fought against oppression and marginalization through their participation in local social projects. These young people have pro-actively sought alternative paths to not succumb to their oppressive social conditions. This reverberates

Bourbeau and Ryan's (2018) argument, that treating resilience and resistance as mutually exclusive advocates that subjects must accept the social conditions imposed on them as a condition of the social world treating them as apolitical subjects. It is evident that treating these young people as apolitical subjects rejects the fact that they are actively and somewhat unintentionally, resistant to the unequal and oppressive social conditions they continually suffer. These marginalized young people are not just resilient, they are not just resistant, but instead able to develop both processes for their recovery to bounce forward in fostering social change for better futures. *CriaAtivo* provided these individuals a way to resist marginalization and social exclusion while simultaneously learning new skills (Section 7.3) and building new social support network structures (presented in Chapter 8). This enabled them to develop resilience through transforming their emotional well-being from one of vulnerability to one of hope (Section 7.4). Treating resilience and resistance as opposing forces offers a simplistic view of an individual's social choice that they cannot be both resilient and resistant, therefore resistance is often considered the best strategy – which is not always possible (Chapter 3.2.2).

It was clear that the initial insecurities that the students displayed could be overcome, and one way of explaining this is that they underwent a process of transformational resilience. (Re)building such strengths when in a vulnerable and/or insecure state, supports Bourbeau and Ryan's views that both concepts of resilience and resistance were mutually assistive in this instance - an aspect that Doppelt (2016) failed to consider in his assertions of an individual's ability to by-pass or avert adversities. Despite this, Doppelt (2016) claimed that the purpose of transformational resilience is not to help people accept or adjust to systematic oppression, violence or poverty (all elements presented in the responses throughout this section), but rather to become more effective in coping and alleviating adversities and find meaning, direction and hope for themselves and others. This process of transformational resilience can strengthen these young people's everyday resistance to marginalization and exclusion as it empowers them to

seek sustainable ways to overcome external threats to their socio-cultural infrastructures. Such processes assisted these marginalized individuals to find meaning and direction through learning new skills which visibilised their social realities, and increased their emotional well-being which in turn, fostered social change.

7.3 Learning new skills and visibilising social reality

The young people which had been marginalized by Rio's events presented many insecurities before their involvement in *CriaAtivo*. This was partly due to lack of self-belief caused by social exclusion and a significant lack of opportunities. However, the *CriaAtivo* process enabled them to learn new skills which helped them visibilise their reality to the rest of society.

Fabricio explained that the initial aim of the *CriaAtivo* project was “...providing skills within the creative industries but with a focus on media, cinema, film, for marginalized young people [...] somehow affected by the Olympics [Rio 2016] ...”. Some of the skills that *CriaAtivo*'s students acquired through the project are summarised in the responses below:

“CriaAtivo was wonderful, I am a script writer, I also wrote by myself but in CriaAtivo, it was wonderful, it was incredible because I could get into university and the teachers here are really good and I had the opportunity to put my name on the credits of the film, it was one of the most wonderful experiences to see the film done. I just have to thank.” (FG01)

“I always wanted to study design and creation and so, CriaAtivo gave me this opportunity to put together journalism and audio-visual in a way that not just benefited me but everyone else around me.” (FG02).

“For me, coaching was such a big experience, a changing and motivating experience because there was a cinema course, and so on. So, I didn't know the cinema production behind this place so CriaAtivo brings me this perspective and this opportunity, so we

could explore cinema and I couldn't imagine I could be working, and I could be acting." (FG07).

Learning new creative skills left the students feeling better prepared to follow their dreams in film production, the creative industry, and gain access to higher education. Their experiences with the project undoubtedly helped to increase their self-confidence, and gave the students hope for better futures and lasting social change. One of the ways *CriaAtivo* enabled its students to project these hopes and their social realities was through film creation:

"[...] CriaAtivo gave me this opportunity to put together journalism and audio-visual in a way that not just benefited me but everyone else around me. It can't affect just me but everybody who is also around, to produce voice, to activate voice [...]" (FG02).

"[...] CriaAtivo really makes much difference because [...] there is a lot of people who have no access to other perspectives, and there is all this prejudice from the inside and a need to show them different perspectives, but that isn't necessary, it needs attitudes to show different perspectives for the community residents." (FG06).

"I have always had to go to different neighbourhoods to solve my problems, South zone or east zone I could never do the film in the middle of my neighbourhood. So, I started to study music when I was 12 years old so when I went to the arts, figured out how to show people this inequality and I found out the activist power so this place that I have round, that I have lived, I got involved in LGBT activism. Recently I was accepted to the arts course, in Niteroi, and in this path, I just met film school and found myself in cinema and I think that cinema can, I can put together all of the dreams of my life, so I can put together real life like music and cinema together in just one thing. So, I have a lot of projects to create video clips and films and show a reality that these guys could not see." (FG 08).

Furthermore, *CriaAtivo* has empowered marginalized young people to break through barriers of exclusion to the creative elitist industry: *"we are breaking these barriers and get into spaces"* (FG07). Breaking such barriers can be a covert act of resistance as it may not be recognised as resistance by its intended targets (i.e. Rio's political elites), or the students themselves as presented in Section 7.2.

Before *CriaAtivo*, the students had to find other ways and means of visibilising themselves and their reality which was not always easy or possible. Visibility is an important element for marginalized young people to be resistant against social exclusion. Although resistant acts can appear in overt or covert ways (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004), these marginalized young people found it incredibly important to project their realities to the rest of society. However, the acts of visibilising and voicing their realities through film may not be recognised by students as a form of resistance. Indeed, not all forms of resistance are overt (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Some are covert and may occur at the same or different times depending on the situation, and may be unintentional, as presented in Chapter 3.2.1 and 3.2.3.

CriaAtivo seems to have helped increase awareness of marginalization and social exclusion. It has enabled students to offer alternative perspectives on their social realities and given them voice to bring social change. This kind of visibilisation of their social reality provides an additional perspective to those that are usually only portrayed through media (e.g. news reports and films) such as *City of God* (IMDb, 2019a) and *Elite Squad* (IMDb, 2019b). This kind of enhanced awareness being demonstrated through *CriaAtivo* seems to enable marginalized young people to fight against barriers and stereotypical views which was highlighted in the following focus group response:

*“[W]e [students] are also showing different perspectives, that people do not have, different landscapes of Brazil that are used to not to be shown like a favela for example. The favelas are usually not presented as it is. Favelas are stereotyped by the media that has the monopoly of the media in Brazil so we are in a way unable to talk about reality, that’s the biggest difference I think, we really can explore our realities and reflect it in cinema so we always have a ‘racial cut’, gender, sexual and a ‘social cut’ in the tele or cinema [perspective usually brought by the mass media] to see that the ‘hegemonic media’ usually does ‘not’ show or ‘cannot’ show or even when they show it, it is done in a superficial way. So, it’s very important to have this counter-narrative with different perspectives that really exist, that cannot be left invisible. So, *CriaAtivo* gave us voice to talk about, to discuss, about things that which I think are really important. I could say that in Brazil there’s a regime to establish who can give an opinion or not, who has*

a voice. So, the fact that in CriaAtivo we are able to talk about subjects that we are usually unable to is really invaluable.” (FG07).

Such views echo Hollander and Einwohner’s (2004) and Lilja et al. (2017) who assert that distinctiveness can motivate resistance rather than political action. The stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes that Rio’s favelas and peripheries experience from political elites and other members of society can be oppressive - demonstrating why marginalized young people often lack self-esteem and self-belief (Davidson, 2009). The fight against marginalization as displayed by the students during the *CriaAtivo* process, supports Lilja et al. (2017) assertions that self-reflection is a foundational element of everyday resistance (e.g. Scott, 1990). This relational view diverts from the interconnectedness of power of resistance rebelling against the norms – in this context, the social norms of reality for these marginalized individuals and communities. Although, Lilja et al. (2017) considered everyday resistance in a different way to Scott, arguing that not all acts of everyday resistance may be invisible, quiet or discrete. Many overt acts of resistance, particularly protests, are common among these communities in Rio regardless of mega-event interventions that often fuel a pre-existing form of resistance as presented in Chapter 3.2.

Social exclusion is a part of everyday life for these marginalized young people, and they seek ways to resist exclusion, but this does not mean that they solely display overt forms of resistance. Many marginalized young people do not intend to attack political parties but instead fight for social change and increased education and employment opportunities through other covert forms such as social projects like *CriaAtivo*. *CriaAtivo* was created as a pro-active response against total exclusion of favela and peripheral communities, which aimed to increase confidence of marginalized young people through a grassroots project (Fabricio Mendez, 2018). The data illustrates the numerous ways that resistance is situational and dependent on a

multiplicity of factors which supports Hollander and Einwohner's (2004) findings that the concept of resistance must be regarded as varied and dependant on its application.

7.4 Bouncing forward: improving emotional well-being

The third key theme emerging from the data was a sense of '*improving emotional well-being*'. This subtheme describes the ways in which young people were able to reduce their initial vulnerabilities and insecurities through the *CriaAtivo* process (as presented in Section 7.2). By theoretically framing this process within the concept of transformational resilience, it is possible to see how the *CriaAtivo* process helped to improve emotional well-being. This was identified in the following responses:

"CriaAtivo for me, was very intense because this experience gave me professional and personal discovery [...]" (FG02).

"So, it [CriaAtivo] just made my choices stronger, my wish, it was really my wish before so, it just made it stronger for me to be continuously looking for film industry opportunities. I could not see myself outside of cinema, it was very motivating to pursue my dreams, to follow my dreams." (FG07).

Many scholars abstain from fully articulating aspects of renewal and transformation of resilience (Bourbeau and Ryan, 2018) although, these young people highlighted significant levels of self-development and professional discovery. These aspects are supported by Doppelt's (2016) and Bourbeau and Ryan's (2018) arguments, that resilience is more about transforming and changing an individual or social structure than maintaining the status quo of an individual's or society's way of life. It is clear from respondents, that if *CriaAtivo* was purely focused on maintaining a status quo (Section 7.2), like traditional forms of individual or

community resilience (Chapter 3.1.1), it would have been unsuccessful. Rather, the students who participated in *CriaAtivo* clearly wanted to improve their lives and gain access to further and better opportunities to permanently better themselves and their futures. If their emotional well-being returned to previous levels before *CriaAtivo* (e.g. vulnerable and insecure state) then the initiative would have failed in its mission, and its students would not have benefited. However, it was evidently clear that the students had shifted previous feelings of vulnerability to increased levels of emotional well-being. Some of these transformations were captured in the following responses from the focus group participants.

“[I] would probably not be in a very good place, nowadays I’m in a very good place emotionally, but if I hadn’t lived this [CriaAtivo] experience [...] I wouldn’t be in such a good emotional place that I am today, and if we did not have this ‘hope’”. (FG03)

“If CriaAtivo was not to happen in my life, I was sure I was going to be in a bad place, a bad way. I have always tried to think about cinema and the instability in the world, in Brazil, CriaAtivo gave me the vision, taught me that I could do it.” (FG04)

“[...] CriaAtivo gave me safety, I was in very difficult time I was not able to work, my expectations were not being fulfilled. [...]” (FG05).

“I probably wouldn’t be as motivated as I am today. I wouldn’t be as well as I am.” (FG01)

The initial vulnerabilities as identified in Section 7.2, support the concept of ‘thriving’ which has its antecedents from vulnerability and coping paradigms (Chapter 3.1.1), and which is a concept that has been considered within some of the latest studies of resilience (Ledesma, 2014). *CriaAtivo* enabled marginalized young people to overcome their initial vulnerabilities and insecurities throughout the process, thus supporting O’Leary’s (1998) definition of ‘thriving’; as a person’s ability to go beyond their original level of functioning despite repeated exposure to stressful experiences. This is further supported by Ledesma (2014), who states that

a ‘thriving’ person refocuses priorities and display a stronger sense of self during transformation.

However, use of the concept of ‘thriving’ varies, with Doppelt (2016) terming it as ‘adversity-based growth’ and other authors as ‘post-traumatic growth’ (e.g. Ballenger-Browning and Johnson, 2010). It was evident in many focus group responses that *CriaAtivo* altered its students vulnerable state and appeared to foster a sense of hope. Sense of hope is a crucial motivational element in mental and physical health, and is powerful in generating transformational resilience (Doppelt, 2016). The students’ displayed adverse-based growth by increasing their emotional well-being to higher levels post-*CriaAtivo*. They did not revert to previous levels of vulnerability, supporting both Doppelt’s (2016) and Bourbeau and Ryan’s (2018) views. Essentially, these young people were able to ‘bounce forward’ and did not simply ‘bounce back’ from such social injustices and mega-event disruptions. The improvement of emotional well-being was captured powerfully and emotionally in the following response from a focus group participant:

“I think, my experience with CriaAtivo is invaluable; I have no words to explain. It means a lot to me personally especially because 2016/17 were very difficult years in terms of professional perspectives and because of the fact that I lived in a favela I had most of the opportunities being denied to me which caused me some personal problems. Hard to explain but sometimes it made me feel like having some kind of depression. I don’t have the same opportunity as the people outside of the favela. When CriaAtivo opportunity appeared, I was almost giving up at university, but CriaAtivo brought me this meaning that I can exist. So, it brought me a meaning of existence because I was studying and working at the same time, with a lot of pressure, and feeling depressed, life had almost no meaning.” (FG05)

Initial vulnerabilities and insecurities that the students admitted they had (Section 7.2), were overcome through the *CriaAtivo* process. Throughout the process, students were able to develop and build their personal strength and confidence, thus empowering their ambition for better futures: *“I believe this [CriaAtivo legacy initiative] is the initial kickstart to start*

changing the future of the country. Education has the power to transform, and with it, empowered lives and good influence.” (R081). These transformations resulted in self-development improving their overall emotional well-being and self-belief, that they can fight against social exclusion, bounce forward and change their socio-economic trajectory, as well as foster positive social change. Many of the focus group participants felt ‘empowered’ and able to (re)build strength and gain confidence to move forward in their social and professional lives. This was noted by some of the FG participants:

“I always wanted to make a film but how I had to adapt, that’s exactly what I want, it was easy to bring something to the film. If I had to leave this career to do something that I do not like, but CriaAtivo gave me the view that it is possible, I can see people that came to do it in a high level of quality, higher than some companies, it’s just confirmed what I wanted as to do in cinema as it is something I have no doubt, I am sure. “[CriaAtivo] was very powerful and empowering [...]”. (FG01).

“It just makes our decisions strong, mainly because of our age and because of the CriaAtivo requirements, people that come, come with a little bit more inclination. So, CriaAtivo just makes us strong and contributed to increasing our ambition.” (FG02).

“CriaAtivo gave me safety, I was in very difficult time I was not able to work, my expectations were not being fulfilled. So, CriaAtivo gave me this power so I just feel a little bit afraid as it’s a kind of danger, as it’s very good but if you do not care about, it could be very frustrating, but I have faith that nothing will be in vain as it only depends on us.” (FG05).

The alteration to the student’s emotional well-being and importance of *CriaAtivo* as a catalyst in contributing to such growth comes through strongly in many of the responses. Their responses align well to Doppelt’s (2016: 301) claim that we must ensure that we “...build the capacity of individuals and groups [...] to increase their sense of wellbeing [...]”. *CriaAtivo* effectively reduced its students’ vulnerabilities and insecurities through increasing their confidence and motivation to succeed, supporting Doppelt’s (2016: 3) views that transformational resilience exists when people “[...] increase their sense of wellbeing above

previous levels". *CriaAtivo* evidently instilled confidence in these young people. These focus group participants views were further supported by 81% of the survey respondents who said that *CriaAtivo* had increased their self-confidence.

Doppelt (2016) proposed that transformational resilience can act as a preventative medicine (in relation to a combination of knowledge and skills) to harmful conditions before they occur in terms of psycho-social-spiritual reactions to adversity and can support rapid recovery post-difficulty. Although, this latter claim of a recovery process has value, this research suggests that a preventative process is better framed as a nexus of resilience and resistance. Transformational resilience is about gaining skills and knowledge to become stronger and increase emotional well-being. By *CriaAtivo* showing this was possible for young people, it also evidences how such initiatives can strengthen young people's emotional well-being after a major period of disruption and consequently increase their life meaning, direction and hope for their futures. The preventative action before a traumatic event occurs is what is framed as the element of resistance in the 'resilience-resistance nexus' (Figure 6, page 149). Resilience is a passive response to post-disruptive state, and resistance is an active response to potential threats and future disruptions that can occur, illustrating that both concepts are mutually assistive, in this instance. Furthermore, resistance occurred prior to mega-event disruptions in a fight against social exclusion and marginalization through protests, but these overt acts of resistance failed in many situations (as discussed in Chapter 3.2.2). Consequently, resilience can reinforce resistance for those who lack emotional stability to fight or be resistant in overt ways. The process of resilience becomes an important way to cope in the face of adversity for these young people by contributing to covert acts of resistance rather than overt ways that may be risky for them and their communities. This supports Bourbeau and Ryan's assertions that the meaning of resilience and resistance are acquired and evolves through the relationship between them and are not sequential, as identified in the context of *CriaAtivo*.

In addition to *CriaAtivo* targeting marginalized young people affected by Rio's mega-events, *CriaAtivo* also contributed in improving the directors' trajectories. Fabricio explained that *"If it wasn't for Creative Wick funnily enough, or CriaAtivo, I think I would be in Rio, I think I would, I would have kind of, I would have gone one step back, you know, um, because it kind of changed my life, because it put me in a position where I wasn't before, you know. [...] I was like if it wasn't for William, if it wasn't for Creative Wick I would certainly be back in Rio, you know."*

I reiterated to Fabricio, *'has CriaAtivo given him the life opportunity to progress'* and he responded:

"Yes, he [William] gave me the chance to, kind of, learn English properly, sit in panels that I would negotiate with people, so have the chance to write and make mistakes, write funding applications, um, and learn a lot about this new field and I might end up now doing a PhD about this, about urban regeneration, which would be amazing, you know, absolutely amazing. Imagine, imagine, I mean, I know I am very, when I have to write academic stuff, I get very paranoid, you know, so I need to prepare myself to start a PhD."

Such accounts by Fabricio show how *CriaAtivo* has altered his life, education and career path. They evidence just how important such social legacy initiatives can be, not only for marginalized young people, but also everyone involved in the process.

The successful development of personal resilience skills supports Doppelt's (2016: 4) statement that "when individuals and groups develop effective resilience skills, they are able to avoid personally or socially harmful reactions to adversity [...]". However, Doppelt's assertion that individuals demonstrate the ability to circumvent adversity from developing resilience skills, is extended to include their everyday resistance to social exclusion and marginalization. Resistance to mega-event disruptions is almost impossible for marginalized and underprivileged communities and not unique to Rio, but also many cities that choose to host them (e.g. Raco and Tunney, 2010; Minnaert, 2012; Smith, 2012). There are both winners

and losers, and the losers in such circumstances are unfortunately those from deprived urban areas. As already identified in Chapter 2, deprived marginalized communities have ‘no say’ or involvement in mega event plans and developments; they are often excluded throughout the delivery and staging to extremes of invisibilisation to portray a positive destination image (Raco and Tunney, 2010; Minnaert, 2012).

7.5 Summary of chapter

This chapter has presented how *CriaAtivo* increased its students’ emotional well-being to higher levels than those previously experienced and displayed. The social legacy initiative has undoubtedly reduced prior vulnerabilities and insecurities felt by the young students. The data and findings have been framed within the process of ‘transformational resilience’ - a concept employed to explain the development of personal resilience skills that last beyond the end of the project. These responses evidenced that marginalized young people developed effective personal resilience skills by ‘bouncing forward’ rather than simply ‘bouncing back’, which supports Doppelt’s (2016) earlier presented work. Although these young people did not consciously explicate that *CriaAtivo* assisted them in becoming resilient, they did acknowledge that they had displayed many vulnerabilities and insecurities prior to the *CriaAtivo* process that were overcome by learning new skills. Respondents credit the *CriaAtivo* process with their self-development. This process also empowered them to visibilise and raise awareness of their social realities framed here as reinforcing their everyday resistance. This empowered them to break barriers of exclusion against entering an elitist industry that usually rejects them. These combined resilience skills provided these marginalized young people with ‘hope’ and ‘motivation’ to achieve better futures and gave meaning to their lives.

Overall, this chapter has identified how marginalized young people can overcome negative effects caused by mega-events. Through the process of *CriaAtivo*, they have been able to be resilient and resistant to external threats of social exclusion and marginalization that were heightened by Rio's mega-events. Through a process of developing personal resilience, the emotional well-being of these affected young people was greatly improved and highlights what the concept of transformational resilience seeks to explain and theorise. However, for the transformational resilience process to be entirely effective, two other elements need to be in place: social network structures and collaboration between local organisations. Therefore, chapter 8 now discusses '*robust social network structures*' developed through the *CriaAtivo* process which fostered social capital for marginalized young people.

8 Forming social network structures through bonding, bridging and linking social capital

8.1 Introduction to chapter

The third overarching core theme within the data was the creation of '*forming social network structures*'. This chapter presents analysis of the social networks that were created through the *CriaAtivo process* – a core process of transformational resilience (Doppelt, 2016). I build upon the argument in Chapter 7, that marginalized young people developed personal transformational resilience and reinforced their resistance with support from the social network structures developed throughout the *CriaAtivo* process. Social network structures can be framed within the three dimensions of social capital – 'bonding, bridging and linking' and lends itself as a theoretical lens to examine this dimension of transformational resilience.

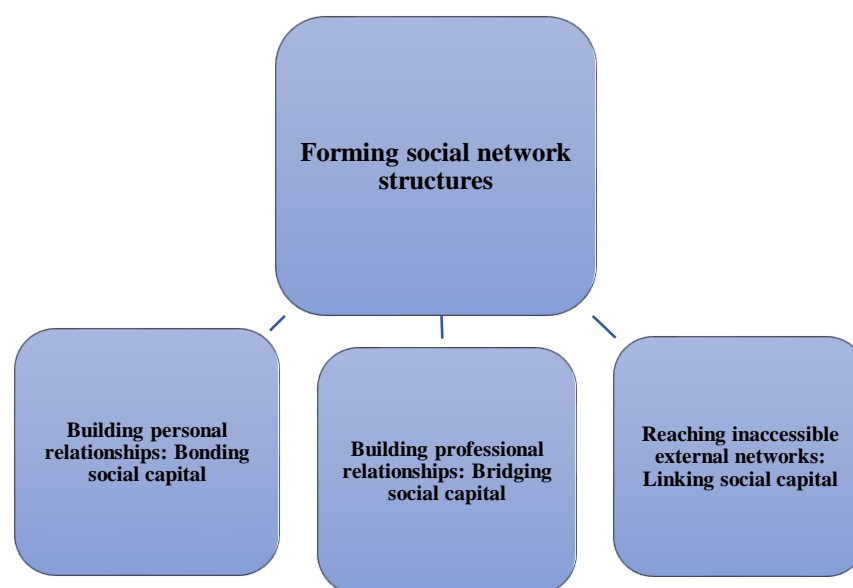


Figure 8:1 - Network of key theme: *Forming social network structures*

This chapter is divided into three main sections (see Figure 8.1): (i) *Building personal relationships: bonding social capital* (Section 8.2); ii) *Building professional relationships: bridging social capital* (Section 8.3); and (iii) *Reaching inaccessible external social networks: Linking social capital* (Section 8.4).

8.2 Building personal relationships: Bonding social capital

This first section presents the internal social support network structures that marginalized young people created during *CriaAtivo*. Responses highlighted they created new ‘bonding’ internal relationships with each other both personally and professionally ‘within’ *CriaAtivo*. *CriaAtivo* enabled the formation of new relationships between its students who shared similar social realities and these relationships were captured in the following responses:

“CriaAtivo, they offered us to interact and relate to other people that live in the same reality as we do, closer to the same place and situations [...]” (FG02).

“So, it [CriaAtivo] brought me a meaning of existence because I was studying and working at the same time, with a lot of pressure, and feeling depressed, life had almost no meaning. So, that’s what happened, different factors, the situations that happen with people, they are in the same situation, context, the social reality.” (FG05).

The importance of developing such relationships for these marginalized young people was expressed in the following quote:

“So, it [CriaAtivo] was very important to, and for me it was more incentive and more incentive to go because I had a class in which I could recognize myself, while in the most common spaces of cinema most of the people are white middle class, a different reality from mine. But from here I could get in touch with people, with almost the same social life as me. So, I have done many courses in the south zone with rich teachers (teachers who won’t understand me). So, what makes it different, is that here I have the

opportunity to work with people who have the same social reality as I do and really try hard to accomplish things too.” (FG07).

It was evident that *CriaAtivo* was core in developing mutual social network structures through developing relationships and creating external network connections between marginalized young people. The ways connections were created during the *CriaAtivo* process between students and how it transformed their trajectory was further captured in the following response:

“[...] CriaAtivo they gave ourselves to interact and relate to other people that live in the same reality as we do, closer to the same place and situations [...] that it was not just an open door but also some kind of thing that pushed us forward.” (FG02). One respondent stated that the interaction with others added to the overall experience of *CriaAtivo*: *“we have been very fortunate to meet some nice people in this film school, the people have been very, very, exciting.” (FG09).*

The above responses highlight that social network structures were created between marginalized communities across Rio, connecting those who shared similar realities. Creating new and mutual friendships is important for these young people to develop as social networks are the foundations of social capital (see Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Praszquier and Nowak, 2011, and Kirpitchenko and Mansouri, 2014).

CriaAtivo acted as a catalyst for these young people to form new friendships throughout the process, empowering them to continue within a creative industry: *“It has empowered me because we have friends and we are friends and can be many things.” (FG01).* This supports Kirpitchenko and Mansouri’s (2014) findings that social connections and networks of migrant youth with others contributed to their personal development and empowerment. These authors also found that the heuristic role of social engagement fosters a sense of belonging and personal growth for marginalized young people. This also echoes Wilson-Forsberg and Gagnon (2012:

126) who argued that “Finding a sense of belonging to a community involves building confidence in one’s own identity and connecting oneself to the surrounding environment, people, and social institutions”. Therefore, maintaining a strong sense of identity during disruption means that young people can retain their distinctiveness. Such new relationships among young people assists them in moving forward. This supports Field’s (2008: 1) claims that “people are able to work together to achieve things they could either not achieve by themselves or could only achieve with great difficulty.” Essentially, the more people that an individual knows, the more they share common outlooks and richer in social capital.

Such relationships developed between these young people can be framed within the ‘bonding’ dimension of social capital. This dimension of social capital is relative to the internal relationships that exist or are created although, this dimension is common among family members and friendships that exist within the same community. However, in this instance, it frames the new friendships and relationships developed within *CriaAtivo* between marginalized young people. This supports Szreter and Woolcock’s (2004) assertions that ‘bonding’ social capital is the emotive strength between those who regard themselves as sharing the same social reality as others. Such shared similarities and mutual bonding connections developed through the *CriaAtivo* process, provided each student with robust social support and personal assistance to ‘recover’ from their earlier vulnerabilities and insecurities (as presented in Chapter 7), thereby strengthening their social infrastructures.

This reflects Hanifan’s (1916) early assertions that personal interaction and participation within a group accumulates social capital. Additionally, these students identified that they were able to ‘bond’ with other marginalized young people in similar situations. This also echoes Szreter and Woolcock’s (2004) assertion that bonding social capital is the emotive strength between individuals who consider themselves as sharing the same social identity. This does not deduct that marginalized young people already have families in which ‘bonding’ social capital is

present. Instead, it accentuates that social networks formed within *CriaAtivo* were created outside of their personal realms of society; and are an essential element in contributing to developing personal resilience and everyday resistance in increasing their social capital. The development of new associations and networks between these young people echo Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes (2014) views that resilience building enhances and supports coping responses of marginalized young people, in this instance, in response to mega-event disruptions.

Such social support structures are an important contributing factor for adverse-based growth in marginalized young people. Guo et al. (2018) supports this, arguing that resilience of socio-economic systems is dependent on social factors as well as physical factors. Social factors can play a pivotal role for marginalized young people to manage social disruptions to their socio-cultural systems. These can include learning (as identified in Chapter 7.3), social networks, trust and social capital (Guo et al., 2018). In this research study, social networks are framed within the concept of social capital. Developing social support structures is a significant factor for marginalized young people to develop personal resilience skills. They are also a contributory element in developing effective transformational resilience which aligns to Doppelt's (2016) proposition that 'robust social structures' are a core element of transformational resilience. Therefore, building such relationships strengthens the process of resilience and resistance in individuals and increases their overall social capital.

Creating and developing such trustworthy social support networks were important throughout the *CriaAtivo* process as this taught these young people to work collaboratively developing new personal and social skills as earlier presented in Section 7.3. This was expressed in the following response:

“CriaAtivo taught me mainly two things about cinema, one that it is a collective work that can also be a very multidisciplinary work as well, especially at ‘low budget filmmaking’. Because you have your tasks, but they are all related, so your work as an editor for instance and your input is both dependent and needed for other people’s [work]. For example, when you are going to edit some film you also work with the script and is influenced a lot because you are not tied up to just one thing, even if you are focused on your tasks you should learn how to work in a group and to mediate/solve conflicts. For example, my best friend I met here, she doesn’t know that she’s my best friend.” (FG06).

The importance of the connections between these young people was further captured below:

“Something interesting is CriaAtivo links, connects youth, we are exceptional where I live, no-one works with cinema, does cinema. For me, it was very important because seeing different people, different people do cinema, people with different motivations to search for and look for new things. The interesting thing of CriaAtivo, they have connected youth in a social context, and they are also an exception in their places, in their neighbourhood. So, we are connecting youth from different places that are living in the same situation, financial situation, social situation, they have the same experiences doing cinema, so it makes us ourselves to look for cinema. It motivates me, we have these people here from the same situation and looking for the same objective.” (FG 07).

These close personal and professional connections support many authors (e.g. Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 2000; Field, 2008; Wilson-Forsberg and Gagnon, 2012) views that individuals are more likely to share resources and ideas and assist others when needed when they are deemed trustworthy by their social support networks. The above responses support Field’s (2008: 1) suggestion that “People connect through a series of networks and they tend to share common values with other members of these networks; to the extent that these networks constitute a resource, they may be seen as forming a kind of capital.” This was illustrated in the data that social networks created within *CriaAtivo*, both personally and professionally, resulted in increasing their social capital. Building such internal connections enhanced their personal learning and development throughout the process and heightened their motivation to continue working within cinema.

The development of new networks through social legacy projects like *CriaAtivo* provided these marginalized young people with more robust support structures and access to opportunities that may not have been possible without them (further discussed in Section 8.3). This reverberates Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes' (2014) assertions that social connections can promote greater access to economic capital, human capital and financial capital, and power networks. Such social connections and structures support Putnam's (1993) assertion that networks of trust and co-operation is the essence of social life. This perpetuates developments, empowers people and raises self-esteem, essentially in this instance, making marginalized young people happier and more optimistic (as identified in Chapter 7.4). Aldrich and Meyer's (2015) claims further enhance this point, that strengthening such social infrastructures (social capital) can influence the recovery process post-disruption thus, making such support structures important to marginalized young people for overcoming mega-event exclusions and disruptions.

Furthermore, these young people were able to develop professional social support structures with other students, teachers, and directors of the film school. Such connections highlight the interconnectedness between two of the three elements of social capital – 'bonding' and 'bridging'. This supports Guo et al.'s (2018) findings that social capital is not one-dimensional, and its dimensions are interlinked.

8.3 Building professional relationships: Bridging social capital

This section presents the professional relationships formed during *CriaAtivo* between its students and teachers/directors of the film school.

The students created professional support structures through *CriaAtivo* with its teachers and co-ordinators:

“The teachers come from different social contexts [in comparison to regular cinema teachers], different and difficult ones as well sometimes. So, it makes us more inspired and they become a kind of reference, they are a reference for us. They could overcome life difficulties and establish themselves in the film industry, cinema activities, which are usually restricted to elite middle class in Brazil, but we are breaking these barriers and get into spaces.” (FG07).

The students felt that *CriaAtivo*’s teachers were able to empathise with them and understood their insecurities, social backgrounds, and needs through learning. Importantly, the teachers inspired the students to break barriers of exclusion as they came from similar social backgrounds and overcame their own life’s challenges. This supports Hanifan’s (1916: 138) important conclusion that “It is not what they [supervisor and teachers] did for the people that counts for most in what was achieved; it was what they led the people to do for themselves that was really important.”.

Many students spoke about how the teachers were not ‘authoritative’ in their conduct and instead more aligned to the students as they had also come from similar social backgrounds:

“It was an experience of changing teachers, the teachers are very different from the university teachers and backgrounds are different at university, not just professional, but socially, they are very different from the teachers in university.” (FG04).

Essentially, *CriaAtivo* operated in a more informal and social non-hierarchical structure, that decentralised authority and academicism. *“We interact a lot with these people [students] in a very professional and human relationship.” (Saulo Nikolai).* This response supports that the decentralisation of authority from *CriaAtivo*’s teachers may have come from having similar social backgrounds like these young people.

Despite this decentralisation of authority, *CriaAtivo*’s teachers and directors effectively acted as a ‘support structure’, not only from a professional perspective, but also a personal one. This reflects Doppelt (2016) who argued that having numerous ‘bridging’ social support networks

is important for increasing the exchange of information within a community as well as building trust and understanding between diverse groups. The data clearly shows these young people shared similar social realities although, they came from diverse very different and communities across Rio.

The professional relationships which developed can be conceptualised as ‘bridging’ social support structures. Although bridging is argued to be a loose connection between individuals and more commonly associated with organisations or institutions, *CriaAtivo* was an institution that assisted in the development of student-teacher relationships. These relationships generated ‘bridging’ networks of social capital as they shared similar social realities to these marginalized young people. This view supports Hawkins and Maurer (2010) who stated that bridging social capital can provide similar benefits as daily life through opportunities and information assisting in strong resilience and long-term recovery. On the other hand, a lack of bridging social capital may result in reduced resilience, highlighting its importance in the recovery process. Ledesma (2014) later claimed that the centrality of relationships is a critical component of resilience and social support. This point is particularly important for these marginalized young people in developing resilience and overcoming socio-cultural disruptions to move forward rather than return to a pre-existing state.

It was further emphasized that *CriaAtivo*’s teachers were not like other teachers the students had met before in schools, colleges and universities. The students expressed that the teachers were more ‘humane’ and presented ‘a more human experience’ to them. This so called ‘humane experience’ through *CriaAtivo* made the students feel like human subjects instead of marginalized objects who were ordinarily treated oppressively and excluded on so many, if not every, level as identified in section 7.2. This was summarised in the following response from one of the FG participants:

“CriaAtivo was a very human experience, and emotional experience [...] I have no words, something I cannot explain, the experience with the teachers is very strong because it has come to end we are worried, [...], there is no comparison but you feel the human component, they are worried about you and your situation, they care about us. There’s no hierarchy almost, there’s no academicism that you can see in other places.” (FG 02).

“The Nave/CriaAtivo provided me with the best moments of 2017. I’ve never been in such a united and loving team. What the Nave do Conhecimento/CriaAtivo legacy engraved on me is to empathise with the next, build networks and build our togetherness.” (R083)

The methodology of *CriaAtivo* was incredibly important in its delivery and intentions, Saulo

Nikolai explained:

“we have hired the teachers who fill this profile of working with youth from favela and also teacher who worked in these regions. Wagner Novaes for example is a black cinematographer from peripheral region who ‘speaks the language of the youth’. He understands the youth, he is close to them. It was our differentiation, to bring educators that could understand the language of the youth, instead of the youth trying to understand the language of the teacher.”.

This seemingly ‘aligned level’ between the teachers and students suggests how and why *CriaAtivo* was so successful in maintaining student dedication and determination to complete the process. The students were able to socially and professionally connect with the teachers, building reciprocal relationships and trust between them, enhancing their overall experience. Based on this and earlier responses, it was evident that *CriaAtivo* was decentralised in its authority with the students suggesting that it was a ‘*humane experience*’ as they could relate to the teachers based on their shared social similarities. However, *CriaAtivo* was a formal institution that exemplified norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between students who were interacting across overt levels of society (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004), and social activists, community leaders, social entrepreneurs, film industry professionals and elitists. This resonates Putnam’s (1993: 67) definition of social capital in how “...features of

social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, [that] can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”.

In support of earlier responses, generating bonding and bridging social capital through internal and external social support networks was captured in the responses to the collaborative online mixed-methods survey question: ‘The *CriaAtivo Film School* and its developments have impacted you in what way?’. 69% of the survey responses stated that *CriaAtivo* provided the students the opportunity to interact with their own territory as well as others, with 89% of respondents stating that *CriaAtivo* had increased their networks. The high response for this option highlighted that the students were able to form both bonding and bridging social support networks and indicate that social network structures were created both internally and externally. During my interview with Fabricio, he explained how the social networks created through *CriaAtivo* had formed a subsequent community of young film industry specialists:

“[...] because now you have, we have so many stories, we have stories of people who started a production company, you need confidence to do that, to go to the market yourself, not to go and try to find an assistant role in a film production, “no I’m a video-maker”, you know, two boys doing themselves, like “I’m a video-maker I’m doing...”, anyway... And the whole network that was created around the first cohort, the second cohort. So, in the second cohort there was people from the first helping and in the third there was people from the first and second helping and there is a big community now of, kind of, film industry professionals [...]”.

As identified in Chapter 7, *CriaAtivo* altered its directors’ lives and this also extended to their social networks. The directors also effectively ‘bridged’ social support networks and strengthened their own personal capabilities:

“CriaAtivo brought significant challenges in different ways to my personality. It has provided contacts with people affected by my decisions and my team’s decisions. [...] It made me more prepared for relationships with people. It took me to a bigger social circle of thinking solutions in a group instead of an individual solution. The CriaAtivo has strengthened a lot my sense of team working. I also knew many personal histories,

I learnt how to deal with individual differences, I learnt to listen others more than listen to myself. I had to understand what people wanted to say before I communicated. Today I can put myself in the place of others than before CriaAtivo. It also gave to me sense of leadership, a force for leading. Now I'm more pro-active, from CriaAtivo.” (Saulo Nikolai).

Saulo's response explains how *CriaAtivo* changed his personality from being individual to working as part of a team and that he can put himself in the place of others, echoing Doppelt's (2016) assertion of 'purposing' (Chapter 3.1.2). Doppelt (2016: 9) proposed that purposing occurs when social narratives shift away from the individual themselves and to something greater like “[...] helping the wider community”, and this can “provide invaluable sources of meaning, purpose, and hope in their lives.”

The bridging networks that were created through *CriaAtivo* supports many authors such as Hanifan (1916), Putnam (1993), Coleman (2000), and Guo et al. (2018) who all asserted that these social support networks exist among communities between members of the 'bonding' networks. This further supports Aldrich and Meyer (2014: 261) who argued that “bonding and bridging social capital work in complementary, but distinct ways during and after crises, and communities regularly have more of one type than the other.” As identified in Section 8.2, such bonding networks were created between these young people who were from differing geographical areas across Rio, but displayed similar economic, ethnic, racial status or religious beliefs and the same social exclusions and marginalization as evidenced in Chapter 7. They also developed close professional support networks with other cohorts of students as well as the teachers and directors of the film school. This emphasizes that both bonding and bridging social capital are closely linked in this instance. This supports Putnam (1993) who considered that both these elements of social capital strengthen one another. Such connection between both elements echoes that of Guo et al. (2018) who found that all three elements of social

capital – bonding, bridging and linking – all interact within the process of resilience with positive effects.

Based on this, both bonding and bridging connections enabled these students, who were from varying marginalized communities across Rio, to construct knowledge and information between them which subsequently increased their levels of social capital. This supports Doppelt's (2016: 306) view that "[c]lose-knit bonding social support networks are more effective when they are connected to other similar bonding networks through bridging networks ...". Both these elements of social capital seemed to work in complementary ways throughout the *CriaAtivo* process and were evidently interlinked through social networks created between these young people, teachers and co-ordinators. Doppelt (2016: 306) further stated that these networks are more effective when "...linked to larger organizations, government agencies, and other political power and economic and financial resources.". Based on this, bridging social capital, can also complement the 'linking' element of social capital which is associated with connecting regular individuals with those in 'power', such as industry professionals in the creative elitist industry that may be inaccessible without such social support networks linking them.

8.4 Reaching inaccessible external networks: Linking social capital

This section presents the external networks that the students were able to access through *CriaAtivo*. Linking social support networks include the relationship between bonding and bridging social support networks and institutionalised sources of power to include police, government agencies, not-for-profit organisations, private companies and others that can offer important resources (Doppelt, 2016) such as creative industry professionals.

CriaAtivo was a collaborative social legacy that was permitted access to resources by Rio City Hall government in *Triagem's Nave do Conhecimento (Nave)* to deliver the project effectively. The *Nave do Conhecimento* was also a Rio City Hall social legacy project (as discussed in Chapter 1). Many respondents stated that *CriaAtivo* and the *Nave* were the only positive social legacies from Rio's mega-events:

"The Naves do Conhecimento, as I see it, were the greatest initiatives and can generate a positive impact for the population, but for that it's necessary that they are well utilized and don't turn into a white elephant. Initiatives like CriaAtivo make those spaces really useful and bring a positive return for the peripheral population, which was the most punished share of bad public money managing." (R033).

"The Naves do Conhecimento are wonderful and certainly one of the best projects because it brings exchange of knowledge, learning and beneficial initiatives for the communities and it encourages the peripheral inhabitants to join and carry out projects." (R067).

"I believe this [Naves legacy initiative] is the initial kickstart to start changing the future of the country. Education has the power to transform, and with it, empowered lives and good influence." (R081).

The collaboration between *CriaAtivo* and Rio City Government is supported by Doppelt's (2016) views that transformational resilience requires 'close collaboration among local organisations' – its third element for effectiveness. This element of transformational resilience is framed in this instance as 'linking' social capital – extending the social network structures of transformational resilience. Linking social capital refers to the external links that are created between institutions and political structures such as NGOs (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). However, it was noted that once the project ended *CriaAtivo's* access to such resources may be lost, resulting in a loss of collaboration between the local organisations involved (as identified in Chapter 4). This highlights the importance of funding from third-party organisations that can financially support (and sustain) such important and necessary initiatives

for marginalized young people. This situation further illustrates Doppelt's claims that transformational resilience requires such elements. However, Fabricio explained that *"the way I see CriaAtivo now is, like even if we don't have the funds, is try and convince the public sector that we need to have access, they [students] need to have access to the facilities and to the equipment."*

Such connections between *CriaAtivo* and Rio city government (presented in Chapter 4) are imperative for the success of this kind of social project's delivery and effectiveness. In addition to the collaborative connections, *CriaAtivo* enabled these young people to make connections with external creative industry organisations for future opportunities of further education and employment:

"[I]n a very important network of people from cinema and in a public facility. Thanks to CriaAtivo and this network/structure we were able to produce and spread what we have done. So, everything lies around this really...increasing our network and our reach, in order to increase our possibilities of production." (FG02).

"I think CriaAtivo also helped me to get into the real market of cinema as for example, getting an internship during the summer holidays. (Interviewer: Did CriaAtivo influenced your subject choice at Uni?) I have also studied an undergraduate course in journalism before I started. I also, I'm going to graduate, in just a year for me, [CriaAtivo] just make my choice strong." (FG06).

"The thing that was more important is that they know who we are in the cinema market job, because cinema here in Rio de Janeiro & Brazil, is very much for the elite, so for me the opportunities are limited, there is a lot of social questions that limits it. So, here we could have opportunity to study a course that could be very expensive, because we are in Brazil, we had a lot of workshops about tax relief schemes, editing, scripts, and various areas in cinema which helped us a lot, in terms of empowering this area and ourselves." (FG07).

The above responses evidence that these marginalized young people were able to connect with other creative organisations and film industry professionals. It is evident throughout the data that without *CriaAtivo* such external links would usually be extremely difficult to obtain or

even impossible to achieve. Such social support networks can help these young people to manage the discrimination and stigmatism and other forms of systematic oppression empowering them to force social change. However, these young people did not explicitly suggest these connections as new external network links, they instead expressed how *CriaAtivo* had connected them with other marginalized young people and communities across Rio.

These new ventures and collective productions that the students had leveraged and created were likely to lead them to further opportunities and develop new external networks:

“Thanks to CriaAtivo and this network structure we are able to produce and spread what we have done. So, everything lies around this really, increasing our network and our reach, in order to increase our possibilities of production.” (FG02).

“Well, it’s different between low budget cinema & traditional cinema, and its differences lies with the production aspects. In peripheral areas, Baixada Fluminense and favelas, productions are more collective production, than production from the south zone (rich areas). These productions are more structured because people who live there have better financial situation, to buy equipment, even more network. We are acting in an industry in which there are a lot of professionals ahead of us, with more structure so our production is called low budget production, it’s a low budget production where we had a few tools, less resources to shoot, to film, but even in this way we go there, and we deal with the difficulties and CriaAtivo has been the first structure, the first house, the first structure to get access to equipment, and the instructions to continue with the production, and future projects. I think that CriaAtivo has been this axis, which connects all these people which connects people who work in production within periphery spaces.” (FG07).

The above responses further illustrate how these young people have been able to increase their external network reach through *CriaAtivo*. These responses also highlight that *CriaAtivo* has provided them with access to equipment and resources, as well as the necessary skills to continue with film production. This can be framed as ‘human capital’ as this relates to the development of individuals through learning new skills and capabilities. Coleman (2000: 19) claims that “human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways.” As the project was still in its delivery

when the research was conducted, it was likely that the students were yet to seek further external opportunities for employment. However, they did collectively suggest that they have started to become ‘entrepreneurial’ collective producers, and this was explicated in the following response:

“Well, we are starting to produce. We are small independent producers; we cannot call ourselves entrepreneurs, as we do not have a company, or a solid structure of production. So, we are naturally creating this collective of independent producers working on a more horizontal way because in cinema you can feel very hierarchic. Because of our financial difficulties because it’s a little more expensive in Rio we are, so, we are finding this way to work together, everyone put a bit of money and we offer our service to someone who can give us financial help to produce. So, we could say we are entrepreneurs, in our kind of subsistence entrepreneurship. People help each other in this way and things happen.” (FG04).

This response suggests that these young people did not consider themselves entirely as entrepreneurs as they did not make the link between them becoming ‘small independent producers’. Although, this response suggests that this was because they do not own a company or have a solid structure for production. However, entrepreneurship is conceptualised as those who are, or possess “ability to discover, create and exploit opportunities” that others are unable, or may be unable to reach (Garud and Karnøe (2003: 277). These young people were excited about having a future in film production and are finding ways that they can work collaboratively to offer their service to others, describing this as a way of surviving rather than being ‘entrepreneurial’ (Source: Field notes, 2018). This was illustrated in the following response:

“our production ends up becoming more experimental exactly because of the lack of resources, which is not necessarily a bad thing, because, when you do not have the right means to do so, you may end up creating an even richer alternative for that situation. Then we take more risks, we invent more and create more so we end up creating an identity (of low budget production), our own way and our perspective trying to do things (filming).” (FG02).

Such situation is akin to the term ‘bricolage’ as coined by Lévi-Strauss in 1967 and generally defined as “resourcefulness and improvisation on the part of involved actors.” (Garud and Karnøe, 2003).

This respondent further stated:

“Thanks to CriaAtivo and this network/structure we are able to produce and spread what we have done.” (FG02).

The vision of students replicating the *CriaAtivo* methodology was further highlighted during Fabricio’s interview:

“[...] now we have this big, big kind of network of kids, there could be, imagine, these kids could be replicating CriaAtivo in their communities, with very small projects. This was my kind of idea, my visions, one camera, one-to-one, you know. Let’s go very slowly and let’s create a network of CriaAtivo’s, of active citizens, that are replicating, the facilitators of the methodology. There is a boy in one of the film sets, [...] saying that he wants to, and he lives in the poorest favela.”

The following quote supports how *CriaAtivo* has created a ‘pay-it-forward’ effect for the students to replicate knowledge and ideas learnt through the film school and pass them on to other members of their community and society.

“At the moment in my community I work at Nós do Morro, Vidigal, which is a theatre company, and I also have taken pictures and learning editing here. I have audio visual projects with students from film school that we have developed, and we are creating some productions. This production, we are now going to shoot a video clip, of a girl initiating a rap career, our first clip, authorial music.” (FG02).

CriaAtivo clearly resulted in other ‘bonding’ connections, further supporting that all elements of social capital are interlinked assisting one another and not occurring sequentially. The idea of replicating *CriaAtivo*’s methodology in other communities could create further external

network links between various peripheral areas in Rio further visibilising marginalized young people. By becoming more visible, this may potentially open further opportunities for such young people to break into creative industry and break barriers of social exclusion and marginalization. Additionally, these external connections may also create further bonding and bridging connections for these young people enhancing their social capital and generating further positive social change. This supports Praszkie and Nowak's (2011) claims that individuals and communities with strong social capital are more successful in combating poverty, resolving issues and taking advantage of new opportunities.

8.5 Summary of chapter

This chapter has presented the importance of social support network structures for marginalized young people in overcoming disruptions to their socio-cultural environments. It was evident in the emerging data that the social relationships and connections created during the *CriaAtivo* process by these marginalized young people, could be framed within the concept of social capital. The core theory of social capital is that social relationships and networks matter and have significant value, especially for marginalized young people. Social capital exemplifies personal connections and social networks, relationships and levels of trust and reciprocity and is the driving force for development of societies thus, making it imperative for marginalized young people and their communities to combat poverty, resolve social issues and take advantage of new opportunities.

It was identified in Section 8.2 and Section 8.3 that both bonding and bridging aspects of social capital relate to strong (bonding) and weak (bridging) relationships. Such relationships and connections are important for these young people's resilience and resistance in their fight against marginalization and social exclusion. By framing these social network structures as

social capital, this has satisfied the final core element of transformational resilience of ‘social network structures’.

The external connections developed between the students and creative industry professionals are considered within the ‘linking’ element of social capital. This reflects the final core element of transformational resilience, ‘close collaborations among local organisations’. This final element is not considered separate to ‘social network structures’ in this instance, as it seems interlinked with ‘linking’ social capital and the external professional connections that *CriaAtivo* introduced to its students. These connections may later develop from future experience within the creative industry and foster social change for these young people.

CriaAtivo was a cross-national and local collaboration between a Brazilian NGO and UK NFPO funded by the British Council. The initiative was supported by Rio city government who provided the match fund through access to resources and equipment therefore, satisfying the final core element in transformational resilience. Essentially, *CriaAtivo* as a cross-national collaborative initiative provided these young people with many internal and external social network structures, both locally and globally, extending beyond the ‘close collaborations among local organisations’ in transformational resilience.

9 Conclusion and areas for future research

This chapter presents the conclusions of my research in relation to the research questions (Sections 9.1 and 9.2). It also discusses the strengths and limitations of my research project (Section 9.3), a reflective account of research and my intended transition to PhD (Section 9.4), contribution to knowledge (Section 9.5) and how my findings may influence future research (Section 9.6).

The initial aim and investigation of my research was to identify how *CriaAtivo Film School*, a social legacy initiative, empowered marginalized young people from Rio's favelas and peripheral areas to effectively develop resilience and reinforce their everyday resistance against future socio-cultural disruptions. This aim was addressed through two initial research questions that have been answered throughout Chapters 6, 7, and 8. The research questions are now taken in turn and addressed in sections 9.1 and 9.2.

9.1 Through the lens of a case study, how does a process of transformational resilience help marginalized young people overcome mega event disruptions that threaten their socio-cultural environments?

The key themes that emerged from the data found that the *CriaAtivo* process strengthened and empowered a small proportion of marginalized young people from Rio's peripheral and favela communities. These young people developed personal resilience skills by igniting their suppressed strengths by developing and improving interpersonal, technological and creative skills through self-development. As identified in Chapter 6, mega-event policies and interventions greatly impacted these marginalized young people and their communities through forced evictions and (sometimes violent) displacement. The level of risk that these young

people experienced as individuals was dependent upon several factors such as geographical location, economic status, gender, age and race (Doppelt, 2016). Throughout this study, it was clear that these young people appeared to be affected by aggressive and hostile disruptions to their socio-cultural and economic structures caused by mega-event tactics and policies such as forced and violent evictions, UPP interventions, and displacement of drug gangs that further marginalized and socially excluded them from access to opportunities such as education and employment.

As the study developed, the process of transformational resilience emerged as a powerful and helpful conceptual framework to explain and understand the emerging data. Transformational resilience is a process whereby individuals display the ability to overcome disruptions presenting a higher level of well-being than they displayed previously (Doppelt, 2016). Transformational resilience was proposed by Doppelt (2016) as a 'self-education' programme. However, in this context, the components of this concept were adopted to theoretically frame the effectiveness of the *CriaAtivo* process. There are three key elements in building transformational resilience: 'building personal resilience skills', 'social support structures', and 'close collaboration between local organisations' (Doppelt, 2016). The social support structures were framed within the concept of bonding, bridging and linking elements of social capital. This was based on the personal and professional connections the young people developed throughout the *CriaAtivo* process.

When adverse conditions disrupt socio-cultural and economic environments, many individual core beliefs and assumptions are often shattered. Many individuals attempt to reproduce their world views and themselves back to their previous form which becomes overwhelming and distressing for the individual. Conversely, those who realise that they must reconfigure their original views can manage adversity more capably and often discover more fulfilling ways to live. With effective knowledge, skills, and tools, many people can use adversity as a catalyst

in altering their existing perceptions and attitudes and making choices that can effectively increase theirs, and others well-being (Doppelt, 2016).

Building resilience through the *CriaAtivo* process, enabled marginalized young people to improve their emotional well-being and reduce their initial vulnerabilities and insecurities exacerbated by Rio's mega-events. This improvement in their emotional well-being empowered them to overcome their lack of self-belief and enhance their self-development through learning new creative skills. These insecurities were seemingly transformed throughout the *CriaAtivo* process as these young people claimed that it had given them a sense of 'hope', 'confidence' as well as 'personal and professional discovery'. This quick process of recovery and transformation identified how *CriaAtivo*'s students were able to 'build personal resilience skills' and begin to develop transformational resilience.

The self-development presented by marginalized young people in their responses was assisted by the construction and development of social network structures that increased their social capital. Chapter 8 showed that *CriaAtivo* (as a resource system) boosted these young people's social capital by connecting them both internally and externally with other marginalized young people and professionals (e.g. teachers and elitist industry). This echoed Doppelt's (2016) proposed element in transformational resilience of 'robust social structures'. It was also identified that such social structures for marginalized young people were important for enhancing their resilience to future disruptions.

Szreter and Woolcock (2004) and Poortinga (2012) both raised the issue of social capital being a broad concept, thereby making it difficult to determine explicitly the social processes that enhance resilience. However, in the context of this research, *CriaAtivo* was the process that enhanced these young people's resilience and resistance to mega-event disruptions and their daily social exclusions. Furthermore, social support networks not only provided these young

people with critical resilience, but also reinforced their everyday resistance (Scott, 1990). Resistance supports the transformational process and its outcomes, for social change of marginalized young people. It was clear that these processes must work together in specific circumstances and under specific conditions such as *CriaAtivo*, as such processes and transformations may not occur in other social projects as previously identified in some of the earlier responses in Chapter 7.

Combined resilience building, and new social support structures, empowered these young people to effectively break barriers of exclusion. This enabled them to have the strength and confidence to seek future opportunities and enter an elitist industry that may never have been possible before or without the support of *CriaAtivo*. *CriaAtivo* has provided these young people with ambitions and strengths to believe in themselves, and that they can achieve anything with such support. The new relationships and friendships formed with others within *CriaAtivo* all shared similar social realities. These new-found relationships with other students, as well as professional internal and external connections, were all important foundations for accumulating social capital for these young people, in this instance (see Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman 1988; Putnam, 1993, 2000). As seen in Chapter 3, the exploration of the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of social capital was lacking in research on its social form and how each level can contribute to increasing resilience (Day, 2002). Yet, this empirical insight has explored how marginalized young people effectively increased their social capital at all three levels:

- (i) *micro* – as individuals forming new personal relationships (e.g. bonding);
- (ii) *meso* – connecting young marginalized people with various communities as a community within *CriaAtivo* and forming professional connections (e.g. teachers) within that (e.g. bridging); and

- (iii) *macro* – connecting with creative industry professionals outside of the *CriaAtivo* institute (e.g. linking).

It is important to note that without *CriaAtivo*, such new social support networks may have alluded these young people who are so often alienated from the rest of society and restricted from available opportunities. The young students of *CriaAtivo* were from various diverse peripheral communities and all shared similar social realities, exclusions and marginalization, increasing the importance of developing new social support networks. It is identified that bonding and bridging social support networks within *CriaAtivo* are closely interlinked. This extended to ‘linking’ social support networks and how all three elements contributed to fostering social change for marginalized young people in leveraging future opportunities for education and employment. The ‘linking’ networks included those formed ‘outside’ of *CriaAtivo* with other organisations and film industry professionals. Such external connections were extremely important as it enabled these young people to visibilise their social realities discussed in Chapter 7 – an opportunity that rarely exists for marginalized young people and one that may have never been possible without the support of this social legacy. Furthermore, Section 8.4 identified that *CriaAtivo*’s close collaboration with Rio city government satisfied the core element of ‘close collaborations among local organisations’ in transformational resilience. However, it is important to highlight that the connectedness between the three main types of social capital – bonding, bridging and linking, in this instance, may not have the same desired effect in other situations as *CriaAtivo* did for these young individuals (e.g. Reininger et al., 2013).

Aldrich and Meyer’s (2015) study on social capital and community resilience identified that communities that displayed higher levels of social capital were the quickest to recover from disaster, regardless of cultural and economic differences. This is an important point, as these students similarly displayed a quick recovery from their socio-cultural disruptions exacerbated

by Rio's mega-events through the *CriaAtivo* process. In their responses, these young people irrefutably expressed that without *CriaAtivo* they would have been in a worse emotional state without any prospects for their futures. By altering the social dimensions of these young people and giving them direction, it can change their futures tremendously and help to direct them away from following a path of crime in Rio. Importantly, young individuals who feel connected to their local space and fellow citizens, are likely to live within communities that have lower rates of crime and higher levels of bridging social capital (Aldrich and Meyer, 2015). Social capital can be generated and degenerated, and individuals, specifically marginalized and excluded young individuals, should attempt to enhance their social cohesion and deepen trust within their communities and social networks.

Personal resilience skills and robust social network structures have been identified as important elements in fostering effective transformational resilience. This was evident throughout Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 as *CriaAtivo* provided young people with assistance and helped them to learn new skills empowering them to visibilise their social realities. The (em-)power(-ment) of these young people throughout the *CriaAtivo* process has given them the (cap)ability, or 'cope-ability', to build strength and confidence for fighting against social exclusion and marginalization for better futures.

However, for effective transformational resilience to occur, 'close collaboration with local organisations' is also an important element in its process. This was clear in *CriaAtivo*'s methodology and creation. This social legacy project was created through the existing connections between social initiatives in Rio (e.g. *REDEH*) and the UK (e.g. *Creative Wick*) as well as local government (Rio City Hall). However, without funding from the British Council Newton Fund, and the match fund awarded by Rio City Hall (e.g. *Nave do Conhecimento*), this project may never have come into fruition. This highlights the importance of close collaboration between the local organisations of *CriaAtivo* and *Nave do Conhecimento*

in Rio, as well as the cross-cultural NGO *REDEH* (Rio) and CCG NFPO *Creative Wick* (UK) partnership that all worked closely together for the delivery of this effective and unique social project.

Consequently, these young people's ability to overcome mega-event disruptions by increasing their levels of emotional well-being, generating social capital and the empowerment of seeking future opportunities within a creative industry, has effectively brought them positive social change for better futures.

9.2 How can creative social legacy initiatives bring positive social change for marginalized young people in mega-event host destinations?

This research addressed the second research question by exploring how *CriaAtivo* acted as a catalyst in bringing young people positive social change for better futures. As outlined in Chapter 7, improvements in *CriaAtivo*'s students' emotional well-being enhances their future ability to resist against marginalization, a social issue that plagues so many young people within Rio's peripheries and favelas. *CriaAtivo* enabled its students to break barriers of exclusion through visibilising their social realities through film, simultaneously bringing them positive social change and strengthening their resistance against future challenges and disruptions to their socio-cultural landscape that these individuals are often confronted with.

It was clear from the data presented in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, that social projects are key in building resilience and breaking barriers of exclusion for such young people. Social projects empowered them to follow their ambitions and leverage opportunities that are otherwise unavailable or inaccessible to them. The *CriaAtivo* process undoubtedly empowered young people to break through barriers of social exclusion, enabling them to access new opportunities within an elitist creative industry that would normally be unavailable or unachievable without

support structures like *CriaAtivo*. Participants implicitly constructed ‘everyday resistance to marginalization’ in many ways, all of which were positive and included visibility, increased voice, creating identity, projecting reality, access to opportunities, as well as others. Essentially, *CriaAtivo* acted as a catalyst to visibilise its students individual and collective realities through film-production, thus creating an identity to generate positive social change on an individual and collective level – reinforcing their resilience and everyday resistance.

One way to explain how such social change occurs is to show causal connections between two or more processes. Social change can be explained through *CriaAtivo* as a causal process as it empowered its students to: (i) build resilience subsequently increasing their emotional well-being; and (ii) generate social capital through creating and forming robust relationships both internally and externally; which are two core elements of transformational resilience. According to Khondker and Schuerkens (2014), social change can be identified in limited groups in processes of transformation through diverse ways. These authors asserted that change in sociology relates to the changing structure and its associated elements that are the root to this change. If we consider this in the context of *CriaAtivo*, this was the catalyst to changing the lives of a group of young marginalized young people, changing their social structures through the elements of building personal resilience skills and forming new social support networks within the process. Khondker and Schuerkens (2014) posited that analysis of social change tries to identify the cause-related conditions and factors to the movement from one situation to another. This was evident throughout Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, in how *CriaAtivo* adapted the socio-cultural landscape of marginalized young people to generate social capital. The elements of change and final transformation processes must be identified, and consideration given to the social system that already exists for analysis to take place. Khondker and Schuerkens (2014) referred to Teune and Mlinar’s (1978: 4) approach towards cyclical social change theory regarding South and North societies, articulating that “*social development*

takes place between the poles of diversity and integration [...]". further adding that *"The development of a system depends on the interaction between diversity and integration, which indicates the particular situation of the social system."* The historical socio-cultural division throughout Rio of peripheral communities heightens the difficulty in having inherent abilities to break through barriers of exclusion without the support of such social network structures or institutions that provide such support.

It is evidenced that without social initiatives and projects like *CriaAtivo*, marginalized young people are unlikely to generate effective social capital at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. These young people may have existing ineffective networks that often fail to help them achieve better futures and generate positive social change for to access external opportunities. Within the context of *CriaAtivo*, these young people were able to create new and robust bonding social support networks with those of similar social backgrounds from different communities. This contradicts Doppelt's (2016) claim that bonding social support networks exist among close relationships and same community bonds. Instead, such networks were evidently developed through similarities rather than proximities.

Social network structures at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels can provide access to various resources such as information, education and employment. However, it is not always the resources that help bring social change, but also social network structures with others that strengthen and improve the fights of socially excluded groups against marginalization. The strengthening of such social interactions creates unity between marginalized young people and communities across the city and state, as well as increasing their visibility to the rest of society, fighting against the issues of invisibilisation and marginalization (e.g. Raco and Tunney, 2010; Steinbrink, 2013). This supports Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes (2014: 349) who claimed that personal and social connections "encourage cohesion, connectedness, reassurance and stability in times of need."

Wilson-Forsberg and Gagnon (2012) claimed that individuals must be connected to the individual for them to possess social capital because others are the source of gain. These authors suggest that individuals do not possess social capital without association with others as it is these others who are the source of advantage thus, social capital is considered as a collective asset rather than individual one. Much research into social capital argued that there is uncertainty in whether social capital is an individual resource or a collective characteristic (Poortinga, 2012). However, it is clear throughout Chapter 8, that social capital is not an intrinsic trait of an individual but exists when in the presence of others. Therefore, it is recognised that social skills are required to build such relationships and the development of social skills were evident throughout the *CriaAtivo* process in Chapter 7. As many marginalized young people usually lack social engagement outside of their existing relationships and communities these skills were an important factor in bringing these groups social change in fighting against their marginalization and oppression.

To create positive social change, social network structures were incredibly important in locating and bringing together individuals who shared similar views and goals. This is because groups have stronger determination, more diverse ideas and better overall capacity than individuals who act alone (e.g. Coleman, 2000; Putnam and Goss, 2002; Field, 2008; Guo et al., 2018). Additionally, these support network structures were important for connecting these marginalized young people and other underprivileged individuals with external support networks to further opportunities for improved futures. Although, Doppelt (2016) made an important point, he claimed that underprivileged individuals and communities usually have strong ‘bonding’ social support networks and very few ‘bridging’ social support networks with similar close-knit groups, and insecure or non-existent ‘linking’ social support networks. However, in this instance, the ‘linking’ element of social capital was closely inter-linked to both ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ elements of social capital as presented in Chapter 8. One element

of social capital without the other, reduces the effectiveness and amount of social capital that an individual possesses, as identified in this instance. Connections to other bonding and bridging social support networks increased chances of managing adversity positively for these marginalized young people. The external links that these networks assist in creating (e.g. industry professionals, local authorities, and NGOs) enhances the chances of bringing about positive social change for these marginalized individuals.

Although the findings and discussion chapters took an individual view of experiences and perceptions of the socio-cultural effects from Rio's mega-events, the overall story is a collective one. The research gaps into the relationship between resilience, resistance and social capital have been addressed throughout this study. Furthermore, the lack of empirical research into marginalized host community impacts brought by mega-events on marginalized communities has also been addressed throughout this study. This research as effectively visibilised and voiced marginalized young people's experiences and perceptions – their epistemological realities – that may have otherwise gone unnoticed or remained unheard. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 collectively satisfied the core elements of transformational resilience and social capital developed throughout the *CriaAtivo* process reinforcing everyday resistance for these marginalized young people, consequently bringing them positive social change for better futures.

9.3 Strengths and Limitations

A single case study was adopted that investigated a specific demographic of young individuals significantly affected by Rio's mega-events, but I recognise that it may not provide the full breadth and depth of all the issues that affect marginalized communities. Other demographic groups (in addition to the young people) may have also been confronted with disruptions that

may have had psychological and detrimental effects to their health and well-being. However, this study does not claim to capture all the experienced effects from Rio's mega-events. It provides different perspectives and gives voice to some of those who are most affected. Although my research provides an in-depth narrative on how one social legacy project may assist young people generally, future research should seek to generate data on how other such initiatives can be adopted for future mega-event host cities to reduce some of the negative outcomes that affect marginalized young people and those alike.

9.4 Reflective account of research and transition to PhD

I have provided a reflective account of my research and my positionality as a researcher throughout the study. I am a female researcher with three young children, a husband, and an associate lecturer. I am soon to begin my PhD after my MPhil with the ambition of becoming an academic researcher in tourism studies.

My PhD will take forward some of the work presented in this thesis by exploring a specific favela community – *Morro dos Prazeres* – and how the socio-cultural dynamics of this community were severely affected by mega-event plans and policies, specifically the UPP intervention. This will be explored through the concept of 'cultural trauma' (Alexander, 2004) to frame the disruptions that destroyed community-led projects and tourism initiatives. The research will draw on the resilience-resistance nexus to identify how a self-sustainable favela community responds to changes in ways including entrepreneurial bricolage (self-made entrepreneurs leveraging basic resources), contributing to understanding on how resilience and resistance are mutually assistive (as presented in this thesis). The study will also contribute to empirical knowledge on the socio-cultural effects of mega-event policies on marginalized communities.

9.5 Contribution to knowledge

As introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, social legacies are often forgotten or ignored regardless of IOC regulations and host city plans. Social legacies are rarely empirically explored as they are assumed difficult to measure. However, this positivistic view of ‘measuring’ social legacies can instead, as presented throughout my research, be explored through experiences and perceptions of individuals affected by social legacies, whether they are intentional or unintentional. This helps to increase existing knowledge and contribute to understanding of how such legacies can be positive and/or negative and how they can be successfully executed for future host cities who may choose to implement such policies. My first contribution is therefore, an empirical exploration into these young people’s experience to uncover perceptions of exacerbated social conditions from mega-event hosting and provide an insightful in-depth understanding of this.

Secondly, a theoretical contribution has been made on how both concepts of resilience and resistance are mutually assistive processes. There has been recent interest in how these two concepts can assist one another for effective resilience as many authors view them as mutually exclusive. However, my research has presented how they are mutually assistive in the context of one social legacy project (Chapter 7).

Thirdly, this research has drawn on my methodological paper *‘Leveraging digital and physical spaces to ‘de-risk’ and access Rio’s favelas’*, throughout my research process (Chapter 5). I have presented creative ways in which novice researchers can access gatekeepers and key informants through building trustworthy relationships with the support of ‘social messaging platforms’ (SMPs – Cade, Everett and Duignan, 2019). My novel methodological process

adopted has also given researchers alternative ways to access high-risk communities to de-risk the research setting.

9.6 Influencing future research

The findings in this study should be used to identify future possibilities for future mega-event social legacy initiatives to help underprivileged individuals and communities leverage future education and employment opportunities and bring positive social change in the face of adversity. It provides new empirical knowledge on the effects of mega-events on host communities and those who are often excluded socially, culturally, economically and politically. Furthermore, this research raises awareness of the importance of such social projects for marginalized communities, to future host cities and mega-event organisers such as FIFA and IOC, in how they may integrate such plans and initiatives into their policies to reduce the negative host community impacts of such events. The adoption of social legacy projects for marginalized and underprivileged communities can be a positive way for future event planners and organisers to reduce the widespread issue of social exclusions when cities choose to host mega-events. When intangible legacy can only be assessed through its outcomes of how it has helped marginalized young people – those intended to benefit - these projects may lay hidden without the projective voices of those experiencing them. Therefore, previous legacy indicators, quantitative points-driven assessments and others are inappropriate to establish whether social legacy is effective or not for marginalized individuals and their communities, requiring more empirical investigations into how social legacies are beneficial for fostering social change in deprived areas.

By exploring a specific community's effects from Rio's mega-events, my PhD will provide more breadth to marginalized voices and a deeper level of understanding on how a diverse

range of individuals were affected. This future PhD work (as presented in Section 9.4) will also help in identifying other comparative socio-cultural and socio-economic impacts for a deeper analysis of the disruptions that mega-events bring to marginalized communities, contributing to the existing empirical gap in knowledge.

I close this chapter with a brief quote that encapsulates how important the social legacy project was for these young people:

“I really think that CriaAtivo is really a flower in the middle of the ruins”

(FG02)

10 References

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12 Appendices

12.1 Appendix 1 – *CriaAtivo Film School* Focus Group Questions

Name/Nome

Age/Idade

Where do they live?

Course in CriaAtivo

1. What do you currently do? (e.g. job/education, etc.)
2. How has CriaAtivo affected you personally? Why do you say this?
3. In what ways do you feel Rio's mega-events may have contributed to you becoming an entrepreneur? Why do you think this?
4. What other community projects have you been involved in?
5. How have mega-event developments affected you as individuals and your communities (from the 2007 Pan American Games to Olympics 2016)? Why do you think this?
(Prompts: Transport e.g. VLT; Metro; BRT; Venues, evictions, social impacts, UPP, gangs)
6. In your opinion, how has the UPP initiative affected those who do not live inside the favelas?
7. Where do you see yourselves in ten years?
8. Where do you think you would be now without CriaAtivo?
9. Provide one word to describe CriaAtivo.
10. Provide one word to describe Charles.

12.2 Appendix 2 – *CriaAtivo* Interview Questions

Tell me about CriaAtivo/Creative Wick.

1. What's your role with within CriaAtivo film school/Creative Wick?
2. How did you become involved in Creative Wick/CriaAtivo?
3. Does CriaAtivo have the same model/delivery as Creative Wick?
4. What is the duration of the available courses within Creative Wick/CriaAtivo?
5. Where did the CriaAtivo project idea come from?
6. How were you awarded British Council/Newton Fund? What were the processes involved in this?
7. What other community projects are you involved in? What is your role? What do they involve?
8. In your opinion, how do you think social projects such as CriaAtivo have affected young people in Rio/London? (**Prompt: social legacy, empowerment, entrepreneurship**)
9. In your opinion, do you think these types of social projects could benefit future event mega-event cities/inhabitants/disadvantaged/marginalized communities? (**Prompt: If so, in what ways? If not, why do you think this?**)
10. In your opinion, how do you feel that the mega-events affected the favelas in Rio? (**Physical/social impacts: urban developments, transportation infrastructures (e.g. VLT, Metro, BRT), policy interventions (e.g. evictions, UPP), gangs, etc.**)
11. Where do you see yourself in ten years?
12. Where do you think you would be now without CriaAtivo/Creative Wick?
13. If Rio/London was to deliver another mega-event, how would you like to see it managed/delivered? Why?

12.3 Appendix 3 - Bristol Online Survey with *CriaAtivo Film School*



Mega-Eventos e Juventude Periférica no Rio de Janeiro

Page 1: Page 1

Pesquisa criada em parceria entre o Instituto Pólen, a Creative Wick e a pesquisadora Nicola Cade da Anglia Ruskin University do Reino Unido, com o objetivo de investigar a opinião dos jovens residentes em periferias a respeito das 'obras de legado' e suas consequências no Rio de Janeiro, após dez anos da sequência de mega-eventos (Pan-Americano 2007, Copa das Confederações 2013, Copa do Mundo 2014 e Olimpíadas/Paralimpíadas 2016).

Research created in collaboration between Instituto Pólen, Creative Wick and Nicola Cade, mega events and social impact researcher from Anglia Ruskin University, to investigate the opinion of young

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residents of marginalized territories about the 'Legacy Regeneration' in Rio de Janeiro, after ten years of the sequence of mega-events (Pan American Games 07', Confederations Cup 13', World Cup 14', Olympics & Paralympics 16').

1. Nome/Name * Required

2. Idade/Age * Required

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

☐ 16-20

☐ 21-25

☐ 26-30

☐ Over 30

3. Onde você vive? / Where do you live? * Required

 More info

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

☐ Zona Norte

☐ Zona Oeste

☐ Zona Sul

☐ Baixada Fluminense

☐ Niterói/São
Gonçalo/Itaboraí

☐ Other

3.a. Qual o nome de sua comunidade/bairro/ please specify:

Mega event plans and developments

4. Quando do anúncio dos MegaEventos no Rio de Janeiro, quais eram suas expectativas? / What was your reaction to the announcement that Rio/Brazil were to host the World Cup 14th and Olympics 16th? * Required

Please select at least 1 answer(s).

- ☐ Positivas / Positive
- ☐ Negativas / Negative
- ☐ Nenhuma / None
- ☐ Não sei / Not sure

4.a. Por que? / Why do you feel like this? * Required

5. As 'Obras de Legado' (Parque Olímpico, BRT, Metrô, VLT e outras) afetaram você e sua comunidade de forma: Have mega-event developments (such as the Olympic Park, BRT, Metro, VLT) affected you and your community: * Required

- ☐ Positivas / Positive
- ☐ Negativas / Negative
- ☐ Positiva e negativa / both in positive and negative ways
- ☐ De forma nenhuma / didn't affect me neither my community

5.a. Se positivas e/ou negativas, de que forma afetaram você e sua comunidade? If positive and/or negative, how did they affect you and your community? * Required

6. As remoções ocorridas em decorrência dos mega eventos afetaram você e sua comunidade de forma: / Have the consequent evictions from mega-event developments affected you and your community: * Required

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- ☐ Positivas / Positive
- ☐ Negativas / Negative
- ☐ Positiva e negativa / both in positive and negative ways
- ☐ De forma nenhuma / didn't affect me neither my community

6.a. Se positivas e/ou negativas, de que forma afetaram você e sua comunidade? / If positive and/or negative, how did they affect you and your community? * Required

Mega-eventos legado/Mega-event legacy

7. Em poucas palavras, o que você entende por 'legado'? What do you understand by the term 'legacy'? * Required

8. Qual a sua opinião sobre iniciativas de legado como as Naves do Conhecimento, Parque Olímpico, BRT, Metrô, VLT? What is your opinion about Legacy initiatives such as the Naves do Conhecimento, Olympic Park, Bus Rapid Transit, Tube, VLT? * Required

Assuntos sociais/Social impacts

9. Qual a sua opinião sobre o impacto social de mega-eventos como Copa do Mundo e Olimpíadas em sua comunidade? What is your opinion about the social impact of Mega Events (World Cup and Olympics) on your community? * Required

Your answer should be no more than 200 characters long.

10. Como você acha que o Estado deveria ter usado os mega eventos em prol de sua comunidade? In your opinion, how could the government have benefited your community using the mega-events? * Required

Turismo/Tourism

11. Em sua opinião, de que forma o turismo afeta você e sua comunidade? / How does tourism affect you and your community? * Required

- ☐ Positivas / Positive
- ☐ Negativas / Negative
- ☐ Positiva e negativa / both in positive and negative ways
- ☐ De forma nenhuma / didn't affect me neither my community

12. Você foi capaz de interagir com visitantes na sua comunidade durante os mega eventos? / Were you able to engage with mega-event visitors? * Required

- ☐ Sim / Yes
- ☐ Não / No


12.a. Se sim, de que forma? / If yes, how did you engage?

13. A CriaAtivo Film School e seus desdobramentos impactaram você de que forma?


- ☐ Aumentou minha auto-confiança
- ☐ Gerou mais oportunidades na indústria cinematográfica
- ☐ Gerou renda
- ☐ Aumentou minha rede de relacionamentos
- ☐ Me associei a outros alunos para produzir novos filmes
- ☐ Possibilitou interação com o meu e/ou outros territórios
- ☐ Me deu as ferramentas necessárias para produzir/falar sobre os temas que me interessam
- ☐ Me sinto mais preparado para o mercado de trabalho
- ☐ Consegui mais oportunidades de estudo
- ☐ Me deu acesso a equipamentos/infraestrutura de produção
- ☐ Não me impactou em nada

Obrigado por participar/Thank you for taking the time to participate.


12.4 Appendix 4 – Ethics Application Approval Letter

<p style="text-align: center;">  Anglia Ruskin University Cambridge Chelmsford Peterborough </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Chelmsford Campus Bishops Hall Lane Chelmsford CM1 1SQ </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> T: 0845 271 3333 Int: +44 (0)1223 363271 www.anglia.ac.uk </p> <p>Date: 20.10.17</p> <p>Dear Student</p> <p>Principal Investigator: Nicola Cade FREP number: 011017 Project Title: Regional socio-economic impacts of mega-events on host communities: Rio 2016 Olympic Games.</p> <p>I am pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved by the Faculty Research Ethics Panel (FREP) under the terms of Anglia Ruskin University's Research Ethics Policy (Dated 8 September 2016, Version 1.7).</p> <p>Ethical approval is given for a period of 1 year for undergraduates/masters students, or 3 years for doctorate students and staff from date of this letter. If your research will extend beyond this period, it is your responsibility to apply for an extension before your approval expires.</p> <p>It is your responsibility to ensure that you comply with Anglia Ruskin University's Research Ethics Policy and the Code of Practice for Applying for Ethical Approval at Anglia Ruskin University available at www.anglia.ac.uk/researchethics including the following.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The procedure for submitting substantial amendments to the committee, should there be any changes to your research. You cannot implement these amendments until you have received approval from FREP for them. The procedure for reporting accidents, adverse events and incidents. The Data Protection Act (1998) or General Data Protection Requirement (25 May 2018) and any other legislation relevant to your research. You must also ensure that you are aware of any emerging legislation relating to your research and make any changes to your study (which you will need to obtain ethical approval for) to comply with this. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obtaining any further ethical approval required from the organisation or country (if not carrying out research in the UK) where you will be carrying the research out. This includes other Higher Education Institutions if you intend to carry out any research involving their students, staff or premises. Please ensure that you send the FREP copies of this documentation if required, prior to starting your research. Any laws of the country where you are carrying the research and obtaining any other approvals or permissions that are required. Any professional codes of conduct relating to research or requirements from your funding body (please note that for externally funded research, where the funding has been obtained via Anglia Ruskin University, a Project Risk Assessment must have been carried out prior to starting the research). Completing a Risk Assessment (Health and Safety) if required and updating this annually or if any aspects of your study change which affect this. Notifying the FREP Secretary when your study has ended. <p>Please also note that your research may be subject to monitoring.</p> <p>Should you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me. I wish you the best of luck with your research.</p> <p>Yours sincerely,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Kevin Roe FREP Chair</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Date 19.5.17 V1.1</p>
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12.5 Appendix 5 – Participant Consent Form (PCF)

<p>Focus Group participants</p> <p>ID.....</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  Anglia Ruskin University </p> <p style="text-align: center;">PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM</p> <p>Title of the project:</p> <p>The empowerment of social entities in Rio's favelas through mega-event-led legacy initiatives.</p> <p>Research team and contact details: Nicola Cade - PhD/Doctoral Researcher at Anglia Ruskin University. Email: Mobile:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I agree to take part in the above study and I have read the Participant Information Sheet (3/5/17, V1.0) for the study and I understand what my role will be. <input type="checkbox"/> I understand that I am volunteering to take part in this study and free to withdraw from the research at any time, without reason and prejudice. <input type="checkbox"/> I understand the purpose of this study and that all questions have been answered to my satisfaction. <input type="checkbox"/> I am free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study. <input type="checkbox"/> I understand what will happen to the data collected from me for the research. <input type="checkbox"/> I understand that quotes from me will be used in the dissemination of the research and will remain anonymous. <input type="checkbox"/> I understand that the focus group will be recorded and that it will last approximately 1 hour. <input type="checkbox"/> I have been provided with a copy of this form and the Participant Information Sheet. <input type="checkbox"/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p>	<p>Focus Group participants</p> <p>Data Protection: I agree to the University's processing personal data which I have supplied. I agree to the processing of such data for any purposes connected with the Research Project as outlined to me*</p> <p>Email address for recording to be sent.....</p> <p>Name of participant (print).....</p> <p>Signed..... Date.....</p> <p>Name of person witnessing consent (print).....</p> <p>Signed..... Date.....</p> <p style="text-align: center;">I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY.</p> <p>If you wish to withdraw from the research, please speak to the researcher or email them at stating the title of the research.</p> <p>You do not have to give a reason for why you would like to withdraw.</p> <p>Please let the researcher know whether you are/are not happy for them to use any data from you collected to date in the write up and dissemination of the research.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Date: 08/01/2018 V1.2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">8</p> <p><small>*The University includes Anglia Ruskin University and its Associate Colleges.</small></p>
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12.6 Appendix 6 – Participant Information Form (PIF)

<div style="text-align: center;">  <p>Anglia Ruskin University</p> </div> <p>My name is Nicola Cade. I am a PhD student at Anglia Ruskin University and I would like to invite you to take part in this research study. Please take time to read this information sheet before making the decision to participate. This information sheet will tell you more about the study and what you will be asked to do if you decide to take part. You can also ask me for further information if there is anything that you do not understand or would like to know more about this study. My contact details are provided at the</p> <p>Section A: The Research Project</p> <p>1. Title of project</p> <p>Regional socio-economic impacts of mega-events on host communities: Rio 2016 Olympic Games.</p> <p>2. Purpose of the study</p> <p>This study is for my PhD at Anglia Ruskin University and will explore the impacts experienced by disadvantaged communities from Rio hosting the 2016 Olympic Games, both economically and socially. It will further explore regional tourism impacts that affect these communities in the context of mega-events. This research will specifically focus upon the favela communities in Rio as it is reported the impacts they faced included forced evictions, damage and loss of homes, as well as political strategies to remove them such as 'Pacification'. Considering all these issues this research will aim to address the following objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> To investigate the extent of host community inclusion or exclusion in mega-event urban regeneration strategies; <input type="checkbox"/> To identify socio-economic impacts on host communities before, during and post-Rio 2016; <p style="text-align: center;">1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> To investigate the immediate social legacy of host communities post-Rio 2016; <input type="checkbox"/> To explore tourism opportunities and impacts on favela communities in the context of mega-events; <p>3. Why have I been asked to participate?</p> <p>You have been invited to participate in this study to share your perspectives and experiences of Rio 2016 Olympic Games to help raise the profile and understanding of how specific communities are impacted from hosting a mega-sporting event.</p> <p>4. How many people will be asked to participate?</p> <p>This study aims to interview between 30 and 40 individuals from various stakeholder groups to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local host residents – specifically those living and working within favela/indigenous communities; - Local community organisations - working on behalf of local host residents to include Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); - Local and National Authorities to include councils, government, tourism and policy makers. <p>5. What are the likely benefits of taking part?</p> <p>Whilst there are no direct benefits to participants, the collected data (with prior arrangement) can be used to write collaborative tailored reports with various organisations and individuals who may benefit. It is hoped that many participants will welcome the opportunity to provide valuable insights into their own personal experiences and perspectives of Rio de Janeiro hosting the 2016 Olympic Games for future cities to consider when hosting a mega-event. There is little first-hand research into investigating the impacts such communities face when hosting a mega-sporting event. A summary of the final version will be disseminated to all those who participated via email.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p>
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