

Consultations with the Poor

Brazil - National Synthesis Report

Participatory Poverty Assessment prepared for the
Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network
The World Bank

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank, its Board of Executive Directors, or the governments they represent.

Preface

This study is part of a global research effort entitled *Consultations with the Poor*, designed to inform the *World Development Report 2000/1 on Poverty and Development*. The research involved poor people in twenty-three countries around the world. The effort also included two comprehensive reviews of Participatory Poverty Assessments completed in recent years by the World Bank and other agencies. Deepa Narayan, Principal Social Development Specialist in the World Bank's Poverty Group, initiated and led the research effort.

The global *Consultations with the Poor* is unique in two respects. It is the first large scale comparative research effort using participatory methods to focus on the voices of the poor. It is also the first time that the World Development Report is drawing on participatory research in a systematic fashion. Much has been learned in this process about how to conduct Participatory Poverty Assessments on a major scale across countries so that they have policy relevance. Findings from the country studies are already being used at the national level, and the methodology developed by the study team is already being adopted by many others.

We want to congratulate the network of 23 country research teams who mobilized at such short notice and completed the studies within six months. We also want to thank Deepa Narayan and her team: Patti Petesch, Consultant, provided overall coordination; Meera Kaul Shah, Consultant, provided methodological guidance; Ulrike Erhardt, provided administrative assistance; and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex provided advisory support. More than a hundred colleagues within the World Bank also contributed greatly by identifying and supporting the local research teams.

The study would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), numerous departments within the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency, MacArthur Foundation and several NGOs.

The completion of these studies in a way is just the beginning. We must now ensure that the findings lead to follow-up action to make a difference in the lives of the poor.

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Marcus Melo (team leader) prepared this report as part of the Consultations with the Poor project. The study was commissioned by the World Bank to the Fundação de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento da Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (FADE). It draws on the fieldwork carried out by a team which included the following members Marcus Melo, Mirna Pimentel, Flávio Rezende, Denilson Bandeira, Ana Flávia Novaes Viana, Ruben Vergara, Josineide Menezes, e Rosane Salles.

It would not have been possible to complete this research study and come out with this report within such a short time if many people had not helped and supported the team actively. We will remain ever grateful to those in Recife, Itabuna, and São Paulo who had extended their co-operation help and support directly and indirectly. We would also like to thank Patti Petesch from the WB team in charge of the Consultation with the Poor study for great support, encouragement and helpful comments on our reports. Joachim Von Amsberg from the World Bank resident mission in Brazil was also a constant source of encouragement and support. Last but not least, we thank Graciela Hernandez who conducted the training workshops with the team for her enthusiastic encouragement and commitment to the study.

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1. Executive Summary

This document provides a synthesis of a Participatory Poverty Assessment in Urban Brazil. The study was conducted in ten sites located in three Brazilian cities: Recife, Santo André and Itabuna. It involved discussions with 632 poor individuals who participated in discussion groups and/or individual interviews. The fieldwork gathered information on three sets of issues. These include the following:

- Well-being and trends over time (including issues relative to security, risk, vulnerability, social cohesion, social exclusion, opportunity and mobility, and crime and conflict),
- Priority problems and concerns
- Institutional Analysis (e.g. trust and confidence in, and ratings of the effectiveness of different institutions, including governmental, NGO and market), and Changes in Gender Relations at the Household and Community Levels.

The analysis focuses on :

- Results that cut across groups and sites
- Variations from site to site
- Variations across groups, particularly gender differences
- Unique/ specific results at a particular site

Six methods were used to analyze issues related to well-being. These included the following: ranking; scoring; focus group discussion; trend analysis; cause-impact analysis; individual case studies.

People's perception of well-being showed significant variance across the groups and sites. It is possible, however, to identify a number of commonalities in the themes of well-being, quality of life, and living conditions. People tended to equate poverty with powerlessness and to relate well-being to security. Security is associated in the reports with a variety of factors including employment and steady income; access to food; good health and having access to health services, and also land tenure and homeownership.

The poor are also regarded as vulnerable and at a greater risk because of their exposure to an unhealthy environment, to violence and crimes and to landslides and floods.

The households in which one of the members have a steady job or have access to patronage ties are regarded as more secure than others. The factors that trigger personal or family crises leading to more deprivation are job dismissals, illnesses, deaths of parents, breakdown of marriages, and evictions from squatted land. Although some people are better able to cope with these situations, some households e.g. families headed by women and the elderly - are structurally ill-equipped to cope with these shocks. These include disproportionately families headed by women and the elderly. This structural vulnerability of women and the elderly, however, is compensated to a great extent by the role played by the extended family.

For most people insecurity has increased. This is attributed to the rise in unemployment rates and to the explosion of violence and crimes in the communities. The perception of these issues varies significantly among discussion groups within sites and across sites.

A paradox emerges in the discussions in the various groups of poor people. While it is generally acknowledged that 'the poor is getting poorer and the rich is getting richer', in the actual discussion of specific categories the groups – in particular of young men and women -, they tend to agree that there have been great improvements in well-being. Most groups tended to argue that poverty was diminishing. And this is associated with a pattern of incremental improvements in the infrastructure and services in the communities that thus evolve into fully serviced poor neighborhoods.

Unemployment is held to be the most important cause of poverty, followed by lack of schooling and sanitation. The impacts of poverty, according to the groups, ranged from undernourishment and health problems to personal distress and breakdown of interpersonal relations. However, a second paradox can be found here. Many statements and individual profiles presented in this study make clear the co-existence of low wages (and pensions) and poverty.

Concerning the conditions that would enable the poor to move out of poverty, the groups virtually reached a consensus on two factors: access to education and to employment. However, people feel that opportunities for economic and social mobility have, in general, because of the rise in unemployment. But this general perception coexists with a view that several avenues of social mobility are still open. With respect to changes in well-being categories over time, most groups agreed that the categories of the poorest of the poor and the rich have not changed significantly over time.

Government is generally held responsible for the people's lack of opportunities for improving their lives. Government provided services such as sanitation, basic schooling, infrastructure work and public health care are regarded as pre-conditions for the people to improve their living conditions. The groups feel that they can progress if these are made available. However, many statements were made suggesting not only frustration and disbelief in government's response to demands but also a pattern of dependency on the government.

The most important problems faced by the communities in Brazil are, according to the groups, unemployment and violence/public safety. Poor housing conditions and the lack of sewage were also cited as pressing problems, along with poor service in health care.

The centrality of violence and safety as issues in all sites was a non-anticipated finding. This is all the more remarking because the poor is not generally viewed as victims, but mainly as the perpetrators of violence and crime. It contradicts a widely accepted view that other issues are of more concern to the poor such as better housing and health care and access to food.

Different groups within the community experience different problems and prioritize problems differently. Drugs were elected as a key issue in groups of women, but not in groups of men. This concern can be explained by the fact that women are affected indirectly by the drug problem when members of the family are addicts or dealers. Men tended to prioritize police brutality because they are more likely to be victims of the police than women. Similarly, sewage was a priority for men because it is regarded as men's responsibility.

Men and women prioritized health and schools equally. However, the women's discussion of health and schooling issues are more comprehensive than the men's discussions. Women are more involved with the children's education, and also are better educated than men in overall.

Most problems are thought to get better in the future with the exception of violence, drugs and unemployment - the problems about which the poor also feel they have no capacity to solve. Most problems related to the provision of services or infrastructure are expected to improve. However, there is gender differentiation in the perception of these problems. In most accounts, unemployment is expected to worsen by the men and to improve by women.

Overall, the groups showed a surprising skepticism in their capacity to solve problems by themselves. In a very few cases the groups agreed that the problem being discussed could be solved by the community without external assistance.

Surprisingly, among the most important institutions cited by the poor, most were governmental institutions. The Catholic Church was not only ranked as the most important institution but also the one with the highest rate of approval. The Catholic Church was judged to be very important because it would provide spiritual assistance, help solve emergencies and even provide financial assistance.

The neighborhood associations were also regarded as crucial institutions in virtually all sites. They were considered important because they are seen as channels for the expression of the community demands, and because they are very helpful both in time of crisis and in day-to-day life.

The Police was the third most cited institution and was almost unanimously regarded as the worst institution. Notwithstanding the little confidence trust they put in the Police, they regarded it as a key institution in terms of need. In fact, it was ranked first in terms of the institution, which urgently needs improving in six of the ten sites. Legislatures were rated very low while individual politicians and mayors were positively evaluated.

Overall, men and women stressed criteria relative to both efficiency and trust in their evaluation of institutions. However, most participants felt unable to differentiate between these two aspects. However, there were significant gender differences between men and women's assessment of institutions. Women tended to emphasize respect while men stressed efficiency criteria.

People want to have control over the institutions that they consider worst in terms of performance. Control is not pursued as a means in itself. Control is required to improve performance only in poor-performance institutions.

Friends, families and neighbors were cited much less frequently than was anticipated. This is a striking finding and underscores the weakening of primary ties in the urban communities.

The most striking aspect of the institutional evaluation is that, despite the ubiquitous criticisms of government, many governmental programs – e. g. community health programs and food distribution schemes - were very positively evaluated.

Many testimonies of people who improved their well-being overtime include references to a pension. This finding is consistent with the fact that there are no indications in the accounts of poor people that poverty is associated with old age. In fact, older people tend to enjoy relations were stressed in an impressive number of cases.

The domestic division of labor appears then to be moving in the direction of more equality, or more precisely less inequality, as a result of broader changes in the labor market. The key process underlying the changes in gender relations has to do thus with the structural transformation in the labor market. Two trends were reported. Women have been increasingly incorporated in labor markets and jobs have become increasingly difficult to get by men.

A variety of both formal institutions and informal social networks were reported, particularly in the older and more consolidated communities. There seems to be a correlation between social capital and the level of consolidation of the communities (quality of infrastructure; improvements).

A pattern of change was identified in gender relations whereby the women have extended horizontally their responsibilities rather than by replacing old responsibilities by new ones. Men engage in 'women activities' only when the women are unable to do the job because of sickness or emergency situations. The key process underlying the changes in gender relations has to do thus with the structural transformation in the labor market. Women have been increasingly incorporated in labor markets as a result of their better access to education and because the sectors that typically employ men – construction industry and manufacturing –, are in decline, while the service industry, which employ more women, is expanding apace. Despite the changes it is generally regarded as a men's responsibility to be the family provider.

Women tend to play a more significant role than men do in the decision making process in the community. In the ten sites, five community leaders were female and many women were actively involved in the struggles of the community.

Women appear to be most vulnerable group in society as far as violence is concerned. Aggressions are much more prevalent against women than against men both within the communities and within the household. Women's access to the judicial system has improved significantly.

2. Study Process

2.1 Study purpose

The Brazil country study was prepared within the framework of the *Consultations with the Poor* study project. The purpose of this wider project is to enable a wide range of poor people in diverse countries and conditions to share their views in such a way that they can inform and contribute to the concepts and content of the *World Development Report 2000/01 (WDR)*. The Brazilian case study would contribute to this overall goal and provide relevant inputs to on-going World Bank projects in the country to which the study is being linked with.

The methodology employed is participatory and qualitative and builds on a view of poverty as multidimensional and not reducible to single-indicator economic measures of well being. The data was gathered in a way as to allow people to express their views on their own experiences of poverty and responses from it. The analysis is also presented in a way that seeks to capture people's experience, and therefore it draws extensively on people's discourse.

The fieldwork gathered information on three sets of issues. These include the following:

- Well-being and trends over time (including security, risk, vulnerability, exclusion, opportunity, and crime and conflict),
- Priority problems and concerns,
- Institutional Analysis (e.g. trust and confidence in, and ratings of the effectiveness of different institutions, including governmental, NGO and market), and Changes in Gender Relations at the Household and Community Levels.

2.2 Methodology and process

Methods

Six methods were used to analyze issues related to well being. These included the following: Ranking; scoring; focus group discussion; trend analysis; cause-impact analysis; individual case studies.

These methods were used in different sequences varying from site to site and group to group, depending on how the process evolved in each context.

Ranking

This method was used in the analysis of well being, institutions and problems. In the case of well-being ranking, the groups were asked to draw a map or diagram of the city containing the community they lived in. They were then asked to first identify the different categories of well-being they could divide the city residents as a whole and their community into. The facilitators made clear all along that the groups could use any type of criteria. The facilitators used the expression quality of life (qualidade de vida) rather than well-being (bem-estar) or poverty/wealth (pobreza/riqueza) because it was agreed that it would be more colloquial and neutral in the Brazilian context. Once the categories had been worked out, the groups were asked the criteria on which they evaluate the well-being differences. In the case of institutions, the group was asked to start listing the different institutions they have some links with. This list included institutions located within the community as well as that outside. A visual method was also used. The words for the institutions were written in cards, and the groups were asked to put the cards in a diagram with the community at the center of it. The group was also asked which institutions should provide support to the people but don't and which had a negative impact on the community. The group was then asked to rank the institutions identifying three categories: the three best institutions, the two worst institutions and those institutions, which urgently need to improve.

In the case of problems, the same visual method applied to problems was used. The groups are asked to draw a map/diagram of their communities, identifying with symbols the problems of the area. The facilitators then wrote the problems in cards and asked the participants to prioritize them according to their importance. They were asked to indicate which problem had the most adverse impact on their lives and needed to be resolved on an urgent basis. The multiple expressions of the same problem (lack of water, sanitation, etc..) were then discussed by the group so as to identify (or not) a commonly accepted definition of the problem. Paired comparisons of the eight most cited the facilitators to establish a rank of the five most important problems carried out problems.

Scoring

Scoring was used for the analysis of well-being and poverty and problems. In the case of well-being analysis, this method was used to determine the proportion of households or people in each of the wealth/well-being categories. Seeds were used for the quantification. Once the different categories of households were identified, the group was asked to list them on separate slips of paper and place them in a row. The group was asked to use the seeds to show the proportion of people in each category. Scoring was also used in connection with Trend analysis (see below).

Trend analysis

This method was used for analyzing well-being, priorities and gender issues. In the case of well-being, the groups were asked to discuss whether there had been any changes in the well-being of community members over the last 15 years. These changes could include changes in the number of categories (more or less of them now as compared to the past), the type of categories (whether the criteria have changed), and numbers of households in each of the categories (whether some people

have become better or worse-off than before). In the case of problems, the groups were also asked whether they perceive any changes in the situation in future and what these changes could be.

In the case of gender, the groups were asked to list the activities which men and women were involved, in the present and in the past, both at the household and in the community as a whole; which decisions men and women took; and which types of violence men and women suffered in the household and in the community.

Cause-impact analysis

This method was used to show the links between different causes and impact of poverty. In addition, it was used to discuss possible solutions and the effects of the proposed solutions. A visual scheme was used to facilitate discussion. The group was informed that they would be discussing the causes and impact of poverty. For each cause the group identified, a card was prepared to represent it. These cards were placed on one side of the word 'poverty'. Similarly, the group was asked to identify the impacts of poverty, and place the cards with the impact mentioned on them on the other side of the word 'poverty'. Finally the group was asked to link cause and impact. Once the diagram was ready, the group was asked to discuss possible solutions for the problems. This method was also used to analyze both well-being and problems.

This analysis were also used to discuss people's perceptions about the necessary conditions, which when met, enable an individual/household to attain a higher level of well-being.

Focus group discussions

Eighty focus groups were formed during the fieldwork. The focus groups involved the discussion with a group on a specific topic or questions. The questions related to risk, security, vulnerability, opportunity, social and economic mobility, social exclusion, social cohesion, crime and conflict.

Twenty groups of the following types were formed: women, men, young men, and young women.

During the Focus Group Discussion the following issues were discussed:

- Do these criteria show up in their definitions of well-being?
- How have security, risk, vulnerability, opportunities, social exclusion, and crime and conflict changed over time, and why?
- Have security and opportunities increased or decreased?
- How are people coping with these changes?
- Are there differences according to gender and well-being categories?

Individual case studies

Individual case studies were based on one-to-one open-ended discussion with individuals. The case studies were used to provide specific illustrations to highlight and support the results obtained from the general analysis carried out in groups.

At every site, the ten case studies were generated, totaling fifty case studies during the whole fieldwork. These included the following:

- one poor woman
- one poor man
- one poor young man or woman¹
- one woman who was poor earlier but is better-off now
- one man who used to be poor and is better-off now

In the case of those who were poor earlier and are better-off now, the interviewed focused on how they have managed to move out of poverty, and also whether, and how, is it possible for an individual/household to move out of poverty.

The small groups were recruited following a visit to the community leaders or associations, or other informal groups that existed in the communities. There were mostly cultural groups or *grupos de mães* (group of mothers). The individuals selected for case studies were either members of these discussions groups or were individually suggested by leaders or participants (mostly in the cases of people, which had changed its well-being over time).

The fieldwork was carried out between March 12 and April 20 in the three Brazilian states where the study was conducted: Pernambuco, São Paulo and Bahia.

2.3 Selection of Sites

In terms of their overall location within the country, the selection of sites was influenced by the World Bank on-going projects. In Brazil the study was therefore to have an urban focus. Bearing in mind this focus, the sites were selected as to guarantee regional diversity and also to allow for great variations in urban size. Greater Recife (3.3 million) – the country's fourth most populated metropolitan area – was chosen because of ongoing World Bank projects in the area and because of its role as the regional metropolis of the country's most impoverished region, the Northeast. Recife has one of the highest unemployment rates and the highest percentage of families below the poverty line of metropolitan areas in Brazil. The data for the metropolitan area of Recife are significantly worse because it include the impoverished peripheral municipalities.

The metropolitan area of São Paulo (16 million) was selected primarily because it represents the country's largest and most industrialized region. Within the metropolitan region, the municipality of

¹ In this document, young refers to individual aged 15 to 21, and adults aged 22 or older.

Santo Andre was selected for a case study because the World Bank has a number of projects in the area. Santo André epitomizes a highly industrialized area, which is undergoing rapid change of a result of job losses in the auto industry.

A mid-sized city in the Brazilian hinterland, Itabuna (150 thousand), was to counterbalance the metropolitan focus of Recife and São Paulo. Itabuna is located in the south of the northeastern state of Bahia, in an impoverished whose economy was formerly dominated by cocoa plantations, and which is currently the object of modernization projects supported by the World Bank.

The choice of sites within each of these areas was guided by a number of criteria. In Recife, which concentrated six sites, these include geographical diversity, age of community, land tenure status, level of community organization, and whether or not there are projects being implemented in the area. All sites are or were until recently *favelas* in Brazilian common usage of the word i.e. agglomerations of sub-standard housing on squatted land and which follows an irregular pattern of land use.

The choice of sites in Itabuna was guided on similar criteria. Nova California and Novo Horizonte are communities with different levels of physical consolidation and community organization. Novo Horizonte is much poorer, violent and many public services are not available. In Santo André the criteria for selection included geographical diversity and level of community organization. Sacadura Cabral is a centrally located site whereas Vila Junqueira is located in the outskirts of Santo André. In both sites the local government have implemented projects, but Vila Junqueira is in a much poorer condition in terms of infrastructure.

Table 2.1 Summary of site characteristics

Recife	
Padre Jordânio (pop. 2,500)	Newly formed and very poor favela bordering a flooded area. The community is fairly organized. Threat of eviction.
Bode (pop. 30,000)	The area's urban infrastructure is one of best of all sites in Recife. The community is highly organized. The municipality implemented projects in the area. Several NGOs work in the area.
Vila União (pop. 2,300)	The only site in Recife where land tenure was legalized. The municipality implemented projects in the area. The community is fairly organized.
Morro da Conceição (pop. 9,000)	40 year old favela with very active community located on a hill side. One of the best endowed areas in terms of public services. Several NGOs work in the area.
Borborema (pop. 2,400)	Newly formed and one of the poorest sites overall. It is located bordering a canal. The community is poorly organized. Very poor housing conditions.
Entra a Pulso (pop. 5,000)	Favela located adjacent a very large shopping mall. Very active community. Local government and the shopping mall implemented projects in the area. Very poor housing conditions. Threat of eviction. Several NGOs work in the area.
Santo André	
Sacadura Cabral (pop. 3,000)	Municipality is implementing projects in the area. Extremely densely occupied area, with very poor housing stock, very close to city center. Very active community organization.
Vila Junqueira (pop. 900)	Municipality implementing projects in the area. Active community organization. Located in the outskirts of Santo André.
Itabuna	
Novo Horizonte (pop. 4,000)	Newly formed favela. One of the poorest and most violent sites. High level of community organization. No NGOs works in the area.
Nova California (pop. 2,500)	Newly formed favela. High level of community organization. Active NGOs in the area. Some public services are available in the area.

Table 2.2 – Selected data for the Municipalities

Municipalities	Inequality Ratio (Theil index)		
	1970	1980	1991
ITABUNA	0.63	0.66	0.83
RECIFE	0.66	0.68	0.87
SÃO PAULO	0.49	0.50	0.56

Source: PNUD

Municipalities	Percentage of People with Insufficient Income *		
	1970	1980	1991
ITABUNA	69.55	41.02	60.92
RECIFE	59.30	33.69	43.61
SÃO PAULO	20.23	5.93	11.19

Source: PNUD * < 0.5 minimum salaries per family member

Month/year	Unemployment Rates	
	Recife	São Paulo
FEB/91	6.44%	5.18%
FEB/98	9.75%	9.76%
FEB/99	8.66%	9.54%

Source: IBGE . 1991 is the last year for which comparable data were available.

The data from Table 2.2 shows that although unemployment rates are similar, São Paulo and Recife are in opposite poles both in terms of inequality ratios and percentage of people with insufficient income. For São Paulo these figures are 0.56 and 11,2 %, whereas for Recife the figures are 0.87 and 43.6%, respectively. Itabuna has a much higher percentage of the population with insufficient income (61%); an inequality ratio comparable to Recife, but a lower unemployment rate.

2.4 Brazil: country profile

As elsewhere in Latin America, in Brazil, the 1980s have been labelled the "lost decade". This refers to the widespread sharp deterioration of the economies, the sharp drop in income levels, and the drastic reduction in the levels of social welfare, particularly of the middle sectors and of the urban poor in the region. In the 1990s some economies of the region, however, remained stagnant and are facing recurrent fiscal problems. This is indeed the case of Brazil . While the 1980s was associated with the

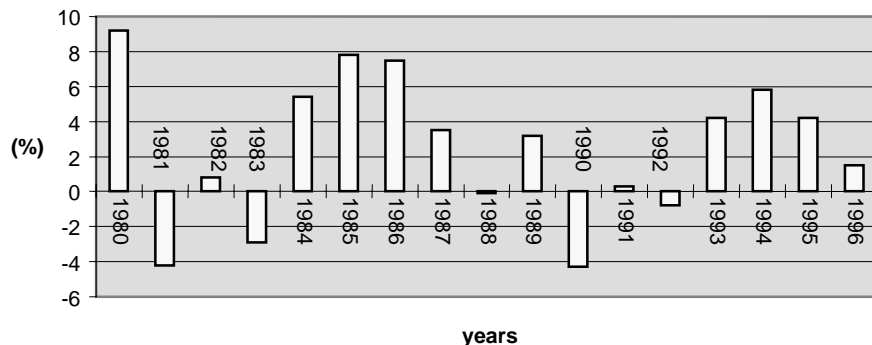
debt crisis and the "exhaustion" of the import substitution model that guided its development strategy since World War II, the 1990s represents a historical watershed in terms of the role of the state in promoting economic development.

In Brazil, as elsewhere in Latin America, market reforms were implemented which aimed at the structural adjustment of the economy. These reforms involved trade liberalization, deregulation of the economy and privatization. The crisis of foreign indebtedment of the 1970s gave way, in the 1990s, to foreign exchange crises. The economic stabilization strategies pursued were centered on the liberalization of foreign exchange controls and the use of fixed exchange rates. The globalization of financial markets undermined state capacity to regulate financial flows making these economies extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in capital movement.

Brazil was a reform laggard in Latin America – its earlier success with the import substitution strategy led to the formation of a powerful coalition of interests against market reforms, particularly in the area of trade liberalization and the deregulation of financial markets. After the inauguration of the Collor government in 1990, Brazil embarked upon a wave of reforms in various sectors. Brazil's erratic pace in implementing these reforms contrasts with the experience of other countries in Latin America.

Market reforms impose, in the short run, severe costs for the urban population and exacerbates social problems in so far as they imply in cuts in public expenditures and job losses in sectors (particularly manufacturing and banking) previously shielded from external competition. The alleged systemic "efficiency gains" from international exposure appear in the long run. These losses have been made up partially by price stability. In Brazil, this was accomplished during the first term of Cardoso's government. In a dynamic perspective, however, the losses from industrial restructuring tend to exceed the welfare gains from the elimination of the inflation tax .

Chart 1 - Brazil: GDP annual growth rates 1980-96



Source: IPEA

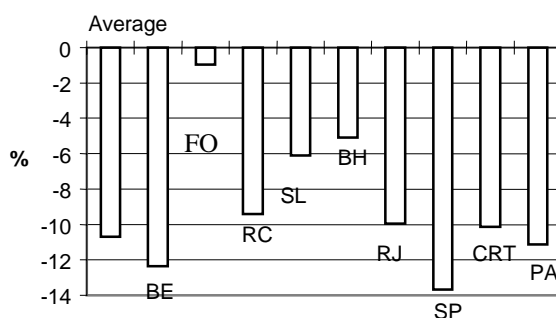
The 1980s and 1990s was characterized by sharp fluctuations in economic activity (cf Chart 1). The combination of hiperinflation and economic stagnation in the 1980s caused an increase in absolute

poverty and led to the impoverishment of the middle sectors. The salaried and the urban poor were the most affected, in a context in which the growth rates of the per capita income stagnated : it grew at an annual rate of 0.4% between 1981 and 1989.

The impact of the macroeconomic environment of the 1990s on poverty levels and social inequality is presented in Table 1. The data shows a pattern of increasing levels of poverty coupled with increasing inequality; poverty indicators exhibiting maximum values in 1994 – when 33% of the population was below poverty lines - , when the stabilization policy was launched. This is very high for a upper middle income country (in World Bank classification). The absolute number of those below the poverty line in the metropolitan regions had increased from 10.4 million in 1981, to 12.8 million in 1989. In 1994, it reached 52.0 million, whereas the share of the national income earned by the 50% of the poorest in society dropped to a historical low of 11%.

Price stabilization attained from 1994 to 1998 brought immediate reductions in poverty , but in detriment of inequality which increased even further. From 1997 onwards the gains from stabilization was halted and unemployment almost doubled in relation to 1990 levels, reaching 8% in 1998 for the country as a whole, and an average of 20% in the metropolitan regions. As showed in Chart 2, the metropolitan regions experienced substantial job losses – an average of 10.7% , particularly in the most industrialized ones such as Rio and São Paulo, where it reached 13%. Other important changes occurred in the labour market. Whereas in the 1980s, almost 60% of the economically active population was in the formal sector of the economy, in the late 1990s , this share declined to 43% . Although many of the so-called informal activities in this later period are family-owned and fairly capitalized service firms – indeed a novelty in the Brazilian economy , a lot of the new jobs are non-skilled and poorly paid ones, which attracts workers laid off from the manufacturing and financial sectors. While poverty is not correlated strongly with employment – over 70% of the unemployed are not in poor households, it is clearly affected by the deterioration in social spending.

**Chart 2:Metropolitan Areas:
Growth rates of employment 1990-96**



Source: CESIT - Unicamp

Metropolitan Areas

SP – São Paulo

BH- Belo Horizonte

RE – Recife

BE – Belem

SA- Salvador

SL – Salvador

PA – Porto Alegre

FOR – Fortaleza

Average- all metropolitan regions

CRT – Curitiba

Table 2.3

**Brasil. Growth rates, Urban Inequality and Urban poverty indicators 1980-1996
(six largest metropolitan regions)**

in %

	1980	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Share of national income of the:								
Poorest 50%	14.00	12.80	13.60	13.10	12.50	11.30	12.20	12.30
Richest 20%	63.00	62.80	60.90	61.10	62.10	64.70	62.20	62.40
Inequality rate	4.50	4.91	4.48	4.67	4.97	5.73	6.14	6.08
GDP per capita growth rates	7.00	-5.90	-1.30	-2.30	2.70	4.50	2.80	1.50
Population below poverty line		22.60	25.60	32.20	32.30	33.40	27.80	25.10

Source : IPEA

At the institutional level there were very important changes in the 1990s. The transition from military rule to civil control in 1985 was followed by a very strong process of democratization. The drafting of a new Constitution in 1988 represented the apex of this transition period. In contrast, independent press and courts, along with very competitive elections at the federal, state and municipal level are key elements of the consolidation of Brazil's new democracy. Following the decentralization wave that accompanied democratization, Local governments became important loci of innovations. The 1990s witnessed the setting up of a new impressive layer of institutions at the local and even state levels through which the population is consulted and deliberate on public policy formation and implementation.

Table 2.4: Number of Discussion Groups at the Study Sites

Site	Men	Male (youth)	Women	Female (youth)	Subtotal
Entra A pulso	2	2	2	2	8
Borborema	2	2	2	2	8
Padre Jordano	2	2	2	2	8
Morro da Conceição	2	2	2	2	8
Bode	2	2	2	2	8
Vila União	2	2	2	2	8
Vila Junqueira	2	2	2	2	8
Sacadura Cabral	2	2	2	2	8
Nova California	2	2	2	2	8
Novo Horizonte	2	2	2	2	8
Total	20	20	20	20	80

Table 2.5: Number of individual and institutional case studies at the study sites

Site	Poor		Better off (improved their income status)				Total			
	Men	women	Youth man	Youth women	Sub-total	men		women	youth	Sub-total
Urban sites										
Entra Apulso	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Borborema	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Padre Jordano	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Morro da Conceição	1	2	1		4	1	1		2	6
Bode	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Vila União	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Vila Junqueira	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Sacadura Cabral	1	1	1		3	1	1		2	5
Nova California	1	1		1	3	1	1		2	5
Novo Horizonte	1	1		1	3	1	1		2	5
Total	10	11	8	2	31	10	10		20	51

Table 2.6: Number of individuals at the study sites

Site	Men		Women		Subtotal
	Adult	youth	Adult	Youth	
Entra Apulso	16	10	18	11	55
Borborema	15	12	22	15	64
Padre Jordano	9	6	11	12	38
Morro	8	16	52	15	91
Bode	14	8	17	14	53
Vila União	12	18	19	15	64
Vila Junqueira	28	7	30	19	84
Sacadura Cabral	38	10	35	10	93
Nova California	24	8	16	16	64
Novo Horizonte	24	12	12	16	64
Total	188	105	216	143	632

3. Perceptions of Poverty: Well-being Definitions and Trends

3.1 Local Terminology and Definitions

A coisa tá preta	difficult situation
Apurar um trocadinho	work for little money
Avião	boy/young man who sells drugs
Bagulho	drugs
Balas perdidas	bullets that hurt people by accident
Barraco	shack, usually made of wood
boca de duro	dangerous place
Biscateiros	odd jobs
Boazuda	verbal offense to women
Botadeira de água	women who carry and sell buckets of water
Barraqueiro	owners of tents where merchandise is sold
Barão	rich individual
Camelôs	street vendor
Carente	literally, lacking things; means poor
Crescer a casa	build extensions to the house
carregar pessoas nas costas	support someone financially
Casa de laje	cement and brick houses
Casa de bloco	cement houses
Cesta básica	general term for a basket/box containing food and provisions
Cheira-colas	(glue-sniffers) street children who are addicted to sniffing shoe glue
Dar porrada	beat up
Dondocas	rich women
Despesas	purchase of provisions
Entocas	far away place, hidden
Favela	shanty town
Favelado	resident of favelas
Ferrados	literally 'marked with heated iron'; in a terrible state
Ficar na boa	be in a good situation
Fraco	literally weak; poor people in local usage in Itabuna
Fodido	person who is in a very bad situation, or has nothing
Ganhar o seu tutu	earn money
Gato	illegal electricity hook ups in Itabuna
Gambiarras	Illegal electricity hook ups in Itabuna
Lombra	drugs
Lascado	literally, split into pieces; in Recife means 'in very bad situation.
marginais	crooks
Necessitados	in need
Pelada	football game
Pichadores	street youths who tag or paint graffiti on walls and monuments of the city
Rapariga	verbal offense to women
Gostosa	verbal offense to women; literally delicious
tá no ponto	verbal offense to women
Remediado	literally remedied; not so poor
viver na fartura	to have plenty

mãe-guardadeira	nanny
Orelhão	public phone
Rojão	to bear the brunt
Trombadinha	street children that mug people
Ter uma peixada forte	to have very good connections or patrons
Venda	improvised shop; usually built in a room of the house
Precisão	to be in great need
Se virar sozinho	have to do so things without any help from others
Pedra	drug; crack
Teco-teco	child who sells drugs.
Viver no aperto	to make ends meet

3.2 Definitions of well-being

People from the various sites identified several categories of well-being or quality of life. Some included groups of people from outside the communities - generally the rich and the middle class, the lower middle class, and in some cases beggars -, while other groups restricted their categories to people that lived in the communities. Despite the sites heterogeneity there were no unique categories signaling newly emerging groups in the categories listed. In fact some patterns were repeated. The cases of Bode and Morro da Conceição illustrate well the use of similar categories for the people that lived outside the communities (rich, middle class, commercial class, and lower middle class). People from Bode provided a finer differentiation among the categories of people living in the favelas: five categories of poor people are identified. In Sacadura only three categories were used and they were circumscribed to the community people. The only outlier in the categorization of well-being was Padre Jordano. In this community, a group of young women and men placed all local residents in the category *pobres* (poor).

Table 3.1 Well-being Categories according to different groups

Bode	Morro da Conceição	Sacadura
Ricos – rich	Ricos – rich	Razoáveis – reasonable
Comerciantes – commercial class	Classe média – middle class	<i>Necessitados</i> – needy
Classe média baixa – lower middle class	Classe média baixa – lower middle class	<i>Miseráveis</i> – miserable
Lutadores – fighters	Remediados – remedied	
Pobres – poor	Sub-nutridos – undernourished	Padre Jordano
Favelados – residents of favelas	Favelados – residents de favelas	Pobres- pobres (100%)
Marginais – underdogs		
<i>Miseráveis</i> – deprived		

The attributes of each category showed more variation than the categories themselves. But several commonalities can be found in terms of the more tangible aspects of well-being. The rich were

associated with leisure, property, money, power and access to quality services (schooling, private health care). The middle class and commercial class in most accounts are associated with homeownership both in the city and by the beach, to savings, maids, access to good schools and good private health insurance, power over the poor, and possession of cars. In their turn, the lower middle class, and the reasonable are said have steady jobs and income, to be able to buy their own modest houses, to have health insurance, to have access to higher education, to possess second hand cars, to have a heavy work load. The remedied, the *necessitados* and fighters have low incomes, live in rented houses, go to public schools, do not have enough food at home, have no savings, and to go to public health clinics. The deprived, miserable and the underdogs have no income or possessions but their clothing, live in the streets, beg for food, and are totally isolated.

3.3 Perceptions of poverty, risk, security and vulnerability

Although the conceptualization of well-being or a good quality of life showed significant variance across the groups and sites, a number of common themes pertaining to less tangible aspects of well-being emerged in the reports. People tended to equate poverty with powerlessness and impotence and to relate well-being to security and a sense of control of their lives. A woman from the community of Borborema established a connection between power and control, and well-being. She argued “the rich is the one who says: ‘I am going to do it’, and does it” (*rico é o que diz: ‘vou fazer’ e faz*). The poor, in contrast, do not fulfill their wishes or develop their capacities.

Security is associated in the reports with a variety of factors including land tenure and homeownership; the support of their extended families; employment and steady income; and to enjoying good health and having access to health services. Other factors mentioned are exposure to the risks of land slides and floods. The poor is also regarded as vulnerable and at a greater risk because of their exposure to diseases resulting from lack of sanitation and garbage collection, and because they feel unprotected by the Police.

A woman in Padre Jordano described the lack of security of land tenure in very strong language “when a government official comes here and say that we have to leave the area, I freak out. I gather my things.... But don’t know where to go ...I don’t know if I take my sons out of school ... if I pack food so that we don’t run out of food in the road ... I fell insecure, lost. At this moment, it is just god and me.” (*me sinto insegura, perdida..., nesse momento é eu e Deus*).

The households in which one of the members have a steady job or have access to patronage ties are regarded as more secure than others do. The factors that trigger personal or family crises leading to more deprivation are job dismissals, illnesses, deaths of parents, breakdown of marriages, and evictions from squatted land. Because of patronage ties and kinship relations some people are better able to cope with these crises or shocks to sources of livelihoods. However, some households are structurally ill-equipped to cope with these shocks and these include disproportionately families headed by women and the elderly. This structural vulnerability of women and the elderly is

compensated to a great extent by the role played by the extended family. One of the important findings of this study is that poverty is not directly associated with gender or old-age. With very few exceptions, the elderly lived with their sons and grandsons.

For most people insecurity has increased. This is attributed to the rise in unemployment rates and in mounting violence in the communities. These aspects will be considered in the following sections.

The perception of these issues varies significantly among discussion groups (of women, men and young people of both sexes) within sites and across sites. As expected, the local terminology and definitions of well-being differs among the sites located in the several regions of Brazil. But surprisingly, the main variations are to be found in comparisons between youth and adults and across gender, particularly with regard to the changes in well-being over time.

The criteria used by the groups of young people for assessing the well-being over time differed markedly from those used by the groups of old men and women. For the young people the criteria included mainly aspects relative to urban infrastructure and housing, possession of household appliances, cars and leisure. Leisure was cited as criteria in six sites, and in four of these the issue came out of the discussion by the young people. In contrast, the groups of old men and women emphasized aspects pertaining to income and the labor market, and to the financial conditions to keep the children at school.

Groups of young people tended to argue that poverty was diminishing and that there had been significant improvements in the well being of the poor.

Table 3.2 Major trends in poverty and well-being

Trends	Entra a Pulso	Borborema	Vila União	Bo-de	Pa-dre Jordano	Saca-dura Cabral (***)	Morro da Conceição (*)	Novo Horizonte (****)	Nova Califórnia	Vila Junqueira (**)
Increased poverty		X				X	X	X		
Minor increase in poverty				X						
No change										X
Increased well-being	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X

- Changes in the two poorest categories
- The groups with an asterisk indicate that there was no consensus among young and old people.

*The group of old men insisted that there was a significant increase in poverty, while the group of young women argued that there was an increase in well-being.

** For the group of young men and women there was a significant improvement in poverty, while the group of old man argued that there had not been any improvements in the well-being of the poorest.

*** For the group of young men and women, the well-being of the poorest categories improved while the grupo of old men and women stated that there had been an increase in poverty.

**** For the group of old men, there was an increase in poverty, while the youngsters argued that there had been an improvement.

Table 3.2 shows data for changes in the two poorest categories. The two poorest categories was chosen because in most sites the poorest category (beggars) was perceived as relatively stable and accounting for a small percentage of the population.

The data show that only in one of the ten sites, the groups agreed that poverty was increasing significantly. In four sites the groups agreed that poverty was in decline and in other four sites there were disagreement among the groups of young and old people. In all of these latter sites the groups of young people argued that there had been a decrease in poverty.

In some sites the changes noted by the groups of young people were quite dramatic, and were in sharp contrast with the perception of old men and women. In Morro da Conceição, it was argued that there had been a decline from 24% to 3% in the poorest category of *acabados* ('destroyed'). In Vila Junqueira the young people pointed out that there had been a decline from 68% to 14% for the

poorest category (*pobres*). In Novo Horizonte, the group of young men and women argued that there was a 50% percent reduction in the poorest category (*necessitados*). In Padre Jordano, they argued that the *miseráveis* accounted for 50% of the community in the past but there were none of them in the present. A young man tried to explain what happened: “ The *miseráveis* which had their little places either lost them or improved their conditions and became *pobres* “.

A closer look at the data for changes in well-being categories and criteria for assessment for Novo Horizonte is illuminating.

Table 3.3
Novo Horizonte – Changes in well-being categories

	Group of old men		Group of young men and women	
	Before	Today	Before	Today
1 <i>Barão</i> – baron	0%	0 %		
2 High Class				0%
3 Middle Class	0%	0 %		0%
4 <i>Classe Baixa</i> (lower class)			0%	50%
5 Employed Poor	71 %	28 %		
6. Underemployed Poor	29%	60 %		
7 <i>Necessitados</i> needy			100%	50 %
8. <i>Pedintes</i> – beggars	0%	12 %		

While the group of old men thought that currently most of the people live in the underemployed poor category, the young consider that half of the population is equally distributed in the categories “low class” and “needy”. However, when queried about the changes over the years in these proportions, the group have different perceptions. For the group of men there was a decline in the well-being since the proportion of underemployed poor increased from 29% to 60%, and at the same time a decrease in the proportion of the employed poor from 71% to 28% and in the proportion of beggars from zero to

12 percent. For the group of young men and women, the whole community was in the needy category ten years ago, but this share had declined to 50%. The other 50% became *classe baixa* (lower class). This latter group did not mention the beggars.

For the group of old men the main reason for this deterioration in the well being is directly related to the decrease in the job offers in Itabuna. This has lead people to work in the informal sector of the local economy, to get very low salaries and to lose all the security they enjoyed when in the formal sector. For the second group the deterioration of the well-being is related to the reduction in the access to the services that comes from underemployment. They said that ten years ago “the middle class had a modest car but it had one... it enjoyed policing” (“*a classe média tinha um fusquinha, mas tinha*”, a “*classe média tinha pouco policiamento, mas, tinha*”) ... The group also reveals that for the needy people the situation continues to be very bad. About the criteria, the group of young people argued that they changed over time. For the middle class new criteria such as leisure and access to private health plans became relevant. For the lower class people, access to a new official health program *Saúde em Casa* (health at home) and leisure were the new criteria.

Gender cleavages are also noticeable. The women tended to stress access to health services and schooling than men.

Table 3.4 - People’s perceptions of main causes of poverty – Groups of Men and Women

Main causes of poverty	Men	Women	Young women	Young men
Unemployment	x	x	x	x
Lack of housing policy	x	x		
Lack of sanitation	x	x	x	x
Lack of schooling	x	x	x	x
Lack of investments in public health	X	x		
Unequal Income distribution	x	x		

In the discussion about the main causes of poverty the groups converged on the conclusion that unemployment is the most important cause, followed by lack of schooling and sanitation. All groups mentioned this. The other causes are listed in Table 3.4. Unequal income distribution, lack of investments in public health and housing were cited as important causes of poverty by groups of old men and women, but not by the groups of young people.

The impacts of poverty/ill-being that were identified during the Cause-Impact Analysis are multidimensional and complex. It ranges from the impact on food consumption and health to personal stress and interpersonal relations.

3.4 Opportunities, social and economic mobility

There is an interesting paradox in the reports from the various groups of poor people. While it is generally acknowledged that 'the poor is getting poorer and the rich is getting richer', in the actual discussion of specific categories the groups – in particular of young men and women - they tend to agree that there have been great improvements in well-being.

Concerning the conditions which would enable to move out of poverty, the groups virtually reached a consensus on two factors: access to education and to income.

However, people feel that opportunities for economic and social mobility have in general decreased. And this is largely associated with the rising unemployment. But this general perception co-exists with a view that several avenues of social mobility are still open. Although many expressed disbelief as to this possibility, most accounts point to a positive attitude to social mobility. It is generally agreed that education is the key to social mobility. But this potential for social mobility is associated with the lower middle class and to the various sub-categories of the poor, with the exception of the poorest groups. This potential is denied for the categories of *miseráveis*, *ferrados*, *lascados* ou *pedintes*. It is a virtual consensus that it is nearly impossible for these groups to move out of poverty. These are viewed as *de facto* excluded from society on all dimensions. "They are so excluded from this world that they don't know themselves", stated a woman from Borborema. One of the major reasons is that they do not have access to formal education to any degree and live in isolation.

Most groups converge on the view that the categories of the poorest of the poor and the rich have not changed significantly over time. As exemplified by a statement by a woman from Borborema "for those classes there were no changes... the rich people continue to be rich ... and the miserable continue to be miserable ... or, in other words, those who have money continue to have it, and those who never had it, will never have it" (*para essas classes não houve nenhuma mudança..., os ricos continuam a ser ricos..., e os miseráveis continuam a ser miseráveis..., ou seja, quem tem dinheiro continua a ter sempre dinheiro e quem nunca teve, nunca vai ter*). Most of the changes are to be found in the lower middle class and the diverse sub-categories of the poor (but not the poorest group, beggars).

In Nova California, a group of women argued that it was easier to descend than to ascend in categories. They considered the following social mobility possibilities. Out of 100 miserable people, only 10 would become *fracos*, with whatever help they can get" (*de uma população de 100 miseráveis, apenas 10 se tornam fracos, com a ajuda de tudo que possa ser feito*). Out of 100 *fracos*, a much higher number (40) would be able to ascend to higher well-being categories. Regarding the possibility of an individual belonging to the "mais ou menos" (more or less) category, the women's group state that 100% of them could change to a superior well-being category with help, determination and motivation...they already have everything"

People feel it is much easier for people to descend to a lower well-being category than to progress to a higher category. In Morro da Conceição, the participants from a mixed group of young and older people agreed that “it is very easy to a lower middle–class individual to switch to lower well–being categories.” In Novo Horizonte, they also consider possible to a member of a high class to move to inferior classes, since “when you earn money...and do not take care of it...you spend on gambling, drugs and lose everything...if you had everything...you can lose everything” (*basta gastar o dinheiro,... não saber administrar... pode gastar com jogo, com drogas, e perder tudo... se tinha tudo,.... pode perder tudo*).

Government is generally held responsible for the people’s lack of opportunities for improving their lives. Government provided services such as sanitation, basic schooling, infrastructure work and public health care are regarded as pre-conditions for the people to improve one’s living conditions. The groups feel that they can progress if these are made available.

For many groups, popular mobilization was considered a key mechanism for achieving better living conditions. But access to education is said a precondition for effective mobilization. A man from Sacadura stated that “we can only attain quality of life through our own mobilization. We must have education and information in order to have our project to improve quality of life”.

A community leader from Bode made a similar point regarding mobilization: “the life of the community improved because of the interest of the residents. The acquisition of invaded land, the construction of brick and cement houses, schools, day cares, public health clinic, paved streets, were gained through the initiative of residents.”

A recurring theme in the groups is that there occurred significant changes in wellbeing overtime. And this is associated with incremental improvements in the infrastructure and services in the communities. In Vila Junqueira, the share of *razoáveis* (reasonable) in the community was thought to have increased from 27% to 43%. An old men explained that this was caused by the improvements that had been made in the community in the previous ten years: “Here we had a smelly river, is was a big *favela*. Now we do not live in wooden huts anymore, we have water, paved streets, electricity...” (*Aqui era um rio fedorento, era um favelão. Agora não já não moramos mais em barracos de tábuas, tem água, asfalto, luz...*).

In Nova California the same pattern of incremental improvements were reported. A man remarked that “ten years ago nothing like this existed in the community...there was no water, electricity, public telephones, garbage collection, nothing... and, life was much, much worse... today is great.” Speaking about water, another man mentioned that before the arrival of this service, “we had to bring water from the cistern, and used candles to light our homes...we would go to pick up water at one o’clock in the morning, and when we arrived there, there would be 20 or 30 people in line... to get water we had to go at 1 or 2 o’clock am, to get a can of drinking water...After 8 years things began to get better around here...the school was built first, and the public fountain, then came the bus,

electricity, and the water, which was very good for the community life...today (in comparison with the past) we live in heaven' “.

These examples contrasts, however, with many statements indicating not only disillusionment and disbelief in government's response to demands but also a pattern of dependency on the government. The testimony of a woman from Bode is paradigmatic : “I am neither middle class, nor favelada...I think that I am poor, because I live struggling with difficulties...waiting for the word of the government, but nothing ever happens. The way is to live as one can, working in order to have bread each day”.²

This story of Darzinho (BOX 1) provides a good illustrations of a number issues discussed earlier. It points to the enormous transformation that Santo André underwent in the last 20 years. This change have produced a dramatic reversal in people's life chances and expectations in the area. Industrial employment is in decline and the salaries in the local service economy is much lower. Despite the wealth produced in the local auto industry, the industrial workers lived in the favelas. Many people have felt that they progressed because of the improvements in the local infrastructure and in housing, because of self help or government programs. But violence increased substantially. As a result of all these changes, people feel they are very vulnerable and insecure.

² *Eu não sou nem de classe média, nem sou favelada...acho que sou pobre, porque vivo lutando com dificuldade...esperando pela palavra do governo, mas nada acontece. O jeito é viver como posso, trabalhando pra ter o pão de cada dia.*

BOX 1 - The demise of the industrial worker

“ I came from Vargem Alegre, Minas Gerais and went to Rio de Janeiro. This was in 1970 and I stayed there for 3 years. There I worked in a market, then in the navy shipyard as a metalworker. Then I came here with my parents and settled here. I ended up married, and bought a *barraco* here in the *favela*. I worked with metal as a welder. Because of my behavior I think I went into a black list. At the time there were those movements on the 70s, 80s, many were marked. I never appeared in any newspaper headline...but I was part of the strike organization. Then I worked in several places and was fired from them. With these dismissals I could not get a job anywhere. Then I worked in a manual occupation at SEMASA and applied for a contest for a position in the transport company. When I left SEMASA I still tried to organize a cooperative to produce bricks but the projects was not approved. “

“I had the best wages during the 18 years I worked as a metalworker. With this job I bought this. In the public sector I can not improve the house. The wages are lower. I am not complaining. Thanks to God I managed to raise my kids; two of them already are at university. The older ones are already working, one legally registered [i.e. has a labor card]. * Formerly if someone said that one of my sons would work without being registered I would not accept it. Today I do. Unfortunately, things change with time, and you have to accept certain things. Our movement started very well, but the businessmen learned how to cope with it, and it faded. (...) The employees would start demanding this and that and the employers would do mass dismissals. Then the tactics had to change and the objective was to get peoples jobs back, without the original demands. With these crisis our demands started to be secondary and the main objectives were to keep the jobs, which are fundamental. The people are losing many things that were achieved with hard work. They say that there are many *pelegos*³, but actually there are no means [to fight].”

“Here in Sacadura there are a lot of former metalworkers looking for jobs, they submit themselves to anything. Today Santo André and the great ABC are becoming a commerce center instead of the industrial center it used to be. In the places where formerly there were metal industries shopping malls are appearing. Things are changing and we have to adapt. This is reality and we can not go back in time. Commerce creates many jobs but the income is much lower.”

“ It was very good here during the 70s. There was a lot of room, only shacks, no brick houses. There was almost no violence, we could go to the river bank and chat all night. Sometime ago things were more violent, but now it is slightly better. In the 80s the place swelled a lot with many new shacks, but from 1990 onwards it grew much less. The rents went up and people would come here to the *favela*. It grew in a very chaotic manner and we always claimed for a development that today is becoming reality. In the last years 200 families were taken to the housing scheme in the area. Everything will change. The more irregular areas will be transformed into regular lots. I think that building with four levels would be better. I would like that everybody had a situation like mine. I would say then that things were ok. Regardless of the discrimination for living in the *favela* we have attained many things.” **Darzinho, 48, former metalworker**

³ Expression used to name a union leader that plays on the bosses side.

3.5 Social exclusion

The feeling of being excluded and powerless is reflected in a testimony of a young woman from Padre Jordano “you grow in an environment full of diseases, of violence, and drugs ... you don’t have the right to education, work nor leisure. and you are forced ‘to eat in the hands of the government’ ... so you are an easy prey for the rulers. you have to accept whatever they give you”.

In the reports there are many evidence that the poor people feel left out of society, or looked down upon or excluded from active participation in community life and decision making. However, it should be stressed that the interviewees were not from the poorest and most excluded groups in urban Brazil, the *pedintes* and *esmolés* (beggars).

The groups of poor people expressed resentment towards society and feel excluded from it. A recurring theme was the stigma of poverty and their association with deviant behavior. With reference to the theme of social exclusion, the groups mentioned that the strong exclusion they are subjected to is reflected in the type of assistance that they get from public institutions. These include health care units, where they are not treated with attention and respect; schools when they try to enroll their children in public schools and are unable to find places for them; or r when they see no possibility of getting a job in order to survive with dignity.

Many groups related episodes of discriminatory practices towards the poor. These include harassment by surveillance and security guards in shops, supermarkets and banks. According to a resident of Padre Jordano “when we go to hospitals we know we will have to wait beyond the expected time... there comes somebody who is ‘higher’ (mais alto) than us and jump the queue without much fuss; the majority of the poor is discriminated in the supermarkets ... when we go there to buy something, we see the movement of the security guards talking to one another. Once I got fed up and asked the guard: why is the poor discriminated against and harassed when they come here? You’d better know that my money is cleaner than that of the rich ... it was gained with a lot of work and not from fishy businesses”.

The stigma of poverty encompasses a socio-spatial dimension. Employers refuse to hire residents of favelas, particularly of the poorest ones that have a record of violence. Favela residents report their practices to hide from prospective employers their places of residences. These include incorrect information about their addresses, borrowing electricity or water company bills from friends and falsification of addresses. A group of adult women from Sacadura felt discriminated against because people in a neighboring district used to tell the postmen that those mailing addresses “were not known, of people from the favela”.

One participant emphasized that the majority of public institutions discriminate against people with less income: “thanks be to god I had the opportunity to take a course in electrical mechanics...I paid...one day I was called to work for a company...when they saw that I lived in Bode, they didn’t call me because they thought that I was one of those *marginais*...they didn’t trust me”. Another man from

Borborema stated that “we can’t tell we are from the suburbs, because this a serious fault ... we are marginalized from society”.

The burden of living in favelas also impacted people’s social relationships. A housewife from Sacadura mentioned that her husband never told his colleagues and about his address in the favela because of sheer shame.

The complex interaction of race and social exclusion in Brazil emerged in many statements but to a lesser degree than was expected by the team.⁴ When asked by the facilitators about the race composition of the favelas most people argued that it was made up of ‘*morenos*’ (i.e. mixed). In the groups blacks accounted for at least the majority of interviewees. Among the aggressions a group of adult men from Borborema mentioned being called a “*negro*” (black).

The color issue came also to the fore as an important criterion regarding the criteria for evaluating institutions. In Vila Junqueira a group of men stated that a good criteria for assessing a public institution “is not to discriminate you because you are badly-dressed or because you are black (*negro*)”.

In some reports, the concept of exclusion is articulated as something that affects the entire community. A group of young women (ages 13 to 19) who live in Nova California remarked that they face prejudice because of their color and because of where they live: “many times people despise you because of your color and many of them deny you a job when you tell them that you live here, and this is wrong”.

The feeling of exclusion is also felt in relation to life in favelas where the rule of law is not respected by society in general and especially by the Police. A resident of Bode relates the issue of rule of law and identity to life in the favelas: “dignified (*digna*) housing hides your identity..., if you do something bad to anyone, you have the right to defense because you live well.” This means that individual who owns a nice house is privileged and protected socially. He is more likely to have his privacy respected and not to have his house raided by the Police.

3.6 Social cohesion, crime, conflict

The poor define social cohesion in complex ways. Sometimes it is articulated as solidarity and patterns of reciprocity in social interaction. In many instances, it is associated with a sense of belonging to the community. This sense is not the result of social cohesion but rather the recognition of equality in poverty conditions and their past or current situation as squatters.

⁴ The hypothesis that the under representation of race issues had to do with the race composition of the team can be ruled out because three of the facilitators were also *morenos*.

People's identity as squatters is in fact crucial to their solidarity in a number of cases, including Entra A Pulso, Padre Jordano, and Vila União.

Two general findings can be drawn from the reports. Firstly, people feel that social cohesion is in decline. Many manifestations of this decline were referred to both directly and indirectly. These include the increasing occurrence of crimes (thefts, rapes) in the communities committed by their own members and an increasing pattern of conflictual relations among neighbors, and within the families.

It should be noted that many communities have large populations and the increase in crimes inside the community should be qualified. However, even in relatively small favelas this trend was reported. In Entra a Pulso the women group were all in agreement that aggressions were very common among the community residents.

The second important finding regarding social cohesion is that extreme deprivation engenders a sort of 'amoral familism'. People become distrustful of collective action and public life and circumscribe their social interaction to their private space. Living in an institutional vacuum, as far as public authority is concerned, people find themselves powerless. The language used by a young woman from Borborema is very suggestive: "the people [here] are like dogs... they only protect their own houses... if there is a robbery or a death outside, they don't care". Another woman, from Entra a Pulso, stated that "only the community representatives and the leaders render social assistance services to people in their needs. The rest of the people is indifferent and unconcerned".

Regarding the need for the community to get organized, a man from Padre Jordano, made the following remark "Life for us is so difficult that there is no time left to think about these things... sometimes there comes someone who says 'folks we need to unite ourselves', and later he disappears".

This finding, however, is *prima facie* contradictory with the finding that the neighborhood associations and leaderships enjoy an extremely high rate of approval and confidence (see section 5 on institutions). An alternative hypothesis, which reconciles these two findings, is that people tend not to be involved in public life but have personal confidence in the few members that are actively involved, despite the low likelihood of solutions to their demands.

It seems that one of the areas where this likelihood is the lowest is public safety. As a result conflict resolution assumes to a large extent an informal character. Many examples confirm this statement. In Borborema, according to a participant, "two years ago, nobody could go out in the streets here... a man put a sign with the phrase "strangers not allowed" ... he managed to close the access to three streets in the community ... he said that if someone crossed that sign would die... one day another man shot him and he died"⁵.

⁵ *Há dois anos atrás, ninguém podia sair nas ruas..., um homem cismou de colocar uma placa com o aviso "proibido a entrada de estranhos"... ele conseguiu interditar três ruas aqui da favela..., o homem avisou que se alguém passasse pela rua haveria morte..., mas um dia um homem mais brabo chegou e deu*

In Padre Jordano, a man slaughtered his wife into pieces and hung them in the lampposts. In Bode, a young woman told the interviewers that her mother had set fire on her fire while he was asleep and that he died afterwards. In Sacadura, the daughter of a woman was abused and killed by a local rapist. The stories of abuse and murders are very numerous across the various sites and underscore the extremely violent environment in which these people live.

It is worth mentioning however that there are many reports of solidaristic behavior among those interviewed. These do not appear to contradict this general trend towards disengagement from collective endeavors.

Many reports contain references to a progressive erosion of family life. Strife among family members is increasingly common according to the groups. Rapes and abuse among within the household is rising according to women from Sacadura Cabral, Vila Junqueira, Novo Horizonte and Nova California. Most of these statements were made in connection to the impacts of poverty and drugs, but in other contexts as well.

Although no intergroup conflicts were reported, it is worth stressing that many favela residents stressed their identities vis-à-vis the beggars (*pedintes, esmolés, miseráveis*). They seek to differentiate themselves from this group. As discussed before, this group has no permanent address and is the most excluded group. A sense of hostility towards it is pervasive in many accounts. In many people's account there is a denial of the relationship of the poor with the deprived and favelados in the community. A statement from a woman from Bode provides a good illustration: "I heard this story from a friend of mine...she knew about a women who had always lived in the house of someone in her family...from this my friend was able to find out this woman lived in the family house was embarrassed of the neighbors..., this woman had lived on the edge of the flooded area and was scared to be badly viewed by the community of people who didn't want to speak to her..., it is..., here many people don't want to know any thing about speaking to the deprived and the favelados...they think that they are thieves." ⁶

A common theme in all reports is that there has been a sustained increase in violence.

According to many reports, the causes of this increase are the lack of work opportunities.

An old woman from Vila União reported that "the violence scene has worsened a lot recently ...some quarrels that could be solved, today end in deaths...there are a lot of cases in the community of sons that killed their parents or parents that killed their sons" (*o quadro de violência atualmente piorou muito...*, "*algumas brigas que poderiam ser resolvidas, terminam hoje em mortes...*", "*tem vários casos na comunidade de filhos que mataram os pais ou pais que tiraram a vida dos filhos*). A group of

uns tiros nele e ele morreu.

⁶ "Eu já ouvi uma história de uma amiga minha ...ela soube de uma mulher que sempre vivia na casa de uma pessoa da família dela...aí essa conhecida da minha amiga descobriu que a mulher vivia nessa casa da família com vergonha dos vizinhos..., essa mulher morava na beira da maré e tinha medo de ser mal vista pela comunidade das pessoa não querer falar com ela..., é..., aqui muita gente não quer saber de falar muito com os *miseráveis* e favelados...acha que são ladrão"

women relates homicides to the lack of jobs and informal occupations with a satisfactory income. The following statement, by a young woman, makes the point: “the violence increased. Today they kill for any little thing, any *rabo de olho*⁷ results in a death. This happens because there are no jobs or occupation that produces income” (*aumentou a violência. Hoje por qualquer coisinha se mata, qualquer rabo de olho é uma morte. Isso acontece porque não tem emprego e nem ocupação que dê renda*).

Many groups argued, however, that the increase in violence is caused by the omission on the part of the Police. In Morro da conceição, young people stated that the lack of safety was “the main problem of the community”, and was even worse before a local Police officer became a councilor: “we could not go anywhere without being mugged...on Saturdays and Sundays if you went out to a party, a birthday, and came back later you would be mugged...you were in a risk of dying...”

Among the various groups of the community the women appeared to be most vulnerable. This was particularly noted with reference to women in families without an adult male member. These families are more likely to suffer sexual abuse, ill-treatments and aggressions. In many sites e.g. Padre Jordano among others women who lived alone were raped in their houses. Their adolescent children are also reported to be more likely to be bullied at schools.

As already mentioned, no important tensions or conflicts between groups in the community were reported. This finding is not surprising because Brazilian society is generally regarded as highly homogeneous in cultural terms. No tensions occur among ethnic groups. This is not to recognize patterns of exclusion involving the black population. But there were no accounts of ‘black communities’ in the favelas. Although, blacks accounted for the majority of residents, favela residents have not constituted themselves as ‘black communities’. Although racial discrimination came out as an important issue for the focus groups, these have not related poverty to race, nor did they refer to themselves as ‘black people’ but as poor people.

Most of the residents of the sites in São Paulo, particularly the adults were *nordestinos* from the Brazilian Northeast. This group felt discriminated against by local *paulistas*.

Some statements regarding conflicts, in fact, are accounts of competition for political support among groups for political representations. They reflect broader political cleavages and involve political parties. This pattern of conflict was only reported for the communities of Bode and Entra a Pulso.

Although it was not clear whether any groups benefited from the increased violence, the accounts highlight the fact the most affected by violence are the elderly and the women. They elderly feel trapped in their houses. In the words of a woman from Vila União: “Here we do not have Police patrols, I live locked up at home, watching television, sewing or taking care of my grandson. There are a lot of residents that are thieves; other ones are rude and eager to fight. There are also a lot of

⁷ Expression that means to look at a person in a different than a casual way. To catch an interested glimpse of someone.

youths smoking drugs and glue sniffers. I am afraid of telling where my son is going because someone may rob or kill him”.⁸

These groups are targets of criminal behavior. Young men are the group mostly associated with drug dealing. There appears to be a sexual division of labor among the youngsters involved in illegal activities. Drug dealing appears to be the male option to lack of opportunities whereas prostitution seems to be the female alternative survival strategy. The findings from the section on problems are consistent with this hypothesis. In fact, regarding problems faced by the community, the group of women prioritized drugs as a key problem, in sharp contrast with the group of men. Women suffer directly from the involvement of men in drugs both as consumers and dealers.

The Story of Angelina illustrates many of the issues discussed in this section and is also relevant for the discussions of the role of safety nets. Angelina describes vividly the extremely violent environment she has to cope with – despite the terrible suffering her family went through. She managed to succeed because of her strong family network and because access to education permitted her family to move out of poverty. But other institutions helped her too: social security and a local charity, which helped her, covering the costs of education.

⁸ *Aqui não tem ronda policial, eu vivo trancada em casa, fico vendo televisão, costurando ou então cuidando do meu neto. Tem muitos moradores que é ladrão, outros mau educado, brigão e tem muito jovem que fuma droga, cheira cola. Tenho medo de dizer onde meu filho vai porque alguém pode roubar ele ou matar.*

Box 2 - The tale of Angelina

"I have lived here since 1973. I came from Alagoas, although I was not brought up there. I was raised in Paraná and in 1969 we went to Alagoas and stayed there. Then we came to Sacadura. My parents came before and bought a *barraco* and then we came. When I arrived I was single and worked as maid. About a year later my brother got me a job in a textile company. I worked there for a year and left because I got married. I had a son, that is 25 now and then I spent 7 years taking care of the house. Then I widowed and returned to domestic work, in order to raise my children. I had an accident I nearly died. I fell from the second floor of a house and stayed 5 days in hospital. I still feel the consequences of this accident. Today if I do too much heavy labor my leg hurts, I have to sit a bit and wait. Then I started doing sewing work. I have been doing this for 12 years now. I stopped when my daughter died. A rapist killed her at the age of 4 years and 8 months. If she were alive she would be 18, and would be beautiful. I suffered a lot with this, the whole family suffered. My eldest son stayed out of himself for some time at school – the teachers kept me calling about it - because he was the only one that found her in that condition. I was not at home, she disappeared. I spent 6 days looking for her."

"I think that my life improved a lot here. Just the fact that I raised all my children alone! In the hinterland it would have been impossible. I have a partner, but he lives with his mother and I live with my children alone. This is so because I want to avoid problems between him and the children. That is why I never lived with anyone else. I see my friends who live with the men at home. Sometimes they want to beat the children, rape them. I have a millionaire social security pension of 120 reais! (80 dollars) Seven kids alone is not easy to cope with. It is easier to educate children here though. The schools are closer, there is an institution that helps to purchase materials, and there is always somebody willing to help. In the hinterland you don't have that."

"In 1969 when we left Alagoas I had no birth certificate. In the past parents did not bother to register their sons in the notary. I was 17 and did not have one. Here things are much different ... my uncle advised us to get the certificate. Things have improved since we came to Sacadura. This is because of my sons who work, study...they already have managed to buy their cars. I am very happy because my sons are doing courses to go into university. For a poor mother, living in a favela, with lots of sons, it is a victory. My brothers were raised here and all are doing well. My 10 brothers who were brought up here too have their houses and cars, and one is computer instructor in a Computer Science College. Another one who also was raised here lives in Portugal, has a decent job, goes to College. Another one is the manager of a local butchery. (...)"

"One of sons could be a manager of a butchery, but he won't because he is not going to leave school. All of this is improvement, sons with an education, working,... I raised all my children among drugs, robbery, cocaine, marijuana, crack, but thanks to God none of them ever got involved with these things. We've lived very close to drugs, murders, ... They repeated their grades many times ... but that is their problem, I will not let them leave school at all! . Thanks to God I feel accomplished in my family. We lost our parents early but we are still very close. We are always together on Birthdays, Christmas, and New Year's Eve. This is very rare in São Paulo these days..." **Angelina, 45**

4. Problems and Priorities of the Poor

4.1 Problems Faced by the Poor

The groups' discussion of the problems faced by the communities points to important convergences on a number of issues. Unemployment was pinpointed as the number one problem affecting the communities. The existing housing conditions and the lack of sanitation were also cited as pressing problems, along with poor service in health care. The third block of issues pertains to public safety, policing and drugs. These issues were discussed separately within the groups. If they were collapsed into one category, it would probably have been the most cited problem along with violence. While education was reiterated in virtually all groups, lack of schools was regarded as priority number 12.

If unemployment is not taken into account, these findings reflect a move from infrastructure issues – the major problem of the past according to practically all groups - to issues relative to quality of service provision (in health care and school) and to public safety. People complained about the quality of teaching in Vila Junqueira (“There are many things missing in the school. There is no respect for the teachers, there is no discipline control, the teaching is very poor”), and the quality of service in health clinics (“we go there and are rarely listened to, and when we are they send us somewhere else”)

In fact, the salience of violence and safety as issues in all sites was a non-anticipated finding. This is *a fortiori* more remarking for the cases of Nova California and Novo Horizonte, which are located in a medium size city. The middle class has articulated these issues more forcefully. In the country's political agenda, the poor is not generally viewed as victims but, rather, as the perpetrators of violence. Work and housing conditions are generally regarded as the typical issues in the political agenda of the poor. In Nova California, however, as many sites, public safety was considered the second most important problem for men and third most important for women.

There are however noticeable differences in issues across the various sites of Recife, Itabuna and Santo André. Unemployment is the first priority issue for the sites in Itabuna and Santo André but not in Recife. Central for the groups from these localities also is lack of policing and poor public health care. In Recife, the key issues are violence, lack of water, inadequate housing conditions, poor public health care and violence. Recife is currently experiencing the worst shortage of water supply in this century. Housing conditions are appalling in the favelas that are located in hillsides and in flooded areas. Violence, however, is the most serious structural problem in Recife. Violence was ranked the first and second priority in only two of the ten sites, and they are located in Recife: Vila União and Borborema (see Annex). In Borborema lack of policing was ranked first.

Table 4.1 - Prioritization of problems in the sites

- 1° - Unemployment
- 2° - Lack of *moradia digna* (dignified housing)
- 3° - Bad service in hospitals and community health units
- 4° - lack of safety and policing
- 5° - Drugs
- 6° - Violence
- 7° - Lack of sanitation
- 8° - lack of water
- 9° - lack of day care
- 10° - insecurity ion land ownership
- 11° - Lack of training schemes and apprenticeships
- 12° - Lack of schools

**Table 4.2 – Gender differences in Prioritization of Problems
(Five most important priorities)**

	Women								Men										
Unemployment	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2				
Lack of sanitation	1	4			4					4	4			3	3	2	3		
Lack of Water		5	1		2				2	5	5		1						
Lack of training schemes	4	3											3				5		
Lack of day care				2			5	5	2	5									
Lack of schools	3												4						
Drugs	5	3	3	4	5	3		2	5				3						
Violence	2	4	1										1	4	3	2	2	5	
Lack of public safety and policing				3		2	3	4	4	4	2		5		2	1	1		
Bad service in hospitals and community health units	4	5	2			5		3					2	3	5	5	4	4	4
Lack of dignified housing		5	2	5	4			2	4	3				2	4	5	5	4	1
Insecurity in tenure	2				1				1										
Garbage collection	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X		

There is evidence, however, that different groups within the community experience different problems. Not only they perceive problems differently but they also prioritize problems differently. The data in Table 4.2 and more importantly the narrative analysis carried out on prioritization of problems in the site reports suggest two important differences among the groups of women and men. The striking difference has to do with the issue of drugs. This issue came out only in groups of women, and was not cited in men only groups. It also emerged in two mixed groups, but the women stressed the issue. The second difference is the higher priority of sanitation and housing conditions to men.

The centrality of the drug problem for women can be explained by the fact that there is a 'sexual division of labor' in society with regard to drug consumption and trafficking. Drug consumption and drug dealing is predominantly a men's behavior. Women are affected by the problems caused by these activities by members of their extended families. These include domestic violence, rapes and imprisonment. According to a young woman from Nova California "I think that they it is the drugs that make them more aggressive". Women in Nova California and Sacadura Cabral reported vividly the aggressions they suffered at home and related it to drug addiction by their husbands and sons. In *Entra a Pulso* the association between drugs and rapes was also stressed "there is a great division here in the favela for the control of drug dealing...those that live here do not go to the inside [of the favela] and those from the inside do not come here...when someone is raped they blame each other. Women also think that the drug problem is going to get worse. Only in one group of five women groups, it was agreed that the problem is likely to improve.

Drugs, according to testimonies from various groups, are directly associated with violence, and made more serious by lack of education, vocational training and restricted access to the labor market. In this perspective, a child and an adolescent turn to drugs for their survival. One clear example was mentioned in Bode: "the child turns to drugs because it needs money to help the family..., here there was a boy who delivered drugs on the sidewalk...he is the "teco-teco", deliverer of "bagulho"...the older ones we call *avião*, it is them who give the *lombra* to the children of daddy..., they earn real easy R\$ 50..., and the mother thinks its ok because it guarantees food for the next day".⁹ Drugs therefore are family solutions that become family problems.

Men cite violence as a priority too but they associate it mostly with thefts, burglaries, and Police brutality of which they are typically the victims. Men cited safety and violence as a top priority in 6 groups, in two of which these issues were considered first priority. A group of youngsters in Sacadura for example stressed this point very forcefully: "They hit [first], then they question you"... they get near you and tell you to raise your arms and open your legs. Then they hit your legs. Then they call you shit and demand your documents." They put forward that Police aggressions that did not happen

⁹ *A criança, recorre às drogas porque precisa do dinheiro pra ajudar a família..., aqui do lado tem um menino que entrega droga na calçada... ele é o teco-teco, passador do bagulho... os grandes a gente chama deavião, são os que passam a lombra pros filhinhos de papai..., eles ganham com isso R\$ 50,00 fácil, fácil, e a mãe acha que tá certo porque garante a comida do outro dia.*

so frequently in the past. Police brutality and harassment played a role in Fábio's choice of his career in the future (see BOX). Despite the fact that he is very poor, he keeps on studying with the hopes that if he becomes a lawyer the Police would not beat him up.

In Nova California, a young man argued against the building of a local Police station. He pointed out that the Police treat people with brutality "they do not have any respect...you are on a date somewhere and they come and beat you up...why do we need a Police station?" (*com o menor respeito*). " *Você tá namorando com uma menina ali, é ele chegar, bater, espancar... pra que posto policial?*).

Men also cite sanitation much more than women. This is as a major priority for them probably because it is "a man's job to clean channels and clean the sewers" (statement by a group of men from Sacadura).

Schools were cited as a high priority in Vila Junqueira. The references are mostly to the quality of schooling. "This school was ok, but now is in shambles, there are no teachers for weeks. It lacks competent principals and teachers. There is no safety and no hygiene"

The discourse analysis of the focus groups suggests subtle differences that are not captured by the data in table 4.2. Men and women prioritized health and schools. However, the women's discussion of health and schooling issues are more comprehensive than the men's discussions. By contrast, the issue of unemployment seems to be of more concern to men.

The concern of women regarding health has to do not only with the fact women have the responsibility of taking the sons to hospitals and health centers, but also because women require more health care than men do. Men are concerned with the purchase of medicines, and they cite this as an activity that they do within the household. However, It is the women who take the children to consult with the doctors and to get vaccines (see the section on gender issues for an elaboration of this point). In addition to those faced by men, women have additional problems related to reproductive health.

Women refer to schooling not only as prerequisite of upwardly social mobility but also in very concrete terms: their role in choosing which schools the children go, taking the children to school and discussed problems affecting schools.

There are differences regarding the perception of problems by youngsters and older individuals. Youngsters complain more about lack of leisure activities and about Police brutality. They also tend to complain more about urban infrastructure: lack of pavement in the streets, garbage, and so on.

4.2 Perceptions of Trends and of Community Capacity to Solve Problems

Overall the groups showed a surprising disbelief in their capacity to solve problems by themselves. As the data in Table 4.3 and 4.4 indicate, in a very few cases the groups agreed that the problem being discussed could be solved by the community without external assistance. These cases are concentrated to a large extent in Morro da Conceição. Outside this community the two other cases are related to ‘violence’.

Similarly, in the narrative of the groups, there are only few instances of problems solved effectively by the communities themselves. In Borborema, to solve the water problem, each family contributed ten reais for the construction of a water tank and for the purchase of a pump. Although it was not explicitly brought in the groups, squatting can be construed as an extraordinary collective endeavor. The stories told by the groups are exemplary cases of successful collective action.

The story by a community leader from Vila União provides a good picture not only of the suffering and distress that accompanies squatting, but also of the cooperation and coordination problems that have to be solved (see Box 3).

BOX 3 - The Making of a Community Leader

Eduardo, 27, lives in the community since he was born. During childhood he washed cars, cut grass, and carried waste and water to complete the family income. He gave part of the money to his grandmother, with who he lived with. His parents did not work and could not raise him. His mother was a domestic worker and his father a butcher in a supermarket. His father always demanded the money he collected. When he did not collect any money he received physical and moral aggressions. The forced work and his father’s lack of understanding were remembered as negative points in his life. The first school was a ‘*escola de casa*’¹⁰, where he started his reading and writing, in a class of 20 girls and boys. According to him, these schools still exist in the community and initiate children’s education. Later when he was 13, he attended a public school and went back to live with his parents, since his grandmother could not teach his homework. His aunt, who was a teacher, began to give this guidance. In a certain moment, his father received a grant for a private school but Eduardo failed in the selection test. His brothers did not waste this opportunity and had their studies paid by their aunt. His sister managed to finish high school and his brother left primary school in the 4th grade and continued working in car and bicycle mechanic workshops. The family relation was broken when his father decided to leave his wife and sons to start another family. At that moment his father began paying the rent and a complement for food. After some time he did not help in anything. “Another thing that marked me was that I saw other kids getting presents from their fathers and mine did not give me anything”, remembered Eduardo. According to him, one of the most relevant facts of his teenage, was the invasion of the land that today is Vila União. At that time, he stopped studying for this cause and lived three months in a hut made of wood and plastic canvas. His brothers would take his meals, since he could not leave the place fearing that he would loose it. He stated that: “it was the hardest time of my

¹⁰ A sort of domestic school, usually supported by individual initiatives.

life, but I could not give up because my mother trusted me” (*Foi o tempo mais difícil da minha vida, mas não podia desistir porque minha mãe confiava em mim*). After a lot of resistance the municipality evicted the group to which he belonged. After two years of a lot of hardships a new invasion occurred and again the municipality tried to use the law to evict the group. Around 400 families won this battle with the support of the press and exerting pressure at the municipal legislature. *URB*¹¹ displaced 100 families to a warehouse that some time later tumbled down and was drenched. The interviewed remembers that he lived in this warehouse for 7 months. Again the press was requested to divulge the problem and this time the municipality decided favorably to the community. *URB* carried out a listing and donated houses and lots to the families. People that possessed a refrigerator or a television did not receive a donation. “I decided to keep the lot, since here in Vila União it is less violent and I have a better access to buses”. With the option of keeping the lot, Eduardo had to build his house. He had the help of a friend mason and of his godfather that bought the material for the construction. At this time Eduardo worked as a hod carrier. His father did not help in the house’s construction. With the house finished, he observed more closely the problems of the community. He was directly affected by problems such as lack of sanitation, violence at home and in the neighborhood, and the “absence of occupation” (*falta do que fazer*), rendering unemployment with his own words. In a certain moment he carried out an action that changed his life. He sent a letter to a large company that produced butter and cakes, requesting a culinary training course for the young in the community. The company that is located in the Rio Grande do Sul state, met their needs and undertook the course. “I sent the letter to another state because it would go directly to the source. I knew that if I sent it here, nothing would happen”. Eduardo attained other courses and donations of *cestas básicas*¹² from hotels and churches, in the attempt to mitigate the nutrition and leisure problem of the community’s residents. These initiatives elected him the community leader of Vila União. The new claims started to be sent directly to the president and to the ministries. These claims concerned, and still concern the lack of sanitation for the houses and streets of the district. Eduardo currently works as an educator of street girls that were victims of violence¹³. His hopes for the future are to attain a headquarter for the Neighborhood Association in order to house the training courses for hairdresser, manicurist and cooks. Another concern is to obtain sanitation for the community. The problem of the land ownership also concerns him since the municipality has only issued temporary titles. According to him violence “is a problem that everyday gets bigger” (*um problema cada vez mais sério*), the idea is to carry out some activities with the young in order to prevent the use of drugs, helped by specialized people that can provide a good guidance.

The sense of dependency on institutions is higher in the areas of unemployment and lack of public safety, and lower in the cases of drugs and violence. In the case of drugs a partnership of government and families are needed. Effective social policies are thought to be necessary to help the families. A man from Bode put forward that “without the help of the government, parents speaking with their children does nothing, as the problem is very serious and people get money from it.” (*sem o apoio do governo, de nada adianta os pais conversarem com os filhos, pois o problema é muito grave e dá dinheiro*).

¹¹ The Municipal Housing Company

¹² A minimal basket containing basic consumption goods.

¹³ Girls that are raped.

Most statements from the groups, in fact, focused on the need of external assistance ‘to help people help themselves’. A case in point was mentioned in Bode. In this community there was a very positive experience with the help of the Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Social (BNDES), state owned bank. The BNDES developed a project in partnership with the residents of the community for the construction of 159 popular houses. Regarding this example, all the participants of a group commented on the success of the project: “It was a big help for all of us, the Bank came in with the money, and we gave our labor..., we bought the construction material and paid the bricklayers here in the neighborhood”. It worth mentioning that the groups related these experiences to ‘politicization’ and community mobilization. They put forward that “from the moment that the group becomes politicized, it gains its claims... this example proves that”.¹⁴ The group also praised this initiative and proposed a repeat experience to solve the need for more ‘dignified’ housing.

A similar experience occurred in Padre Jordano where the residents built a water tank and paved a pathway with the building materials supplied by a local councilor. In Sacadura and Vila Junqueira people participated actively in housing schemes implemented by the local government. In Novo Horizonte a group of men argued that “the municipal government could give the material and we could get together to construct the health clinic” (*A prefeitura dava o material e agente ajudava a construir o posto médico*). In Bode the community was prepared to do the same for the construction of a new headquarters of the local cultural center.

In the case of the garbage, the partnerships are more complex. It is not just the collection of garbage that it is necessary. “It requires the community to dispose the garbage in the proper containers and the prefecture to provide the bins and to collect the garbage”. (Man from Novo Horizonte).

These examples of collective work – which are called in Brazil *mutirões* – are very old and traditional social practices in both rural and urban communities. However, they emerged as autonomous initiatives that are independent of government.

¹⁴ *Foi uma ajuda muita boa pra todos nós, o Banco entrou com o dinheiro e a gente com o trabalho..., a gente comprava o material de construção e pagava os pedreiros aqui do bairro”. “A partir do momento que um grupo se politiza, ele consegue suas reivindicações, esse exemplo prova isso.*

**Table 4.3 Problem Resolution
(13 most cited problems)**

Problems	Sites																				
	Bode		Borborema		Entra a Pulso		Vila União		Padre or-dano		Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Saca-dura Cabral		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	
Unemployment		I			I	I			I	I	I	I	I	CI	I	I	I	I	CI	I	
Lack of Sanitation	I	I	I	CI	I	I	I	I	CI	CI	I	CI	I	CI		I	C	C	CI	I	
Lack of Water	I	I	I	CI	I	I			CI	CI	I	I									
Lack of training and apprenticeship	I	I	CI		CI	CI			CI	CI										I	
Lack of Nurseries			CI						CI	CI	I	I			CI	I				CI	CI
Lack of Public Schools	I	I			CI	CI			I	I	I			CI		I				I	I
Drugs	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	I	I			CI		C	C	I	I	
Violence		CI	CI	I	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	I	CI		C			C	C			
Lack of Policing and Public Safety	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	CI	CI	I		I		I	I	I	I	
Poor services in public health clinics and hospitals	I	I		I	CI	CI	I	I	I	I	I	CI	I	CI	CI	I	C	C	I	I	
Lack of decent housing		CI	I	I	I	I			I	I	CI	I		C			I	I	CI	CI	
Insecurity of land tenure	CI								I	I											
Garbage			C	C	CI	CI					CI	CI	I		CI	CI	CI	CI			

Legend

C - community
CI - community with the assistance of institutions
I - institutions

Table 4.4 - Results from the resolution of problems

Problems that can be solved by the community	Problems that can be solved by the community with external support	Problems that only can be solved by external institutions
	Garbage	Lack of Policing and Safety
		Lack of Decent Housing
	Violence	Insecurity of land tenure
		Poor service in public health clinics and hospitals
	Drugs	Lack of Public Schools
	Lacks of Nursery	Lack of Water
	Lack of training and apprenticeships	Lack of Sanitation
		Unemployment

Source: table 4.3

Regarding people's hopes and fears for the future, there are interesting conclusions to be drawn from the reports. Most problems are thought to get better in the future with the exception of violence, drugs and unemployment. Interestingly, these are precisely the problems about which the poor also feel they have no capacity to solve. Most problems related to the provision of services or infrastructure are expected to improve. Lack of schools is unanimously referred to as a non-problem in the future. More interestingly, because of its salience as a problem, is the case of health care. Ranked the third most important problem by the groups, it is unanimously expected to improve in the future. Although no explicit account for this expectation is available in the reports, this is probably a consequence of the positive impact of the new government's programs in the area.

There is gender distinction in the perception of these problems (see Table 4.5). In most accounts, unemployment is expected to worsen by the men and to improve by women. One possible explanation is that the women are better positioned and skilled to get jobs that are being created in the service sector because of their greater access to education. The testimonies of men regarding the much greater visibility of female employees in public institutions and offices support this explanation.

Table 4.5 -Trend Analysis

Current Problems	Women		Men		Total Groups	
	Worsen	Improve	Worsen	Improve	W	I
Unemployment	5	3	6	0	11	3
Lack of sanitation	1	2	1	6	2	8
Lack of water	1	1	2	2	3	3
Lack of training schemes and apprenticeships	0	3	1	2	1	5
Lack of day care	0	2	1	1	1	3
Lack of schools	0	3	0	2	0	5
Drugs	4	1	1	0	5	1
Violence	2	1	2	2	4	3
Lack of safety	1	2	1	2	2	4
Bad service in health centers and hospitals	1	5	1	6	2	11
Lack of dignified housing	1	4	2	5	3	9
Insecurity of land tenure	0	2	0	0	0	2
Garbage	1	2	0	1	1	3

BOX 4 – The Hopes of a Young man

My mother has lived here for 23 years. I was born here. I grew up without my father and my mother who worked hard to raise us all. We did not have an easy time. She did whatever was possible to dress us all. To eat meat was a feast. At the age of 8, I started working with my mother, cutting lines in the textile business. When I was eleven I started in a company in Santo André and at the same time I was at school. Then I worked in an office, always helping at home and my brothers. Then I went to a cosmetic company, and stayed there for two years. I used to do some payments in São Paulo. I got a bus at 5 in the morning, then a metro. Around ten o'clock I would be back.

Then my granny went to Suzano and I went with her. She became ill and we only stayed there for four months. I was unemployed for some time, doing odd-jobs: washing motorcycles, cars. But I never stopped studying. When I was unemployed my girlfriend got pregnant and I did everything that showed up. Then I started in a mechanical workshop and I have been there for 4 years already. To work during the day and study at night is tough, you get very tired.

I always wanted to attend law school. I always wanted to be an attorney, to study to be a judge. I am still studying aiming at going to college, this is my objective. I will stop when I get to law school or am working as a lawyer. But I dream of being a judge. In a favela you see that people in Brazil have no idea of their rights. We have Police discrimination, the politicians abuse and use their knowledge to take advantage of those that have not this knowledge. So I want to know the rights and the obligations. I always thought it is a question of education. If we knew how to vote ... many do not remember in whom they voted.

I intend to pass my knowledge to other people that are ignorant, lost. When you are a lawyer you have certain privileges, have a good position. If a Policeman tries to beat you up he cannot, he does not have this power, if you are a lawyer.

Fábio, 21, from Sacadura Cabral

There are interesting conclusions to be drawn from the reports as far as problems and priorities of the poor are concerned. Unemployment is the most pressing problem affecting the communities. The physical environment in which the poor live is also a matter of concern, but the second most important problem is violence and public safety. In fact, the salience of violence and safety as issues in all sites was a non-anticipated finding. Even in Nova California and Novo Horizonte, which are located in a medium size city, this problem was cited as extremely important. This is all the more important because current debates on these issues tend to focus on the impact of crimes on the non-poor, and the poor is not generally viewed as victims but, rather, as the agents of violence.

Different groups within the community experience different problems. They perceive problems differently and prioritize them differently. Drugs, which were associated with the rise of violence, are a major concern for women but not to men. Women suffer more from the violence caused by drugs than men do. Similarly sanitation was more emphasized by men than women apparently because it is a men's job to fight the problems associated with it. Despite the fact that men and women prioritized

health and schools equally, the women's discussion of health and schooling issues are more comprehensive than the men's. Women are more directly involved with the children's school activities and also are more educated than men. There are also differences regarding the perception of problems by youngsters and older individuals. Youngsters complain more about lack of leisure activities and about Police brutality, of which they are victims.

Overall people are relatively optimistic about the future. With the exception of violence, drugs and unemployment, most problems are thought to get better in the future. However, these problems are precisely the problems about which they sense they have no capacity to solve. Men and women have also different perspectives on the future. Unemployment is expected to worsen by the men and to improve by women.

The groups showed a surprising disbelief in their capacity to solve problems by themselves, having cited few problems that could be solved by the community without external assistance.

5. Institutional Analysis

5.1 Important Institutions in People's Life

The institutions listed by the groups were very heterogeneous in nature. They include a variety of formal, informal, governmental and non-governmental institutions. But no informal or market institution was cited among the most important ones. Among the 11 most cited institutions two were non-governmental and nine were governmental. These were the Catholic Church, neighborhood associations (*associação de moradores*), the Police, schools, local health units, nurseries, hospitals, electricity, water and sewerage companies, and the municipal government.

The Catholic Church was not only ranked as the most important institution but also the one with the highest rate of approval. It was cited among the best institutions in 18 of the 20 groups, and was evaluated as the best institution by 6 groups. The presence of the Catholic Church in the communities was felt through individual priests or activists who were individually identified. The Church itself as a key community center was also noted in all reports. The Catholic Church was judged to be very important because it would provide spiritual assistance, help solve emergencies and even provide financial assistance. A mixed group of young people argued in case of financial hardship in Padre Jordano people would typically look for the Catholic Church.

The neighborhood associations were also regarded as crucial institutions for nearly all sites. They were mentioned as one of the most important institutions in 9 of the 10 sites, and were the second most positively evaluated institution. For the groups, the neighborhood associations were important because they were the channel for the expression of their demands. In addition they were regarded as very helpful both in time of crisis and in day-to-day life. The neighborhood associations were also cited as one of the institutions most looked for in times of emergency (more on this point at the end of section). The comprehensive role of the neighborhood associations was emphasized in statement in a mixed group in Nova California. They rely on them "in case of health problems at home, lack of food, lack of housing and other emergency problems".

Table 5.1 - Ranking of Institutions According to Importance By Groups of Poor Men and Women (13)

Institutions	Bode	Bor-bore-ma	Entra a Pulso		Vila União	Padre Jordano	Novo Horizonte	Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira	Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral			
	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Mixed	mixed	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men		
Catholic Church	X	1 st b	1 st b	1 st b	X	1 st b	X	X	X		1 st b	X	1 st b		X	X
Neighborhood Association	2 nd w	X	2 nd b	2 nd b	1 st b	X	X	3 rd b	X	1 st b	X	1 st b	X		1 st W U	X
Police	1 st w u	1 st w u	1 st w u	2 nd w u	X	1 st w u	X	X	1 st w u	1 st w u			1 st wu		1 st w	
Public School	X	X	X	2 nd b		X	1 st b	2 nd b	U	3 rd b u	1 st w	X	3 rd b		U	
Local Health Unit	X	X	3 rd b		2 nd b U	X	X		3 rd b	X	X	U	2 nd w		1 st M U	
Municipal Government		X			X	X	U	1 st w U	2 nd w		X	1 st w			X	
Hospitals	U	X	2 nd w		X	X	2 nd w				X	X				X
Charities /NGO's	X		X	X		X	X		2 nd b		X				1 st b	
Water and Sewerage Company		U	X	1 st w	X	2 nd w	3 rd b	X			X	X	X			X
Municipal Garbage Collection Agency	X	X	X		1 st w		X	X		2 nd w			X			
Electricity Company	X	X	X	X	3 rd b	U	X	2 nd w			U	X	X			
Telecommunication Companies	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			X	
Nurseries	2 nd b		X	X	X						X	X	X		X	X
Saúde em Casa (Health at Home service)	3 rd b						U	U	1 st b	2 nd b						
Firemen		X	U	X	X	X									X	
Local Bus Services		X							X		X	X			X	
Protestant Church	X	X						X					X			
Post Office					X				X		X	X				
Politicians		X	X			2 nd b									X	
Volunteers		3 rd b				3 rd b							X			X

Clube de Mães (Mother's Club)	X				2 nd w	X											
State and Municipal Health Secretaries		2 nd w		3 rd b	X												
Neighbors							2 nd b						X				1 st b
CSU – Community centers	X												2 nd b				
Secretary of Social Policies					X											X	
Deus é Amor (church)					X							X					
Universal (Church)		X									X						
Centro Espírita	U															X	
LBV – Legion of Good Will																	2 nd w
CONAB (Federal Food Corporation)								1 st b									
GRAC – Cultural center	1 st b																
Local Merchants					X												

For the men of Vila Junqueira, “the neighborhood association is the only institution that really tries to solve our problems” (*A associação dos moradores é a única que vai atrás para resolver os problemas*). In Vila União the group asserted that “the association is the instrument for our demands for social causes”.

Access is also a key factor in the evaluation of the neighborhood associations. “The association is close to us, it feels our problems too” (...) “it works day and night” (statements in a mixed group from Vila Junqueira). In many cases, the evaluations about these associations were conflated with the discussion of individual leaders. This personification of the analysis suggests that these were viewed almost as informal institutions. In Vila Junqueira, for example, this individualization occurred with numerous references to Dr. Durvalino. In Novo Horizonte and Nova California with the two women leaders, and so on.

The neighborhood associations were only criticized in Sacadura and Bode, by a competing group associated with another institution, Grac. The two groups were competing for support in the favela. But these criticisms were not elaborated by later group. In Sacadura, the associations were also criticized by the group of women (and pinpointed as the worst institution), but not by the group of men. However, this evaluation is contradictory because the neighborhood associations were listed as one of the institutions to which they turn in case of emergencies. The reasons for the negative evaluation were that: “we struggle a lot here.. but people do not come to the meetings and to the other things ... There are people who run for office in the association’s elections but do not participate afterwards”.¹⁵

¹⁵ *A gente luta muito aqui mas o povo não vem para as reuniões e para as coisas. Tem gente que se candidata na chapa para eleição e depois não participa. Por tudo isso precisa melhorar.*

The schools were also highly rated. The groups always cited schools with reference to the importance of schooling in social mobility. A young woman in Nova California remarked that “without education you can’t get a job” – a statement repeated virtually everywhere. In Novo Horizonte a group of young women argued that “you would not learn anything outside the schools, and that’s very good when they are located in the community. Kids develop learning [skills] there”. Less emphasis was put on the role it plays in community’s life in terms of cultural or social activities.

The utilities companies were also cited as important institutions. The electricity and phone companies are regarded as more professional and efficient. They provide important services that are of great importance to the communities. The water and sewerage companies are regarded as the worst ones.

In Nova California, the group complained that the service is unsatisfactory and the treatment they receive from the staff rude: “the water comes every 15 days, when we phone them ...the telephone rings and rings, and no one answers...when they come to turn on the water they come with hostility. I have carried a lot of water, from Califórnia...the community has had water [pipes] for four years, and this has been a community problem”.

In Novo Horizonte, served by same companies operating in Nova California, the analysis did not differ substantially. The men consider that the Phone company is a very good institution because “we ask a telephone.. and they come soon..”. On the other hand, the water company is perceived by them as working well in spite of the water shortage: “they look for a way to help the community providing containers for the people to accumulate water... it means that they are helping those that cannot pay for the service” (*eles procuram um jeito de ajudar, dando tanque.. tá olhando a quem não pode pagar água*). The electricity company received a very negative evaluation by the groups since the company has progressively tried to eliminate the illegal hook ups (*gato*), and it has demanded people to pay the electricity bills. They say that “the company is cutting the “*gato*” of everybody here... it does not provide electricity.. and when they find a ‘*gato*’ they puts it off .. They come to inspect the situation every 15 days.. in the poor houses down there.. it is negatively affecting this community”.

Table 5.2 - Ranking of the Best Institutions (three best institutions)

Institutions	Bode	Borborema	Entrada Pulso		Vila União	Padre Jordano	Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral	
	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Mixed	mixed	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Catholic Church		2	1	1		1					1		1			
Neighborhood Associations			2	2	1			3		1		1				
Public Schools				2			1	2	U	3			3		U	
Community health center			3		2				3			U			1	U
Saúde em Casa (Home Care Service) / SOS saúde	3						U	U	1	2						
Volunteers		3				3										
Nurseries	2															
Politicians						2										
Electricity Company					3	U					U					
State and Municipal Health Secretaries				3												

U – urgently needs improving

Table 5.3 - Ranking of the best Institutions (all sites)

	Women				men				
Catholic Church	1	1	1	1	1				
Neighborhood associations	2				1	1	2	3	U
Public schools	1	3	3	U	2	U	U		
Community health centers	1	3	3	U	U				
Health at home (saúde em casa)	1	U			2	U			
State and Municipal Health Secretariats					3				

U – urgently needs to improve

Local governments were rated very negatively in Itabuna, but were evaluated positively in Santo André, while in Recife the evaluation was mixed. It is worth stressing that these evaluations focused on the current municipal administrations, rather than the local government as an institution in itself. According to a women’s group in Santo André “It is beginning to do some good things here, but it is still a sort of outsider” (*Ela está começando a fazer coisas boas aqui, mas por enquanto ela está mais fora do que dentro*). After much discussion the women concluded that “this municipal administration has an interest in listening to us. There is also the participatory budgeting scheme” (*essa prefeitura até que tem se interessado em escutar a gente. Tem também o orçamento participativo*)

In Novo Horizonte, a man provided a very interesting picture of the local government/community relations “the municipal government looks at us with binoculars.. because it does not look at the unemployment situation, or sanitation,.. it is very distant from the community.. it does not help anyone here.. when we go to talk with the mayor, the security guards do not allow the community people to come in ...they keep an eye on us ... ask what we want there”.¹⁶ In Nova California a mixed group concluded that “whenever we need anything from the municipal government, most of the time the answer is ‘no’”.

¹⁶ *A prefeitura esta olhando para a gente de longe, de binóculo (...) porque a prefeitura não olha nem para emprego, nem saneamento básico, tá totalmente afastado da gente (...) porque não faz nada por ninguém, quando vai falar com o prefeito, os seguranças não deixam entrar, fica tudo de olho na gente, o que quer ali.*

Table 5.4 - Ranking of the worst Institutions

Institutions	Bode	Borbo-re-ma	Entra a Pulso		Vila União	Padre Jor-	Novo Hori-zonte		Nova Cali-fórnia		Vila Jun-queira		Morro da Conceição		Saca-dura Cabral	
	Mix	Mix	Women	Men	Mix	mix	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Police	1 U	1 U	1 U	2 U		1 U			1 U	1 U			1 U		1	
Neighborhood associations	2														1 U	
Water and sewage Companies		U		1		2										
Local Government							U	1 U	2			1				
Garbage collection companies					1					2						
Public hospitals	U		2				2									
State and Municipal Health Secretariats		2														
Public Schools									U	U	1				U	
Electricity Companies						U		2			U					
Community Health Centers (Posto de saúde)												U	2		U	

Table 5.5 - Ranking of the worst Institutions (all sites)

Institutions	women					men		
	1	2	U	1	2	U	1	2
Police	1	1	1	1	U		1	2
		U	U	U			U	U
Neighborhood associations	1				1			
					U			
Water and sewage companies							1	
Local Government	2	U					1	1
								U
Garbage Collection Company							2	
Public hospitals Públicos	2	2						
State and municipal Health Secretariat								
Public Schools	1	U	U				U	
Electricity Companies	U						2	
Community Health centers (Posto de saúde)	2	U					U	

1 – first 2 - second U – urgently needs improving

The Police was the third most cited institution and was almost unanimously regarded as the worst institution. Regarding trust in the Police, in eight sites community leaders replied that they had no confidence, and in two sites they replied they had little confidence. In 7 of the 10 sites, the Police was cited as the worst institution overall. Only in three communities it was not ranked so: Vila Junqueira, Vila União and Novo Horizonte. However people’s views of the Police in these communities were extremely bad. In Vila Junqueira a man stated that “we do not have safety in the suburbs, the Police shows up by chance”. Another man said that “when we call the Police, they ask is there any bloodshed? If we say no they reply 'we’ll go only if there is a bloodshed'. If someone is dead or stabbed”. In Novo Horizonte, a young man stated that “when we call the Police, we run the farther we can”. In Entra a Pulso a man pointed out that “when the Police comes here it is to rob us...to humiliate everybody”.

A fact that underscores the low confidence on the Police occurred in Bode. A father, whose daughter suffered a rape attack, preferred to call the Television Networks than the Police. In Sacadura a young women put it in a nutshell: "I do not know who to trust, the Police or the criminals".

Notwithstanding the little confidence they have in the Police, they regarded it as a key institution in terms of need. In fact, It was ranked first in terms of the institution which urgently needs improving in six of the ten sites. The community of Bode provides an illuminating case regarding the centrality of this institution to the community's life. The Police was regarded as the worst institution which urgently needs improving. But in response to mounting violence in the area, they came to the point of building a house to serve as a Police station. In their own account "in November of 1992 we built a small Police station (posto policial) with our own hands and our own money to scare off the violence ... the Police agreed to come here after lots of pressure..., all the same, in February of 1993 they left, because the "*marginais*" destroyed the cop's station".

Politicians were generally rated very low. The city's legislature was considered the worst institution in Vila Junqueira: "The municipal congressmen are all thieves...they do not solve anything, there are no schools, no health care. They do not vote issues that interest the people" (*Os vereadores são todos ladrões... Eles não resolvem nada, não tem escola, não tem saúde. Eles não votam as matérias de interesse do povo*). But there were very positive evaluations of individual politicians in Morro da Conceição, Padre Jordano, and Sacadura Cabral and Vila Junqueira (in these later cases, the mayor). According to a group from Padre Jordano "if it were not for the the help of the politicians, supplying the construction materials, so that that we could fix the sewers, the number of diseases here would be much higher". In Vila Junqueira, a woman pointed out that "things have improved a lot in the last 8 years. It was the mayor that started these improvements. The community helped a lot with labor. Everybody helped and thanks God now we have a [proper] neighborhood."

5.2 Trust, Efficiency and Control of Institutions

Overall men and women stressed criteria relative to both efficiency and trust in their evaluation of institutions. However, most participants felt unable to differentiate between these two aspects. The question "how do you rate the institutions in terms of confidence and trust" were many times answered in terms of access and efficiency criteria: "I do not trust them because they are incompetent." At other times the answers encompassed aspects relative to respect and propensity to listening. The statement by a man from Vila Junqueira about the neighborhood association encapsulated these aspects: "the neighborhood association is the only [institution] that tell the truth and that works day and night". Trust and confidence appears as emerging out of repeated successful interactions over time. Many references to the Catholic Church were made in terms of its effectiveness in solving problems. In Borborema, a woman stated that prior to the Catholic Church becoming active in the area, "this *favela* was a slaughterhouse, and everyday we could see two or three corpses in the streets".

Apart from aspects pertaining to confidence and efficiency, the poor prioritized the fact that the services were provided free of charge. With reference to this point, a man from Vila Junqueira put forward that: “Free services is important, but here everything that is free of charge is not done properly. Government does not pay well and we can not lay claims to the services. When they attend us it looks as if they are giving alms to us, but they are not, we pay taxes. It is necessary to have transparency in what they are doing, they can’t go away with the taxpayers money and tell nothing about how they are going to spend it. They devise public works of interest to nobody and disappear with it”.¹⁷

Table 5.6 - Criteria for Institutional Evaluation

Criteria	women						Men				
	Efficiency	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	3	3
Respect	1	1	2	3	4		1	4			
Trust	2	4	4				1	1	4		
Being listened to	3	3	4	5			2	2	5		
Quickness of response	2 ^o	4 ^o	5 ^o				2 ^o	2 ^o	4 ^o	5 ^o 5 ^o	
Good Professionals	1	2	3				1	3	4		
Services provided free of charge	5	5	5				3				
Infrastructure	2	4					5				

¹⁷ *Atender grátis é importante, mas aqui todo serviço que é grátis é mal feito. O governo não paga direito e a gente não pode nem cobrar. Quando é para atender parece que esta dando esmola, mas não é esmola não, a gente paga imposto. Tem que ter clareza no que esta fazendo, não pode pegar o dinheiro dos impostos e não dizer como e em que vai usar. Eles inventam obras que nem interessa a ninguém e depois somem com o dinheiro.*

**Table 5.7 – Nova California
Gender differences in Institutional evaluation.**

Criteria	Group 1: MEN (ADULT)	Group: 2: WOMEN (ADULT)
	1. There when needed.	1. Solve problems
	2. Good, timely service	2. Equal treatment
	3. Serve well and without delays	3. Work with love
	4. Go to ones home/ they help us/ they solve problems	4. They do not treat us with ignorance
		5. Good service
		6. Keep an eye on our needs

However, there were significant gender differences between men and women’s assessment of institutions (see Table 5.6). Women tended to emphasize respect while men stressed efficiency criteria. Efficiency was not mentioned in abstract terms. In the words of man from Novo Horizonte, inefficiency was associated with indignity and suffering: “I feel insulted when they tell me to come back some other time ... because it makes a fool of me ... we are there feeling weak from hunger, thirsty. And then ‘come back tomorrow’... and the guy there, hidden, not willing to attend us”.

Table 5.7 contains data for Nova California in which the criteria for evaluating institutions show important gender differences. There were criteria that were common to men and women, but these groups weighted these criteria differently. For men the most important criteria is to “be there when needed”. This was understood as the possibility to count on an institution “when one has a problem to solve.” Women mentioned a similar criterion, “solve the problem”, as the most important. They said that “to solve our problems is what matters” . To men the most important is “to provide services to us when we need” . “The bus service functions well, buses go by every 5 minutes...when we are in a moment of need, they help us.” The group of men explained what they meant by “to provide good service and without delay” “there was a problem here and we called the Police at 4 p.m., and they

came at midnight”. And they continued : “when I needed a doctor at the health unit I waited a good while in line to be attended to...although the doctor took care of me well...and my problem was solved”. For women, non-discrimination was very important (“equal treatment”), professional dedication (“work with love”), along with respect for the community and its problems (“don’t treat us with brutality”), responsiveness and care (“to keep an eye on our problems”), and efficiency (“good service”). For women, these criteria are linked together in the following testimony: “when we arrive with our problems... they give us attention, listen to what we say...and, to show that they want to help, they listen, even if the problem is out of their power to solve it”.

An example to the contrary would be the Police. Both groups agree that “there are many times that the Police is called and 5 or 6 hours pass by...we call them, and the Police don’t come...they only come in at the last case scenario, when we say ‘there was a fight and one guy killed another’...now, when it is a small thing, an afternoon goes by, a night and there are times when they never even show up”.

When asked if they had control over the institutions, some groups agreed that the community has control over those institutions that are closest to the community, where the community would be able to complain in cases of bad attendance, or unsatisfactory service. Asked about which institutions the community had greater control over, a group in Nova California argued that they “have more control over the Neighborhood Association...over Health in the Home (Saúde em Casa) ...we have little control over Coelba (electricity company), Telebahia (phone company), EMASA (water company), ...but, they provide good service and the community trusts them...”

As for which institutions they would like to have more control and influence over, the most cited ones are the Police and the local health center and clinics. Significantly, they wish to have control precisely over the institutions which they considered worst in terms of performance. Accountability, therefore, is the key for improving performance of these institutions in the community’s evaluation.

In Nova California a mixed group reported that “the community has little or no control over the Police, because they arrive, do what they want, and the community cannot complain...we cannot go to them and say: look, we would like more security... if one calls the Police...they come when they want... if they come. They don’t come on time like the gas, water, telephone, and when they get there, they are ignorant, and just come beating on the people here”...The community feels that it has control when they can “arrive and speak”...for example, “in the city government,...the President of the Association is in a position to go there, to speak to the officials, and to discuss questions concerning the community. (Referring to Health in the Home)... the community has the telephone number, the cell phone, the home phone number, and can complain from home in case of bad treatment from the Health in the Home doctors. If the Health in the Home doctor gives bad service, we complain to the city government, and ...the doctor may need to leave the community, well it isn’t that simple, but, it could reach a point that he would have to leave...”.

In Novo Horizonte, the picture is similar. The group of men stated that they have access to and have control of “the president of the community, Valdir, because he is always helping us. He is the strong arm of the community.... of the schools, because if the parents complain about of a teacher, he has to go, we have this power.”

For service quality “We don’t have control over Post Office, over Coelba (electricity company), over Telebahia (phone company), but they have some respect for the community, they give good service, serve well, deliver things on time (in the case of the post office)...”

The conclusion to be drawn from this case is that people expect services to be effectively provided. Control is not an end or issue in itself, but a means to overcome problems of ineffectiveness.

It is worth mentioning the omission of certain institutions in a number of sites where they are usually regarded as having great importance. The first institution is the trade unions in Vila Junqueira and Sacadura Cabral, both of which are located at the heartland of Brazilian industry and where the unions have had enormous political power. In these sites people did not refer to them and the references made were very negative. In the words of man from Sacadura: ““The unions used to have importance, not any more”.

Similarly, advocacy NGOs were rarely cited in Recife, which is well-known for its rich web of advocacy institutions. The NGOs cited were mostly charities sponsored by churches.

5.3 Coping with crisis

The community groups list the Neighborhood Association as the institution most frequently turned to solve emergency problems. Referring to health emergencies and deaths, a mixed group of young people in Padre Jordano agreed that “if something happens with someone ... we run to the association ... and then would decide to take the person to the local health unit or to the hospital”.

The highest rated institutions were the ones that the poor felt easiest to access. According to a woman from Entra a Pulso “only the Catholic Church or Father Marcos support people in any situation whatsoever... other institutions help but sometimes they can’t open their doors” (*só a Igreja Católica ou o padre Marcos acolhe as pessoas em qualquer tipo de situação... as outras ajudam, mais às vezes não podem abrir totalmente as suas portas*).

Table 5.8 - Institutions the poor turn to in time of crises

Institutions	Bode	Bor-bore-	Entra a	Pulso	Vila União	Padre J	Novo Hori-	zonte	Nova Cali-	fórnia	Vila Jun-	queira	Morro da	Conceição	Sacadura	Cabral
	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women 1	Women 2	Women	Men
Neighborhood associations		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Catholic Church		X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Hospitals/ community health centers			X	X		X						X	X	X	X	X
Firemen					X	X						X				X
Municipal Governments	X								X	X						

A mixed group of young people argued in case of financial hardship in Padre Jordano people would typically look for the Catholic Church in the person of the priest or the catholic volunteers that work in the community, in most cases Tia Penha - a local catholic volunteer. A group of elderly people in Morro da Conceição also underscored the key role of the catholic priest: “I’ve already told my daughter that is unemployed about him...lot of people go to him...a real large number”). The group of women in the same community said the following regarding the Catholic Church: “ the priest helps those in need, specially the more deprived ones: “if you need a bus ticket, food, a little help...he gives...he does not make a fuss of it” (*se precisar de uma passagem, de uma feira básica, de uma ajudinha...ele dá... ele não dá trabalho*).

In Vila Junqueira people “would resort in emergencies to Dr. Durvalino,” the community leader. According to a testimony of a local activist: “We were able to achieve many things with Mr. Durvalino. We are very much inspired by him, in spite of the fact that his cultural level is zero, bearing in mind his age and his effort, he is a fighter, a very strong warrior. If we had three of him here things would be much better. We have to thank God and this light that guides him to find solutions for us. All we have here came through his action, the water, the pavement and the catholic church in the community.”

Many groups also cited the firemen as key institutions to which they turn in case of crisis. And they have a very positive view of firemen. This has to do with the comprehensive role played by the firemen.: “here they work as ambulance, rendering help every 5 or 10 minutes. They even act as midwives if needed be” (mixed group in Vila Junqueira).

Many groups also cited “friends” – in some cases, particularly by older individuals, referred to as *compadres* - as an institution they turn to in case of emergencies. The Brazilian sociological literature refers to the institution of *compadrio* as a key feature in Brazilian society, particularly in rural communities. *Compadrio* is strongly associated with norms of reciprocity in social interaction and represent an extension of the extended family.

In Novo Horizonte friends were regarded as the third most important institution in crisis situations. Young groups also cited friends as relevant. But overall friends and neighbors and were cited only in two sites. This is a striking finding and underscores the weakening of primary ties in the urban communities. The family was also missing in most accounts of which institution one’s turn to in emergency crises. But this can be explained by the fact that many people probably felt that this question related to the family. In other words, the question was construed as to which institution the family turns to in case of crisis.

Despite the accounts above in which individual institutions were pinpointed, people’s reports frequently refer to a rich web of institutions. The testimony of a resident of Nova California suggest an intertwining of governmental, community and non-governmental institutions ” in the case of sickness in the home, when I can’t solve it, I turn to the President of the Neighborhood Association ... and if the problem remains ...I have Saúde em Casa (public health scheme), the ambulances,... I look for help from the President of the Neighborhood, or the local government...”. If the president can solve it, we talk with her, if she can’t, we have to look for other means...outside of the neighborhood. As for the President of the association she goes to the Citizenship Committee of the Bank do Brazil to solve problems that surpassed her capacity. ...“when the Association doesn’t have money to do what we have to do, be it medicine, basic food baskets, ...whatever is needed of them, they are there, and give...we trust them...”

The most striking aspect of the institutional evaluation is that, despite the ubiquitous criticisms of government, many governmental institutions were highly rated. The most cited institutions were the health centers, electricity companies, and public schools.

Many health and social assistance institutions were mentioned as providing good service and that explains the fact that they were placed among the best-rated institutions in many sites. They were also cited as important in moments of crisis.

In Borborema, although the group was very critical about the services received from the hospitals, they recognize that they still can trust some hospitals like the IMIP. One participant said “in my opinion, the IMIP is still one of the best ones... everybody says it is very good. Last year I had to do an eye surgery and everything was fine with me, ...they treat me very well” (*O IMIP para mim é um dos melhores, todo mundo diz que é bom. Ano passado, eu precisei operar os dois olhos, e foi tudo ótimo..., eles me trataram muito bem*). Another similar comment was made on the functioning of the Hospital da Restauração: “in spite of having few doctors for a lot of people, the doctors treat us very nicely... another day I had to bring my husband to amputate the leg... and they were nice... they

treated me and my husband very well ... he could not continue to suffer in that way” (*apesar de ter pouco médico pra muita gente, os médicos atendem a gente muito bem..., outro dia mesmo tive que levar meu marido para amputar a perna, e eles foram ótimos..., me trataram muito bem, tanto a mim quanto ao meu marido... que não podia continuar sofrendo daquele jeito*).

The programs that provide health care to the residents in their places of residences were highly praised and unanimously regarded as very efficient. These include the Saúde em Casa in Itabuna, the health community officers (PACS) in Recife and Santo André, the SOS saúde.

The PACS was positively evaluated in Vila União and Bode. *Saúde em Casa* was highly rated in Itabuna “If the problem cannot be solved there...they take us to the hospital...they give preference to senior citizens. But there are times when there are few vouchers [used to set the order at which people are attended] — 15 vouchers are distributed per day — they have a generalist doctor, a dentist...it is very good for the community”.¹⁸

There were also important variations across the sites. Some Federal Government programs, which were implemented in the 90s, received good evaluations. These include the food distribution scheme under Comunidade Solidária. In Itabuna, people evaluated very positively the Conab - National Food Corporation – that distributed *cestas básicas* (a basket of food products) to the population under the Comunidade Solidária program. This program was a comprehensive federal government’s initiative targeted at the poor population in the poorest municipalities of Brazil. The municipalities were weighed according to a host of criteria and the poorest municipalities were given priority in government programs. These included a scheme for food distribution. In Novo Horizonte a group of older men elected Conab as the best institution and remarked that “here about 70 to 75% of the unemployed people depends on this cesta básica to survive”.

The newly created federal health schemes were also highly rated in Bode, Novo Horizonte, Nova California, Vila União, and Borborema.

The municipal departments for social promotion were also positively assessed in both Vila Junqueira and Sacadura Cabral: “[the department] ... supports the community a great deal ... the social workers there help the people obtaining personal documents and care for those in need” (woman from Sacadura). In Vila Junqueira, in its turn, “they were said to treat people very well”. In Morro da Conceição, a group of elderly people, argued that the municipal government’s social services department was crucial for the day care which functioned as an important community center: “It is our social protection. the only place we get money from’.

¹⁸ *Se não puder resolver lá .. eles levam você para o hospital... eles dão preferência as pessoas de idade, agora, tem vezes que as fichas são poucas – 15 fichas são distribuídas por dia – tem clínico geral, dentista... é muito bom para a comunidade.*

People were very critical of some employment agencies in Sacadura and Vila Junqueira. A man from Sacadura complained that “there are a lot of requirements when you go to a job agency”. Also in Sacadura a man argued that these institutions should not even exist, because it led only to frustration. These comments are worth noting considering the location of these sites in one of the most industrialized of the Brazilian municipalities.

The social security pensions were not mentioned explicitly as a source of security and stability in any group. In a number of cases, however, pensions were cited in passing. Many testimonies of people who improved their well-being overtime include references to a pension. Because of the low values of pensions (typically equal to 1 minimum salary), they are not cited as a way out of poverty. Even for retired low rank public employees or retired salaried workers previously in the formal sector of the economy, the pensions would just allow people to avoid extreme deprivation. Even for those living in shacks, it is necessary to supplement the income. Although restricted to few people, the security of the income transfers over time is indeed a source of security.

The story of Bahiana, a woman from Nova California, provides a good illustration of this point:

Box 5 - Pensions as safety nets?

It is important to have work, as without work it is impossible to survive. With work we solve things more easily. We work here and have money, with money we can solve some of our problems. There are some that cannot, such as those who have many children, who live off social security which are not enough. With a minimum salary ... a small child one can't work, it's impossible. If everyone at home worked things would be better, this would allow people to go about progressing. I too, when I get a job... it's that, now, I'm sick and had to stop, but I'm getting better. I'm going to stock my sales, I've already going to throw in more groceries and things are going to get better for me. I went to work to get this *venda*,* without work one doesn't have anything.

(...)

Are things better now? It is mostly because in the old times houses here were all made of mud and wood planks. There was work... and now I am able to make a house of cement and brick. I managed to get this piece of land, to build here in the front, I've already made it bigger, and just need to finish it. It's just that with only the pension and the minimum salary [at its current value] I have no means to do better. I don't have work, and without a job how does one build? ***Bahiana, woman from Nova California***

* improvised grocery shop, usually in a room of the house.

This finding is consistent with the fact, mentioned earlier, that there are no indications in the accounts of poor people that poverty is associated with old age. In fact, older people tend to enjoy better living conditions. This has to do with the role of the extended family in supporting elderly family members. Early retirements – a distinguishing feature of the Brazilian social security system - allow the lucky few among the poor people to supplement the earnings from pensions with other sources of income.

The references to advocacy NGOs (or grassroots support organizations) were very scarce. The ones that were reported have to do with land evictions and cultural activities. In case of emergencies they rarely play any role safe in case of legal assistance during land conflicts. The NGOs that were cited with reference to emergency situations were typically religious institutions (catholic, protestant, Kardecist) and LAR.

A variety of both formal institutions and informal social networks were reported, particularly in the older and more consolidated communities; like Bode and Morro da Conceição. In Morro da Conceição they listed a cultural association, the Old age group, a samba 'school', a dance club, among others. In other places there were active mother's clubs. In Borborema there was a Clube da Sopa (soup club),

which provided soup for the local poor in partnership with the Catholic Church volunteers. In Sacadura it included Samaritans, ex- Alcoholics, a host of charities and so on.

In some sites the number and variety of institutions are much higher than in others (see Table 5.9). Thus, Novo Horizonte and Nova California have fewer voluntary associations than Morro da Conceição and Sacadura Cabral. There seems to be a correlation between community and civic life and the level of consolidation of the community (quality of infrastructure; improvements). The organizational complexity of Morro da Conceição, and Sacadura Cabral correlates with the much higher level of consolidation of these areas. However, it is impossible to identify the direction of the causality: whether if older and more consolidated sites engender a richer civil society or, rather, whether a consolidation itself is caused by it.

Table 5.9 – Institutions listed by site

Number of Institutions cited by sites	Bode	Borborema	Entra a Pulso	Vila União	Padre Jor-	Novo Hori-	Nova Cali-	Vila Jun-	Morro da	Sacada-
	Mix	Mix	Women Men	Mix	Mix	Women Men	Women Men	Women Men	Women 1 Women 2	Women Men
TOTAL	38	27	25 26	24	28	12 12	12 11	22 28	31 34	20 20

Squatting is example of an initiative accomplished through a variety of social networks. But the extended families and the so-called *comadres* and *compadres* (special friends), constitute the core of these networks. But they also include local politicians and their *cabos eleitorais* (ward officers). Networks of these kinds are numerous and are embedded in patronage practices.

The story told by a woman in Vila Junqueira is illustrative: “ this old lady I mentioned advised me: go squat in that little piece of land. It belongs to the municipal government and nobody will harass you ... and I was scared that the mayor would not let me stay, so I settled in a pierce of land the deep into in the woods. Then I talked to a local councilor ... because he was the one who instructed me to squat. His wife said I should be quiet that nobody would bother me. I’ve lived in this *barraco* (shack) for 22 years. It was there that I brought up my kids”.

There are many references attesting to the role of patronage in getting access to public services. “It is necessary to have a *padrinho* (patron) otherwise you just mould [in the line]. “ (young woman from Padre Jordano).

People are exposed in many sites to the risks of natural disasters. These are of two types: floods (Sacadura Cabral, Vila Junqueira, Entra a Pulso, Bode) and landslides (Morro da Conceição). In these two cases people engage in collective work. They help each other to drain areas, rebuild their homes and remove the mud.

There were references to solidaristic behaviour involving neighbors in various cases. In Bode, neighbors stored water for one another in case they were absent from home in times that the water was made available in the pipes. A man from Vila Junqueira pointed that the local people “helped [him] me with the construction. Here people care but do not want anything in return”.

In sum, many insights on the role of institutions on people’s life emerged in the analysis. Surprisingly, there was a prevalence of governmental institutions vis-à-vis non-governmental or market ones. The Catholic Church was not only ranked as the most important institution but also the one with the highest rate of approval, and was evaluated as the best institution overall. The presence of the Catholic Church in the communities was felt through individual priests or activists. The Catholic Church’s legitimacy was very much associated with its role in everyday life and in helping people.

The neighborhood associations were also regarded as crucial institutions for nearly all sites. Rated as the most important institutions in 9 of the 10 sites, it was the second most positively evaluated institution overall. The community groups list the Neighborhood Association as the institution most frequently turned to solve emergency problems. For the groups, the neighborhood associations were important because they were the channel for the expression of their demands and were helpful both in time of crisis and in day-to- day life. Local governments, in turn, received mixed evaluations.

The most striking conclusion regarding the institutions was the fact that the Police was almost unanimously regarded as the worst institution. Notwithstanding the little confidence they have in the Police, they regarded it as a key institution, which urgently needs improving.

Another important finding was that men and women stressed criteria relative to both efficiency and trust in their evaluation of institutions. However, most participants felt unable to differentiate between these two aspects. This finding has important methodological implications and suggests a need for the reformulation of the research strategy in this point.

There were significant gender differences in the assessment of institutions: women emphasized respect and men stressed efficiency criteria.

The Police and the local health center and clinics were the institutions that the participants would like to have more control and influence over. It is very highly significant, that they seek to have control precisely over the institutions which they considered worst in terms of performance.

An unanticipated finding has to do with the fact that families, friends and neighbors were cited less frequently than other institutions. This suggests the weakening of traditional social bonds in urban communities in Brazil.

Despite the pervasive criticism of government in the groups, many governmental institutions were highly ranked in terms of their role in assisting people in time of crises. These include a few of the newly created federal health schemes and programs. There are also indications that the social security was important although the number of beneficiaries was very limited.

The older and more consolidated communities boasted a much higher number of formal institutions and informal institutions suggesting a correlation between social capital and the level of consolidation of the community.

6. Gender Relations

6.1 Labor Markets, Power and Changes in Gender Relations

The accounts by the 40 women groups (with a total of 359 women) and by the 22 women who were interviewed individually suggest a strong convergence or virtual unanimity that the role of the women changed considerably. In fact, at this general level, this is not surprising. The most interesting findings with respect to gender relations are to be found in the patterns of changes. The changes show a pattern of the women expanding horizontally their responsibilities rather than replacing old responsibilities by new ones. As a woman from Bode put it very clearly: “women have really managed to improve their lives, to be more independent, but there is no doubt that they are overloaded” (*a mulher realmente conseguiu melhorar sua vida, ser mais independente, mais sem dúvida ela está sobrecarregada*).

Men also recognize these changes: “I know i’m machista, radical ... but I confess that the women progressed a lot. In the old days, women were afraid of gynecologists ... didn’t drive, work, make payments, nor travel alone or did any heavy duty work. They just cooked and took care of the kids inside the house. Today, women build houses ... I’ve seen many cases around here”¹⁹

A similar pattern of incremental change applies to men but the changes are less significant. Men did activities that were exclusive of women in the past, but this occurred in most cases ‘by default’. They engage in ‘women activities’ only when the women are unable to do the job because of sickness or emergency situations.

Important changes have occurred which are primarily associated with the capacity to earn income. The relationship between income and power in gender relations were stressed in an impressive number of cases. A man from Bode pointed out that “not only I decide everything in the house, but I also provide the food in the table..., that’s why I’m the family head” (*eu não só decido tudo dentro de casa, mas também boto a comida na mesa..., por isso é que eu sou o chefe da família*). The same theme is reiterated by a woman from Entra a Pulso who argued that: “today, when the woman makes more money than the husband, he has to put his head down and give in ... he can’t complain about what kind of job you do, because it is this minimum salary that maintains the family”. (*Hoje, quando a mulher ganha mais do que o marido, ele tem é que baixar a cabeça e aceitar..., não pode reclamar do tipo de trabalho, porque é com esse salário mínimo que se garante o sustento da família*).

The domestic division of labor appears then to be moving in the direction of more equality, or more precisely less inequality, as a result of broader changes in the labour market. In the words of a man

¹⁹ *Eu sei que sou machista, radical..., mas confesso que a mulher avançou muito. Antigamente, a mulher tinha vergonha de ir ao ginecologista, ... a mulher não dirigia, não trabalhava, não fazia pagamentos, não viajava só e nem pegava no pesado...só ficava cozinhando e cuidando dos filhos dentro de casa. Hoje, até casa a mulher tá construindo...já vi muitos casos por aqui.*

from Entra Apulso, “in fact, the one who is not working is the one with more responsibilities in the house...it could be the man or the woman, one of the two is going to be overloaded ... but when the two are working they share the tasks”. (*na verdade, quem não trabalha é que tem mais responsabilidade na casa..., pode ser o homem ou a mulher, um dos dois vai ficar sobrecarregado..., mas, quando os dois trabalham as tarefas são divididas*). In Vila Junqueira a man made a similar point: “when I was working I used to decide. When she is working, she owns her money, and does anything she wishes”.

The key process underlying the changes in gender relations has to do thus with the structural transformation in the labour market. Two trends were reported. Women have been increasingly incorporated in labor markets and jobs have become increasingly more difficult for men. A woman from Vila Junqueira made the point forcefully: “the women over forty are getting jobs. But the employers don’t allow men to work” (*As mulheres aqui depois dos 40 anos conseguem trabalho, enquanto as firmas não permitem que os homens trabalhem*). This latter trend has to do with women being in general more educated than man – a fact that came out of the discussions and that is confirmed by a number of studies.

While generally acknowledging that their participation in the labor market led to important transformations, many women maintained that working women in the past had no control over the income they earned. “ Women didn’t know how much they earned in the past ... the income was in the hands of the husband, who would add it to his own earnings and then would decide how to spend it.. today is different, they reckon up the bills, they give their part and retain some petty money” (*a mulher não sabia nem quanto ganhava antigamente..., a renda ficava toda na mão do marido que juntava com o que ele ganhava ele mesmo decidia como gastar..., agora é diferente, as mulheres fazem as contas com o marido, dão a parte dela e ficam com um trocadinho*). This suggests a pattern of gender domination that cannot be reduced exclusively to economic factors.

Women refer to the changes as the product of their own struggle against male dominance. “a man can say I’m the boss here, but he’s no longer... in the past he was the head of the family, the owner of the woman... The women are in a better condition because of their own struggle” (*O homem pode dizer “eu mando”, que ele não manda..., antigamente, ele era o chefe da família, o dono da mulher”..., a melhoria da mulher foi uma conquista da própria mulher*).

It is worth emphasizing that women feel empowered because of their increasing capacity to earn income. A woman from Entra a Pulso relates her income earning role to freedom and to the power to make decisions: “today we go out, knocking in every door, looking for a job, ... this is what making decisions in life is all about ... it is to feel free” (*Hoje nós, saímos, batendo de porta em porta atrás de um emprego ... isso é que é tomar decisão de vida..., sentir-se livre*).

In Novo Horizonte, a man argued that the women have more power than men do and relate this empowerment to education: “woman has more power than man. Today we go to the public institutions and there is only women.. In the bank, in the post office, in the Police station we only see

the women's pens ... women had access to education, had the options that it did not have in the past. Today they are councilors, mayors.. the women have more power and rights than men. All the men have today, they have to share with them".²⁰

The women in the group disagree with this perception of the men and put forward that: "the women has more power today than in the past but no more than men" (*As mulheres tem mais poder hoje do que antes mas não mais que os homens*). Women also feel that despite the changes, they are the ones who *assume o rojão* (bear the brunt): "we are more courageous, firm, not scared of saying what we want, knows how to help ourselves, reconcile the tasks at work and at home, but in real fact we are the ones who *assume o rojão* ... [because we are more patient, cook, educate the children, go to the bank, shopping".²¹

Despite the changes it is generally regarded as a men's responsibility to be the family provider. Many statements underscore this fact. It is also suggested in more subtle ways. When asked about the activities they perform in the community, a group of women from Novo Horizonte listed the following ones: "walk down, go to the doctor, get the children to the doctor, work as housemaids, go to parties, go to the church, drink beers, go to the beach, dating, and visits to parents and friends" (*passear, ir para o médico; levar o filho para o médico; trabalhar (faxina, doméstica lavadeira); vai para festa, vai para a Igreja; vai beber cerveja; vai à praia; vai namorar; vai visitar parentes e amigos*). The men listed the following activities outside the house: "work, bring money to the family, help friends, walk out, *mutirão* (work in collective activities), go to church" ("*Trabalhar; trazer dinheiro para a família; ajudar os amigos; passeia (casa da mãe, casa dos filhos); mutirão; vai para a Igreja*"). Among the common activities pointed by the groups are "work" and "go to church." It is important to notice that the man clearly identify their role in getting the money to the maintenance of the family whereas the women do not give this any importance in their discourse.

6.2. Responsibilities and Decisions within the Household and the Community

There were important changes in women and men's responsibilities within the household. Many of these changes were attributed to women being more assertive, having income and also to the rising male unemployment which led men to engage in activities related to the care of the family children's. Table 6.1 list the most cited activities carried out by men and women in the ten sites. Men cited as new responsibilities to cook, to sweep the floor, to do the laundry, to wash up - all of which were regarded as typical women activities. In addition they also mention to 'educate the children' (*educar as crianças*) . This general expression means in Brazil to be concerned with the overall development of

²⁰ *A mulher tá com mais força que o homem. Hoje a gente vai a uma repartição só tem mulher, só se vê mulher. No banco, correio, delegacia só se vê a caneta da mulher... A mulher teve o estudo, teve as opções que não teve antigamente. Ela já é vereadora, prefeita. A mulher tem mais poder e mais direito que os homens tudo que o homem tem hoje tem que dividir com a mulher.*

²¹ *No geral, eu acho que a gente tá mais corajosa, decidida, não tem medo de dizer as coisas, sabe se virar sozinha, conciliar as tarefas do lar e do trabalho, mas, na realidade, quem assume o rojão mesmo é a gente...que tem mais paciência...cozinhar, educar os filhos, ir no banco, na feira.*

sons from schooling to social behavior. Women, in turn, cited as new, activities that were typical men’s jobs in the past because they were thought to require the uses of strength: to paint the house, to build or make improvements in the house, to carry buckets and so on. They also referred to ‘make payments’ – underscoring the women’s new role in having income of their own.

Table 6.1 – Activities within the household

Men	Women
New activities	New activities
Sweep the floor	Make payments
Cook	Help to build/improve the house
Do the laundry	Paint the house
Wash up	Carry buckets of water and gas containers
Fill buckets of water	
Educate the children	
Current activities	Current activities
Sweep the floor	Educate the children.
Cook	Take care of husband
Do the laundry	Do the laundry and ironing
Wash up	Work at home
Fill the buckets with water	Cook
Educate the children; take them to school and doctors	Buy provisions and make payments
Buy provisions and make payments	Help to build/improve the house
Fix things around the house	Paint the house
Help to build/improve the house	Carry buckets of water and gas containers
	Clean the house
Activities in the past	Activities in the past
Do the shopping	Educate the children
Take care of the kids and take them to schools and doctors	Take care of husband
Fix things around the house	Do the laundry
Do the shopping and make payments	Cook
Help to build/improve the house	Buy provisions
	Work at home
	Clean the house

Men and women differed markedly in terms of the decisions they make within the household. These decisions also changed over time. Table 6.2 lists a number of decisions made by men and women in the present and in the past. Women cited as new the following decisions: to decide about when to travel, to enroll in a course, to look for jobs, which school the children attend, and whether to file complaints about offences against herself or against sons. These can be evaluated as highly significant changes. The scope of these changes contrast markedly with the situation of men. In fact, men were not able to list any new decision they make today in relation to the past. All decisions they list today when to make payments or buy electrical appliances, to choose the place of residence or when to make improvements in the house were also made in the past.

A discussion about the decision to paint the family house illustrates how the issue of work underpins these changes. According to a man from Nova California “if she has the money, she can go on and paint. Bu t with my money is up to me to decide”.

The discussion involving a group of young men and a group of young women about the decisions within the household in Nova California is a case in point (Table 6.3). The decisions listed by men and women differ not only in terms of their content but also in terms of how they change over time. The men listed a much shorter number of decisions one of which concerns men's power in general ("set the rules"), while women cited a much longer list of decisions. More importantly, according to the group of young men, there occurred no change in the decisions taken by men. In the subsequent discussions with the women the men acknowledged that "women today make more decisions and plan more with their husband". By contrast, the women note very significant changes. In relation to the two first decisions listed by the women – "the decision to separate from the husband", and to "lodge complaints about aggressive behavior" of men, they pointed out that: "In the past women didn't have the courage to make these decisions". These decisions are significant in that they point to women's empowerment.

There appears to be more balance in women and men's responsibilities in the decision making process in the community. According to a woman from Itabuna: "there are women that work and provide clothing to their husbands... there are even women mayors now. They are presidents of community [associations], look for doctors, they want all the children at school. They car for the communities...This shows that there have been a lot of change and the women have more power now".²²

In the ten sites, five community leaders were female. Overall, however, women tended to be much more involved than men in community activities. The women cite a much richer list of activities that they do in the communities. It is also highly significant that women mentioned that they did not have that power in the past (see Table 6.4). In the words of a woman from Borborema: "in the past women did not preside over anything".

The accounts of women activism in land conflicts for example are much more vivid than the men's. "At the time of the struggle for the community causes, women were very united...they wanted to fight for their ideals, ... They went to the streets with pans, glasses, wooden spoons to confront the Policemen and the local government officials when the houses were built and knocked down... women have a new vision of the world now, more power" woman from Bode.

It is interesting to notice that women mentioned lack of respect and scorn against their community work as an example of ill-treatment they are exposed to in the community.

Table 6.2 – Decisions made within the household

²² Tem mulher que trabalha e dá até roupa para o marido.... hoje tem até mulher prefeita ... são presidente de bairros, vão atrás de médico, querem todas as crianças na escola. Elas querem zelar pela comunidade... Isto mostra que mudou muito porque hoje as mulheres tem mais poder do que antes.

Men**In the present**

When to make payments
About the choice of place of residence
About the purchase of household appliances
About the purchase of the children's medicine

In the past

When to make payments
About the family entertainment
About the choice of place of residence
About the purchase of household appliances
About the purchase of the children's medicine
When to make improvements in the house

New decisions

No new decisions made

Women**In the present**

To travel
Enroll in a course
Look for jobs
Which school the children attend
To take the children to doctors
Separate
File complaints about offences against herself or against sons

In the past

Buy things for the house
To take the children to the doctor

New decisions

To travel
Enroll in a course
Look for jobs
Which school the children attend
File complaints about offences against herself or against sons

Nova California

Table 6.3 – Decisions within the household

Activities	Before	now
<i>Young Women</i>		X
		X
“to separate from the husband”,		X
“to lodge complaints about aggressive behavior”,		X
“to decide about the number of children”,		X
“to paint the house”,	X	X
“to decide about the children’s school,		X
“to decide about the children’s entertainment	X	X
“about furniture”,		X
“what to buy at the market”,		X
“additions to the house”,	X	X
“Buy children’s clothes”.		
<i>Young Men</i>		
Set the rules	X	X
Decide if wife is going to work	X	X
Changing of place of residence	X	X

Young men and women diverge in terms of the activities they do in the communities. A group of young women in Nova California, for example, listed a number of activities that women do today outside their homes: manage schools, coordinate religious activities, work in the public health programs; sell things in the markets, own small businesses, organize local parties, clean the streets, and make candies to sell. The young men identified the following ones: play soccer, go to parties, work in the informal sector, to study, go to church, engagement with religious activities, go to the parks, play pool, pay bills in the bank, and dating. The list of activities suggests that the women are more community oriented than men. In contrast, there is a pattern in the men’s answer relating activities done outside their houses to leisure. (See Table 6.4)

As mentioned before, in the section on violence, the women appear to be most vulnerable group in society (See Tables 6.5 and 6.6). Women in families without an adult male member are more likely to suffer sexual abuse, ill-treatments and aggressions. In many sites (e.g. Padre Jordano, Borborema, among others) women who lived alone were raped in their houses. In addition, their adolescents and children are thought to be more likely to be bullied at schools.

Although the groups feel that women today have more power than in the past and that there is a trend towards a more balanced relationship in many spheres of life, the pattern of male violence and domination is still prevalent. A man from Bode articulated this ambiguous combination of enhanced consciousness about rights and continued male violence in a cynical language: “in the past, women used to be beaten up while seated. Now they stand up to be beaten up (laughs) (*Antigamente a mulher apanhava sentada. Hoje ela levanta para apanhar de pé*).

Table 6.4 - Decisions made in the community today and in the past

Men	Women
<p>New decisions Represent the community in committees</p>	<p>New decisions Organize protests and petition for improvements Organize campaigns (vaccines, etc)</p>
<p>Common Decisions made in the present - and in the past Help solve sanitation problems Petition for solutions for community problems Organize campaigns</p>	<p>The women argues that they had no power to do so</p>

Table 6.5 – Ill-treatment and aggressions within the household

Men	women
<p>New ill-treatments or aggressions</p> <p>Cheating Being beaten up When partner ignores one's presence Disrespectful to family members Women willing to give orders Interruption of rest Lack of support and dialogue Lack of privacy in the house by presence of strangers Shouts When wife complain about lack of money Meal not ready when arrive from work To arrive drunk and be ill-treated</p>	<p>New ill-treatments or aggressions s:</p> <p>Disrespectful behavior on part of sons towards them Men's attempt to taking the money they earned Men taking advantage of women's work and not doing things around the house</p>
<p>New ill-treatments or aggressions in the past and in the present</p> <p>Jealousy Distrust Women complaining about going out to drink or play football</p>	<p>New ill-treatments or aggressions in the past and in the present</p> <p>Being beaten up by husbands Disrespectful behavior on part of husbands towards them Cheating When partner ignores one's presence Jealousy When husband separates Lies Drunken husbands break things in the house and/or rape her or daughters When husbands prohibit wearing short skirts and dresses When husbands disappear and come back on the day after Rude treatment</p>

Table 6.6 - Ill-treatment and aggressions within the community

Men	Women
New ill-treatments and aggressions	New ill-treatments and aggressions
Envy Robberies	Rape and physical assault Deaths and being fired on Sexual harassment Fights Invasions in widows and unmarried women
New ill-treatments and aggressions In the past and in the present	New ill-treatments and aggressions In the past and in the present
Physical assault Neighbor's loud music Disrespectful behavior towards the elderly distrust Being called a robber Social and racial Discrimination Quarrels with neighbors	Verbal abuse (<i>rapariga, gostosa, boazuda, tá no ponto</i>) Physical assault Robbery Social, sexual or racial Discrimination Disrespectful behavior towards the elderly Humiliations Lack of respect for women's community's work

Many women reported that they have better access to the courts now. In the words of a woman from Nova California “women can go to the Police station for any little thing, women can now go to the Police to file a claim... And then men go to jail, things actually happen. Before there was nothing of the sort ... men battered women... and that was that, many women kept living with them. Today, for any little thing, the women have the right to complaint. They go there , file a complaint, and there you have it.” A man from Sacadura Cabral put forward that “in the past the courts did not take the women’s word. Now it is different”. (*Antes a Justiça não contemplava a palavra da mulher. Agora é diferente*).

This is a general pattern that is benefiting the communities as a whole. In Padre Jordano, a mixed group of women and men agreed that people are lodging complaints more frequently than in the past. Asked about how much confidence they had that they would be treated fairly irrespective of which social class/race/religion they belonged to, six community leaders replied “depends on the situation”, and only one replied “no confidence”.

The list of aggressions that the women suffer in the community is much longer than the men’s in virtually all communities. They include a number of aggressions that are also suffered by men such as racial and social discrimination, physical assault and disrespectful behavior towards the elderly, but also: sexual harassment (unsolicited physical contacts in buses and trains), rapes, verbal abuse – vividly described by both young and older women – and men’s invasions of the houses of widows and unmarried women.

There are no specific discussion regarding whether some women are better-off than other women in the same community. Women tend to refer to the situation of the women today in comparison to the past, as if the changes cut across all groups of women. But the groups of young women present a discussion pattern that is very different from those of older women. There are significant differences between what they think women do today vis-à-vis what they used to do in the past. They are less tolerant of behavior which are thought to be typical of the past.

The discussion of gender relations has pointed to a number of findings. There have been important changes in the conditions of the women in the poor communities. Women have more power now both within the household and the community. These changes are associated to a large extent to the progressive engagement of women in salaried work. Women play a key role in mobilizing and petitioning for improvements and take up more collective tasks in the community. Furthermore, women have been suffering less violence within the household and been less subjected to discriminations within the communities. Gender relations however are characterized by an asymmetric pattern in which men have more power.

7. Findings and Conclusions in the Light of the Literature on Poverty in Brazil

People's perception of well-being showed significant variance across the groups and sites. It is possible, however, to identify a number of commonalities in the themes of well-being, quality of life, and living conditions. People tended to equate poverty with powerlessness and impotence and to relate well-being to security and a sense of control of their lives. Security is associated in the reports with a variety of factors including employment and steady income; access to food; good health and having access to health services, and last but not least, land tenure and homeownership.

The poor are also regarded as vulnerable and at a greater risk because of their exposure to an unhealthy environment, to violence and crimes and to landslides and floods.

The households in which one of the members have a steady job or have access to patronage ties are regarded as more secure than others. The factors that trigger personal or family crises leading to more deprivation are job dismissals, illnesses, deaths of parents, breakdown of marriages, floods and evictions from squatted land. Although some people are better able to cope with these situations, some households are structurally ill-equipped to cope with these shocks. These include disproportionately families headed by women and the elderly. This structural vulnerability of women and the elderly is compensated to a great extent by the role played by the extended family.

One of the most important findings of this study is that poverty is not directly associated with gender or old-age. With very few exceptions, the elderly lived with their sons and grandsons. Evidence in this respect has also emerged in a number of studies on Recife. Research by Quintas, Lima and Fonseca (1999), drawing on open-ended interviews with 150 women in Recife, has highlighted the same pattern. They suggest however that the extended families are undergoing significant changes, mainly in terms of the social norms and values underpinning family relations.

For most people insecurity has increased. This is attributed to the rise in unemployment rates and to the explosion of violence in the communities. The perception of these issues varies significantly among discussion groups within sites and across sites. As expected, they differed markedly from those used by the groups of old men and women. For the young people the criteria included mainly aspects relative to urban infrastructure and housing, possession of household appliances, cars and leisure. In contrast, the groups of old men and women emphasized aspects pertaining to income and the labor market, and to the financial conditions to keep the children at school.

There is an interesting paradox in the reports from the various groups of poor people. While it is generally acknowledged that 'the poor is getting poorer and the rich is getting richer', in the actual discussion of specific categories the groups – in particular of young men and women - they tend to agree that there have been great improvements in well-being. Although some groups of older men

and women disagreed, most groups tended to argue that poverty was diminishing and that there had been significant improvements in the well being of the poor. This was particularly stressed by the groups of young people.

It is not surprising that the use of criteria relative to infrastructure by the young and many women led them to stress progress in living conditions. Indeed, in the last decades most infrastructure indicators have improved significantly in Brazil. This was particularly the case of sanitation and housing (UNDP 1998).

In the discussion about the main causes of poverty the groups converged on the conclusion that unemployment is the most important cause, followed by lack of schooling and sanitation. Unequal income distribution, lack of investments in public health and housing were also cited as important causes of poverty by groups of old men and women, but not by the groups of young people.

An important finding regarding poverty is that many employed individuals were in poverty. The nexus between low wages and poverty is well established in the literature. Recent researches stress that unemployment is higher among the non-poor (UNDP 1998). Interestingly, many statements and individual profiles presented in this study make clear the coexistence of low wages (and pensions) and poverty. Surprisingly many groups of poor men and women also agreed that income concentration was a cause of poverty.

The discussion about poverty in the various groups identified a number of its impacts that ranged from undernourishment and health problems to personal stress and breakdown of interpersonal relations.

Concerning the conditions which would enable the poor to move out of poverty, the groups virtually reached a consensus on two factors: access to education and to employment. Interestingly, education was also considered to be the most important factor for reducing poverty in a study of elites' perception of poverty in Brazil (*Reis 1999*). However, people feel that opportunities for economic and social mobility have in general decreased. And this is largely associated in the minds of poor people with the rise of unemployment. But this general perception co-exists with a view that several avenues of social mobility are still open. This finding is consistent with the virtual consensus in the literature that Brazil exhibited high levels of upwardly mobility in the last three decades (*Silva 1999*). Some studies estimate that almost three in four Brazilians living in urban areas experienced upwardly mobility in the last two generations (*ibid.*).

Most groups converge on the view that the categories of the poorest of the poor and the rich have not changed significantly over time. People feel it is much easier for people to descend to a lower well-being category than to progress to a higher category.

Government is generally held responsible for the people's lack of opportunities for improving their lives. Government provided services such as sanitation, basic schooling, infrastructure work and public health care are regarded as pre-conditions for the people to improve one's living conditions.

The groups feel that they can progress if these are made available. It is worth noting that this normative view of the role of the government is also shared by the elites in Brazil (Reis 1999).

A recurring theme in the groups is that there occurred significant changes in wellbeing overtime. And this is associated with incremental improvements in the infrastructure and services in the communities. These are the products of self-help by families and by government urban programs. Popular mobilization is seen as crucial to attract government investments. However many statements were made suggesting not only disillusion and skepticism in government's response to demands, but also a pattern of dependency on the government.

Unemployment and public safety were selected as the most important problems faced by the communities in Brazil. The existing housing conditions and the lack of sanitation were also cited as pressing problems, along with poor service in health care. In fact, the centrality of violence and safety as issues in all sites was a non-anticipated finding. Even in Nova California and Novo Horizonte, which are located in a medium size city, these were high priority. In Recife was cited as first priority. Qualitative researches carried out in Recife also support the view that people perceive violence as an important dimension of their everyday life. And this fact is also stressed by quantitative studies. Recent research on violence in Recife estimated that 'external causes' (murders) represented the second cause of deaths in the city (César 1997).

The poor are not generally viewed as victims, but mostly as agents of crimes and violence. It is also thought that other issues are of more concern to the poor such as better housing and health care and access to food.

The analysis suggests that different groups within the community experience different problems. Not only they perceive problems differently but they also prioritize problems differently. Drugs came out as a key issue in groups of women, but not in groups of men.

Drugs were held to be directly associated with violence, and made more serious by lack of education, vocational training and restricted access to the labor market. Women are affected indirectly by the drug problem when members of the family are addicts or dealers.

Men tended to prioritize police brutality and sanitation more than women. This can be explained by the fact that they are more likely to be victims of the police. Similarly, sanitation works tend also to be seen as men's responsibility.

The data for Greater São Paulo cited by Bueno (1995) is consistent with the subjective experience of police brutality found in the testimonies of young men in the municipality of Santo André. According to Bueno the homicides committed by the Police accounted for a quarter of all homicides in São Paulo in 1992. Sixty-four of the victims had no criminal record.

Men and women prioritized health and schools. However, the women's discussion of health and schooling issues are more comprehensive than the men's discussions. Women are more involved with the children's education, and also are better educated than men in overall. There are differences

regarding the perception of problems by youngsters and older individuals. Youngsters complain more about lack of leisure activities and about police brutality.

Most problems are thought to get better in the future with the exception of violence, drugs and unemployment. Interestingly, these are precisely the problems about which the poor also feel they have no capacity to solve. Most problems related to the provision of services or infrastructure are expected to improve. However, there is gender differentiation in the perception of these problems. In most accounts, unemployment is expected to worsen by the men and to improve by women. But the youngsters that were interviewed by Viana in greater São Paulo(1999) appears to be less optimistic than those that were interviewed for this study.

The more optimistic account by women could be explained by the fact that women are better positioned than men in the labor markets because they are better educated (Lavinias 1997). Some of the testimonies of men also support this view. The perception of women regarding unemployment is indeed consistent with trends in labor markets in the 90s in Brazil (*ibid.*)

Overall the groups showed a surprising disbelief in their capacity to solve problems by themselves. In a very few cases, the groups agreed that the problem being discussed could be solved by the community without external assistance. This finding contrast with the more optimistic evaluations that are presented in a participatory study of the perception of poor people about *mutirões* (collective work) for the construction of housing in peripheral municipalities of Greater São Paulo (Silva 1996). They share the finding that the poor, however, expect the local government to provide materials and support for their initiatives.

A number of important findings on the role of institutions on people's life were drawn from the site reports. The institutions listed were very heterogeneous in nature but surprisingly there was a prevalence of governmental institutions vis-à-vis non-governmental or market ones. The Catholic Church was not only ranked as the most important institution but also the one with the highest rate of approval. The Catholic Church was judged to be very important because it would provide spiritual assistance, help solve emergencies and even provide financial assistance. This finding came somehow as a surprise considering that the Catholic Church's influence is in decline and that it is no longer involved in urban movements as they were in the seventies and early eighties.

The neighborhood associations were also regarded as crucial institutions in virtually all sites. They were mentioned as one of the most important institutions in 9 of the 10 sites, and were the second most positively evaluated institution. The neighborhood associations were held important because they are seen as a conduit for the expression of the community demands, and because they are very helpful both in time of crisis and in day-to-day life. Indeed, the community groups listed the Neighborhood Association as the institution most frequently turned to solve emergency problems.

Local governments received mixed evaluations. The relatively good rates received in Recife and Santo André were expected bearing in mind the high popularity of current administrations in these

two cities, and also the support they received from the poor neighborhoods.²³ It is worth stressing that these evaluations focused on the current municipal administrations, rather than the local government as an institution in itself.

The Police was the third most cited institution and was almost unanimously regarded as the worst institution. In 7 of the 10 sites, the Police was cited as the worst institution overall. Notwithstanding the little confidence trust they put in the Police, they regarded it as a key institution in terms of need. In fact, It was ranked first in terms of the institution which urgently needs improving in six of the ten sites.

Politicians and legislatures were also rated very low. Many individual politicians were positively evaluated.

Overall men and women stressed criteria relative to both efficiency and trust in their evaluation of institutions. However, most participants felt unable to differentiate between these two aspects.

However, there were significant gender differences in the assessment of institutions. Women tended to emphasize respect while men stressed efficiency criteria.

People want to have control over the institutions which they consider worst in terms of performance. Control is not pursued as a means in itself. Control is required to improve performance only in poor-performance institutions.

Friends, families and neighbors were cited much less frequently than was anticipated. This is a striking finding and underscores the weakening of primary ties in the urban communities. In the case of families, the lack of references might have to do with the fact they the groups understood the questions and discussions in terms of “assistance to their families in times of crisis” and not to them as individuals.

The most striking aspect of the institutional evaluation is that, despite the ubiquitous criticisms of government, many governmental institutions were highly ranked in terms of their role in assisting people in time of crises. There is also evidence of an interweaving of governmental, community and non-governmental institutions in people’s life. But again, as mentioned before regarding problems and social mobility, governmental institutions are seen as crucial.

The best rated governmental institutions include the newly created federal health schemes and the *Comunidade Solidária* (a Federal scheme targeting the poorest municipalities). Participatory assessments of these programs in a number of municipalities including Recife also found high rates of approval for these programs, particularly the Health Community Agents and Family Health program (Melo 1999).

²³ For a comparative analyses of the so-called democratic experiences in local government including case studies of Santo André and Recife, see Instituto Polis (1998) *Os Desafios da Gestão Municipal Democrática, various issues*.

The social security pensions were not mentioned explicitly as a source of security and stability in any group. In a number of cases, however, pensions were cited in passing. Many testimonies of people who improved their well-being overtime include references to a pension. This finding is consistent with the fact that there are no indications in the accounts of poor people that poverty is associated with old age. In fact, older people tend to enjoy better living conditions in an impressive number of cases.

A variety of both formal institutions and informal social networks were reported, particularly in the older and more consolidated communities. This was well researched in a number of Brazilian cities. In the case of Recife, a case study of the Clube de Mães (mother's club) suggests, however, that participation is much lower than is generally assumed in the literature (Couto 1996; for a case study of mothers' club in São Paulo, see Viezzer 1989).

There seems to be a correlation between social capital and the level of consolidation of the communities (quality of infrastructure; improvements). The direction of the causality is not clear: whether these resulted from a richer web of institutions or vice versa. It could also be the case that time is the crucial independent variable: institutions simply differentiate and become more complex overtime, and, similarly, that communities improve progressively as time passes. Many studies do suggest a strong causation between popular mobilization and improvements (Lubambo 1996; Lubambo e Guimarães 1998; Marinho e Botler 1998).

Recent research on the favelas in Recife suggest, however, that many of the newly created institutional arrangements for popular participation have weakened in terms of their capacity to influence policy. Bava (1999) and Wampler (1999) have associated this to the resurgence of clientelism. Lubambo and Guimarães (1999) and Bava (1999b) also identified important institutional limitations in the capacity of the Forum do Prezeis to manage land use and infrastructure problems in formerly squatted areas. For São Paulo recent studies have found less clientelism in the newly created participatory arrangements (Wampler 1997).

The most interesting findings with respect to gender relations are to be found in the patterns of changes over time. In fact, the changes follow a pattern of the women extending horizontally their responsibilities rather than replacing old responsibilities by new ones. Men have been doing tasks that were exclusive of women in the past, but this has been occurring 'by default'. Men engage in 'women activities' only when the women are unable to do the job because of sickness or emergency situations

Important changes have occurred that are primarily a consequence of women's newly acquired capacity to earn income on a sustained basis. The key process underlying the changes in gender relations has to do thus with the structural transformation in the labor market. Women have been increasingly incorporated in labor markets as a result of their better access to education and because the sectors that typically employ men – construction industry and manufacturing – are in decline whereas the service industry is expanding apace.

Despite the changes it is generally regarded as a men's responsibility to be the family provider. There were important changes in women and men's responsibilities within the household. Many of these changes were attributed to women being more assertive, having income and also to the rising male unemployment which led men to engage in activities related to the care of the family children's

Women's role in the decision making process in the community has expanded significantly. In fact, women have become more much involved in collective action in the communities than men. Research by Buarque and Vaisenchler (1999) provides a historical background for the rapid expansion of female participation in the political process in Recife and Pernambuco. The many testimonies of women in the communities, in fact, reflect the important changes that occurred in this area.

In the ten sites, five community leaders were female but women tended to be much more involved in communities' struggles. Neuhouser (1995) found that 80% of the participants in urban social movements in Recife were female. Informal networks were crucial for mobilization. Neuhouser's argument is relevant here: men tend to participate more in formal organizations, like the neighborhood associations, while women tend to rely more on informal networks. Religious activities of various sorts played a key role in structuring these networks.

Women appear to be most vulnerable group in society. Women in families without an adult male member are more likely to suffer sexual abuse, ill-treatments and aggressions. Aggressions are much more prevalent against women than against men. The list of aggressions that the women suffer in the community is much longer than men's in virtually all communities. Sexual abuse and violence within the households have been documented in Recife in a number of studies (see the early work by Quintas 1986). Although many women sensed that these abuses were increasing, the picture that emerges in the reports of the women interviewed by Quintas suggests a similar pattern.

Women have had much better access to the courts than before. This can be explained by a variety of factors. The setting up all over the country of police stations specialized in women's affairs – the *Delegacias da Mulher* (DEAMS) - and staffed primarily by women have provided strong incentives for the women to complain about abuses (Soares 1996). This enhanced consciousness about rights is present in many discussions in the groups.

Although the groups feel that women today have more power than in the past and that there is a trend towards a more balanced relationship in many spheres of life, the pattern of male violence and domination is still prevalent.

Although blacks represent a majority of the population in the favelas, race was, to a large extent, a non-issue in the reports. The theme of racial discrimination came out in the discussion of exclusion and aggressions but was not stressed. This was, in fact, non-anticipated. A concluding note should be added here regarding the limitations of the methodology to grasp the issue of race. No exclusively black groups were formed during the study. This might have inhibited the discussions on the issue.

Furthermore, as discussed extensively in the literature²⁴, because in Brazil race and class tend to overlap, a much refined methodology is required.

A number of policy lessons can be drawn from this study. The most important of them has to do with the need to put violence and public safety at the top of the policy agenda. The high centrality of these issues for the poor is totally inconsistent with the lack of priority it receives from the government. Chronic violence has important impacts in people's well-being, but it also affects people's ability to earn income and can lead to vicious circles of underinvestment by local and big in the areas which are affected by these problems, thereby exacerbating current problems.

Another important policy implication has to do with the need to strengthen institutions and accountability at the local level. The various mechanisms cited in the study are examples of how these mechanisms can be created and supported.

A third policy lesson refers to the need for continuity of programs which received good evaluations by the groups of poor people. These include programs both at the federal and local levels.

A fourth policy lesson involves the issue of quality of service provision. This issue represents one of the top priorities for the groups of poor people but programs in health and education usually underestimate their importance vis-à-vis other issues like the construction of facilities and funding.

²⁴ The controversy on this issue has led researchers to talk about social racism. Cf Silva (1994).

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Annexes

- I. Summary Tables on Well-being
- II. Summary Tables on Priorities
- III. Summary Tables on Institutions
- IV. Country map with study sites marked on it

Annex I. Summary Results on Well-Being

Table 1- Well-being categories

	Adult Men	Men youth	Women youth	Mixed
Vila União				Women Ricos – rich Comerciantes – merchants Assalariados – salaried Desempregados – unemployed Miseráveis – miserable
Borborema		Ricos -rich Classe Média - middle class Assalariados – salaried Desempregados- unemployed Pobres- poor Carentes – needy Miseráveis - miserable	Ricos – rich Classe Média - middle class Assalariados – salaried Desempregados – unemployed Classe baixíssima – extremely low class Miseráveis - miserable	
Padre Jordano				Men and Women Youth Ricos – rich Classe Média – middle class Classe Média Baixa –lower middle class – middle class Pobres – poor Miseráveis – miserable Mendigos – beggars
Sacadura Cabral				Men and Women Adult Razoáveis – reasonable Necessitados - needy <i>Miseráveis – miserable</i> Young Men and Women Menos <i>necessitados</i> – less needy Estáveis – stable Ferrados – in very bad condition
Novo Horizonte	Barão – barons Classe média – middle class Pobre empregado – the employed poor Pobre desempregado – unemployed poor Pedidor de esmola - beggars			Men and Women youth Classe Alta – high class Classe Média – middle class Classe Baixa – lower class Necessitados – needy

	Adult Men	Men youth	Women youth	Mixed
Nova Califórnia	Ricos – rich Classe Média – middle class Mais folgados – less poor Fracos – weak Mais fracos – weakest		Nível Alto – high level Mais ou Menos – more or less Fracos – weak <i>Miseráveis - miserable</i>	
Vila Junqueira				Men and Women youth Mais condições de vida Mais ou menos Pobre Men and Women Adult Alto padrão Razoáveis Menos carentes Carentes
Bode		Rich Commercial class Lower-middle class Fighters Poor Favelados Underdogs Deprived	Rich Businessmen and commercial class Sufferes Poor Underdogs Deprived-Beggars	
Entra a Pulso				Men and Women youth Ricos Classe média Comerciantes médios Pequenos comerciantes Classe média baixa Pobres <i>Miseráveis</i>
Morro da Conceição	Ricos Classe média Classe média baixa Remediados Sub-nutridos Favelados		Ricos Classe Média Pobres Acabados	

Table 2 - Well-being categories
Discussion groups that show variations

	Men and women	Young men
Borborema		- Ricos - Classe média - Assalariados - Desempregados - Pobres - Carentes - <i>Miseráveis</i>
Sacadura	- Razoáveis	
Cabral	- <i>Necessitados</i> - <i>Miseráveis</i>	

Table 3 - Proportion of households/population in the poorest categories according to different groups at each site

	Poor groups		
	Men	Adult and youth Women	Youth women
Vila União		- Miseráveis (1%) - Desempregados (60%)	
Morro da Conceição			- Acabados (3%) - Pobres (90%)

Table 4 - Major trends in poverty and well-being

Trends	En-tra a Pul-so	Bor-bo-re-ma	Vila Uni-ão	Bo-de	Pa-dre Jor-dano	Saca-dura Ca-bral (***)	Morro da concei-ção (*)	Novo Hori-zonte (****)	Nova Cali-fórnia	Vila Jun-queira (**)
Increased poverty		X				X	X	X		
Minor increase in poverty				X						
No change										X
Increased well-being	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X

- Changes in the two poorest categories
- The groups with an asterisk indicate that there was no consensus among young and old people.

*The group of old men insisted that there was a significant increase in poverty, while the group of young women argued that there was an increase in well-being.

** For the group of young men and women there was a significant improvement in poverty, while the group of old man argued that there had not been any improvements in the well-being of the poorest.

*** For the group of young men and women, the well-being of the poorest categories improved while the grupo of old men and women stated that there had been an increase in poverty.

**** For the group of old men, there was an increase in poverty, while the youngsters argued that there had been an improvement.

Table 5 - Changes in well-being over time – Morro da Conceição

Well-being categories		Group 06 Young women		Group 09 Old men	
		Before	Now	Before	Now
Local usage	English equivalent				
<i>Ricos</i>	Rich	1%	1%	4 %	6%
<i>Classe Média</i>	Middle class	10%	6%	46 %	21%
<i>Classe Média Baixa</i>	Lower middle class			28 %	34%
<i>Pobre</i>	Poor	65%	90%		
<i>Remediado</i>	Remedied			10%	19%
<i>Acabado</i>	Destroyed	24%	3%		
<i>Sub-Nutrido</i>	Weak from hunger			12%	20%

Table 6 - Vila Junqueira – trends in Well Being

Category	Group 1 - young men and women (ages 16-22)		Group 2 – old men and women (ages 33-35)	
	Before	Now	Before	Now
Better living conditions	5%	12%	–	–
More or less	17%	64%	–	–
Poor	68%	14%	–	–
High standard	–	–	14%	14%
Reasonable	–	–	27%	43%
<i>Menos carentes</i>	–	–	43%	27%
<i>Carentes</i>	–	–	6%	6%

Table 7- People’s perceptions of main causes of poverty

<i>Sites</i>	<i>Problems</i>	<i>Well-being</i>
Padre Jordano	<p><i>Adult men and women</i></p> <p>Unemployment Lack of sanitation Drugs Pregnancy in the adolescence adolescência Lack of Policing Lack of dignified housing No landownership</p>	
Bode	<p><i>Adult men and women</i></p> <p>Unemployment Lack of sanitation Lack of public hospitals Lack of dignified housing Lack of Schooling</p>	
Borborema		<p><i>Young men and women</i></p> <p>Unemployment Lack of training schemes Lack of solidarity in society Government’s indifference Impunity in Society Lack of sanitation policy Lack of good schools</p>
Sacadura Cabral		<p><i>Adult women</i></p> <p>Unemployment Lack of schooling Lack of solidarity Bad luck Low wages Bad income distribution Lack of support from government Lack of faith</p> <p><i>Adult men</i></p> <p>Lack of government’s involvement Unemployment Lack of income Lack of Schooling Lack of skills of how to invest their money</p>
Morro da Conceição		<p><i>Adult men</i></p> <p>Government’s indifference to the poor Lack of government’s involvement Politicians that look for the poor at elections time only</p> <p><i>Adult men and women</i></p> <p>The poor that vote in the wrong politicians and do not make them accountable Governments pay too much for moneylenders</p>
Novo Horizonte		<p><i>Adult and young men</i></p> <p>Unemployment Lack of schooling Lack of opportunities</p> <p><i>Adult women</i></p> <p>unemployment low wages</p>

<i>Sites</i>	<i>Problems</i>	<i>Well-being</i>
Nova Calif3rnia		<i>Adult men</i> Unemployment Lack of respect for human rights Schooling Lack of hygiene <i>Adult women</i> Lack of factories Lack of work Lack of schooling Divisions among people
Vila Junqueira		<i>Adult men</i> Unemployment Police Corruption Lack of support for rural workers Lack of schooling Country's external debt Bad income distribution <i>Adult men and women</i> Unemployment Drugs and alcohol gambling

* Adults – ages 22-50 Young – ages 15-21

Table 8: People's perceptions of main causes of poverty – Groups of Men and Women

Main causes of poverty	Men	Women	Young women	Young men
Unemployment	x	X	x	x
Lack of housing policy	x	X		
Lack of sanitation	x	X	x	x
Lack of schooling	x	X	x	x
Lack of investments in public health	X	x		
Unequal Income distribution	x	x		

Annex II. Summary Results on Priorities of the Poor

Table 1 - Ranking of Major Problems by Poor Groups by Site

Problems	Sites																			
	Bode		Borborema		Entra a Pulso		Vila União		Padre Jordano		Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Unemployment					1	1			3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2		1	2
Lack of sanitation		2	1	3			4	4					4	4						3
Lack of drinking water							5	5				2	2	5			1	1		
Lack of training schemes and apprenticeships			4		3	3														5
Lack of day care									2	2	5	5							5	
Lack of schooling	3														4					
Drugs	5		3				3	3	5	5					3		4		2	
Violence		5	2	2	4	4	1	1										3		
Lack of policing				1							4	4	3	2	2	5	3	2	4	
Health units and hospitals provide bad service	4			4	5	5	2	2					5			3		5	3	4
Lack of dignified housing (moradia digna)		4	5	5	2	2			4	4	2	3					5	4		1
Insecurity in land ownership	2								1	1										

Table 2 - Prioritization of problems in the sites

- 1^o - Unemployment
- 2^o - Lack of *moradia digna* (dignified housing)
- 3^o - Bad service in hospitals and community health units
- 4^o - lack of safety and policing
- 5^o - Drugs
- 6^o - Violence
- 7^o - Lack of sanitation
- 8^o - lack of water
- 9^o - lack of day care
- 10^o - insecurity ion land ownership
- 11^o - Lack of training schemes and apprenticeships
- 12^o - Lack of schooling

Annex III. Summary Results on Institutional Analysis

Table 1 - Ranking of Institutions According to Importance By Groups of Poor Men and Women

Institutions	Bode	Borborema	Entra a Pulso		Vila U	Padre Jordano	Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral	
	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Catholic Church Católica	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X
Protestant Church	X	X						X					X			
Centro Espírita Kardecist centers	X														X	
Deus é Amor (church)					X						X					
Universal (Church)		X									X					
NGOs	X		X	x		X					X					X
Public Schools	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	
Neighborhoods		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Secretary for Social Policies					X										X	
Daycares	X		X	X	X						X	X	X		X	X
Municipal Government		X			X	X		X	X		X				X	
Police		X		X	X			X	X	X					X	
Políticos		X	X												X	
Firemen		X	X	X	X	X									X	
State and municipal Secretaries for Health Affairs				X	X											
Community health center	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	
Public Hospitals	X	X			X	X	X				X	X				X
Garbage Collection Company	X	X	X		X		X	X					X			

Institutions	Bode	Borborema	Entra a Pulso		Vila U	Padre Jordano	Novo Horizonte	Nova Califórnia	Vila Junqueira	Morro da Conceição	Sacadura Cabral	
	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Electricity companies	X	X	X	X	x	X	X	X		X	X	
Telecommunications companies	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X
Water and sewerage Companies		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Post office					X			X		X	X	
Urban Transportation companies		X						X		X	X	X
Local merchants					X							
Voluntários		X								X		X
Mothers' Clubs	X				X	X						
Neighborhoods							X			X		X

Table 2 - Problems and Priorities- trend analysis

Current Problems	Bode	Borborema	Entra a Pulso		Vila União	Padre Jordano	Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral	
	mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Mixed	Mixed	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
unemployment			W	W		W	W	W	W	W	I	W	I		I	W
Lack of sewage		I			I			W	?	I	W	I				I
Lack of water					W				I	I		W		I		
Lack of training schemes and apprenticeships			I	I		I							I			W
Lack of daycares						I	I	W							I	
Lack of Schools	I	I										I		I		
Drugs	W	I			?	W					W				I	
Violence		W	W	W	I											
Lack of policing and public safety							I		I		W	W		I	W	
Bad service in Community health centers	I		W	W	I				I	I		I	I	I	I	
Lack of dignified housing		I	I	I		I	I	W			W	W				I
Non- Legalization of land tenure	I															
Garbage									I		W		I	I		

W – Worsen

I – Improve

Table 3 - Ranking of the Best Institutions (three best institutions)

Institutions	Sites																				
	Bode		Borborema		Entrada Pulso		Vila União		Padre Jordano		Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	
Catholic Church			2 ^a b	2 ^a b	1 ^a b	1 ^a b			1 ^a b	1 ^a b					1 ^a b		1 ^a b				
Neighborhood Associations					2 ^a b	2 ^a b	1 ^a b	1 ^a b				3 ^a b	1 ^a b		1 ^a b						U
Public Schools						2 ^a b					1 ^a b	2 ^a b	U	3 ^a b U			3 ^a b			U	
Community health center					3 ^a b		2 ^a b U	2 ^a b U					3 ^a b			U				1 ^a b U	
Saúde em Casa (Home Care Service) / SOS saúde	3 ^a b	3 ^a b									U	U	1 ^a b	2 ^a b							
Volunteers			3 ^a b	3 ^a b					3 ^a b	3 ^a b											
Nurseries	2 ^a b	2 ^a b																			
Politicians									2 ^a b	2 ^a b											
Electricity Company							3 ^a b	3 ^a b	U	U					U						
State and Municipal Health Secretaries						3 ^a b															

B - best
W-worst
U – urgently needs to improve

Table 4 - Ranking of the worst Institutions (two worst institutions)

Institutions	Sites																			
	Bode		Borborema		Entrada Pulso		Vila União		Padre Jordano		Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Police	1 w U	1 w U	1 w U	1 w U	1 w U	2 w U			1 w U	1 w U			1 w U	1 w U			1 w U		1 w U	
Neighborhood Associations	2 w	2 w									1 w									1 w U
Water and Sewerage Company			U	U		1 w			2 w	2 w										
Municipal Government											U	1 w U	2 w			1 w				
Municipal Garbage Collection Service							1 w	1 w						2 w						
Public Hospitals	U	U			2 w						2 w									
State and Municipal Secretary of Health			2 w	2 w																
Public School													U	U	1 w				U	
Electricity Company									U	U		2 w			U					
Health Care unit															U		2 w		U	

Table 5 - Criteria for Institutional Evaluation

Criteria	Sites																			
	Bode		Borborema		Entra a Pulso		Vila União		Padre Jordano		Novo Horizonte		Nova Califórnia		Vila Junqueira		Morro da Conceição		Sacadura Cabral	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Efficiency	1	1	3	3	1	3			1	1	3	3	1	1	2		1		3	2
Respect	2	2	2	2	2	4	5	5	5	5	1		4		1	3		1	1	
Trust	4	4	1	1	4	1	3	3	4	4		4	2			4				
Quickness of response					5	5	1	1	2	2		2		2	4	5	2			4
Being listened to	3	3	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	3	4	5			3	2	5			
Good Professionals							2	2				1	3		1	4			2	3
Provision of Free Services											5		5		5	3				
Infra-Structure											2								4	5

Maps

Figure 1. Sites in Recife

Figure 2. Sites in Santo André

Figure 3. Sites in Itabuna

