FAVELAS IN THE MEDIA

A Comparison of Eight Global Outlets’ Favela Coverage During Rio’s Mega-Event Years

1094 articles | 8 global outlets | 2008-2016

Research conducted by Catalytic Communities in Rio de Janeiro
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Special thanks to SurveyMonkey for providing survey software.

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Introduction

Rio’s favelas are among the most stigmatized urban communities in the world. As some of the modern world’s oldest informal settlements, today they constitute affordable housing stock for 24% of the city’s population. Built and constantly developed through collective action and individual investments in spite of historical neglect by authorities, favelas are incubators of culture and home to the workers that sustain the city. By 2050, nearly one third of the world’s population is expected to be living in informal urban settlements, so the future development of Rio’s favelas has the potential to influence development globally.

The Brazilian media have historically played an important role in influencing perceptions of favelas and inspiring similar stigmatizing coverage around the world. As of 2014, just six families controlled 90% of Brazil’s media industry and a media monitoring website launched in April 2017 documents how major Brazilian newspapers favor conservative politicians and ideologies. Reflecting elite sensibilities and interests that date back to Brazil’s economic dependence on slave-holding systems, Brazil’s media traditionally issue an entirely negative slant on the city’s favelas. This view, also held by government officials, has historically been the dominant view adopted and reinforced by international outlets. In turn, media images of crime, poverty, and violence in favelas were, and continue to be, utilized by public officials to justify policies of neglect, eviction and repression.

In October 2009, the International Olympic Committee announced Rio de Janeiro as the host of the 2016 Summer Olympics. With the 2014 World Cup already scheduled for Brazil, it was clear that Brazil, and Rio in particular, would receive intensified media coverage over the course of its event preparations and celebrations. With that intensified focus on Rio came unprecedented international media attention to Rio’s favelas.

In this new report, we break down the data by each of the global outlets studied, in order to present a more fine-grained picture of how each publication treated favelas as a subject over the course of Rio’s mega-event period. Journalists and editors of each publication can view their own patterns and progress in comparison to those of other major outlets, as well as in comparison to the reporting patterns in the small subset of articles written by favela residents themselves, primarily featured in The Guardian as part of their ground-breaking “View from the Favelas” series. The divergence from one outlet to another—whether regarding the percent of articles that use “slum” as an alternative for “favela” or the frequency with which an outlet fails to identify a specific favela by name, for example—shows the potential directions in which each outlet could adjust its practices, reduce its own stigmatizing footprint, and contribute to a more nuanced global debate about the role and characteristics of Rio’s favelas and other informal housing settlements.

Methods

Our data were collected by analyzing 1,094 articles that mentioned the word “favela” in the context of Rio and were published by The Guardian, The Telegraph, The Daily Mail, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, Al Jazeera, or Associated Press between October 2008 and August 2016. For a more detailed explanation of our methodology, see our December 2016 “Favelas in the Media” report.
### Total Articles from Each Publication

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<td>7</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>USA Today</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>326</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Al Jazeera</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>141</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1094</td>
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### Articles Per Year
Favela specificity

Why is this important?
Specificity about favelas is important because Rio has more than 1,000 favelas and they are incredibly diverse. Implying Rio’s favelas are all the same supports assumptions that a problem that exists in one favela must exist in all of them, or that a policy or project designed for one favela will automatically work for all. Instead, the diversity of Rio’s favelas—resulting from numerous decades of unregulated and thus unique community development—demands that any policy or project respond to the varied needs and unique potentials of each favela community.

Analysis
While all articles by favela-based journalists clearly identified the specific favelas being discussed, mainstream international reporters were not so consistent overall. Below, outlets are ranked in order from best to worst by the percentage of articles that discussed a named favela. They could alternatively have been ranked by the percentage of articles that discussed a particular favela without naming it—something to be avoided when possible—which would have put AP and The Wall Street Journal as the worst offenders.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT DISCUSS...

- Favelas in general
- An unnamed favela
- A named favela

Overall average

- 9.7%
- 48.8%
- 41.5%
Overall impression

Why is this important?

While an individual article that highlights negative aspects of a favela is not problematic by itself, the dominance of mainly negative articles about favelas in the media does serve to reinforce stereotypes and imply that these communities offer little of value. A greater balance of negative, positive, and neutral articles, in contrast, is important for showing that favelas—like all neighborhoods—have numerous assets to be valued, respected, and preserved.

Analysis

Below, outlets are ranked by the percentage of articles that left an overall neutral impression of favelas, since favelas—like any communities—have both positive and negative aspects. The best articles acknowledge the complexities. The subset of articles by favela writers had the greatest percentage of neutral articles, followed by The New York Times and The Guardian.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES LEAVING EACH OVERALL IMPRESSION

Overall average

Favela writers

- Positive: 23.6%
- Neutral: 11.8%
- Negative before pacification: 13.5%
- Negative after pacification: 64.7%

Al Jazeera

- Positive: 44.1%
- Neutral: 8.8%
- Negative before pacification: 11.8%
- Negative after pacification: 47.1%

NYT

- Positive: 8.3%
- Neutral: 33.7%
- Negative before pacification: 1.1%
- Negative after pacification: 56.9%

Guardian

- Positive: 8.9%
- Neutral: 35.9%
- Negative before pacification: 4%
- Negative after pacification: 51.2%

WSJ

- Positive: 3.9%
- Neutral: 54.5%
- Negative before pacification: 2.6%
- Negative after pacification: 29%

USA Today

- Positive: 3.4%
- Neutral: 62.1%
- Negative before pacification: 6.9%
- Negative after pacification: 27.6%

Daily Mail

- Positive: 3.1%
- Neutral: 55%
- Negative before pacification: 3.9%
- Negative after pacification: 30%
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WITH EACH OVERALL IMPRESSION OF FAVELAS OVER TIME

Analysis
Daily Mail and USA Today each show a hint of more positive articles in the final year of the study. It is interesting to note that several outlets portrayed favela pacification as having a transformative impact on favelas in the middle years of this study. Fewer articles in the last couple of years suggested this impact.

Data over time is unavailable as 16 of 17 articles by favela writers were published 2015-2016.
Language

Why is this important?

How we translate or define favelas to English-speaking audiences matters because certain words like "slum," "shantytown," "squatters," or "shacks" carry immense negative connotations and, moreover, are simply inaccurate labels for favelas. More neutral terms like "community," "neighborhood," or even "informal settlement," accompanied by rich descriptions of the specific favela in question, make for more accurate reporting. Read more and find productive examples in our "Why we should call them favelas" article.

Analysis

Although "slum" was the most frequently used alternative for "favela" in all outlets, it featured in just over 20% of articles in The Guardian and The Telegraph, compared to close to 40% in most other outlets and 82% of AP articles. The Wall Street Journal and Al Jazeera used more neutral alternatives to "favela" most frequently of the studied outlets. No outlet came close to matching the data from the articles written by favela writers, 100% of which labeled favelas as "communities."
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WITH EACH ALTERNATIVE TERM

Overall average

- Community: 18%
- Shantytown: 18%
- Neighborhood: 10%
- Slum: 10%

Favela writers
- Community: 60%
- Shantytown: 18%
- Neighborhood: 12%
- Slum: 12%

WSJ
- Community: 32%
- Shantytown: 31%
- Neighborhood: 44%
- Slum: 11%

Guardian
- Community: 8%
- Shantytown: 20%
- Neighborhood: 22%
- Slum: 21%

Al Jazeera
- Community: 18%
- Shantytown: 38%
- Neighborhood: 44%
- Slum: 16%

Telegraph
- Community: 5%
- Shantytown: 13%
- Neighborhood: 21%
- Slum: 22%

USA Today
- Community: 14%
- Shantytown: 38%
- Neighborhood: 17%
- Slum: 33%

Daily Mail
- Community: 47%
- Shantytown: 11%
- Neighborhood: 16%
- Slum: 45%

NYT
- Community: 11%
- Shantytown: 11%
- Neighborhood: 33%
- Slum: 48%

AP
- Community: 9%
- Shantytown: 82%
- Neighborhood: 16%
- Slum: 30%
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WITH EACH ALTERNATIVE TERM OVER TIME*

Analysis
The Guardian and Wall Street Journal showed overall increases in the use of “neighborhood” and “community” and overall decreases in the use of “slum” and “shantytown” over time. Other outlets were more erratic.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slum</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shantytown</td>
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* Values do not total 100% as one article may use more than one alternative term.

Data over time is unavailable as 16 of 17 articles by favela writers were published 2015-2016.
Perspectives

Why is this important?

As residents of historically marginalized communities, favela residents’ voices have long been silenced and underrepresented in the media. Yet because favelas are self-built neighborhoods, residents have a particularly acute sensibility about community needs and strengths. Nobody knows favelas—their challenges and their qualities—like residents themselves. Quoting them is therefore a critical way to more accurately reflect realities on the ground, and to begin to reverse historic inequalities.

Analysis

Each outlet quoted favela residents more than any other single group. Outlets are ranked here by the percentage of articles that quoted favela residents, from Al Jazeera which quoted residents in 44% of articles to The Telegraph which quoted favela residents in just 14% of articles. Favela writers quoted other favela residents in 35% of articles, but of course 100% of their articles featured favela resident perspectives.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES QUOTING EACH SOURCE

Overall average
- Favela Residents: 20%
- Government: 7%
- Police: 4%

Favela writers
- Al Jazeera: 26%
- AP: 10%
- USA Today: 3%

WSJ
- Al Jazeera: 35%
- AP: 24%
- USA Today: 3%

Guardian
- Al Jazeera: 18%
- AP: 22%
- USA Today: 6%

Telegraph
- Al Jazeera: 31%
- AP: 25%
- USA Today: 12%
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES QUOTING EACH SOURCE OVER TIME*

Analysis

Most outlets saw an overall increase in the percentage of articles that quoted favela residents from 2008 to 2016, although many followed an erratic path over the years. The exception was the AP, which quoted favela residents (as well as government and police representatives) in a smaller percentage of articles in the 2015-2016 year than in 2008-2009. The Daily Mail, which did not quote any favela residents until 2012, had the most consistently increasing percentages from 2012 to 2016.

Values do not total 100% as one article may quote more than one source type.

Data over time is unavailable as 16 of 17 articles by favela writers were published 2015-2016.
Favela Portrayal

Why is this important?

Media outlets often only cover favelas when reporting on drug trafficking and related violence, but studies show that 45-65% of favelas have no trafficking presence. Even in those communities with trafficking, less than 1% of favela residents tend to be actively involved. It is essential for news coverage of favelas to avoid perpetuating the notion that favelas are just sites of violence, drugs, and poverty. A more balanced portrayal of both positive and negative attributes of favelas puts the pressure on policymakers to develop more productive projects. It can also alleviate the discrimination encountered by favela residents.

Analysis

All outlets more frequently portrayed favelas as sites of violence and drug/gang activity than as sources of culture or places with a sense of community. This is in contrast to the articles by favela writers, which most commonly portrayed favelas as places with a sense of community, while also discussing violence. Below, outlets are ranked roughly from best to worst in terms of the ratio of positive qualities (cool colors) of favelas to negative characteristics (warm colors). While articles by favela journalists show a roughly 50-50 split between positive and negative favela attributes, negative attributes dominate each outlet’s articles.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELAS AS*

- Favela writers
- Al Jazeera
- NYT
- WSJ
- Daily Mail
- USA Today

*Values do not total 100% as one article may include more than one favela attribute.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELAS AS, OVER TIME*

Analysis

Outlets either maintained similar ratios between the four favela attributes over the years or exhibited no clear trends.

*Values do not total 100% as one article may include more than one favela attribute.

Data over time is unavailable as 16 of 17 articles by favela writers were published 2015-2016.
Favela Resident Portrayal

Why is this important?
Portrayals of favela residents are critical to maintaining or deconstructing pervasive stigmas around favelas. Negative portrayals reinforce stereotypes and perpetuate the kind of discrimination residents encounter when they apply for jobs or when they are handled by the police. Constantly portraying residents as poor and uneducated paves the way for top-down policies and aid projects that lack mechanisms for participation. In contrast, emphasizing residents’ creativity and the initiatives they are already taking to improve their lives or communities allows for policies and projects that harness favelas’ positive assets. Furthermore, suggesting that most favela residents are unhappy (which may be popularly believed but is not statistically accurate) can serve as dangerous justification for policies like favela removals. Acknowledging that some favela residents have pride and value their communities despite challenges allows for better representations of the complexities of life in Rio’s favelas.

Analysis
While most international mainstream articles focused on the poverty facing Rio’s favela residents, those articles by favela writers focused on other aspects of their neighbors’ lives, such as their entrepreneurship or active participation in community projects or politics. The Guardian and Al Jazeera came closest to portraying favela residents as active agents of change as often as they portrayed them as poor. Below, outlets are ranked by the ratio of negative descriptors of favela residents to positive descriptors of favela residents.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELA RESIDENTS AS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Overall average</th>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Al Jazeera</th>
<th>WSJ</th>
<th>AP</th>
<th>Telegraph</th>
<th>USA Today</th>
<th>Daily Mail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated or ignorant</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active agents of change</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unhappy, miserable</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financially poor</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Values do not total 100% as one article may include more than one favela resident attribute.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELA RESIDENTS AS, OVER TIME*

**Analysis**

The Guardian, The Telegraph, and Daily Mail show clear trends towards a greater percentage of articles portraying positive qualities of favela residents. Other outlets do not show clear trends.

*Values do not total 100% as one article may include more than one favela resident.

Data over time is unavailable as 16 of 17 articles by favela writers were published 2015-2016.
Perpetrators of Violence

Why is this important?

When reporting on violence in favelas, it is important to be specific and nuanced about the nature of the violence. While drug traffickers do commit violence in favelas, police do too: in fact, Rio is home to one of the world’s deadliest police forces. Furthermore, the existence of drug trafficking and violence results from decades of failed public security policies and a lack of social investment in these neighborhoods. Referring to violence without providing context on the role of the police and State in favelas, therefore, risks implying that violence is inherent to favelas and favela residents.

Analysis

In the years 2010-11, 2012-13, and 2015-16, for the articles that mentioned violence in the context of favelas, we examined which actors were portrayed as violent: residents, police, or both. Below, outlets are ranked from best to worst, with the best having the lowest percentage of articles that only portray favela residents as violent. The favela writers subset fared the best, while USA Today fared the worst as two-thirds of its articles suggest that favela residents are the sole perpetrators of violence in favelas.
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES IDENTIFYING EACH PERPEPRATOR OF VIOLENCE

- Only residents
- Only state/police
- Both

Overall average:
- 44%
- 15.5%
- 40.4%

Favela writers:
- 56.3%
- 43.8%

Al Jazeera:
- 66%
- 15%
- 20%

Guardian:
- 46.3%
- 26.7%
- 27.9%

WSJ:
- 61.5%
- 11.5%
- 26.9%

Daily Mail:
- 52.5%
- 47.6%

AP:
- 33.3%
- 54.9%
- 11.8%

USA Today:
- 33.3%
- 66.7%

NYT:
- 66.5%
- 13.0%
- 26.4%

Telegraph:
- 57.7%
- 15.4%
- 26.9%
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES IDENTIFYING EACH PERPEPRATOR OF VIOLENCE OVER TIME

Analysis
Although there is no clear trend in the percentages of articles that portray only residents as violent, or articles that portray both police and residents as violent, there is an overall increase in articles that portray only police as violent. This trend is largely driven by the increased attention paid to police violence by The New York Times, The Guardian, and The Telegraph.

Overall average

Data over time is unavailable as 16 of 17 articles by favela writers were published 2015-2016
Conclusion: Call to Action

The dramatic increase in favela coverage that occurred across each of the eight studied mainstream international media outlets is a positive legacy of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. Extensive and diverse coverage of favelas is important for correcting a history of largely uniform, stigmatizing coverage, which has been co-responsible for generating harmful public policies. Negative biased coverage has long served as fodder for top-down interventions that assume no aspects of favelas are worthy of preserving, justifying policies that exacerbate inequality, and, for example, legitimizing forced evictions and police violence. Rio de Janeiro, however, is a city that cares about its global image, and international perceptions of its favelas and the city’s actions towards them can influence local policies towards a more inclusive approach. With this influence, journalists hold considerable power and can help debunk pervasive stigmas and engage in critical, productive reporting.

Our results show that no single publication did everything perfectly, just as no single publication fared the worst across all the data points. As a result, just like favelas themselves, each outlet has both strengths and areas in need of improvement. For each of these areas, our data proves that such improvement is possible, because one or more of their peers is already doing better. While the eight publications offer models for each other across different data points, the subset of articles by favela writers offers a noticeably different model. The differences between the favela writer dataset and the rest are frequently dramatic. While we are not suggesting that all mainstream articles must or should replicate what favela writers do, we do believe the stark divergence between mainstream trends and favela writers’ trends demands that mainstream journalists and editors pause and reflect on why these differences exist. What does it mean for foreign journalists to use the word “slum” and “shantytown” while articles by favela journalists prefer “community,” “neighborhood” and simply “favela”? If 65% of articles by favela writers leave a neutral impression of favelas, and more of their articles leave a positive impression than a negative impression, what does it mean for all eight studied outlets to publish more articles that leave a negative impression than those that are positive? All seventeen articles by favela writers acknowledge the pervasive violence that does exist in the city of Rio and which disproportionately affects the lives of favela residents, but they also give substantial space to discussing favela culture, the initiatives of favela residents to change their neighborhoods for the better, policy critiques by residents, and the regular ups and downs of daily life. What prevents mainstream international outlets from doing the same?

We invite journalists, editors, and other interested readers to contact us at press@catcomm.org or tweet at CatComm with the hashtag #FavelasInTheMedia to share your responses to these questions and other reflections on the report. Let us know how you plan to change the way you portray Rio’s favelas.

Don’t miss the recommendations for journalists we compiled on the basis of our full 2016 report.
Recommendations

**Keep up** the attention. Our results show that the dramatically expanded platform for favela news and coverage during Rio’s mega-event years proved a vital tool for resistance and community-building efforts across Rio’s favelas. From numerous interviews with community leaders following the World Cup and Olympics, we know that favela community leaders genuinely appreciate the opportunity to talk to international journalists and many feel that the spotlight provided has been a critical source of strength, bringing a critical new interest and approach to social issues above and beyond what exists in the national media.

“It’s really positive that the international press is giving attention to the communities, because the national media only gives communities attention when something bad is happening.” – Community leader from Horto.

**Recognize** your responsibility to provide a balanced portrayal of favelas. The unambiguously negative articles that perpetuate stigmas about favelas continue to outweigh the unambiguously positive articles that challenge those stigmas and situate residents as potential agents of positive change. Take a moment to consider what underlying impression your work is creating for your readers and the ultimate impact this will have on the communities you write about.

**Seek** beyond the outsider perspective. During the World Cup and Olympics years there was an influx of reporting from the journalist’s perspective without including favela resident perspectives, and still a number of articles that asked for athletes or celebrities’ opinions of favelas they barely visited. These stories would have been much more interesting and relevant with the additional perspective of residents on the issues that concern and interest them.

**Request** support from CatComm support and community contacts from CatComm that will provide perspective on stories relating to their communities. We are here to help.

**Vary** the topic. The majority of articles that mention favelas still focus on fundamentally negative issues—violence, gangs, drugs, poverty—at the expense of examining housing, community initiatives, culture, activism and a variety of other topics that are begging for greater coverage, and which can provide insight to debates on the same issues in the newspaper’s home country.

**Respond** to the growing international familiarity with the word “favela” (thanks to your work) by cutting down on the stigma-heavy English words like “slum,” which still pervades more articles than any other alternative word for favela.

**Explore** favelas beyond those that already receive significant coverage. CatComm is always on hand to offer support for stories on lesser-known favelas.

**Employ** community journalists to report on their own communities.