

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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Contents

Introduction	
Favela specificity	
Overall impression	10
Language	13
Perspectives	16
Favela Portrayal	19
Favela Resident Portrayal	22
Perpetrators of Violence	25
Conclusion: Call to Action	28

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 public 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.

Catalytic Communities (CatComm) saw this period as an opportunity for international journalists to develop a deeper under-

standing of the city and its favelas, and take substantial steps towards shifting the narrative around favelas by producing thoughtful and nuanced coverage about them. While we worked to support journalists, advocated for more productive coverage, and regularly monitored the best and worst English-language reporting, we also carried out a longitudinal media analysis of coverage of Rio's favelas across eight major global news outlets from 2008 to 2016. Our analysis of the overall trends during this time were presented in our 2016 "Favelas in the Media: How the Global Narrative on Favelas Changed During Rio's Mega-Event Years" report.

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.

Catalytic Communities Editorial Team

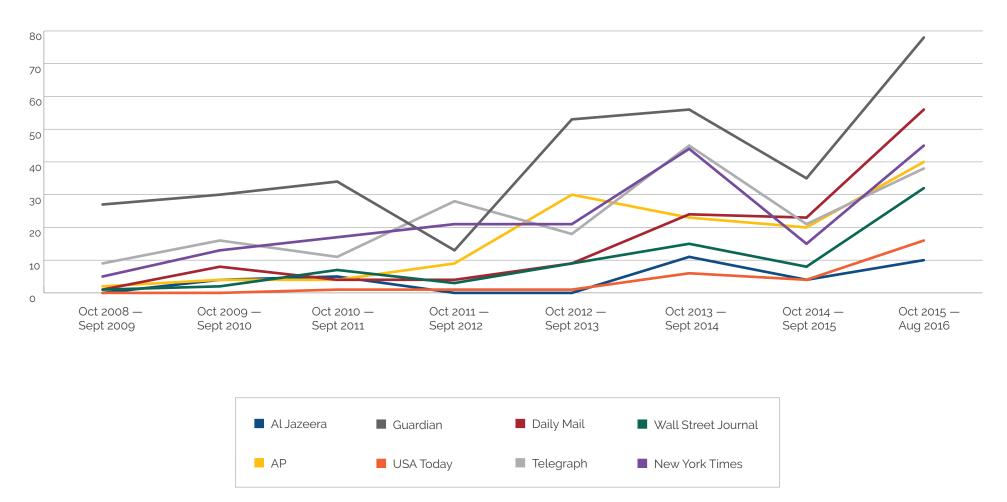
Methods

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.

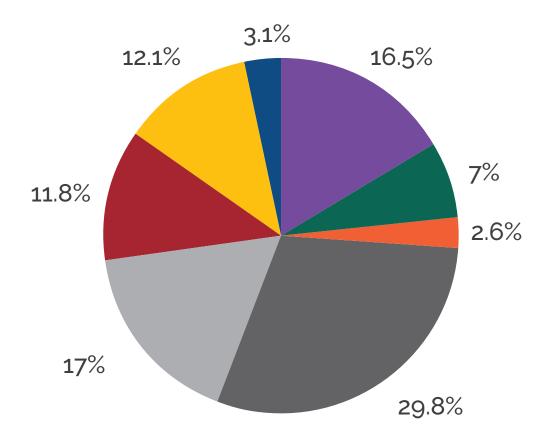
TOTAL ARTICLES FROM EACH PUBLICATION

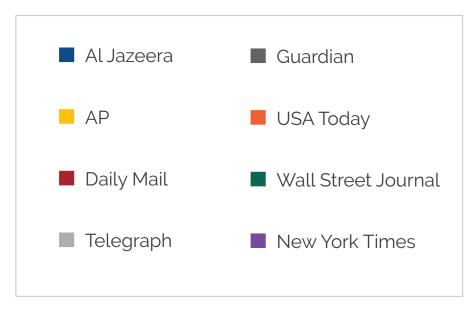
	Oct 2008 — Sept 2009	Oct 2009 — Sept 2010	Oct 2010 — Sept 2011	Oct 2011 — Sept 2012	Oct 2012 — Sept 2013	Oct 2013 — Sept 2014	Oct 2014 — Sept 2015	Oct 2015 — Aug 2016	Total of articles
New York Times	5	13	17	21	21	44	15	45	181
Wall Street Journal	1	2	7	3	9	15	8	32	77
USA Today	0	0	1	1	1	6	4	16	29
Guardian	27	30	34	13	53	56	35	78	326
Telegraph	9	16	11	28	18	45	21	38	186
Daily Mail	1	8	4	4	9	24	23	56	129
AP	2	4	4	9	30	23	20	40	132
Al Jazeera	0	4	5	0	0	11	4	10	34
Total	45	77	83	79	141	224	130	315	1094

ARTICLES PER YEAR



ARTICLES BY OUTLET





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...

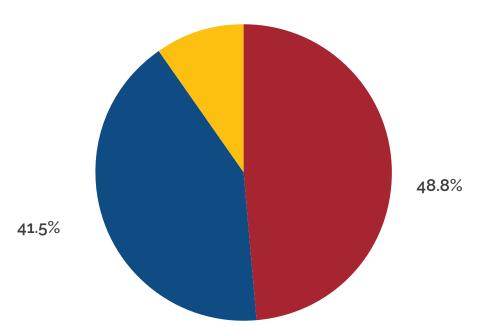


An unammed favela

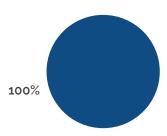
A named favela

Overall average

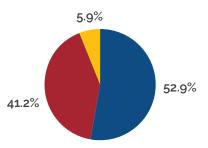
9.7%



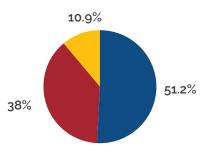
Favela writers



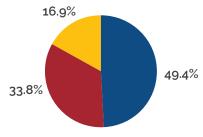
Al Jazeera



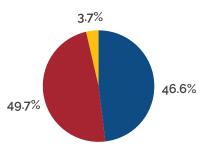
Daily Mail



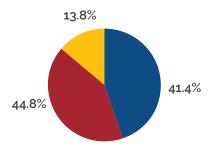


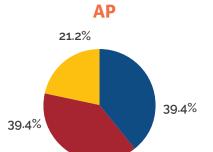


Guardian

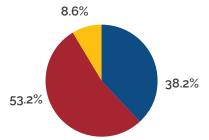


USA Today

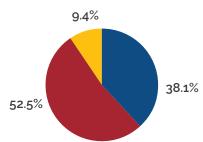




Telegraph



NYT



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.

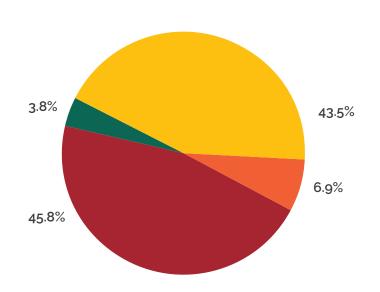
Analysis

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*.

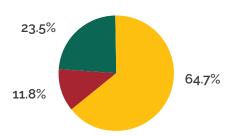
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES **LEAVING EACH OVERALL IMPRESSION**



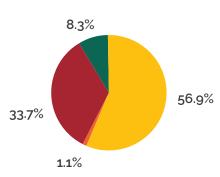
Overall average



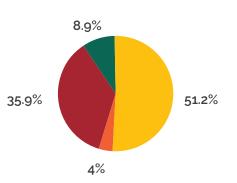
Favela writers



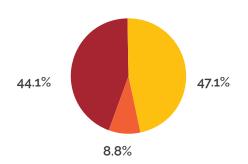
NYT



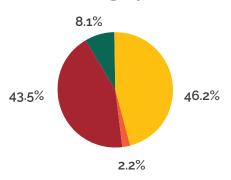
Guardian



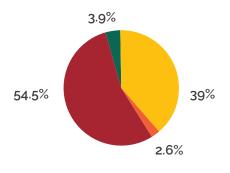
Al Jazeera

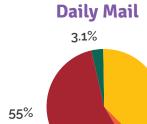


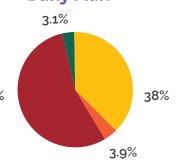
Telegraph

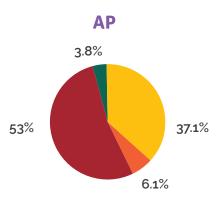


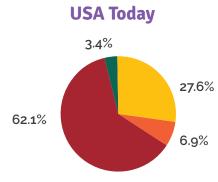
WSJ











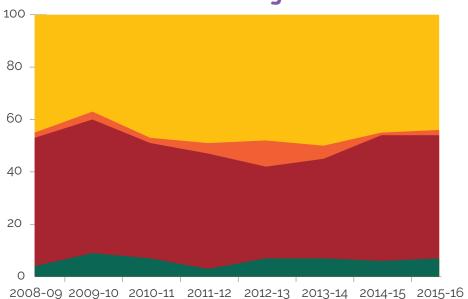
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WITH EACH OVERALL IMPRESSION OF FAVELAS OVER TIME

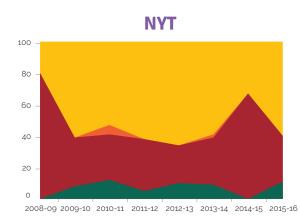
Analysis

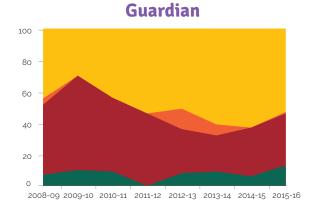
Daily Mail and USA Today each show a hint of more positive articles in the final year of the study. It is interesting to note that several outlets portrayed favela pacification as having a transformative impact on favelas in the middle years of this study. Fewer articles in the last couple of years suggested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

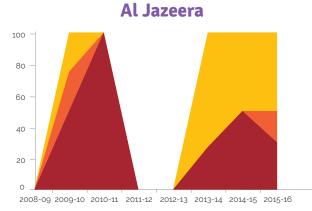


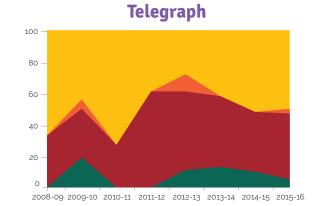
Overall average

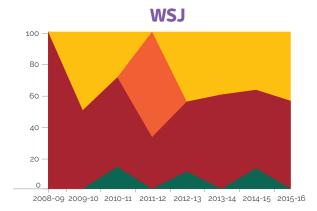


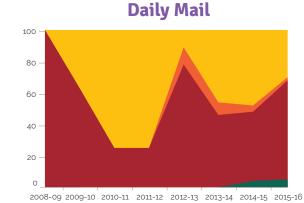


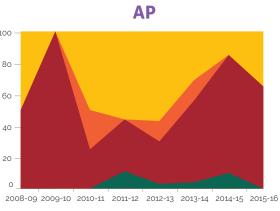


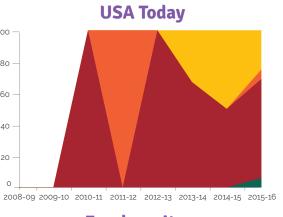












Favela writers

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.

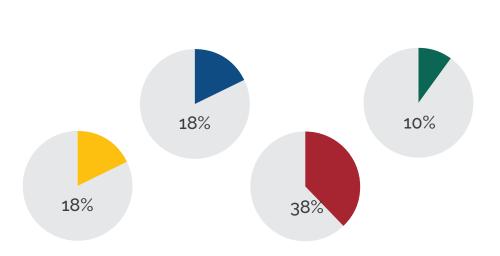
Analysis

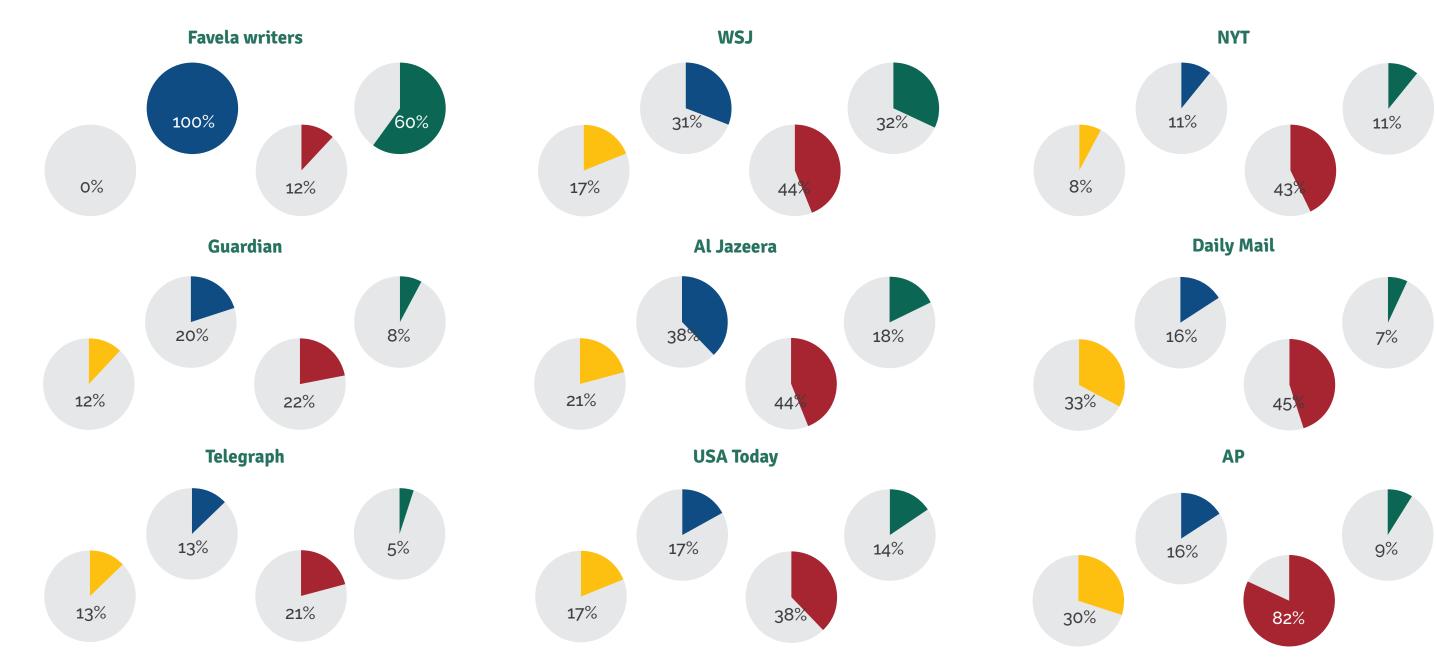
Although "slum" was the most frequently used alternative for "favela" in all outlets, it featured in just over 20% of articles in *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*, compared to close to 40% in most other outlets and 82% of *AP* articles. *The Wall Street Journal* and *Al Jazeera* used more neutral alternatives 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

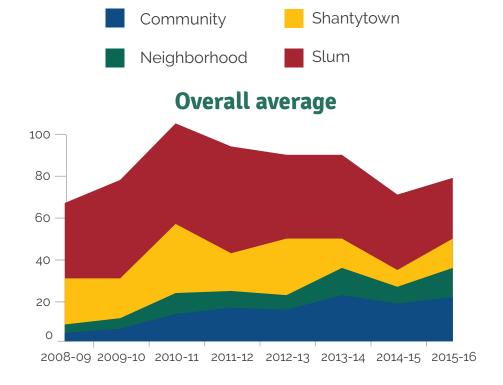




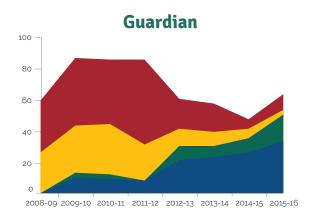
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WITH EACH ALTERNATIVE TERM OVER TIME*

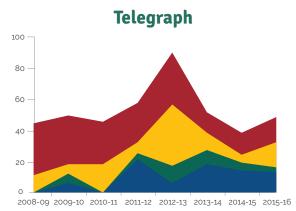
Analysis

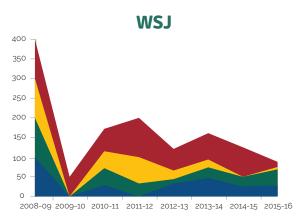
The Guardian and Wall Street Journal showed overall increases in the use of "neighborhood" and "community" and overall decreases in the use of "slum" and "shantytown" over time. Other outlets were more erratic.

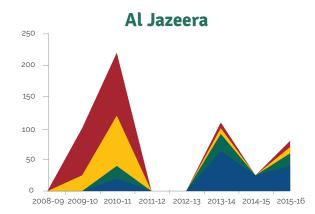


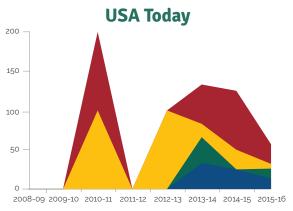
^{*} Values do not total 100% as one article may use more than one alternative term.

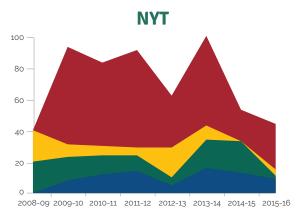


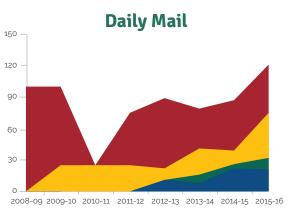


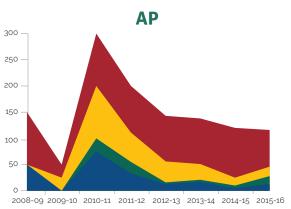












Favela writers

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.

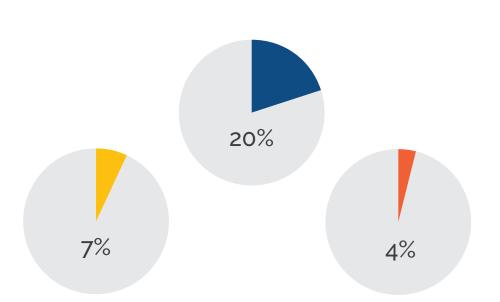
Analysis

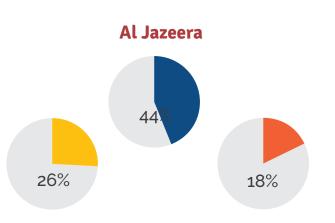
Each outlet quoted favela residents more than any other single group. Outlets are ranked here by the percentage of articles that quoted favela residents, from *Al Jazeera* which quoted residents in 44% of articles to *The Telegraph* which quoted favela residents in just 14% of articles. Favela writers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

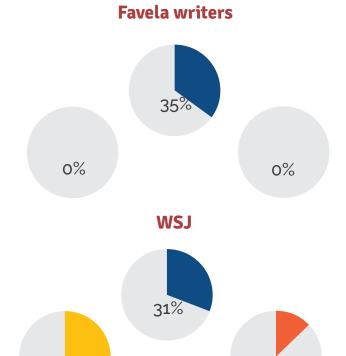
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES **QUOTING EACH SOURCE**



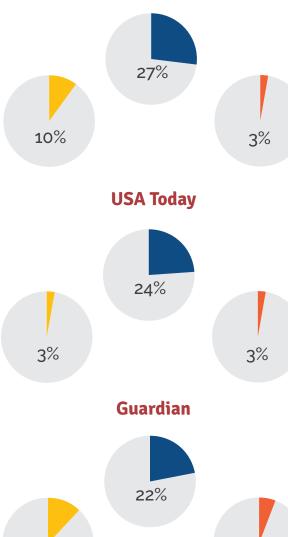
Overall average



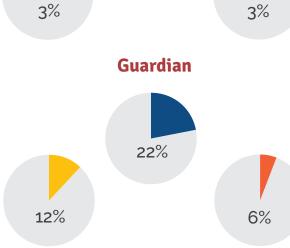


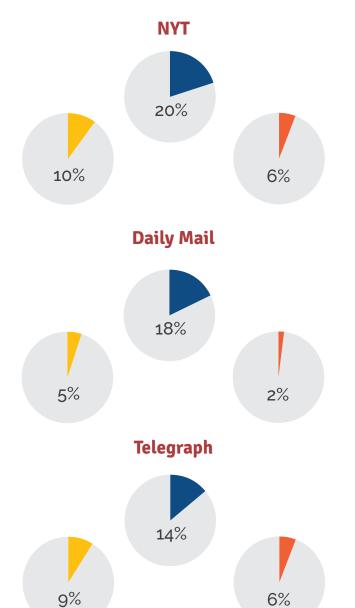


25%



AP



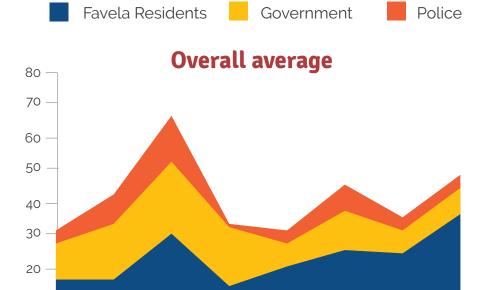


PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES QUOTING EACH SOURCE OVER TIME*

Analysis

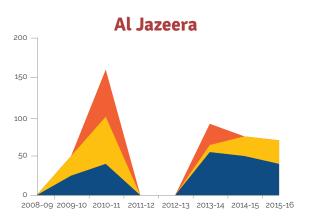
10

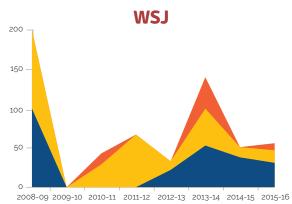
Most outlets saw an overall increase in the percentage of articles that quoted favela residents from 2008 to 2016, although many followed an erratic path over the years. The exception was the *AP*, which quoted favela residents (as well as government and police representatives) in a smaller percentage 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.

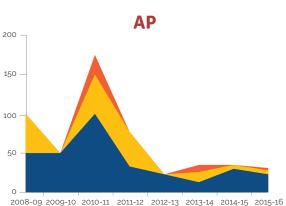


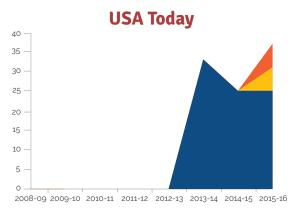


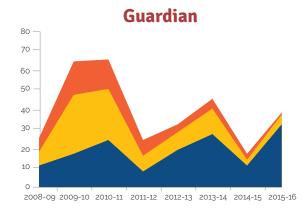
2008-09 2009-10 2010-11 2011-12 2012-13 2013-14 2014-15 2015-16

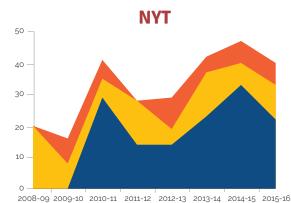


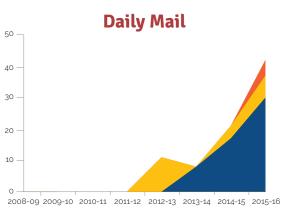


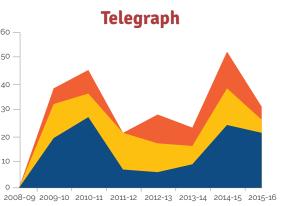












Favela writers



Favela Portrayal

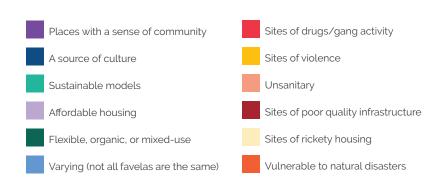
Why is this important?

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.

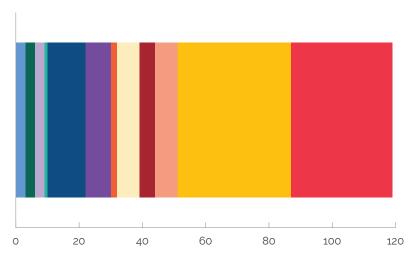
Analysis

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.

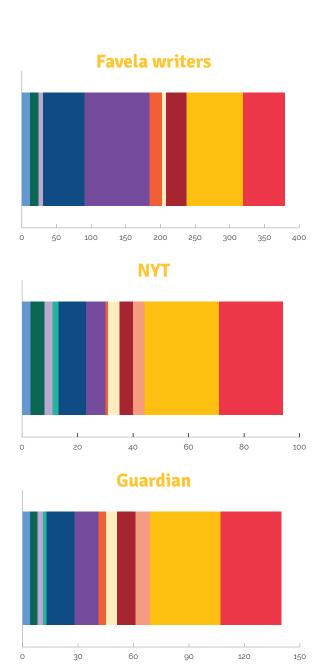
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELAS AS*

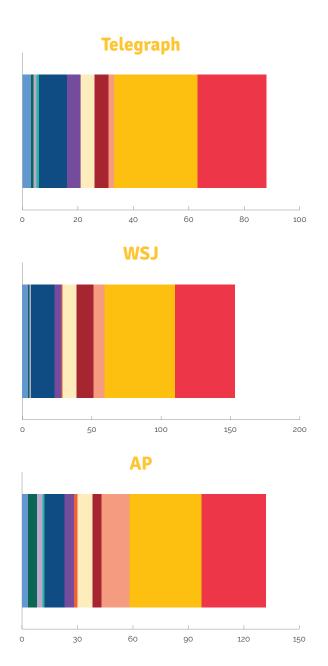


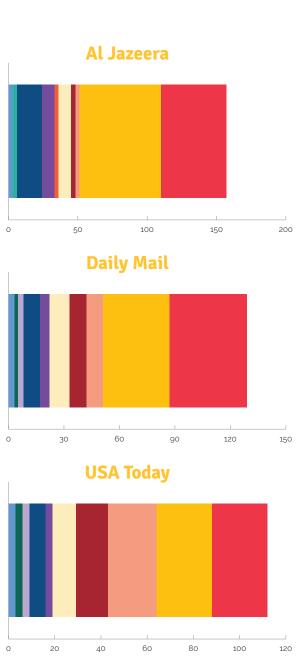
Overall average



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



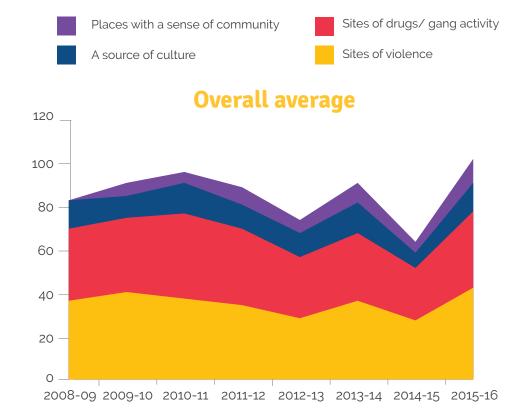




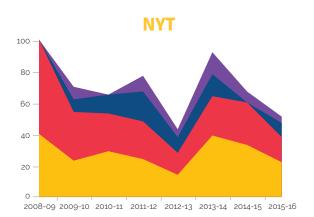
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELAS AS, OVER TIME*

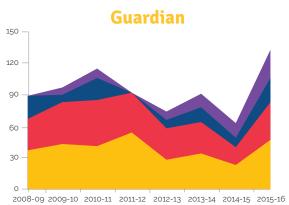
Analysis

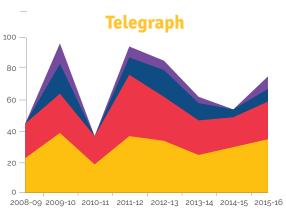
Outlets either maintained similar ratios between the four favela attributes over the years or exhibited no clear trends.

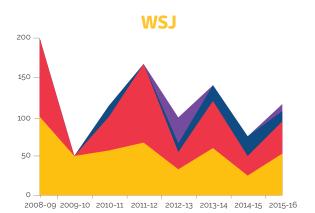


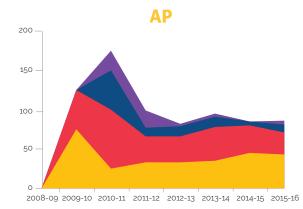
^{&#}x27;Values do not total 100% as one article may include more than one favela attribute.

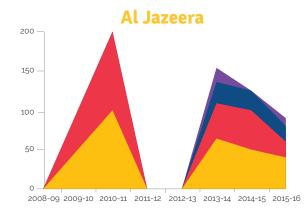


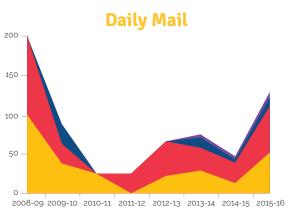


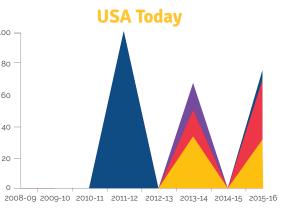












Favela writers

Favela Resident Portrayal

Why is this important?

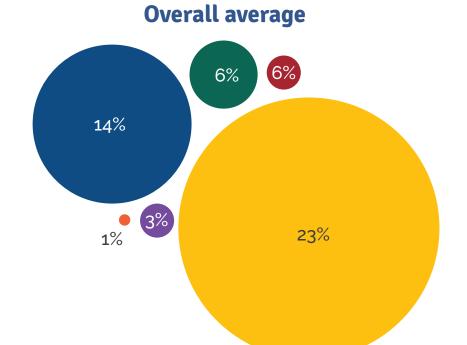
Portrayals of favela residents are critical to maintaining or deconstructing pervasive stigmas around favelas. Negative portrayals reinforce stereotypes and perpetuate the kind of discrimination residents encounter when they apply for jobs or when they are handled by the police.. Constantly portraying 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.

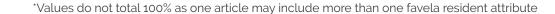
Analysis

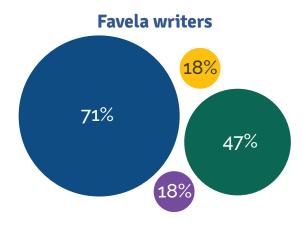
While most international mainstream articles focused on the poverty facing Rio's favela residents, those articles by favela writers focused on other aspects of their neighbors' lives, such as their entrepreneurship or active participation in community projects or politics. *The Guardian* and *Al Jazeera* 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*

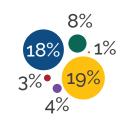




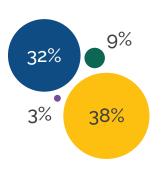




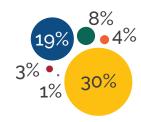




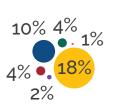
Al Jazeera



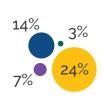
WSJ



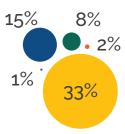
NYT



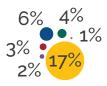
USA Today



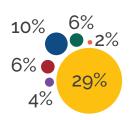
AP



Telegraph



Daily Mail

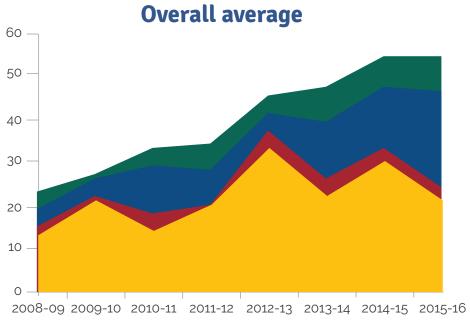


PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES THAT PORTRAY FAVELA RESIDENTS AS, OVER TIME*

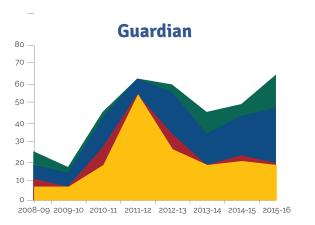
Analysis

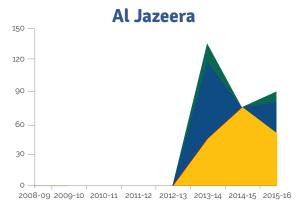
The Guardian, The Telegraph, and Daily Mail show clear trends towards a greater percentage of articles portraying positive qualities of favela residents. Other outlets do not show clear trends.



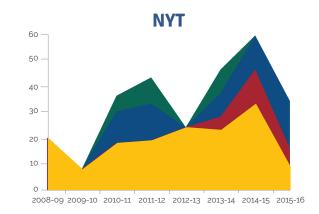


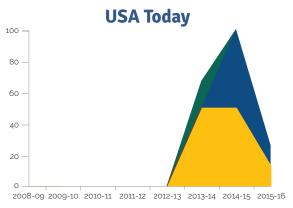


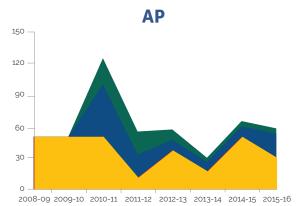


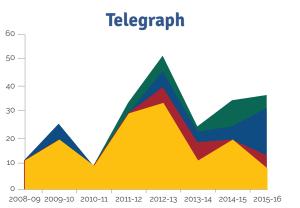


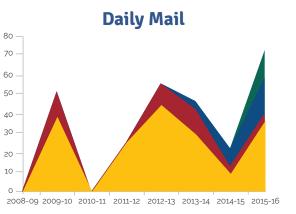












Favela writers

Perpetrators of Violence

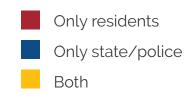
Why is this important?

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.

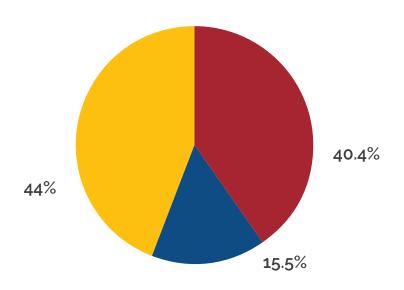
Analysis

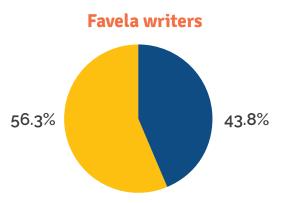
In the years 2010-11, 2012-13, and 2015-16, for the articles that mentioned violence in the context of favelas, we examined which actors were portrayed as violent: residents, police, or both. Below, outlets are ranked from best to worst, with the best having the lowest percentage of articles that only 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.

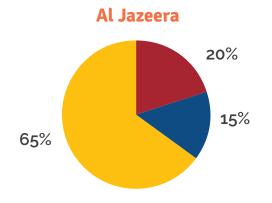
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES IDENTIFYING EACH PERPEPRATOR OF VIOLENCE

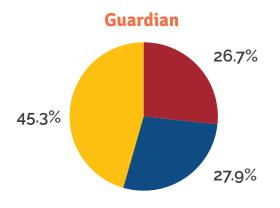


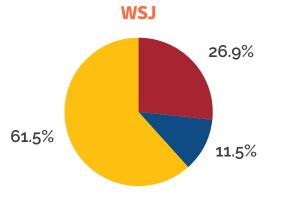
Overall average

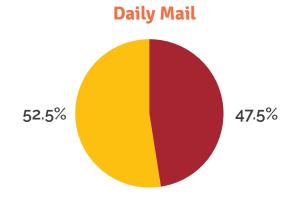


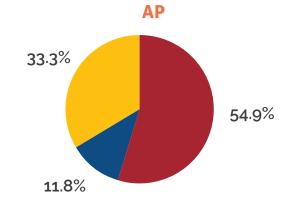


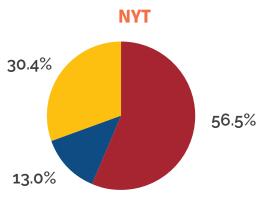


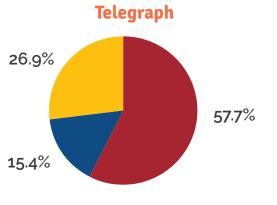


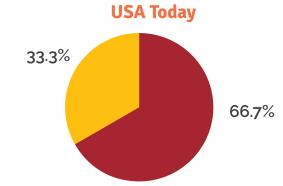








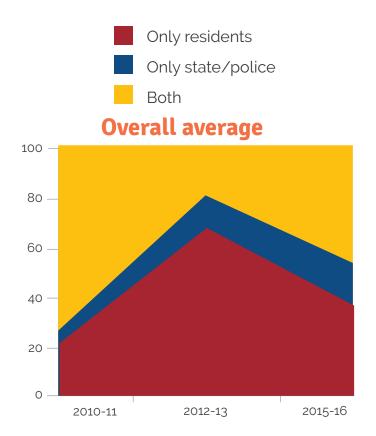


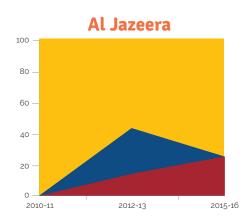


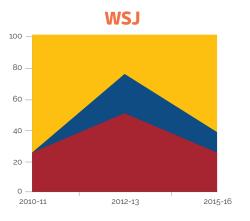
PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES IDENTIFYING EACH PERPEPRATOR OF VIOLENCE OVER TIME

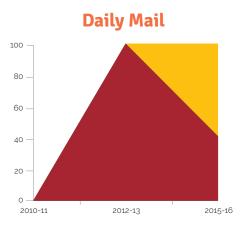
Analysis

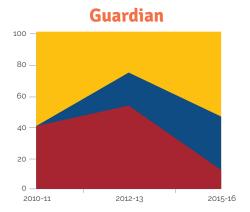
Although there is no clear trend in the percentages of articles that portray only residents as violent, or articles that portray both police and residents as violent, there is an overall increase in articles that portray only police as violent. This trend is largely driven by the increased attention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

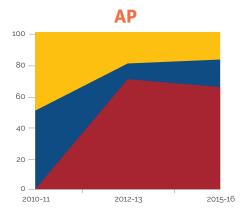




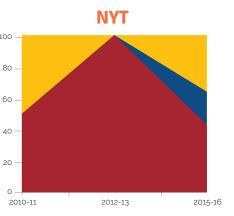


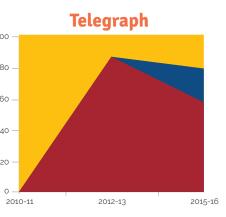












Favela writers



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 politicies 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 @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 strengthen, 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.