Final Report, September 2007
Non-Governmental and Public Action

Parallel Lives, Different Worlds:
Citizenship and Public Action in Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Udi Mandel Butler

BACKGROUND

In this research project we sought to analyse the notion of 'youth participation', a term that has come to be much in use nowadays. Our reflections depart from the perspectives of two set of actors: that of young people in organisations, groups and civil society initiatives, and that of adult educators or co-ordinators also found there. Thinking about the different 'spaces of participation', and taking in consideration the social segregation of the city of Rio de Janeiro, we sought to investigate if the forms of participation of young people from different socio-economic backgrounds are structured in distinct ways. Further, we wanted to explore how young people understood their participation in these initiatives and what effect this had in their lives.

The research was conducted in partnership with CIESPI (International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood) - an action research NGO in Rio de Janeiro affiliated to the PUC University, which focuses on childhood and youth particularly within marginalised communities. The center has as its goal the development of policies and practice towards this population, contributing to their wholesome development and to the defence of their rights.

OBJECTIVES

The objective of the research has been to gain an understanding of how young people from different backgrounds perceive and practice citizenship and public action and create and engage in their political world in the context of a socially and economically divided society. As such we have been concerned in finding out what the terms 'participation' and 'citizenship' actually mean to young people in their everyday lives.

Over the last few years, we are witnessing a growing interest in research and social programs – implemented by the state as well as the non-governmental sector – concerning

the participation of children and youth in the public sphere (Flekkoy and Kaufman 1997, UNICEF 2003). An important mark in this process was the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child of 1989, followed by various initiatives based on a rights discourse, in a number of fields: against child labour, domestic violence, children living on the streets, amongst many others. The Convention of the Rights of the Child has a number of articles specifically addressing the right of the child and adolescent to be consulted over issues that concern them.

Prompted by these shifts, debates are occurring in many parts of the world concerning young people's rights to participation. In 'Northen' countries, like the UK and US, amongst others, the themes of child and youth participation is often linked to the notion of 'civic participation' and the participation in 'formal' political spaces like school councils and municipal forums (Coles 1995, Flekkoy & Kaufman 1997, UNICEF 2003). In 'Southern' countries, on top of these spaces, social development projects as implemented by multilateral agencies and a number of governmental and non-governmental agencies have also focussed on the theme of child and youth participation. Such projects offer another space of participation which has to do with the involvement of recipient groups and communities in the process of planning and implementation of particular projects. Following this movement demanding the participation of children and young people in various sectors of society, there has been an emerging critique of the use and abuse of terms such as 'participation' and 'empowerment' particularly as found within the international development sector. Here we seek to critically engage with these debates analysing more precisely how these terms are understood and practised 'in the field' (Cooke, & Kothari *et al*, 2004, Rahnema 1992).

Our research tackles these questions in a qualitative way, seeking to understand young people's engagement in the public sphere[1] of the city of Rio de Janeiro and what we here term their cultures of participation. This research examines some of the initiatives in which young people today participate: community organisations, cultural groups, social movements.

At the same time in which we note a shift in discourse and practices that advocate the participation of children and youth in a number of social institutions and spaces, we also believe that the traditional forms of political participation, in particular in the current generation of young people, have undergone a significant transformation. For many commentators this transformation is marked by the apparent apathy of young people today as regards politics and collective participation for social change.

---

[1] Taking the definition from the Non-Governmental and Public Action Programme, we understand the public sphere as the space of collective action, outside the family, towards public or private goals.

Yet, as researchers point out (Novaes and Vital 2006, Balardini, 2005, Pais 2000, Abramo, 2005) young people today are involved in spaces of participation that are different from the traditional forms of political engagement. At the same time, research points out that the forms of organisation and themes which young people engage with today are different from those of previous generations. These changes, and the transformations in subjectivity amongst the current generation of young people – a sector of the population which, historically, has always played an important role in the struggles of the time – is also the focus of this research.

METHODS

The first few months of fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro with the research team were taken up by planning and developing the research instruments.[2] This included discussing the objectives and questions of the project, identifying the relevant literature, the organisations, projects, movements and co-ordinators, to be interviewed and establishing contact with them. In this initial phase we identified 16 key projects, out of an initial list of 20, organisations and social (and cultural) movements in Rio de Janeiro's civil society which focus on young people and the theme of inclusion, social justice and citizenship. Many of these organisations work with young people through cultural forms (such as music, dance, theatre, cinema, photography). Following this initial planning stage the team divided the research process into 3 stages:

1) In the first stage of the research we conducted semi-structured interviews with the co-ordinators and educators of the projects identified. Field-diaries were also kept by the researchers noting any observations of the organisations, interviews or any reflections around the weekly meetings the research team had. After identifying each initiative, we approached the co-ordinators and educators from these organisations to understand their proposals, practices and challenges as well as how they viewed the participation of young people in their projects. In total we interviewed 24 people connected to the co-ordination or education side of these initiatives.

---

[2] The team in Rio was composed of Marcelo Princeswal, awarded an NGPA Practitioner Fellowship, as well as interns Gaelle Rony (2005) and Roberta Silva de Abreu (2006). Other members of CIESPI, Alexandre Bárbara Soares, Paula Caldeira, and CIESPI's director Irene Rizzini, provided considerable contributions to the project.

2) In a second stage of the research, we conducted 9 focus group interviews with a total of 59 young people between the ages of 16 and 24, with a few exceptions, who were participating in these 16 initiatives, projects, social movements, or other 'spaces of participation'. We always sought to focus on a range of groups that were representative in terms of gender, ethnicity and social class, of the diversity of young people in the city. Although regarding this last category, with the exception of the student movement, we noted that few initiatives directly targeted or sought to include middle class youth.

3) Based on our experiences with these groups we carried out a third stage of the research, in order to deepen our understanding of the trajectories of participation of 12 individuals. These young people were selected from the above group as well as based on indications from others we got to know. They were selected because of the levels of engagement and the length of their trajectory of participation, which even in the case of the youngest (at 16) already spanned a number of years. At this stage we were seeking the more subtle meanings and effects of their engagement with within the public sphere and we used a 'life histories' and participatory approach, with individual interviews, group debates, and texts written by this group of young people themselves with the goal of reflecting on their experiences. As a product of this third phase, we have created a joint publication which has been published in Brazil (see activities section).

During the three phases described above, we counted with the participation of around 100 people, including co-ordinators, young people and other researchers. Our objective consisted of trying to better understand how young people actually participate in specific projects, as well as the meaning and impact they attach to such participation. Besides the participation in 'projects' we also sought to understand what young people participate in more broadly and what they consider participation to be. In this way we sought to problematize an understanding of participation, often found in social projects targeting young people, that is too narrowly defined and related to formal institutions. Instead we sought where else participation may be found.

Though our perspective from the beginning sought other forms of participation practised by young people, we noted that both our gaze as well as that of the young people we interviewed often departed from a 'formal' perspective of participation – the social project, the cultural group, the NGO, the social movement. In this way we point to a limitation of our methodology in approaching only young people who were already part of well-defined and recognised collectives. A more complex exercise would be to engage with young people who do not necessarily fit such a profile (who are in fact the majority) to better understand their forms and spaces of participation, such as engaging in one-off actions like organising events, taking part in demonstrations, giving donations, amongst others. This is a challenge that is part of a greater project, which is, that of understanding the 'political' in the present day where, as the New Social Movements literature points out, "the personal is political".

RESULTS

1. The context of a 'divided city'.

'Africa is Here. And so is Europe' was the headline of one of a series of weekly reports that appeared in 2001 in *O Globo*, Brazil's leading newspaper. The articles based on a recent UNDP (United Nations Development Program) report, the first of its kind, analysed the Human Development Index (HDI) of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro and its many districts or *bairros*. 'Africa is here and so is Europe', refers to the finding that whereas Rio's more affluent *bairro*, Lagoa, perched near the sea and beneath the giant statue of Christ that stands on one of Rio's tallest hills, could claim a standard of living comparable to that of Italy, its poorest *bairro*, Icaraí, measured alongside the living standards of Algeria.

The UNDP report chose Rio precisely because the coexistence of these two worlds is so visible, and yet these are worlds that at times scarcely appear to meet. Luiz Cezar Ribeiro, a sociologist involved in writing the report, has termed the city's particular version of inequality as the 'Carioca model of segregation' (Ribeiro 2003). This model, Ribeiro explains, is one that combines social distance with physical proximity. This creates the possibility of interaction between groups that are at complete variance in the social scale. Rio is what it is, he argues, because of this

proximity between the rich and the poor (Ibid).

Such a relation between different social groups has also been termed the *Divided City*, referring to the relationship between the favela and the 'asphalt', coming to represent for researchers, city-dwellers and the government the impossibility of integration. Jailson de Souza e Santos (2004) points out that the notion of the divided city is accentuated by the dominant media which come to institute and reproduce a certain prejudiced representation of these spaces. Many of those interviewed in this research related similar experiences. Historically the favela, and as a result, its inhabitants, have often been represented in a prejudiced perspective by inhabitants of the 'asphalt', the formal planned city, as a space of absence; absence of law, resources, culture, productive and creative power, or even, in more extreme cases, of morality.

For Souza e Santos (2004) one of the great problems of such perception, beyond the day-to-day discrimination faced by favela inhabitants in many aspects of their lives, is the relativization of citizenship. According to the author, citizenship becomes a relative concept, relative to skin colour, level of education, income and place of residence (Souza e Santos, 2004). Such 'relativizing' of citizenship, spills over into how certain initiatives come to consider the category of youth.

2. Category of 'youth'

In Rio de Janeiro, over the past fifteen years, there has been a marked increase in the number of non-governmental organisations focusing on youth and significantly those living in the favelas of the city. As such, the non-governmental sector appears to have shifted its focus from 'street children', a group that was the target of interventions since the 1980s, towards that of youth.[3] Many of the initiatives who work with young people do so through cultural forms (such as music, dance, theatre, cinema, photography), seeing these media as means with which to engage people in a process of critical reflection of the social and political situation they and the country finds itself in, as well as offering opportunities for experimentation or professionalization. More recently, a number of projects and organisations have also been working with media towards similar ends (such as a community cable TV station initiative for young people, a critical media school for

---

[3] As regards the age range of youth we note that researchers, policy, laws, governmental, non-governmental and multilateral agencies, tend to consider it to be between 15 and 24 years of age. Such standard, has been adopted by many research institutions in Brazil (IBGE, IPEA), as well as the UN. On the other hand, Abramo (2005) states that it is always important to consider such marks as relative, "seeing that personal histories, conditioned by differences and social inequality of many kinds, produce diverse trajectories in concrete individuals" (ABRAMO, 2005, p.46).

youngsters from the *favelas* and a youth radio news project).

Organisations which work with youth always have a particular vision of what is 'youth'. Are youths seen as subjects with rights who should have their subjectivity, potential, capacity to act and choose respected, or are they seen as potential risks who should be rescued from idleness, before becoming involved in drug dealing and dangerous? Are youths seen as becoming subjects, a hope for the future of the country, or as individuals who should be valued in the present, with their own culture, forms of expression and aspirations? It is important to note that the vision an organisation has reflects its values, goals and its idea of citizenship, this may be expressed in mission statements and documents, but also through interviews with its leaders and what the project does in practice. In our research we could observe three recurring narratives about youth amongst those we interviewed.

One understanding, pervasive amongst the middle class and the media, perceives young people living in shantytowns as a potential risk, as potential recruits of the increasingly violent drug trafficking gangs that operate from many favelas.[4] From this perspective, organisations work with such youth in order to, as they see it, prevent them from entering a life of crime. The perception of youth as a group of potential risk to society, or to privileged sectors within it, is of course nothing new nor is it restricted to developing countries. Yet in the context of Rio they perpetuate the fragmented notion of citizenship described by de Souza above. This is well-expressed by a young woman we interviewed who was participating in a project:

> Today, a mistaken perspective is given of the work which the NGOs carry out that whoever is taking part in these cultural projects and are helped, are being diverted from joining the drug gangs and criminality, which I think is completely wrong. In my case I am doing photography, if I wasn't in this NGO would I be in the drug gang? I don't think that is right, its just not true, there are many cases, obviously, but it is not generally true. The person who is doing theatre: ah, she is in this cultural group, but she could be dealing, killing, stealing, but no, she is doing art. It's not true. The fact that you live in a community [a favela] does not mean that you have only one option: drug dealing.
>
> [Young woman from the project Jornal Juvenil Brasil]

---

[4] The increasing levels of crime and violence in the city have been linked to the expansion of the drugs trade in Rio. The drug gangs have their bases in many of the city's favelas, from which they run their sales points, which they protect from rival gangs. Turf wars between gangs, and shootouts with the police are frequent, claiming many innocent lives. Though soaring homicide rates are perhaps the most significant aspect of this political-economy of illegal drugs, many other consequences have followed, further dividing and alienating the *favela* from the city.

A second perspective on youth expounded by the majority of organisations we encountered during fieldwork, and expressed both in their literature, in interviews and their practice, consider youth as a time of experimentation. Their work, with a series of different cultural forms such as theatre, cinema, etc. offers such opportunities for experimentation and encounter with cultural forms from which favela residents have been historically excluded for a number reasons.

One final perspective on youth, involves a conception of young people as revolutionaries, as the hope for transforming society. Held by more critical organisations and social movements of a more 'political' nature, such as the MST (The Landless Movement), [5]young people are here seen as the instruments and subjects of social change.

How each organisation perceives the category of 'youth', in turn leads to particular conceptions (and practices) of citizenship. In the first, where young people in the favelas are considered to be a potential risk, citizenship appears as fragmented between different classes, and measures for 'inclusion' begin through stigmatising whole sectors of the population as potential criminals and as such loose their claims to the rights of citizenship. This form of 'citizenship' perpetuates the prejudices spoken of previously. In the second perspective, citizenship appears as a more egalitarian ideal in which all subjects should be provided with the same opportunities for accessing a range of resources (cultural, economic, political). In the final perspective, citizenship appears as a utopian idea involving a radical restructuring of society and a dismantling of stereotypes.

3. Stitching-up the Divided City

Whilst identifying the organisations that were actively working with young people, we noted the almost complete absence of organisations or projects that worked with middle class young people or who actively sought to work with all youngsters within a remit of social justice, citizenship or civic action. This data has provoked us to try to find organisations and projects that do work with different social classes (such as student unions). One surprising finding here was how Hip Hop culture and its

---

[5] The Landless Movement is a large grass-roots movement present throughout Brazil, fighting for the rights of landless peasants. As well as their more visible direct-action occupation of unused lands, they are involved in a whole range of initiatives especially those around education and awareness raising in cities and rural areas. The Movement is said to have around 300,000 families, and as such a considerable number of young people. Many of these young people come to take leadership positions in local groups, and increasingly also on a national level.

organisations (some associations being more formal others) have played a key role in bringing young people from different backgrounds together and how a great part of this culture, in the context of Brazil, has an ethos of resistance, activism and education.[6] In our research then we are mindful of different kinds of youth participation, ranging from more 'organic' expressions such as hip hop, to more institutionalised ones such as being part of an NGO. But on the issue of social segregation of participation, that Hip Hop culture appeared as an exceptional space of cross-class encounter was a key finding. Not only this, but also how many organisations, especially those which worked through the use of cultural forms like music, dance, photography and cinema, had this issue of trying to 'stitch-up' the 'divided city' as a central goal. That is, to engage directly with stereotypes and practices that divide up the city and portray the favela and its residents as somehow outsiders to the city, as aberrations.

Such aspirations, involve a dimension of social life that can be termed 'encounter'. Encounter has to do with the interaction between different social classes, and the mobility of these different groups within the city. Key here is the possibility of locomotion in order to encounter and exchange experiences with different social groups for a mutual recognition of being part of the same city with the same rights. Yet, instead of this in practice we see a perpetuation of the *cidade partida* – the divided city - marked by social segregation, mistrust and stigmatisation. Here, many favela residents rarely frequent the parts of the city which concentrate cultural centers, theatres, museums, cinemas, education courses etc. Indeed for a considerable number, moving outside the local region is a rare occurrence, a consequence of prohibitively expensive

---

[6] Hip Hop culture is often spoken of as including the four element of o rap (a musical form of singing and rhyming), break-dance, graffiti, and the DJ. Hip Hop culture may be too diverse to be called a movement, as it encompasses a variety of tendencies, from the more progressive to those that eulogise crime factions, to religious Hip Hop, right-wing Hip Hop, homophobe Hip Hop, etc. Yet in the case of Brazil, despite this diversity, there is a strong tendency towards the mobilisation towards social justice, citizenship and against racism, discrimination, inequality. In the research we could observe the proximity of Hip hop to various social movements, Feminist Movement, Landless Movement, Black Movement. As Brazilian researchers Regina Novaes and Christina Vital write, adherents to Hip hop culture "found NGOs, build internet sites, organise meetings, events, conferences and national and international seminars, They enter public space as an alternative form of youth organisation" (Novaes, 2006:135) As Novaes and Vital rightly points out, in the peripheries of urban centres "Hip Hop has become a cultural resource for congregating youth" (Novaes and Vital, 2006:134).

bus fares given their economic means. But in the interviews, we observed that it was not only the expense of entering these 'noble' spaces, such as theatres and cinemas that prevented favela youth from frequenting them. There was also a perception that they were "*coisas de playboy*" - "playboy things" – playboy being the way in which youth slang describes (somewhat derogatorily) wealthier youth from the Zona Sul areas of the city. It is precisely on this wall raised as a division between 'popular' and 'high' culture, that a number of projects sought to concentrate their efforts, showing that 'culture' should belong to everyone equally, and not only as consumers but also creators.

If there are barriers for favela youth to circulate through the city and its cultural spaces, there are even more serious barriers of non-favela youth and residents to get to know the favela. The number of non-favela youth who visit these spaces is negligible. Instead what people know of the favelas is what the media represents, invariably as a space of absence – absence of resources, culture, law and morality, a place of violence and crime. This was the overwhelming sense which almost all those interviewed living in these spaces conveyed, expressing a great deal of indignation at this representation. For this reason that a growing number of organisations and initiatives have been working on the politics of representation – working with different cultural forms as a means of re-representing life in the favela, and with a media that originates from the experience of favela life. Organisations like Afroreggae and Observatório das Favelas, have this preoccupation of taking the favela to other parts of the city, not only by putting on shows, activities around the city, but also by bringing people who would otherwise not visit favelas to see their projects, including hosting shows of popular performers (from Brazil and abroad) in favela cultural spaces. These initiatives have to do with what I term 're-imagining the city', trying to dismantle stereotypes, mistrust and fears towards a sense of a city that is not divided but stitched together.

The above analysis has taken a 'macro' perspective, looking at 'representations', 'interactions' and differential access to citizenship rights and resources. At the same time in our research we looked at the 'micro' transformations of participation and how it can be said to effect the subjects involved.

4. The Effects of Participation

Bordenave (1995) defines participation as the way through which humans fulfill and affirm themselves, make things and dominate nature and the world. For the author the practice of participation also involves:

> other necessities that are no less important such as the interaction with others, self-expression, the development of reflexive thought, the pleasure in creating and re-creating things, and, further, the valuing of oneself and the feeling of being valued by others. In conclusion, participation has two complementary bases: an affective one, we participate because we feel pleasure in doing things with others – and an instrumental base – we participate because doing things with others is more effective and efficient than doing them by ourselves [*my translation*] (BORDENAVE, 1995, p.16).

Corroborating Bordenave's statement, one of the most important aspects young people spoke of as regards their participation in projects and organisations related to affective and symbolic themes: the possibility of meeting, exchanging with and getting to know other young people, of feeling a sense of solidarity, feeling valued and a sense of belonging.

This distinction of the utilitarian and affective/symbolic aspects of participation is important, but should be taken in an absolute way, as a participation initially conceived as utilitarian can develop affective processes. Similarly, the emergence of feelings of solidarity and belonging, of 'empowerment' are also commonly connected to struggles for rights and resources.

a) Self-esteem

A common theme amongst a number of initiatives that work with young people is the concept of self-esteem. This is described as the feeling of recognition, confidence, of being respected and valued by others, of being capable of carrying out certain actions and activities, of relating to others in a gratifying way. It seems to us that self-esteem is closely linked to participation, in as much as the more confident the individual feels, the greater the tendency that s/he will actively participate in a group. This is clearly seen in the exchange below, between a group of young people who were part of a radio project,

which followed the question as to the effects of participation on their lives:

> Before I was reluctant to say I live in the Complexo da Maré [a large favela]. The person jolts, the person retreats, it is horrible, you have to own up, I always own up, you know, about the place where you live and it doesn't matter, the place doesn't make you up, it is you who makes up the place.
> - My critical gaze shifted.
> - Yes, our vision of society amplified, and we cannot deny our roots, I think that is it. Many people who live in the community are ashamed of saying that they live in a community, that they live in a favela.
> - They feel shame.
> - Afterwards I started having this other perspective; I gave more emphasis to the fact of the place where I live, to my origins, to the fact of being black too.
>
> [Young people - Jornal Juveníl Brasil]

The conversation is emblematic of a common response given by many young people who were part of a number of initiatives we came to know. Such transformations are variously described as having to do with a sense of 'self-esteem', of not feeling ashamed to be considered as belonging to a particular group or category, but rather, a renewed sense of pride at being part of a constituency with a particular history and culture. As such the individual may come to identify with their particular 'community', 'race', sexual orientation or class. In a society marked by inequality, social segregation, racism and machismo, this is no mean feat.

b) Solidarity

Solidarity was one of the most important values mentioned by young people and co-ordinators when asked about what for them was the key thing about participation. Solidarity, was also spoken of as an antidote to the growing tendency towards individualism in our consumer society.

An interesting aspect seen in the trajectories of some of those we interviewed is the potential of groups to transform the subject's identity from a more restricted sphere of individual and immediate concerns to a more expansive conception of the self connected to a feeling for the common good. On some occasions such transformation can

be profound, affecting the way the individual thinks, relates to others and sees her/his place in the world. This is clearly seen in the experience of a youngster from the MST (The Landless Movement), who compares the first time he went to a squatter camp of the movement to seeing an Unidentified Flying Object:

> (...) it was such a shock that I could hardly talk afterwards when I saw all those people under the tent, some making food, others talking, children playing, some happy, and so all that really moved me. (...) Because I did not know a camp, it was like another world, you live in a society, you see all this issue of social exclusion, the issue of a society that says "to be you need to have", the ideological domination is also very strong, the question of culture imposing on people, the issue of individualism which is really big, and then you arrive in another reality, in another social structure where it is different, and it is like being in a different environment from one moment to the next (…)
> - Interviewer – what things were different?
> This question of co-operation, the question of work, the camp has an organisational structure where beyond the base groups you have this space for debate (…) you have the assemblies, you have the co-ordinators and for this, inside the camp, for any kind of activity any kind of work developed inside the camp, the families debate the problems and elaborate proposals for that job. So that is something different, you construct work, but not only in the sense of doing work, but also in the sense of how to develop it. And this is something that makes us grow. If we probe into the question of work, it is work that constructs man in the sense that it has a fundamental role in the construction of the consciousness of the individual. And inside the camp of the Landless Movement we use work not only in order to accomplish some menial job with an economic return, but work as involving reflection. It is the reflection and action of work that elevates the understanding of the individual and so you start to develop a consciousness.
>
> <div align="right">[Youngster, MST]</div>

Concluding

As we noted in this research, participation always occurs within a historical context which offers different opportunities, forms and themes that come to provoke it. At the same time, each historical period offers challenges to participation, some more explicitly than others, as seen in years of the military dictatorship in Brazil in the 1960s when the military harshly repressed the participation of many groups who were fighting for social transformation, and pushed their activities underground. The "presentification" (or "immediatism"), that are considered by many to be features of the contemporary

world, in a culture that values immediate gratification through consumption, also imposes challenges for the participation in projects that envision a collectively created future.

Implicitly or explicitly all projects, initiatives or social movements depart from a certain conception of citizenship. But, as we identified, there are different notions about what this entails, each reflecting a particular idea about youth. In this way it is always important to ask "participate for what?", "empower for what?". So that young people are able to engage with the labour market? So that the young person does not become involved in drug trafficking? In order for her/him to experiment, and discover her/his potential? For her/him to be critical and community spirited, capable of provoking social change?

What we identified as the 'stigmatising' or fragmented view of youth, was clearly perceived as such by a number of young people we talked o in the research, people who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of such projects but who clearly resented these representations. Projects with this set of views were not the ones that we tended to concentrate our observations on as regards the practice of young people's involvement in them. Rather, we tended to focus on the later two possibilities stated above which appear closer to recent debates around the notion of citizenship where, as Quiroga (2002) identifies, the citizen is the one who critically and actively sustains citizenship. In such cases we could observe the interplay of proposed ideals of engaging young people and the effects of such participation in their day-to-day lives.

At the same time, participation or projects said to be participative, may also reproduce power relations, across age, class and gender differences. For instance in the way in which young people are seen by different initiatives, the ways in which they are mobilised, whether they participate in the planning and managing of the project, whether they are part of its creation. We do not wish to impose a model of participation, as we do not think such a model can exist. But we do believe, with Bordenave (2004), that participation "can be learned and perfected through practice and reflection".

References

Abramo & Branco (org.). *Retratos da Juventude Brasileira.* Abramo, Helena 'Condição juvenil no Brasil contemporâneo'. Venturi, Brasília, 2005.

Balardini, Sergio. ¿Qué hay de nuevo, viejo? Una mirada sobre los cambios en la participación política juvenil' *Revista de la CEPAL*, n 86 Santiago de Chile, Agosto 2005.

Bordenave, Juan. *O que é participação?* Ed. Brasiliense, São Paulo, 1995.

Coles, Bob. *Youth and Social Policy: Youth citizenship and young careers.* UCL Press: London, 1995.

Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (Eds.) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* Zed Books: London, 2004.

Cleaver, Frances. Institutions, Agency and the Limitations of Participatory Approaches to Development, in Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (Eds.) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* Zed Books: London, 2004.

FLEKKOY, M. G., & KAUFMAN, N. H. (1997). The Participation Rights Of The Child: Rights And Responsibilities In Family And Society. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Novaes, Regina e Vital, Christina 'A juventude de hoje: (re)invenções da participação social' em ANDRÉS A. THOMPSON (org.) *Associando-se à juventude para construir o futuro.* Editora Petrópolis: São Paulo. 2006

Pais, José Machado. 'Transitions and youth cultures: forms and performances'. International Social Science Journal. UNESCO, 2000.

Quiroga, Ana Maria. 'A cidadania como indicador social' em Novaes, Regina. Porto, Marta. & Henriques, Ricardo (org.) *Juventude, Cultura e Cidadania*. ISER: Rio de Janeiro, 2002.

Rahnema, Majid. 'Participation' in Sachs, Wolfgang (ed*.) The development dictionary: a guide to knowledge as power.* Zed Books: London , 1992.

Ribeiro, Luiz Cezar (2003) 'Segregação, Desigualdade e Habitação: A Metrópole do Rio de Janeiro'. www.ippur.ufrj.br/observatorio/download/anpur_luiz_cesar.pdf

Souza e Silva, Jailson. 'Meios de comunicação e espaços populares', 2004. http://www.observatoriodefavelas.org.br

UNICEF *The state of the World's Children*. UNICEF: NEW York, 2003.