

PROTEST LITERACIES

Texts and Practices Contesting
Military Policing and Mega-events
in Rio de Janeiro



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ABSTRACT

During the mid to late 2000s, a period of contentious politics emerged in the city of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) concerning social movement responses to so-called 'mega-events' due to be hosted there – e.g. the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. Central to contentions were newly implemented policing and housing policies associated with preparations for these mega-events: firstly installation of policing in favelas and secondly an extensive programme of evictions and displacements referred to in short as 'pacification' and 'removals' respectively. In my thesis, I chart the development of local social movements' responses to these mega-events, focussing especially on one area of favelas named Maré in the North Zone periphery of Rio. I describe these developing contestations over a period of ten years from around 2006-2016 which I frame in terms of an extended episode or cycle of contention and protesting about a specific set of themes – most prominent to which is a series of deaths of favela residents killed during military police operations in favelas. Based on one year of fieldwork in Rio over 2013-2014 and archival research thereafter, the empirical focus of the study is on protest events (e.g. demonstrations and protest marches), the themes that were contested through these, how such events connected over time, and the social uses of literacy and related communication technologies in their mobilization, performance, and dissemination.

Firstly, from a synchronic perspective, the findings show five sets of literacy practices which were central to protest events and social movement activities: campaigning literacies, memorial literacies, media-activist literacies, arts-activist literacies, and demonstration literacies. Seen as interconnecting and taken together, these were the principle literacies of social protest, or protest literacies. Secondly, from a diachronic perspective, I highlight

multiple examples of meaning making trajectories that interlinked ongoing protest events from 2006-2016. The two main examples were realised through flows of recontextualized and resemiotized texts and practices, referred to as symbolization trajectories and memorialization trajectories. Lastly, I show how traditional protesting texts and practices locally were becoming reshaped by the uptake of new communications technologies (websites, blogs, SNS, etc.), which had started to become used by social movements during the period in discussion (from around 2006 onward). In this changing social-political setting and changing communications-technological environment, new roles and usages for texts emerged. These allowed for the amplification of local voices on national and global scales – especially so, over 2013-2014, the year of my fieldwork and also the period of the largest and most sustained protesting in Rio and Brazil for thirty years.

Theoretically, my thesis draws on and contributes toward ethnographic and historical traditions in the New Literacy Studies, whilst combining this research lens with work from Discourse Studies, Social Movement Studies, and Cultural Anthropology, amongst others. Data and findings contribute to both local and global academic and activist work on the issues addressed, from the impacts of global mega-events upon local communities, to the increasing militarization of public spaces and social life, as well as social movements' contestations of these and other issues, through traditional and changing means of protest.

Declaration: This thesis is submitted to fulfil the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, at Lancaster University, in November 2018. I declare that the thesis is my own work and has not been submitted anywhere else for purposes of awarding a higher degree.

James D.I. Duncan

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALERJ	<i>Assembleia Legislativa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro</i>	Rio de Janeiro State Legislative Assembly
APF	<i>Força de Pacificação das Forças Armada</i>	Army or Armed Forces Pacification Force
ARJI	<i>Agência de Jornalismo Investigativo</i>	Rio Agency of Investigative Journalism
BOPE	<i>Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais</i>	Special Policing Operations Battalion
CDS		Critical Discourse Studies
CEASM	<i>Centro de Estudos e Ações Solidárias da Maré</i>	Maré Centre for Studies and Solidarity Actions
CMI	<i>Centro de Mídia Independente</i>	Independent Media Centre
COI		International Olympics Committee
CPRCO	<i>Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas</i>	Rio Popular World Cup and Olympic Committee
CPT		Contentious Politics Theory
CPV	<i>Curso Pré-Vestibular / Pré-Vestibular Comunitário</i>	Community University Entrance Course
FB		Facebook
FENAPEF	<i>Federação Nacional dos Policiais Federais</i>	National Federation of Federal Police
FIFA		International Federation of Association Football
FLACSO		Latin American Social Sciences Institute
FNSC	<i>Favela Não Se Cala</i>	The Favela Won't Shut Up
FPAM	<i>Fórum Popular de Apoio Mútuo</i>	Popular Fourm of Mutual Support
FSM	<i>Fórum Social de Manguinhos</i>	Manguinhos Social Forum
GLO	<i>Garantia da Lei e da Ordem</i>	Guarantee of Law and Order
HRW		Human Rights Watch
IBGE	<i>Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística</i>	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IDDH	<i>Instituto de Desenvolvimento e Direitos Humanos</i>	Human Rights Development Institute
ISPRJ	<i>Instituto de Segurança Pública (Rio de Janeiro)</i>	Institute of Public Security (Rio de Janeiro)
JC	<i>Jornal O Cidadão</i>	The Citizen Newspaper
OC (...)	<i>Jornal O Cidadão</i>	The Citizen Newspaper (Edition No.)
JMV	<i>Juventude Marcada Para Viver</i>	Youth Marked to Live
LAN		Local Area Network
MAPAS	<i>Monitoramento Ativo da Participação da Sociedade</i>	Active Social Participation Monitor
MCI	<i>Movimento Cidades Invisíveis</i>	Invisible Cities Movement

MCMV	<i>Minha Casa Minha Vida</i>	My House My Life
Mídia NINJA	<i>Narrativas Independentes, Jornalismo e Ação Mídia</i>	Independent Narratives, Journalism, and Action Media
NGO		Non-Government Organization
NACLA		North American Congress on Latin America
NLS		New Literacy Studies
OA	<i>Ocupa Alemão</i>	Occupy Alemão (a set of favelas)
OC	<i>Ocupa Camera</i>	Occupy Town Hall
P1-3		Phase 1-3
PAC	<i>Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento</i>	(National) Accelerated Growth Program
PMDB	<i>Movimento Democrático Brasileiro</i>	Brazilian Democratic Movement
PMERJ	<i>Polícia Militar do Estado do Rio de Janeiro</i>	Rio de Janeiro State Military Police
PSDB	<i>Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira</i>	Brazilian Social Democracy Party
PSOL	<i>Partido Socialismo e Liberdade</i>	Socialism and Liberty Party
PT	<i>Partido dos Trabalhadores</i>	The Workers' Party
PM	<i>Polícia Militar</i>	Military Police
RCMCV	<i>Rede de Comunidades e Movimentos contra a Violência</i>	Communities and Movements Against Violence Network
RQs		Research Questions
SDH	<i>Secretaria de Direitos Humanos</i>	Human Rights Secretary
SESEG	<i>Secretaria de Estado de Segurança</i>	State Secretary of Security
SMH	<i>Secretaria Municipal de Habitação</i>	Municipal Secretary of Housing
SMS		Social Movement Studies
SNS		Social Network Site(s)
UNESCO		United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF		United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
Us		Ustream
UPP	<i>Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora</i>	Pacifying Police Units
VBTP/T	<i>Veículo Blindado de Transporte de Pessoal / de Tropas</i>	Armoured Transport Vehicle for Personnel / Troops
YT		YouTube
15M		May 15 (Spanish Anti-Austerity Movement)

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about protest – but from several specific perspectives. Firstly, it is specific in that I discuss protesting against a particular set of issues: so-called global ‘mega-events’ including the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 COI Olympics Games which became associated in their realizations in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) with highly controversial policing and housing policies and practices. Secondly, it is specific in that I do so by focussing on literacy – or more closely, the social uses of literacy (and related communicational technologies) through which people characteristically mobilized, performed, and disseminated protesting. Lastly, it is also so because I discuss respective texts and practices in relation to a particular location and temporal period, that is, one set of favelas (i.e. low income housing areas) in the periphery of Rio from around 2006 until 2016.

The study is the result of research carried out across multiple sites in Rio from 2013-2014 based on one year of ethnographic fieldwork and extensive archival research thereafter. Data collected included: field notes, interviews, photographs, local literatures, and more. Analysis draws on and contributes primarily towards related ethnographic and historical approaches to literacy and communication in the field known as the New Literacy Studies (or NLS: see Gee 2015, Street 2003, Barton & Papen 2010), but combining this research lens also with work from Discourse Studies, Social Movement Studies, and Cultural Anthropology amongst others.

The study also draws on my own personal experiences of living and working in Rio since 2004, as well as on my professional background and learning both in Brazil and the UK across the fields of social housing, adult education, and applied linguistics – where relating

to the latter two, I undertook, among other areas, postgraduate research on Brazilian approaches to critical literacy (e.g. work of and related to academic and activist Paulo Freire: see Freire 2004, 2018; Freire & Macedo 2005). Freire's well known work is a reference point in the general sense of its attention to how literacy and communication can be orientated towards critique, transformation, and indeed, where necessary, protest, based on principles and practices of social justice (Freire, 2004). Whilst my research is not framed specifically in terms of participatory action research (see Torres 1992, 2014; Morrow & Torres 2002) or other similar approaches frequently associated with Freirean critical literacy and communication for social change paradigms (see Dagron & Tufte, 2006), its combination of ethnographical and historical documentation is based upon a social justice perspective politically aligned with historically oppressed social spaces in Rio and the protesting of respective social groups.

Why favelas and why protesting in them? The short answer to that question is coincidence. My initial research focus was not on protest but rather adult education projects in periphery locations. The commencing of my fieldwork and the location in which it developed however coincided temporally with the largest and most sustained period of protesting in Brazil and Rio for thirty years and spatially with one of the hotspots of contention in Rio's periphery at that time (I describe these developments in detail in *Chapters 3 and 4*). The longer answer which can only be glossed here is that ten years prior to starting my PhD, in 2004, I moved to live in Brazil with my partner from Rio, after having spent five years working in London as an 'outreach worker' previously, i.e. accessing day centres, temporary housing, education/employment opportunities, and substance misuse services, for people sleeping rough and in precarious housing. On moving to Brazil, I attempted to work in the

homelessness sector there but I did not speak Portuguese at the time and there were few opportunities. Soon after, however, contacts put me in touch with an adult education project and community crèche in a favela that was looking for volunteers to teach functional English and produce pedagogical materials for receptionists, taxi-drivers, and for other jobs that required this, as well as for children. In 2005, this was the start of my involvement with and interest in favelas (in this case, one called Rocinha). I would later live in two other favelas (Vidigal, Chico Mendes) as well as in the northern periphery (Piedade, Agua Santa) whilst also attending events in favelas including those of social movements where these occurred (e.g. Complexo do Alemão, Complexo da Maré).

I first visited Complexo da Maré in 2006 to know the work of an NGO there, but at that time, seemingly, I did not meet people that left a lasting impression, nor develop lasting contacts. Very differently, in 2013 I returned to this set of favelas to visit a community media project connected to an education centred NGO there and in doing so I encountered people and practices which would influence me and my fieldwork significantly. Owing to this meeting and unfolding developments in Rio at that time, protesting in Maré came to be the focus of my fieldwork (in *Chapter 4*, I describe these developments over 2013-2014 in detail in terms of an emergent process; questions of reflexivity and decision making are discussed also therein).

In sum, the aim of the study therefore is to document and understand in this context the main issues being protested about, as well as traditional and changing roles of literacy and communication technologies, in mobilizing, performing, and disseminating of protests (*cf.* 1.3., RQs 1-4). The New Literacy Studies approach that I adopt and adapt contributes insight toward related activist and academic work both locally and globally.

1.1 Rio, Favelas, the Maré Favelas, and Social Movements

In Brazil, Rio is known as ‘the Marvellous City’ for its wealth of natural beauty and rich cultural heritage. The capital until 1960, it remains the national centre for many of Brazil’s most powerful economic and cultural institutions. It is also, however, a city of marked social inequality where the top 10% earn 58 times more than that of bottom 10% and 1.7 of approximately 7 million people live in its favelas (GINI, 2011).



*Figure 1.1: A tourist map of Rio de Janeiro [black dotted circle, top = the location of the Maré favelas]
See Chapter 3 for more detailed maps and photographic images*

There are two general histories of the origins of favelas that are told recurrently. One is that favelas in the ways and by the name that they are now known originated in the late 19th century. The word favela derives from a resilient hillside plant in the North East of Brazil, a region from where soldiers would return after the 1896-1897 War of Canudos against religious separatists (see da Cunha, 2010). Claiming that they had been promised lands but

not given them it was these returning soldiers who built the first settlement in Rio's hills that would be referred to as a 'favela' (see Valladares 2005). The hillside favelas nowadays characteristic of Rio would become increasingly prominent shortly after, as poor houses and squatted buildings (*cortiços*) in the city centre streets were knocked down during modernist urbanizations that marked the turn of the century (1902-1906 onwards) – thereafter many evictees moved up into the hills directly above. Ongoing throughout the 20th century, favelas would expand further upwards and outwards into the periphery following intensive urban migrations into the city from around the country meeting a lack of affordable housing and government policies that mostly varied between neglect and / or repression.

From this first viewpoint, out into the northern periphery, rather than up on the hillsides, the Maré favelas as they are now known developed from the early to mid-20th century, whereby migrant settlement intensified along Rio's bay and inland waterways which afforded the area its new name (meaning 'tide', in Portuguese). Many of these migrants arrived during a period of expanding industrialization to construct a new main road through the region, linking the city centre, the nearby port, and industrial sites - thus informing the strong working class foundations and profile of Maré from that point up to the present day (see Denis, Belfort, & Ribeiro 2012, 2013; contemporary demographics are referred to in ***Chapter 3***).

Although, as I have done so far, favelas in Rio tend to be talked of quite homogeneously, this is in fact misleading (see Valladares, 2005). Both in terms of their physical landscapes and histories of social and cultural development, such areas of predominantly low income housing are diverse. Historically Maré was perhaps best known for its distinctive wooden stilted housing built above the tidal ways. More contemporarily, however, it is better known

as one of the centres of periphery social movements from where there has been a flow of influential people and projects for many years, but especially so from the 1990s onwards (examples of which are described via *Chapters 3 and 4*).

This straightforward 19th to 20th century view on the development of favelas (and of Maré) is not favoured by everyone though. Other commentators including many people I met doing fieldwork in Maré preferred to emphasise a much longer historical trajectory. In this second recurring viewpoint, the history of favelas is highlighted as forming part of a tradition of autonomous settlements and spaces of social and political resistance (e.g. *quilombos*) dating back to the start of Brazil's colonial history, indigenous clearances, and massive slave trade, since the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1500s (see Campos, 2010). This is therefore a different kind of generalization about favelas to the previous one above - framing their history and development as forming the foundations of social movement practices and identities.

1.2 Protesting: Past and Present, Processes and Practices

This notion of co-existing and overlapping narratives of time and social movements (as above for Maré, but defined in *Chapter 4*) is an important one for my study – albeit, in relation to more contemporary concerns.

As I will argue, research on protesting calls for particular attention toward the integration of both synchronic practice focussed and diachronic process focussed accounts of social life (as defined in *Chapter 3*). There are many reasons for this, but central to them is the following assertion. During developing periods and events of social unrest and protest (oftentimes involving divergent accounts of what is happening across the public sphere)

people conceptualise and articulate what is going on and where they find themselves in terms of trajectories of social events and historical contexts leading up to that point – that is, they look to find reasons in the past for what is happening now. If this is the case in social life generally, it is more so, heightened, amongst such contexts. Social protest stimulates a particular historical imagination (cf. Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992).

One aspect of this involves a shift from a viewpoint on everyday life (i.e. where ongoing social and cultural change is backgrounded) towards perceptions of there being underway specific and significant social changes (see Postill 2012, 2018). In the contexts of protests I discuss, it is such changes and their impacts that are at the centre of contention. As referred to above, social movements that represent marginalised groups in Rio as elsewhere have been frequently founded on practices that emphasise historical perspectives, historical inequalities, as well as alternative histories to those posited by dominant groups (see Gohn 1995, Peruzzo 2004, Campos 2010). From such perspectives, social changes and related periods of protest become conceptualised in terms of and incorporated into these anterior histories and narratives.

As implied in comments above, where I refer to protest, I am not referring to one-off demonstrations, neither solely to the ongoing practices of social movements, but rather, to what I define, based on local perspectives, as an extended cycle of contentious politics and protest events (Tarrow 1994, 2011; such ‘cycles’ are defined in *Chapters 3 and 11*). The period in which I did fieldwork from 2013-2014 was one of the epicentres of such a cycle. In the years before and after this, new and revitalised protest movements from both the left and the right wing of the Brazilian political spectrum can be traced (see *Chapter 4*). In my study however, I focus principally on one particular local perspective – protesting

emerging from leftist social movements in the Maré favelas. The main themes in protest here concern continuities and changes relating to issues of public security and population displacements closely linked to the hosting of the mega-events in Rio, real estate speculation and gentrification, as well as an economic boom in Brazil from the mid-2000s until around 2012-2013 (as charted in *Chapter 4*). As I frame it, based upon local perspectives, protests I participated in and observed over 2013-2014 concerning these themes connected and consolidated as a specific cycle of contention and protesting. I show this taking shape of such a cycle from around 2006 onwards, lasting another 10 years, then fading out, or better, transforming, from around 2016.

In the data driven chapters, I combine synchronic accounts of specific protest events which I participated in and observed over 2013-2014, with diachronic accounts of interrelated protest events along the course of the cycle from 2006-2016, via interviews, documental research, and other text-artefact sources. It is in this sense I integrate synchronic practice focussed and diachronic process focussed accounts of protesting (as indicated above).

Through taking a synchronic focus, at particular moments in time, my findings highlight five interconnecting sets of literacy practices, or literacies (Street 1984) which appeared centrally in the mobilizing, performing, and disseminating of the protesting in question: i.e. *campaigning literacies, memorial literacies, media-activist literacies, arts-activist literacies*, and *demonstration literacies*. Together I refer to these as *protest literacies*. The former five listed examples are more concrete examples of sets of literacy practices, whilst taken together, as the combined literacies of social protest - or protest literacies - a more abstract category is put forward, as well as suggesting how this category interconnects bi-directionally with other related social practices of social movements (see *Chapters 11* and

12). The concepts of literacy practices and literacies as used here become a heuristic therefore through which to consider the particular social issues and social changes in question rather, that is, than being about literacy in and of itself (see Barton & Papen 2010, Barton & Tusting 2006, Street & Heath 2008; also Kress & Hodge 1979).

From a diachronic viewpoint meanwhile, following developments over months and years, my findings show multiple examples of what I summarise in terms of particular kinds of meaning making trajectories (adapted from Kell, 2009). The main example concerns *trajectories of symbolization and memorialization*, whereby, for example, apparatus and victims of military policing become entextualized and disseminated (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) via social movement texts and practices as symbols of protest (a term defined in *Chapter 5*). Such symbols accumulating and recurring across protest events interconnected with other past and present symbols of protest and protest events. This emergence and recurrence of these interconnecting symbols and events formed part of and indexed the development and continuance of the cycle of contention from 2006-2016.

Coinciding with the development of this cycle of contention my findings also highlight specific changes in the communicational environment. Central to these are introductions of online publishing and social media technologies into social movements in Maré and Rio. In the case of local blogging, I show from 2007 how new affordances were both taken up in and modified longer term traditions of 'community media' activism (see *Chapter 7*). In the case of expanding use of SNS and especially Facebook, I show over 2013-2014 the recent social mediafication of protest events (Mills, 2015) where both new and recontextualized roles for text-artefacts emerge, as well as reconfigurations of power. Surrounding these Web 2.0 changes and interacting with them, I also show continuations of

traditional mainstream media practices around social events of national and global importance (focussing on the example of protests held during the World Cup in Rio in 2014: see *Chapters 9-10*). These main areas of focus around literacies, trajectories, and technologies are ordered and emphasised throughout the structure and chaptering of my thesis in the following ways.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis and Research Questions

1.3.1 Parts 1 and 2

Following the preliminary *Chapters 2-4* on theoretical orientations, methodological approaches, and socio-political context, the data driven *Chapters 5-11* are divided into two parts. Part 1 (*Chapters 5-7*) focusses on the period from 2006-2013, whilst Part 2 (*Chapters 8-11*) on the period from 2014-2016. In this sense, I discuss the emergence, continuation, and fading of the cycle of contention and protesting over the ten year period mentioned (from 2006-2016).

Part 1 has a more diachronic emphasis on processes and trajectories, whilst Part 2 has a more synchronic emphasis on practices and literacies - although both Parts 1 and 2 include both perspectives.

1.2.2 Data Driven Chapters 5-11

The main examples of specific meaning making trajectories are presented in series in *Chapters 5* (Symbolization) and *Chapters 6-7* (Memorialization). Concepts introduced here recur thereafter in *Chapters 8-11*.

Each thesis chapter also illustrates a different example of literacies: e.g. campaigning literacies (*Chapter 5*), demonstration literacies (*Chapter 6*), media-activist literacies (*Chapter 7*), arts-activist literacies (*Chapter 8*), and demonstration literacies (*Chapters 9-10*).

These examples can be seen overlapping across all chapters however. In *Chapters 11* and *12* this conjoining is described specifically and defined explicitly, in terms of protest literacies.

My research questions responded to through all of these data driven chapters (*5-11*) and thereafter via the conclusions (in *Chapter 12*) can now be stated in the following ways:

RQ1: *What were the main themes characterising protests occurring in a group of favelas in Rio de Janeiro over a one year period from 2013-2014? How did these local themes form part of wider social protest in Rio?*

RQ2: *In what ways were protest events interlinked by texts and meaning making trajectories?*

RQ3: *What were the main literacies involved in protests?*

RQ4: *How did older and newer practices and technologies combine in protest events and their related literacies?*

Prior to answering these questions, however, firstly throughout *Chapters 2, 3, and 4* (respectively) I describe my theoretical orientations, methodological approach, and the wider socio-political context.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

In *Chapter 2*, I discuss the main theoretical orientations which I draw on in my approach to protesting and communication in the data driven chapters (*5-11*).

2.1 Literacy: Events and Practices

The theoretical starting point of my research is the New Literacy Studies (NLS: Gee 2015, Street 2003). In this first section I outline some of the NLS' central concepts and ways they have been used to consider literacy in society, social change, and power, especially so, via ethnography (see *Chapter 3*). I explain also how this theoretical approach was specifically relevant to my study of protest.

2.1.1 Literacy Events and Literacy Practices

Most central to the NLS and to ethnographies of literacy is the concept of literacy practices (Street 1984; *cf.* Scribner & Cole, 1981). I define and discuss this below, but starting with an anterior concept closely associated.

The theoretical development of literacy practices can be viewed from several perspectives. One is emerging through Hymes' (1964, 1972, 1974) ethnographic work on communication and speech events that was adapted specifically in relation to reading and writing by Heath (1982) as literacy events, which were defined as '...any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes' (p.93).

Accordingly, central to work on literacy events has been detailed descriptions of interactions of people and activities in specific settings, whereby texts become used and inform

social interactions in specific ways (see Heath 1983; Street 1993; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanič 2000; Barton & Papen 2010).

This concept literacy event proved to be important in my study for two principle reasons. The first is that through ethnographic fieldwork (see *Chapter 3*) I documented very specific moments of protesting that formed part of a very specific period in the history of city of Rio de Janeiro. Detailed accounts of literacy events, during protests, became one means through which to document this period and aspects particular about it (e.g. *Chapters 9-10*). The second is that literacy events like other social activities are not isolated, but rather recur as part of ongoing social events over time. This means following literacy events becomes one approach to following how social processes develop, such as the emergence, flows, and ebbs of particular protest movements during particular temporal periods (see *Chapters 7 and 11*; cf. 2.2.2 on 'Meaning Making Trajectories').

These two points regarding specificity at one moment in time and social processes over time can both be attended to through the notion of the literacy event (see also theory on Synchronic and Diachronic Ethnography in *Chapter 3*).

Papen (2007) refers to this as an extended view of literacy events, 'moving beyond a single literacy event or moment [and] identifying the connections between literacy events' as well as '...understanding the larger practices, beliefs, and ideologies that shape each moment in a chain of literacy events' (p.177). As alluded to by Papen here, though describing the materialities of specific literacy events provides rich empirical details, through work in the NLS and ethnographies of literacy an additional concept came to be developed, which encompasses literacy events, but that links these to what are referred to as practices.

I will now define this term practices from several perspectives.

A starting point particular to literacy is that practices are 'particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing' (Street 2000, p.21). This is one definition of literacy practices. Literacy practices as such have tended to be approached in two principle ways: either, via 'observable patterns of behaviour across events', or 'infer[able] ideological aspects through wider observation and interview data' (Maybin, in Street 2000, p.20). Summarily this is how I refer to literacy practices in my study on protest.

Following this approach and its two foci, two common ways literacy practices become referred to are, firstly in terms of their particular *roles*, relating to the 'social purposes for which [an] activity or activities are conducted', and secondly, also, in terms of their *social meanings*, relating to some 'complex of beliefs, attitudes, and values, associated with the activities in question' (Reder & Wiklund 1993, p.197).

There is shift here therefore, from the specificities of individual literacy events, towards something more broadly social. The development of this shift in focus can be followed through the works of Street (1984; 1988, 1993, 1995, 2000) where the term literacy itself was initially used as 'a shorthand to refer to social practices and conceptions of reading and writing' (p.1) in ways that shifted from the empirical focus of literacy events, towards discussion of broader social and cultural conceptions. Street developed the term literacy practices to capture this (Street 1988, 2000).

Street (2000) for example emphasises how the concept of literacy practices includes 'events and the patterns of activity around literacy [i.e. literacy events]', but it also '...link[s] them to something broader of a cultural and social kind' (p.21). Social and cultural can be

glossed here in terms of 'group organisation and the behaviour by means of which people relate to each other' (Street 1993a, p.38) and 'active process[es] of meaning making [as well as] contest over definition' (Street 1993b, p.25).

This 'linking into something broader' refers to practices, but it also alludes to what Street (1988, 1993) refers to variably as a wide, cultural, or anthropological perspective of context (see also Capstick 2016, who refers relatedly to a socio-political level of context).

Literacy practices like all social practices are associated dialectically with specific contexts, i.e. in the sense practices and contexts as situational relations and surrounding conditions are mutually constitutive.

In literacy events, for example, direct *contexts of use* are those which the people in events readily recognise themselves as being associated with the activities which they are enacting and the texts which they are communicating in situ (see Malinowski 1923, 1935). This is an example of (an insider perspective) on how practices and contexts can be seen as mutually constitutive. However there are wider influences on literacy events, which participants may not necessarily be aware of or not attend to but which become apparent to other onlookers (e.g. researchers). Context of use interacts also with wider, cultural, *anthropological context* (Street 1988, 1993) for example, including broadly encompassing social, conceptual, political, economic, and environmental structuring of organization and meaning (Street 1988, p.63).

A general point in anthropological approaches toward the ethnography of literacy practices such as Street's (e.g. 1984, 1993) is that an extensive knowledge of and sensitivity towards

anthropological context understood as above is a prerequisite to make sense of practices and events and texts featuring in them.

However the fact that people in literacy events describe contexts of use in variable ways and orientate to features of anthropological contexts in variable ways, as well as how both these can develop and change, throughout subsequent events over time, highlights another point about context that is important – i.e. context is always multiple, perspectival, and processual (Reder & Davila 2005, Bauman & Briggs 1990, Gumperz 1982; see also ‘Recontextualization’ in 2.2.2.2).

In my study of literacy events and literacy practices of protests and social movements in Rio during a particular period of social changes, this wide anthropological and especially socio-political context is significantly important, as is a more processual view of context (2.2.2.2). The former is important because there is a direct relationship between explicit changes at a socio-political level and the local responses through literacy events and literacy practices which I document (see *Chapters 5-7* and *Chapters 8-11*). The latter is important for related reasons, as previously mentioned above, that I follow trajectories of specific social processes relating to the emergence of protest movements, involving references to multiple times and spaces, through literacy events and uses of texts.

Numerous ethnographic studies of literacy have deployed and developed both these terms literacy events and literacy practices in more or less similar ways to what I have described (see Barton 2012; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanič 2000; Barton & Papen 2010, Barton & Tusting 2006; Bartlett 2011; Baynham 2004; Baynham & Prinsloo 2008, 2009, 2013; Prinsloo & Brier 1996; Pahl & Roswell 2006, 2015; Street 1993, 2002, 2008; Street & Heath 2008; Street & Kalman 2012).

Such studies are different from the more common cognitivist and educationalist approaches to literacy studies therefore (see Papen, 2005), addressing wide ranges of uses and meanings of texts and practices across different societies and cultural settings. Drawing on literacy events and literacy practices as a theoretical orientation in the tradition of the NLS, my study on protest contributes towards this lineage of ethnographies of literacy.

2.1.2 Literacies and Social Practices

An important concept interrelating context and practices is that of common life domains such as the home; education; voluntary and employed places of work; public and private spaces of interaction (see Barton 2007, Barton & Hamilton 2012).

Street (1984) describes how there are different 'literacies' associated with these different domains, but also moving between domains and influencing each other. Here this concept of ('multiple' and 'social') literacies refers to particular sets of literacy practices shaped through domains and their social practices (Street, 1995).

In my study I describe what I refer to as protest literacies constituted of sets of literacy practices, or literacies, not closely associated with any one domain, but shaped, principally, by the social practices and media practices of social movements (as defined in section 2.3). Each data driven chapter focusses on one example: *campaigning literacies* (**Chapter 5**), *memorial literacies* (**Chapter 6**), *media-activist literacies* (**Chapter 7**), *arts-activist literacies* (**Chapter 8**), and *demonstration literacies* (**Chapters 9-10**).

Through their convergence in the mobilizing, performing, and media-dissemination of protests, these were the main protest literacies that I encountered doing fieldwork in Rio.

Protest literacies are defined in **Chapters 11 and 12**.

Two more important concepts developing from studies of domains and literacies but which are broader than any one specific set of literacy practices are the related concepts of vernacular literacies and dominant literacies (Barton and Hamilton, 2012).

Vernacular literacies are based on 'reading and writing practices embedded in everyday activities which reflect [more] people's own purposes and theories' (Hamilton 1998, p.1).

Dominant literacies meanwhile are associated with how 'institutionalised configurations of power and knowledge are embodied in social relationships' (Barton & Hamilton 2012, p.10).

These two categories are not meant to be mutually exclusive, but rather, imply most sets of literacy practices involving some dimension of both these vernacular and dominant aspects – e.g. protest literacies and the literacy practices of social movements being a case in point.

One distinction here can be drawn between the forms and functions of particular literacies. For example, in the case of protest literacies, the visual and formal aspects of protest signs and pamphlets are in many respects very typically vernacular, grassroots, and lo-tech (see Street 1993, Barton & Hamilton 2012, Papen 2007, Blommaert 2008). The functions, roles, and social meanings of such texts and the social practices that they are located in are much more hybrid and variable, however, for example: combining the simplicity, autonomy, and low resource, localised adaptability, associated with vernacular literacies; but also, often linking into social movements and political purposes which are ultimately about shaping behaviour of others. A fundamental issue therefore relates to the power relations of the social groups using and implicated through the uses of such texts (as discussed below and also in section 2.3.2.4).

One important general point here then is that literacy practices and literacies are seen as sites where power relations are played out in multiple and variable ways with forms of

domination and social control but also creativity and resistance (see Papen & Tusting, 2008).

This point connects to another important concept that underpins literacy practices and literacies which is referred to as the ideological model of literacy (Street, 1984). It is this which aligns the concept of literacy practices with other contemporaneous work on what has come to be known as practice theory (overviewed in Ortner 1984, see also Postill 2010).

Street (2006) states that the ideological model of literacy concerns how ways people engage in and address reading and writing are rooted in conceptions of 'knowledge', 'identity', and 'being' (p.2). But he explains also how any such realizations of knowledge, identity, and being, enacted through or about literacy, differ through social and cultural contexts, as well as over time, and consequently can be and inevitably do become contested from one perspective or another. Owing to this existence of differing configurations and contestations, of both literacies and of their social meanings, Street (2006) states that 'particular versions [of literacy] are always *ideological*, they are always rooted in some particular world-view' (p.2).

This ideological model is juxtaposed against what is referred to as the autonomous model of literacy (Street 1984, 2008). The latter term refers to theoretical debates concerning literacy and modernization that are not directly relevant for purposes herein (i.e. the so called 'great divide' debates: see Street 1984, Street 2008; also Goody & Watt 1968, Goody 1986). Nevertheless one of the general ideas of the autonomous model of literacy that is relevant can be recalled through more general criticisms of technological determinism, for example, in relation to emergent communication practices and new digital literacies (see Gillen 2014).

One such example can be seen through the emergences of new social media technologies in the mid to late 2000s and especially how they became used in what were referred to as 'new' protest movements around this time (e.g. the Arab Spring, 15M, Global Occupy Movements and others: see Couldry 2012, Gerbaudo 2012, Postills 2014). A kind of autonomous model argument became apparent in this context, for example, whereby commentators started to claim generalist effects, as if new technologies were a kind of causal independent variable, doing things in and of themselves (such as to the way that people protest).

From Street's perspective (1984, 1995, 2006) one of the main points is that 'it is the social practices... that give meaning and lead to effects, not a [technological or communicational] channel itself [whether, via written texts, computers, visual media, etc.]' (Street 2000, p.20).

Another point following discussion of the ideological model of literacy is that social practices are always embedded in particular structures and relations of power as referred to above. Street (1988) states he uses this term 'ideological' (in the ideological model of literacy) as 'it signals quite explicitly that literacy practices are aspects not only of culture but also of power structures' (p.61).

Use of the term ideology here therefore is not in the 'Marxist sense of "false consciousness" and simple-minded dogma' (Street 1988, p.61), but rather, in the social semiotic perspective (Volosinov 1973, Halliday 1978, Hodge & Kress 1988) whereby ideology is seen in terms of 'a site of tension between authority and power on the one hand and individual resistance and creativity on the other' (Street 1988, p.61) and with this tension operating 'through the medium of a variety of cultural practices'(p.61) including via language and literacy practices.

Through contemporaneous work in Cultural Studies, Hall (1996) developed a similar concept to the ideological model of literacy which is relevant to recall here.

Firstly, he defined ideology relatedly in terms of 'the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation, which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works' (Hall 1996, p.26).

Secondly, more specifically, he referred to positions and / or places of enunciation, arguing 'practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write' (Hall 1990, p.222), in the sense that '...we all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific, "in context" [and thus] positioned' (p.222; cf. 'Situated Literacies' in Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanič 2000).

Lastly, closer still to Street's ideological model of literacy, Hall went on to emphasise how 'individuals as subjects identify (or not) with the "positions" to which they are summoned; as well as how they fashion, stylize, produce and perform these positions' (Hall 1995, p.14).

From here, a main point that both Street and Hall are making in their slightly different ways, refers to how social practices serve as a kind of in-between mediating category of the social - on one side, subject to dominant institutional roles and pressures, but also on the other, to human agency and people's capacities to shape their own lives in accordance with their own understandings and purposes.

Seen as such, practices are inherently socially and culturally hybrid whereby the performing of them 'draw(s) upon and reproduce(s) structural features of wider social systems', but it does so in such a way that both 'agents and structures are not two independently

given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent duality' (Giddens 1984, p.24-25).

Practices are this duality.

This is one of the central tenets of the diverse range of social scientific approaches referred to as practice theory (see Ortner 1984, Reckwitz 2002, Postil 2010) suggesting accounts of social life that are neither overly methodologically individualistic, nor overly governed by theories of constraint. In contrast to these, common to practice theory is an engagement, not only with the 'the internalization of social order', but also the 'capacity of invention and improvisation' (Bourdieu 1990, p.13).

This is the general understanding of practices that I will follow and what is said here about practices in this wider sense can be applied to the concepts of literacy practices (as above) and other practices which I mention (e.g. media practices and social movement practices below).

2.2 Literacy: Texts and Processes

2.2.1 Texts and Mediational Means

The NLS and related theory I have referred to revolves around notions of how social events and experiences are mediated.

Barton (2007) outlines three interlinking senses in which such mediation occurs. Firstly, in a general social constructivist sense, all human experience is mediated by language and other semiotic meaning making practices, where words and other symbolic means become a way of encoding, organizing, remembering, and making sense of experience, as well as a medium of communication through which things are proposed and done. Secondly, social events and human activity are mediated via people and groups, and social roles, institutions, and power

relations associated with these. Thirdly, language and semiotic meaning making practices all become inscribed as and produced into cultural objects (or artefacts), such as written texts and visual media (etc.), modifying their meaning making potential in communication in powerful ways. Such artefacts, for example, can control points of view, amounts of information, times of engagement, emotional responses, and more, which in turn inform people's 'dispositions' making sense of experiences (Barton 1994, p.77; also Bourdieu 1998).

These three perspectives on mediation offer some general and overlapping notions of what is meant in the NLS by the idea that literacy events and literacy practices are 'mediated by written texts' (Barton & Hamilton 2000, p.6).

Most of the texts which I will refer to in my study are readily recognisable paper or screen based texts – e.g. newspapers, pamphlets and fliers, protest placards and banners, website pages, blog posts, and SNS status updates, amongst others.

These are all readily recognisable, at least in a very general sense of names, forms, and themes because they are well-established genres of texts (e.g. cross-culturally, globally). Genres are 'socially constructed conventions of writing' and more broadly, beyond writing, or other media artefacts, genres are 'accepted conventions for doing things' (Barton 1994, p.95, see also Fairclough 2003). In my study, I will principally refer to genres in terms of text and media, however, so as not to confuse with other similar terms.

The main point about genre which is relevant is that people do things through genres of texts (and respective literacy practices and social practices) but such genres also undergo changes throughout people doing so. And in this sense, the materiality of genres of texts (and respective events and practices in which these texts are used) becomes one site in

which specific social contextual changes can be considered, as I will do in the data driven chapters.

Another term which elaborates on this notion of mediation through genres of text-artefacts is mediational means (Wertsch, 1991). In the work that developed the concept (see Wertsch 1991, 1994) mediational means are one category of material (i.e. cultural historical) objects - mediating between people and social worlds. But this is divided into two sub-categorizations, mediating objects that have a more physical mechanical aspect (e.g. keyboards, microphones, mobile phones, etc.) and those of a more semiotic and cultural-psychological aspect (e.g. 'language, symbol systems, all sorts of conventional signs, mnemonic techniques, writing, maps, schemes, diagrams, drawings, works of art [etc.]' Vygotsky 1981, p.137). All of these may function as mediational means and along with many other examples these interrelate as part of particular social practices. In doing so, they become 'carriers' of social structures, ideologies, social and cultural histories of uses and more – (re) materialised in textual artefacts, dispositions of users, and in the social events and activities where they become used (Jones & Norris 2005; Bourdieu 1998). They become referred to as mediational means, therefore, when they appear as 'means' through which social activities and aims are performed, or oriented to – with realizations 'mediated' by their respective social practices, such as and including literacy practices, as well as by particular affordances and constraints.

2.2.1.1 Affordances and Constraints: Developing initially via social psychological studies in perception, the term affordances initially referred to 'actionable properties between the world and an actor [according to the perception of the latter]' (Norman 1999, p.38;

from Gibson 1979) – things which were viewed as possible to be done with and in particular objects and environments, i.e. what these afford.

From more social semiotic perspectives relating to mediational means (e.g. technologies and texts) the affordances of any such semiotic resource become seen as shaped by its materiality, what it has been used recurrently to mean and to do, and the social norms and conventions which have informed these meanings and usages in respective spatial and temporal contexts (see MODE 2012, Kress 2010).

Another term linked to affordances is amplification (or cultural amplification: Bruner 1966; see Scollon 2001, Jones & Norris 2005). This anterior term was based on the idea that using cultural objects (or ‘tools’) could have a kind of amplifying effect on actions of social actors, in a similar way to how physical tools enable tasks to be done or improve performance. One example concerned uses of literacy, particularly in relation to notions of extending memory individually and in social groups (Scollon, 2001). Critics pointed out however that usages of written texts as mediational means - both *contained constraints* (e.g. as in the counterpoint to affordances, things that cannot be done, or less so, in contrast to other means) and they also *produced constraints* or new limiting effects (Scollon 2001, Cole & Griffin 1980). This counter balancing of affordances and constraints is true of all mediational means.

Scollon (2001) uses the anecdote of how a person holding a stick can extend their reach to do and collect things in the distance, but in their doing so, they can lose the affordances of the touch and sensitivity of the hand and fingers and the awareness that this can bring. This argument is a predecessor to arguments about social mediafication (Mills, 2015) concerning the shift to usages of new digital media, and what is gained and lost en route, following the reconfiguration of literacy practices and social practices that ensues – a theme

I will discuss in relation to social media usage by social movements in and around protests (see *Chapters 9-11*, cf. 2.3.1.4 on ‘Mediatization’).

In sum, affordances and constraints involve – perception and uptake of prominent physical aspects, possible logics and functions of use, cultural conventions, emergent and changing properties, and other interrelating enabling and curtailing features (for example, relating to texts, to cultural artefacts, digital media technologies, or any other such mediational means drawn on in literacy practices and wider social practices).

2.2.1.2 Multimodality: Another perspective on mediational means is via their multimodality (Kress 2010). Studies of multimodality focus on ‘the creation, development and functioning of texts [or mediational means, with] interplay of diverse modalities in the process of social semiosis [or meaning making]’ (Maiorani & Christie 2014, p.2).

Writing, for example, is one example of a multimodal practice that draws on multiple modal aspects: e.g. script, colour, layout, format, action and interaction (Jewitt and Kress 2003, Finnegan 2002). So is public speaking, where ‘speech, gesture, gaze, and posture’ can be seen to combine in typical ways (see Mavers & Gibson 2012).

The concept that such writing and public speaking like all other communicational practices are ‘multimodal’, or put into other terms, incorporate, for example, multiple channels (e.g. visual, auditory) and also multiple semiotic resources (e.g. script, gesture) has long been considered (see Finnegan, 2002). However exactly what constitutes a ‘mode’ has involved quite differing technical definitions (i.e. which are not necessary to define in detail for purposes here – see Jewitt 2009, Kress 2010; cf. Finnegan 2002).

One main point which is extremely relevant relating to usages of this term multimodality, however, concerns how meaning making practices are informed by 'continuous evolution of media technologies' (Maiorani & Christie 2014, p.2). It is not a coincidence that increasing usages of the term multimodality (and related terms) within studies of communication developed in tandem with the emergence of the internet, digital communications, and mobile technologies, from the 1990s, through the early 2000s (see Jewitt, 2009) – i.e. a period associated with increasing convergence of both older and newer communications technologies (see Jenkins, 2006).

Multimodality in the NLS, accordingly, provides a term to discuss texts, literacy events, and literacy practices, as well as the positioning of these as a part of changing communication landscapes and meaning making resources, both in the present, and also from the past into the present (Street 2012, Pahl & Roswell 2006).

Bearing this in mind, three important general points about most multimodal perspectives are that: firstly, communication always draws on 'repertoires of meaning making resources'; secondly, 'resources are socially shaped over time' developing out of practices and meanings rooted in requirements of social groups; then thirdly, 'people orchestrate meaning' through their selecting, configuring, and use of meaning making resources, albeit, shaped by norms, rules, motivations, and interests of respective social groups and contexts (Jewitt 2012, p.1).

2.2.2 Texts and Meaning Making Trajectories

Linking back to the point raised in 3.1.1 about how literacy events and the wider social events in which they appear are not isolated but rather connect together as part of social

processes – in the following section, I describe different ways in which texts travel across times and spaces connecting with other texts and interconnecting events, forming part of social processes.

2.2.2.1 Intertextuality: One of the central principles of texts is that they relate to, draw on, and incorporate other texts: i.e. in sum, ‘all texts speak in response to and in anticipation of subsequent texts’ (Scollon 2008, p.243).

In Fairclough’s (2003) usage of this term (see also Fairclough 1992; Kristeva 1986, Bakhtin 2006) intertextual relations are those referred to in terms of external relations of a text. That is, via Bakhtin, the concept starts from the notion above that texts get their meaning from dialogic relations to other texts: e.g. where ‘for any particular text or type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant, and potentially incorporated into the text’ (Fairclough 2003, p.47).

Fairclough then refers to a cline between two poles of intertextuality: *cited intertextuality* and *implicit intertextuality*. The former refers to where textual sources, voices, and meaning become made explicit, through referencing, citations, naming, and so on. The latter refers to where they are not, or less so, instead with assumption, pre-supposition, silences, and other similar textual practices.

At the level of text and of multimodality, alongside any external relations of intertextuality there are also: *intratextual relations* (internal to a text, such as cross referencing and markers of cohesion); *paratextual relations* (not directly about language, but layout, design, spatial organization); and *hypertextual relations* (direct links between texts, as is now very common in digital texts).

These italicised terms above are examples taken from a more expansive approach referred to as *transtextuality* (i.e. '*all* that sets the text in relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts' (Genette 1992, p.83, see also Genette 1997).

Using this same term, but from a slightly different perspective, Hanks (2000) discusses the displacing of attention, from one object of study (an individual text, mediational means, or genre, etc.) towards considering of a broader range of 'transtextual relations' (p.267) – e.g. shifting towards a more processual view and what is referred to as *recontextualization*.

This concept of *recontextualization* is an important one for my study and I will describe it in some detail below from several different perspectives.

2.2.2.2 Recontextualization: In a discussion about the semiotics of objects, Douglas (1994) wrote that 'talking about objects will necessarily lead us to prize them out their context [i.e.] we will try to recontextualize them' (p.16).

And in this same discussion, a suggested change of perspective is put forward whereby 'we stop looking at individual objects [and] see them instead as participating in a long stream of events that unfold through time; chart their flow; then consider persons only as the points where flows of objects originate, congregate, and from which they disperse' (Douglas 1994, p.17).

There are several senses of the term *recontextualization* implied in this comment. One is the inevitability of reification of objects into texts and usages and movements of text-artefacts across multiple communicational events and contexts. Another is what Douglas (1994) refers to as 'the long view', shifting from a focus on any one object or event toward more

extended flows of meaning making over times and spaces (*cf.* 2.1.1). Below I discuss both these points in more detail and introduce respective terminology.

2.2.2.2.1 The Reification Perspective: A first term which links both the previous concepts of mediational means and multimodality into the notions of trajectories of texts and meaning making across spaces and times is reification (i.e. discussed here in the manner theorised in the NLS: see Barton & Hamilton 2006, Tusting 2006, Barton 2009).

This term reification has had several different distinctive theoretical meanings but the one referred to here originated from Wenger (1998; Lave & Wenger 1991), who defined it as ‘the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into thingness [e.g.] symbols, stories, terms and concepts that reify something of [social] practice in a congealed form’ (Wenger 1998, p.58; *cf.* 2.2.1).

In this view reifications are seen as a duality – process and product. For example, where it is processes (e.g. naming, representing, encoding, designing, describing, and many others) as ‘aspects of human experience and practices [that are] congealed into fixed forms and given the status of object’ (Wenger 1998, p.58). Thereafter, such objects, functioning as mediational means, become utilized in further social processes.

Reification emerges through and across specific social groups, where the people involved have sets of ‘texts and practices in common’ (Barton 1994, p.57; see Lave & Wenger 1991, Swales 1998). Reified objects produced through such groups are sometimes ‘intentionally created for their symbolic significance’, but sometimes they are ‘traces of human activity or functional objects that have acquired symbolic meaning’ (Barton & Hamilton 2006, p.10; as seen in *Chapters 5-7*).

Barton & Hamilton (2006 p.10, adapted from Wenger 1998) summarise four main features of such reifications as being: '(1) their *succinctness* and power to evoke meanings; (2) their *portability* across time, physical space and context; (3) their potential for physical persistence or *durability*; and (4) their *focussing* effect [related to] drawing attention to specific features or distinctions within social reality'.

The argument from the NLS perspective is that 'texts [or 'literacy artefacts'] are generally strong on all four of these characteristics' (Barton 2009, p.49) and one result of this is that they can be seen regularly to play effective social and cultural roles interlinking spatial and temporal contexts.

2.2.2.2.2 The Decontextualization-Entextualization-Recontextualization Perspective: One principle source of usage of the term recontextualization is Bernstein (1990, 1996) who developed it through discussions of the production, recontextualization, and reproduction of knowledge, as well as classifications and framings of this, in and across specific social domains.

Another influential source is the tripartite concept of decontextualization-entextualization-recontextualization written about by Bauman and Briggs (1990, Urban & Silverstein 1996). The term entextualization here appears almost the same as reification previously discussed but there is a different emphasis, around a figure of recycling, where 'decontextualization from one social context involves recontextualization in another' (see Bauman & Briggs 1990, p.74-75), and with this, the raising of questions about what any 'recontextualized text brings with it from its earlier context(s) and what emergent form, function, and meaning it is given' (p.74-75) through onward trajectories.

The main point here is that a trajectory of usages emerges for texts and that these texts carry with them elements and traces of previous roles, meanings, and affordances. Another main point as above is that particular recycling processes become apparent within circuits, cartographies, and life histories of meaning making (i.e. all metaphors used by different authors to capture different aspects of trajectories) whereby decontextualization involves the taking of material out of one context, but importantly, recontextualization that follows involves modifications and integrations of this material to fit into new contexts (Leppänen et al 2013; see *Chapters 7 and 9-11*). Two central notions thus become relocations and transformations, e.g. between texts, transtextual relations, and social practices.

Necessarily therefore decontextualization and recontextualization involves power relations with differential access, values, and legitimacy, associated with texts and their social uses, and whereby these ‘bear centrally on the construction and assumption of authority’ (Bauman & Briggs 1990, p.77).

2.2.2.3 The Social Practices and Social Change Perspective: Work on recontextualization has developed particularly from within the field of Critical Discourse Studies (or, ‘CDS’: see Wodak & Meyer 2016; Hart & Cap 2014; Krzyżanowski, 2011), especially through the work of Fairclough (e.g. 1992, 2003; Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). There is a different focus here, however, with more linguistic and more structural emphasis in discussion of long term processes of social change.

Fairclough (2003) for example refers to recontextualization through ‘chains’ of events and domains, texts and genres, and discourses and practices – where recontextualization is defined in terms of ‘the appropriation (absorbing) of elements of one social practice

within another, placing the former, within the context of the latter, and transforming it in particular ways in the process' (Fairclough 2003, p.32).

In this sense, this focus is less agency centred and more about following processes of social change and power relations during particular historical and political moments, evidenced through the materiality of changing texts and practices, with textual content analysed in close detail.

In related linguistic work, Linell (1998) summarises three routes of such recontextualizations as *intratextual* (trajectories within the same text) *intertextual* (trajectories relating different specific texts) and *interdiscursive* (trajectories relating genres and practices). In all of these, 'recontextualization involves the extrication of some part or aspect from a text [genre or practice] and the fitting of this part or aspect into, another context, another text [genre or practice] and its use and environment' (Linell 1998, p.154).

Examples given of recontextualized items include: 'linguistic expressions, concepts and propositions, "facts", arguments and lines of argumentation, stories, assessments, values / ideologies, knowledge and theoretical constructs, ways of seeing things and acting towards them, ways of thinking and ways of saying things' (Linell 1998, p.154-155).

As described similarly in previous perspectives, however, he highlights also how 'recontextualization is never a pure transfer of a fixed meaning [but with] transformations of meanings and meaning potential' (Linell 1998, p.155). In sum, recontextualization processes are seen here as involving both stability and change.

2.2.2.2.4 The Multimodality and Resemiotization Perspective: In social semiotic focussed work in ethnography, Iedema (2001, 2003), Scollon (2008; Scollon & Scollon 2004, 2007),

Blommaert (2010, 2013), and others, discuss recontextualization processes alongside another interrelating concept - resemiotization (Iedema 2001).

Multimodality is one of the starting points, but there is a shift in focus. Iedema (2003) states for example that whilst 'multimodality is concerned with the multi-semiotic complexity of a construct or a practice... resemiotization is not so much to do with the semiotic complexity of particular representations, as with the[ir] origin and dynamic emergence' (p.40).

Implicit to resemiotization therefore is another account of trajectory, for example, following 'meaning making shifts from context to context [and] practice to practice' (Iedema 2003, p.41), 'dynamics which resulted in socially recognizable and practically meaningful artefacts' (p.50), but also, including from a broad ethnographic perspective, attention to the many 'coincidences and compromises which played a role in [their] inception' (p.49). As the title suggests, however, there is a particular focus here on the tracing of such meaning making trajectories across multiple and transforming semiotic forms.

Discussing this concept, Scollon (2008) lists a range of processes typical to resemiotization one of which is specifically relevant to my study (i.e. being associated with naming, see *Chapters 6-9*). Metonymization, for example, is defined as a process of resemiotization involving simplifications of prior actions, practices, narratives, authorizations, and more, whereby labels and names come to 'stand in for objects, actions, practices and places' (Scollon 2008, p.242), e.g. with a kind of condensing effect of all of these under a moniker. In turn, metonymization processes come to form part of other resemiotization processes, including remodalization, which is the specific term used for the shifting of meaning making

across interlinking semiotic forms, for instance, with a ‘shifting from a mode such as text to a mode such as graphic images’ (p.242). Both of these processes are fundamental to what I define and discuss in data driven chapters in terms of *symbolization trajectories* and *names as symbol of protest* (see ‘Condensation Symbols and Summary Symbols’ in *Chapters 5-6*).

2.2.2.2.5 The Textually Mediated Social Environment Perspective: Also from an ethnographic viewpoint, Smith (1999) refers to the textually mediated social world (or ‘worlds’, or ‘environments’, see Barton & Papen 2010). This concept highlights how social environments tend to be full of text-artefacts of different types, how communication is often about texts or refers to them, how social events are often planned and coordinated through texts, as well how most contemporary urban settings and social spaces have mostly all been designed and constructed through texts (see Barton & Hamilton 2006; also Iedema 2001, 2003).

Summarily, therefore, this concept combines several of the previously discussed perspectives, on recontextualization, mediation, social practices, and power relations (i.e. from 2.2.1 to 2.2.2) – where all of these meet through a focus on the social spaces through which social life gets enacted.

In Lefebvre’s (1991) work on the social production of space a distinction is made between: *representations of spaces*, for example, planned spaces, materialized via trajectories of texts and activities into both concrete forms and coordinated practices (e.g. urban planning); and *spaces of representation*, whereby social space through lived experience is perceived, identified with or not (“how does here represent me?”) and therefore also potentially reconceived and appropriated.

This second perspective links to protesting via people's imaginations and interventions whereby physical settings commonly become appropriated for purposes otherwise (e.g. a march in a city centre). Lefebvre (1991) refers to an overlaying of physical space through texts and other cultural artefacts carried and displayed - resignifying it. Such overlaying plays a central role in a kind of transitory production of spaces typical to the enacting of protest events, such as demonstrations, occupy camps, marches, and others (as I describe in detail in *Chapters 9-10*).

Text-artefacts 'inscribed by the collective attribution of meaning' (Bartlett and Holland 2002, p12) and the literacy events and practices in which they feature are central to such production of spaces of representation. Papen (2015, p.4) for example, describes how 'words and images – as found on signs [and other cultural artefacts] play a central role in the process through which streets are imbued with cultural meanings', forming a part of what is referred to as place making, or in the case of protesting, a transitory place making, bringing together 'interactions between the physical dimensions of space, its use, and the way it is represented' (see Papen 2015, p.4).

Place becomes seen accordingly as a particular configuration of social space – i.e. a spatial ensemble, of practices, artefacts, and people, bearing history, meanings, experiences, and aspirations (Tuan 1979).

3.2.2.3 Texts and Meaning Making Trajectories Summary

In the NLS and related approaches referred to from 2.2.1-2.2.2, mediation more generally, and recontextualization more specifically, are two principle theoretical approaches toward processes, but which interlink also, with theoretical approaches to practices (cf. 2.1.2).

Studies of processes tend towards more diachronic perspectives (e.g. processes over time) whilst studies of practices, ethnographically at least, tend towards synchronic perspectives (e.g. practices at one particular time). Both combined afford multi-aspectual perspectives on ethnographic data (see *Chapter 4*).

In the data driven chapters of this thesis discussion of recontextualization recurs centrally. I use a range of terms that are ultimately different ways of talking about processes of recontextualization. These terms capture different dynamics of recontextualizations and highlight different aspects and metaphors associated with recontextualization processes linking to contexts of protest that I describe.

Table 2.1 [below] summarises examples of recontextualization processes in *Chapters 5-11*.

Recontextualization Dynamics as / in Particular Processes (Described in the Data Driven Chapters)			
Examples of Processes	Disciplinary Association	Examples of Practices Linked	Chapter e.g.
Synergetic	Social Movement Studies	Campaigning	5
Diagetic	Social Movement Studies	Campaigning	5
Condensation	Cultural Anthropology	Campaigning / Demonstrating	5
Symbolization	Cultural Anthropology	Campaigning / Demonstrating	5
Memorialization	Multiple	Memorializing / Demonstrating	6
Procession	n/a	Memorializing / Demonstrating	6
Carrying	Literacy Studies	Memorializing / Demonstrating	6
Brokerage	Multiple	Media-activism	7
Diffusion	Social Movement Studies	Media-activism / Demonstrating	7
Coverage	Media Studies	Media-activism / Demonstrating	8
Storytelling	Media Studies	Media-activism / Arts-activism	8
Virality	Media Studies	Media-activism / Demonstrating	8
Concentration	n/a	Demonstrating / Arts-activism	9
Localizing	Literacy Studies	Demonstrating / Arts-activism	9
Globalizing	Literacy Studies	Demonstrating / Media-activism	9
Marching	n/a	Demonstrating	10
Occupying	Multiple	Demonstrating / Arts-activism	10
Choreographing	n/a	Demonstrating	10
Dispersing	n/a	Demonstrating / Media-activism	10
Recycling	Multiple	Demonstrating / Media-activism	10
Streams	Social Movement Studies	Campaigning / Demonstrating	11
Joining	Literacy Studies	Demonstrating / Media-activism	11
Cycles	Social Movement Studies	Campaigning / Demonstrating	11

2.3 Social Movements, Media, and Protest

My theoretical orientation is based on a broadly ethnographic and historical approach to texts and practices, as outlined in previous sections. In this section however, I augment these prior concepts with others from research on social movements and media-activism, which both cohere theoretically, whilst offering terms that elucidate the empirical context.

2.3.1 Media Practices and Processes

Approaches to media that I adopt below have two main things in common: firstly they draw on practice theory (see Couldry 2012, Postill 2010, Mattoni & Trere 2014) and secondly on theories of contentious politics (Tilly & Tarrow 2015; *cf.* Mattoni 2013, Cammaerts 2012).

2.3.1.1 Media: The term media here has a two-fold aspect: 'media as objects and messages' and 'media people that produce media messages on a regular basis from within specific media organizations and institutions' (Mattoni & Trere 2014, p.259; also Silverstone 1994).

2.3.1.2 Media Practices: Via Cammaerts, Mattoni, and McCurdy (2013) media practices are introduced in terms of how activists' '...lives and actions are orientated, either towards or by the media, to fulfil material / immaterial and instrumental / symbolic goals' (p.4). More specifically, Mattoni (2012, p.159) thereafter defines activist media practices as involving: '(1) both routinized and creative social practices, that (2) include interactions with media objects (e.g. mobile phones, laptops, paper) and media subjects (e.g. journalists, public relations, media-activists), (3) draw[ing] on how media objects and media subjects are perceived and on how the media environment is understood and known'.

This view of practices coheres with the previously defined concept literacy practices (Street 1984, 2000) as well as vernacular and dominant literacies, (Barton & Hamilton 2012

Barton & Lee 2013), but it shifts emphasis towards a slightly more specific set of practices – for example, in relation to the data that I will discuss, mass media in the public sphere and its counter publics; traditional and social media based journalism and reporting; and media-activist practices realised across local and global social movement networks (see Couldry 2012; Postill 2014; Cammaerts, Mattoni, & McCurdy 2013). In elaborating on different aspects of my data I use both concepts, literacy practices and media practices. Both provide approaches towards understanding interactions between lo tech and hi tech forms of media during protest events and as part of social movement communications (see **Chapters 9-11**).

2.3.1.3 Mediational Processes: The term media practices above (i.e. seen synchronically) interlinks with two other terms that are both more processual and diachronic in aspect, firstly mediational processes and secondly mediatization processes.

Many of the ideas that are central to mediational processes have been discussed previously in 2.1.1 to 2.1.2, for example where in media studies mediational processes are defined as ‘specific instances of production, text and reception, and the broader contexts of media use [whereby] meaning making is an open-ended and an ongoing process’ (Thumim 2009, p.619).

A distinction is drawn here however. Mattoni & Trere (2014) describe mediational processes as involving two main categories: *mechanisms* as ‘arrays of social practices that characterize social movements and are able to alter some of their dimensions on a medium term basis’, then more specifically than previously stated, *processes* as being ‘mechanisms [that] combine [and] develop along a long span of time influencing the macro level

of [socio-political activity]’ (p.259). It is this extending view which links mediational processes into mediatization processes.

2.3.1.4 Mediatization Processes: The focus of mediatization is on long term changes to social life, where changing media technologies are seen as intertwined and implicated in such social changes (Hepp, Hjarvard, & Lundby, 2010).

Couldry & Hepp (2013), for example, define mediatization at a general level as ‘the interrelation between changes in media and communications on the one hand, and changes in culture and society on the other’ (p.197). Studies of mediatization therefore concern ways ‘socio-cultural reality is constructed in and through communication’ (Couldry & Hepp 2013, p.196), alongside how ‘processes of mediation have changed with the emergence of different kinds of media’ (p. 197) and social consequences associated with any such changes.

Approaches to mediatization based on practice theory (e.g. Couldry 2008, 2012, Couldry & Hepp 2013) are mostly non-determinist and critical of what I referred to previously in terms of autonomous models (see 2.1.2). Instead they seek situated and historicized explanations of social changes in ways that cohere with those sought in the NLS (for a discussion between practice based media studies and NLS - see Street 2003b; Street & Postill 2006; Postill 2010).

These combined and interlinking synchronic and diachronic perspectives of *media practices*, *mediational processes*, and *mediatization* together negate ‘technological fascination biases’ and ‘one medium biases’, e.g. showing how social ‘actors have employed different types of media [roles / meanings] at the same time, both in the past and in present time’ (Mattoni & Trere 2104, p.261).

Central to this tripartite approach therefore are also concepts of *communicative ecologies* seen in terms of 'the everyday, complex network of information and communication' (Tacchi, 2008), as well as the more specific *media environments* where for example in contexts of social movements there is a focus on 'the environmental role of media in contentious politics [i.e. approaching] the totality of media and communication practices in a holistic way' (Cammaerts, Mattoni, & McCurdy, p.3).

2.3.2 Contentious Politics and Protest

Rather than a social movement studies approach, my theoretical orientation is based on the NLS and related work previously discussed. However one approach toward social movement studies that provides a useful framework of concepts is contentious politics theory, or CPT (see Tilly & Tarrow 2015; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly 2001).

In a general sense, contentious politics refers to 'collective political struggles' (e.g. protests, strikes, revolutionary movements, and political system transitions). But in particular terms, Tilly (2008) defines contentious politics as 'interactions in which actors make claims bearing on someone else's interests [through words or actions] in which governments appear either as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties' (p.5) '...leading to coordinating efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.236).

Contentious politics are considered on a cline from contained (i.e. legal, tolerated, controlled) to more transgressive forms that 'cross institutional boundaries into forbidden or unknown territory' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.236).

2.3.2.1 Claims: Three types of claim referred to in contentious politics are *identity, standing, and program*: e.g. 'claims for recognition of the claimants existence; claims for ratification of

their standing as specific kinds of political actors [e.g. favela residents]; and claims for the adoption or abolition of public programs [or private initiatives]' (Tilly 2008, p.120). These types of claims interrelate and are inevitably realised through communication, such as through texts and related literacy and media practices - this is one connection between CPT and the NLS, claims are frequently realised through literacy.

2.3.2.2 Performances, Repertoires, and Diffusions: In contentious politics, claims making becomes enacted, or performed, drawing on the repertoires of the claimants involved. In CPT, these terms performances and repertoires become an analytical focus.

Contentious performances (or performances of contention) are defined as the 'relatively familiar and standardized ways, in which one set of political actors makes collective claims on some other set of political actors' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.236). A protest march is an example of such a performance. Contentious performances then become the materialized aspects of a wider set of socio-cultural and political resources (referred to as repertoires). Contentious repertoires (or repertoires of contention) are defined as the 'arrays of contentious performances that are currently known and available within some set of political actors' (p.236).

Tilly (2008, p.208) refers to performances and repertoires as being both *causally coherent* [where 'similar causes operate over a wide range of instances'] and *symbolically coherent* [i.e. where, 'once existing, they acquire meanings, that facilitate emulation and innovation']. Ethnographically participants display their awareness and familiarity with performances and repertoires in typical ways such as by 'giving names to them; referring to previous actions of the same kind; giving each other instructions; adopting divisions of labour that require prior

consultation or experience; [and] anticipating each other's actions' (Tilly 2008, p.144; *see Chapter 10*).

Seen in these ways, performances (and repertoires of them) are essentially the same as what I have described in terms of practices or sets of practices previously (*cf.* 2.1.1-2.1.2). In CPT, performances tend to be some specific set of practices – e.g. literacy, media, political and protesting practices, which are typically associated with social movements and protest. Accordingly, 'performances' in CPT and 'practices' in the NLS are considered interchangeably for purposes herein and are used to describe the same empirical phenomena.

In CPT, subcategories developed around these concepts of performances and repertoires. One relevant example is the concept of repertoires of communication – defined, in short, as some 'set of activist media practices' (Mattoni 2013, p.47) which serve as localised political resources, and which change over time, because media environments change, and emerging technologies become appropriated by activists (Mattoni 2013).

Another similar but more specific concept is protest media ensembles (Monterde & Postill 2014, from Bausinger 1984). These refer to the 'unique set of [media] technologies that are brought to bear on a specific collective action... within a particular moment in the collective biography of a movement' (Monterde & Postill 2014, p.429-430). A synchronic view is combined here with a diachronic and processual view, interlinking 'media for activism and protest at a single point in time [with] analyses in order to establish which [technologies] were particularly salient at which stages in the life course of a protest movement' (Monterde & Postill 2014, p.429).

These concepts concerning communication interlink with recontextualization processes which are referred to generally in CPT in terms of diffusion – a term glossed as the ‘spread of a contentious performance, issue, or interpretive frame from one site to another’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.238). Diffusion as such is discussed in **Chapter 7**.

Two concepts relating to diffusion are *streams of contention* and *cycles of contention*. The former concerns specific ‘sequences of collective claims making across sites’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.237), i.e. becoming one of the ways realised through CPT of analysing particular meaning making trajectories in contexts of protest. In **Chapter 11**, I overview one such specific stream of contention which continued in a set of favelas in Rio over a one year period. Cycles of contention meanwhile are long term extended ‘episodes’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.238). This general concept connects all of the data driven chapters from the first to the last. Central to my thesis, I describe how a new cycle of contention emerged from around 2006 and lasted until around 2016 (i.e. covering a ten year period) contesting a specific set of themes in protest.

At a macro level, in CPT, such sites and temporal periods are informed by what are referred as political opportunity structures (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015), i.e. the particular ‘dimensions of the political environment [that] facilitate or inhibit a political actor’s collective action’ (Tarrow 1994 p.85).

Building on the concept of political opportunity structures, related media-activist research refers to ‘media opportunity structures’ (Cammaerts, 2012). These concern the extent to which movements are able ‘to mobilize political support; to increase the legitimization and validation of their demands; [and] to widen the scope of conflict beyond the like-minded

and get their message across in the mainstream media or not' (Cammaerts 2012, p.119).

Such media opportunity structures are discussed in ***Chapter 9***.

2.3.2.3 Social Movements: So far, I have referred to social movements in a generalist sense.

Here however I will define this term more specifically in two ways - firstly via definitions based on practice theory and secondly via contentious politics theory.

The definition drawing on practice theory is as follows. Where social practices are seen as a kind of configuration of 'forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use, and background knowledge' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250), social practices relating to social movements are summarised, similarly, as involving some 'set of bodily performances, mental frameworks, uses of objects...self-reflection and also emotions and motivations... in the accomplishment of different tasks related to mobilization' (Mattoni & Trere 2014, p.258). This view of practices also coheres with previous definitions of practices which I presented from 2.1.1 – 2.1.2.

The historical view of contentious politics theory adds to this practice theoretical definition. Tilly (2008) argues that social movements as they are commonly referred to contemporarily came to prominence at a particular point in time. Saying this he is referring to the formation of what would become a relatively typical repertoire of contentious performances and texts – including, for example, the emergence of the protest march as a newly organized form of demonstration and political performance realised in conjunction with an array of specifically interrelated performances, literacy practices, and textual-genres, such as petitions, lobbying, press releases, public meetings [and more]. Tilly (2006, 2008) argues that this particular repertoire came to prominence through 18th century abolitionist politics, i.e. developing around this time, then recurring in similar ways thereafter. This point is an important one

in the sense that it highlights the emergence and development of new protesting practices and literacy practices during particular and changing social and political moments (as I discuss from *Chapters 5-11*).

Following numerous studies of them via CPT, Tilly & Tarrow (2015) use a programmatic definition of social movements as 'sustained campaigns of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise that claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities' (p.235). This definition of social movements then becomes divided to two more specific aspects:

Social movement bases, which refers more generally to 'the social background, organizational resources, and cultural framework of contention and collective action' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.237).

Then emerging from such bases and feeding back into them, *social movement campaigns* as 'sustained challenges to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders by means of public displays' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.237).

Typical social movement campaign repertoires include, e.g. demonstrations, rallies, protest marches, vigils, pamphleteering, letter writing, petitions, protest sign making and displaying (and more, see Tilly 2008). These therefore emerge from and feed back into the 'organizations, networks, participants, and the accumulated cultural artefacts, memories, and traditions that contribute to social movement campaigns' (Tilly 2008, p.148), as well as the 'cultural pre- dispositions, and the political and ideological traditions that nourish contention' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.14). These are all aspects of the social movement base.

Seen as such, social movement bases are associated also with collective identities '[i.e] individuals' cognitive, moral, and emotional connection[s] with a broader community, category, practice, or institution' (Polletta & Jaspar 2001, p.285). Collective identity here is not seen only as social-psychological in aspect, but rather, as a part of cultural artefacts and practices - very often realised through literacy, such as via texts and literacy practices which involve among other things symbols and names (Polletta & Jaspar 2001, p.285; as discussed in *Chapters 5-11*).

Such elements form a part of 'definitions of who "we" and "they" are', the 'drawing of boundaries', and the 'creating of collective stories' (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly 2009, p.264), i.e. features central to notions of collective identity. However, social movement bases and collective identity are not in themselves sufficient to account for social movements. In CPT, a key point is a shift and mobilization, from bases into specific campaigns, triggered through particular processes and sites of contention.

Taylor and van Dyke (2004) describe protests for example as 'sites of contestation in which bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses are used to pursue or prevent changes in institutionalized power relations (p.268). Something shifts in such political acts, whereby collectively people confront hierarchical orderings of particular practices and arrangements.

In my study, I describe specific mobilizations from social movement bases to campaigns, especially in *Chapters 5, 8, 11*. Examples of protesting are discussed in all chapters (i.e. *5-11*).

2.3.2.4 Structural Violence and Contentious Voices: What have such social movement campaigns and protests been about historically? If there is one notion which summarises this more so than any other it is notions of structural violence.

This term expressed in this exact wording in English is associated with the work of Galtung (1969, 1971). However, this particular usage and technical definition I will not draw upon directly, being slightly different to the more general ways that I want to use this term as well as how this term tends to be encountered in social movements in Brazil.

The main point captured by the term structural violence more generally is that 'social relations and arrangements - economic, political, legal, religious, or cultural... shape how individuals and groups interact within a social system' (Rylko-Bauer & Farmer 2016, p.48). Violent examples of such arrangements have included, for example, 'broad-scale cultural and political-economic structures, e.g. slavery, apartheid, colonialism, neoliberalism... as well as poverty and discrimination by race, ethnicity, and gender' among other social categories (Bauer & Farmer 2017, p.48). Besides direct violence involved there is also 'violence by marginalizing people... constraining their capabilities and agency, assaulting their dignity, and [ultimately] sustaining inequalities' (p.48).

This gloss of the general idea of structural violence (from Galtung 1969, 1971; Farmer 2004 1997; for Brazilian views, see Freire 2004, 2018; Nascimento 1989, 2016; Santos 2017) calls for a conceptualization of power viewed in terms of a relational capacity.

Castells (2009, p.10) offers one such definition, stating 'power as the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s)'. This relational capacity refers to where power is not seen as an attribute, but a relationship, between social actors (be that individuals or institutions). Castells (2009) argues this 'relational capacity of power is conditioned, but not determined, by the structural capacity of domination' (p.10-11). Domination then is defined in terms of 'power that is embedded in the institutions of society... exercised by means of coercion (or the possibility of this)

and / or by the construction of meaning [which can guide human action]’ (Castells 2009, p.10-11).

From the perspective of literacy, media, and communication, it follows therefore that one way of conceptualizing ‘voice’ is also as a relational capacity. Both in terms of the potential ‘to express things on one’s own terms, to communicate in ways that satisfy personal, social, and cultural needs [often deviant from hegemonic norms]’ (Blommaert 2008, p.17; see Hymes 1996), as well as in practices of actually doing so, for example, within contexts of structural violence. This view of voice emerging from within challenging contexts of structural violence is central to meaning making trajectories and protest literacies I describe in data driven chapters (**5-11**).

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Following traditions in the New Literacy Studies (or NLS, see *Chapter 2*), my methodological approach is principally ethnographic, with particular attention to the roles and meanings of texts and technologies in social movements of protest. In this chapter, I start by introducing ethnography and some perspectives associated that I drew upon, before outlining practicalities and details of my fieldwork and data thereafter.

3.1 Ethnography

The etymology of the word ethnography relates to the act of writing about people, culture, or society. Accordingly, ethnography aligns in certain aspects with diarist, biographical, and historical genres.

Two terms that demarcate ethnography or ethnographic research from these other writings however are ways of doing fieldwork based on participant observation and it is these two concepts which are most central to discussion of methodological approaches in this chapter. In short, participant observation (from Malinowski 1922) refers to, in differing degrees, both the observing of activities of some social group being learned from, but also participating, as and where possible, so as to gain an insider view (often referred to as the 'emic' view, from Pike 1966, Geertz 1973) on what is going on and how this is understood locally. Field here in its most generalist sense refers to some social-spatial-temporal delimitation of what is being studied and therefore participated in and observed (Gupta & Ferguson 1997).

Ethnographic research based on participant observation and fieldwork became established from the early 20th century onwards through the disciplines of Anthropology and Sociology initially. Both had very broad objectives, but with significant differences between these two.

Anthropological ethnography (Social, Cultural, or Linguistic) revolved around long term fieldwork, usually both geographically and socially-culturally distant from western and / or modernized urban centres. Often one main objective here was to try to document 'whole' cultures (e.g. ways of living, thinking, and communicating) according to different theoretical and socio-political purposes (e.g. see Malinowski 1922, Firth 1957; Boas 1940, Darnell 2001).

Sociological ethnography in contrast was urban ethnography initially. Central to its concerns was ongoing urban migration and how groups adjusted to living and interacting in increasingly populated cities (i.e. from the early 20th century onwards) – especially so, development of periphery spaces and particular subcultures which deviated from dominant social structures (Park et al 1925, Wirth 1928, Whyte 1943, Thrasher 1966, Zorbaugh 1983).

Methodologically, at the core of such ethnography since its early days have been systematic and densely detailed descriptions of social events, practices, and settings ('thick description' as it later became known: Geertz, 1973) serving both as a distinctive documentarist process and textual genre, as well as the basis of researcher interpretation and theory development.

Participant observation has been customarily coupled with interviewing techniques also, so as to pursue and present more extended explanations of local routines, understandings, and beliefs, as well as to incorporate participants' voices more directly – once again linked to the validity of ethnographic representations and claims making (see Madden 2010, Forsey 2010).

As a result of these two endeavours, the principle data produced via ethnographic research include different kinds of field notes, coupled with audio and / or visual recordings, as well as assorted artefacts collected in the field - all of which are organized, analysed, written up and represented in different ways (see Emerson et al 2011, Sanjek 1990).

My uses of participant observation, interviews, field notes, and more, can be seen below in 3.2-3.9.

Amongst traditions in ethnography, the ethnography of communication was particularly influential to lineages of ethnography of literacy within which I am writing (Hymes 1964 Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Heath & Street 2008, Street 2008, Barton 2012, Barton & Papen 2010, Bartlett 2011).

Though there are traditional examples of long term, widely encompassing ethnographies of communication and literacy (see Bauman & Sherzer 1989, Street 1993), more contemporary examples tend to refer more to the adoption of an ethnographic approach or perspective toward some particular area of focus, i.e. rather than aiming to account for social groups or cultures in any completest sense (Papen, 2005).

One way in which this adapting of ethnography and narrowing down of its scope has been realized is through a focus on particular 'practices' (social practices of some kind or another, such as literacy practices). Defined in sum as some 'configuration of cultural forms, social relations, and historical processes that move people to act' (Ortner 1989, p.12), practices as such are approached through ethnographic fieldwork, both in terms of 'observable patterns of behaviour across events' and in terms of '...infer[able] ideological aspects through wider observation and interview data' (Maybin, in Street 2000, p.20).

It is such a practice focussed approach that forms the basis of ethnographic approaches to literacy and communication in the NLS (Barton & Hamilton 2000, Street 2000; Tusting 2015, Gillen 2015, Papen 2016 – see **Chapter 3**) whereby 'ethnography – with its focus on people, its interest in real-life contexts, and its holistic approach – is particularly suited to the study

of literacy [and especially so] the New Literacy Studies' interest in understanding the role of reading and writing in everyday life... what people do with literacy, as well as what meanings it has for them in their lives' (Papen 2005, p.63).

Relating to my research, similar practice centred ethnographic perspectives appear also in media studies and social movement studies (e.g. Couldry 2012, Mattoni 2013, Postill 2010) which I draw on also.

3.1.1 Multi-Aspectual Ethnographic Perspectives

Another characteristic of ethnography both generally and in more specific practice centred approaches is that of its synchronic focus (Marcus & Fisher 1986). Fieldwork is synchronic in that it is conducted at a particular moment or period of time, whereby researchers describe those present conditions and their respective 'cross cutting' social-cultural-political currents (Marcus 2011, p.25).

Ethnography is rarely fully synchronic though, and history appears in ethnographic texts commonly via: e.g. past to present depictions of field site contexts; narrations of events, life stories, and local history; as well as through cultural artefacts which represent the past.

However, beyond these historical genres that regularly appear in synchronically focussed ethnography, there is also diachronic focussed ethnography (*cf.* Postill 2017, Tobin 2014). This is differentiated in its focus on social processes developing over time (rather than, or intersecting with, a synchronic focus on social practices at one particular moment in time). In this view for example, rather than 'social change' being referred to in the abstract or left backgrounded as ongoing, actual 'social changes' become charted across specific temporal periods - both before and during fieldwork (Postill 2012, 2017). Such a diachronic emphasis

following how events develop over time can add to the synchronic focus of ethnography in effective ways – especially so, as in my study, in following how specific periods of social protesting emerge (or cycles of contention, as I refer to them, see *Chapter 2*).

Another development from single sited synchronic ethnography is multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). Once again there is a shift here towards social processes (including temporal diachronic developments), but the main emphasis is on movements across social spaces, e.g. moving outward ‘from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research [so as] to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities’ over multiple locations (Marcus 1995, p.96).

Following such movement implies multiple sites of participation and observation, whereby ‘the object of ethnographic inquiry is thus a moving object’ (Marcus 2012, p.15). Practically this has involved followings of people, things, stories, symbols, conflicts, and more - as or as part of social processes which move between and interconnect sites and scales (e.g. present and distant, local and global).

Multi-sited ethnography necessitates also therefore following of ‘connections, associations, and putative relationships’ (Marcus 1995, p.97) as well as ‘translations and tracings among distinctive discourses from site to site’ (p.101; as discussed previously in *Chapter 2* in terms of processes of recontextualization and resemiotization).

Such synchronic, diachronic, and multi-sited perspectives, in their intercombining, afford comparative perspectives on ethnographic fieldwork and data. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) for example, refer to how these three linking perspectives can interrelate in terms of three particular axes: e.g. firstly, a *horizontal axis*, comparing how ‘phenomena unfold in distinct

locations that are socially produced and complexly connected [via tracing of] social actors, documents, or other influences' (p.14); secondly, a *vertical axis*, that focusses 'attention to and across scales [e.g. micro, meso, macro; or global, national, regional, local]' (p.14); and thirdly, a *transversal axis*, which establishes 'comparison over time [and which] historically situates processes or relations under consideration' (p.14).

What this horizontal-vertical-transversal heuristic does is to propose ways of attending to more processual and multi-aspectual dimensions of social life being researched, as well as highlighting points of intersection between axes. All three axes informed the design of my fieldwork as described from 3.2-3.9 featuring as particular perspectival emphases of each thesis part and respective chapters (e.g. **Part 1 Chapters 5-7** have a diachronic / transversal emphasis, whilst **Part 2 Chapters 8-11** have a horizontal and vertical emphasis).

This foregrounding of social processes through multi-aspectual ethnographic perspectives relates, in part, to specific characteristics of researching protest and problems posed by this. Historic events, periods of mass protests, suggestions of social 'ruptures' or 'changes' (and such like) all call for some kind of process based account in order to understand how these moments came to develop up to the point I encountered them during fieldwork. In turn, this implies the need to interlink practice and process centred accounts in unfolding settings of upheaval and protesting. As outlined above, the combination of multi-timed, multi-sited, and multi-scaled ethnographic perspectives makes this possible.

3.1.2 Critical Ethnographic Perspectives

Scheper-Hughes (1995) summarises that in ethnography, empirical work can and should be guided by 'critical-interpretive concerns about the inevitable partiality of truths [as well as]

the various meanings that "facts" and "events" can have in existential, cultural, and political sense[s]" (p.436). This sets out a basic epistemology and ontology of ethnographic research, as an interpretive and situated practice, adhered to in much ethnographic work, as in mine.

Scheper-Hughes (1995) adds to this a point about ethics, however, stating that central to ethnography should also always be the 'ability to listen and to observe carefully and with empathy and compassion' (p.418). This becomes, then, one of the important starting points of so called critical ethnography.

Critical ethnographic perspectives involve putting into action and foregrounding particular politics, theories, and ethics (Maddison, 2005), although as these have differed over time so has critical ethnography. From the early 20th century anthropological and sociological ethnographic fieldwork onwards there has been a very wide range of critical work on social issues (e.g. racism, urban poverty) and activism in support of the viewpoint and the purposes of social groups collaborated with (see Apter et al 2009, Blommaert 2005, Low & Merry 2010). Centrally here has been the acknowledgement of an ethical responsibility to try to address social and economic injustices and inequalities through ethnographic work (Madison, 2005).

Critical ethnography in name emerged through combining 'critical theory' with ethnographic practice to this end. Critical theory has had both narrower and broader meanings – i.e. the former relating specifically to neo-Marxist theorists of human emancipation, the latter to a broader range of more recent approaches which share many common aims, such as feminisms, critical race theories, and post-colonial theories (Bonham 2005, Calhoun 1995).

Besides its critical interpretive foundations another important characteristic of ethnography is reflexivity - a concept closely associated with critical theory in these broader approaches.

Reflexivity in its most general sense refers to 'the capacity of language and thought [or any systems of signification] to become an object to itself and to refer to itself', in turn implying how reflexivity can become 'an action or process linking self and other, subject and object' (Babcock 1980, p.2).

There are many different ways in which such reflexivity has been considered in ethnography (cf. Marcus 1998, Foley 2002) but two principle forms are 'theoretical and personal-political reflexivity' (Madden 2010, p.22).

Theoretical reflexivity (linked to sociology and practice theory) emphasises the 'disciplinary and discursive historical context' shaping ethnographer's interpretations and importance of them making transparent 'how they produce truth claims and facts' (Foley 2002, p.476; see Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

Personal-political reflexivity (linked to anthropology and feminism) concerns acknowledging 'our own power, privilege, and biases... our intentions, our methods, and our possible effect', with the purpose here 'to contextualize our own positionality, thereby making it accessible, transparent, and vulnerable to judgment' (Madison 2005, p.8).

How then is my ethnographic research critical and reflexive?

3.1.2.1 Criticality

In my study criticality can be summarized via the following layers.

Firstly, it is critical in the sense that it represents a historical and contemporary example of social oppression – e.g. state sponsored killings and evictions in periphery urban areas with

both low socio-economic indicators and high racial segregation indicators (i.e. being in majority 'black', IBGE 2010).

Secondly, however, it is critical in the sense that the focus is not on social oppression itself *per se*, but on local actors' contestations against this: e.g. it focusses on work of local social movements addressing this issue and ultimately trying to change the situation in their own interests. The study does not seek to fetishize the problems, but instead highlight creativity and commitment in responses to them, especially so through literacy (see Papen & Tusting 2008, Freire and Macedo 2005).

Thirdly, it is critical in the sense that I do not assume a position of neutrality or impartiality. Instead, I align my research with the causes of the local social movements which I represent in solidarity with them. I do not seek to present a balanced depiction of problems therefore, for example, by including counter arguments of the state, the police, or other related actors. Depth and complexity develops instead through focussing on histories and close empirical details in the localised enacting of contentious politics (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, see *Chapter 3*). Linking back to ethnographic theory then, the *emic* view I sought here to understand and make known in the thesis was principally that of local people protesting against oppression.

3.1.2.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity and decision making about this can be summarized in the following ways also.

In the writing up of my thesis personal-political reflexivity does not feature prominently, but for reasons relating to both theoretical reflexivity, as well as the practicalities of completing. That is, in my study there is a strong historical emphasis (especially in *Part 1 Chapters 5-7*). This emphasis emerged, from listening to local actors, emphasising the importance of local

history (e.g. see **Chapter 6-7** and **8-10**). One consequence of this was the development of the diachronic and processual focus in my study. The period covered is around 10 years (i.e. from 2006-2016) though with related references prior to this as well. This long view (mainly in **Part 1 Chapters 5-7**) links into another particular focus however, i.e involving close ethnographic descriptions of protest events during a specific historical moment in Rio from 2013-2014 (mainly in **Part 2 Chapters 8-11**). Resulting from both of these historical and observational emphases was an extensive ethnographic data set – e.g. from collected archives of local texts to detailed visual and written documentation of events and more (see Table 3.2-3.6). Resulting from this combination, but especially the increasing shift toward a diachronic and processual focus and integration of respective sources of data, meant the reducing of synchronic perspectives, and therefore the reducing of my direct presence in the text, and consequently, a reducing of personal-political reflexivity in relation to myself (as ethnographer-writer and social subject).

This was a decision based on what I wanted to try and represent in data driven chapters, as well as the spatial and temporal limitations of the thesis format. This decision did not demerit the problematics raised by my presence as a researcher, in the eyes of others, or which I felt myself as a person in the field - on the contrary, these were many to the extent that I could complete another thesis about them (e.g. see 3.9 on ‘Positioning and Problematics’). However, owing to the particular focus I decided upon and the practicalities of completing, I have ended up not engaging questions of personal-political reflexivity in any substantial way. One exception though is here within the rest of the methodology section where I describe how my fieldwork and the focus of my thesis developed as an open ended and emergent process.

3.2 Data Collection: Fieldsites and Fieldwork

Typically of ethnography, the design of my fieldwork was emergent and open ended in the sense that what became its main focus and end product was not predetermined, but rather this developed inductively, over a year of contact, activities, and decision making. This year I divided in terms of three particular phases (Phases 1-3, as well as 'Pre' and 'Post' Phases which were significant). All these are outlined sequentially below.

3.2.1 Pre Phase

Having lived in Rio since 2004, from around 2008 onward, it became increasingly obvious to me that serious changes were underway in the city: with recent findings of new oil fields promising huge riches; a sudden real estate boom; and especially a governor and mayor announcing a radical new policing programme, followed by the promotion of gentrification initiatives in previously run down city centre areas and in Rio's favelas, linked to the hosting of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics.

From 2009-2010, I completed a master's degree back in the UK where I focussed upon Brazilian approaches to sociolinguistics, critical literacy, and related subjects. But as I was doing this, these issues in Rio in the background and local critical responses seemed to keep getting louder and louder and I decided I wanted to study what was going on, thereafter writing a PhD proposal with the intention of doing so.

My initial proposal accepted was to be a study of community education projects focussing on approaches to critical literacy during this period of social change, particularly in relation to any effects of the new policing programme in favelas (named 'UPP'). Accordingly, in early 2013, from Lancaster University, I wrote to several different projects with a general

proposal of what I wanted to study and made arrangements to visit starting from September 2014. However, a few months prior to that the local scenario shifted massively.

As I was still in Lancaster studying in June 2013 - via the social media of friends, colleagues, contacts, as well as social movements I had been following, daily reports of what transpired to become bigger and bigger protests started to saturate my newsfeeds. These would turn out to be the largest and the most sustained period of protests in Rio and Brazil for a generation (i.e. since the mid-1980s, the end of a period of military rule in Brazil: see Harvey et al, 2013). I knew from this point onwards it would be necessary to incorporate these ongoing protests into my fieldwork in some way, but I did not yet know how or where.

3.2.2 Three Phases of Fieldwork Introduction

These '2013 protests' occurred over two periods principally. The first covered from around June–August 2013, starting with transport prices protests, in São Paulo and Rio, before the outbreak of massive and multiple issue demonstrations across Brazil. The second covered from around September–November 2013, in Rio specifically, revolving around a sequence of mass protests about education, although with multiple issue protests surrounding and ongoing. It was at the start of this second period that I arrived in Rio to commence my fieldwork for one year (from September 2013 to October 2014).

I divided this year of fieldwork from September 2013 to October 2014 in three main phases (outlined below in Table 3.1).

Across all three phases there were certain data collection activities that recurred with slight variations across sites. These were: setting surveying, participant observation, interviewing, online interaction, and text-artefact sources.

Some basic summaries of these are outlined through Tables 3.2 to 3.6 and can be referred back to throughout *Chapter 3*.

Following Tables 3.1-3.6, I describe my participation and data collection activities throughout Phases 1-3 and discuss how these three phases developed and how having not been a part of my original research proposal, protest events in Maré past and present became the focus of my thesis.

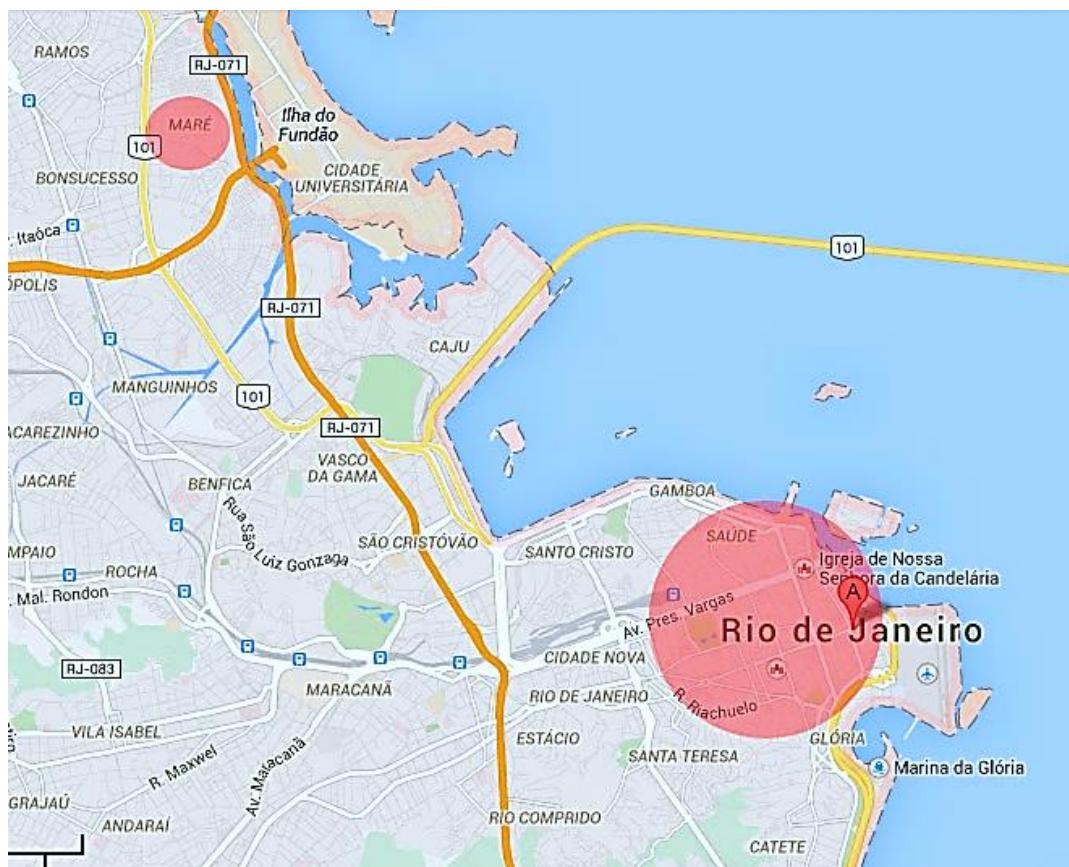


Figure 3.1: [from Google Maps, adapted] the two main locations of my fieldwork activities, the city centre (Centro) and the Maré Favelas (situated in the North Zone Periphery of Rio) – see also Chapter 1, for extended maps of Rio

Table 3.1 Fieldwork Phases and Focusses Overview			
Phase	Period	Locational / Participation Focus A	Locational / Participation Focus B
1	1.9.2013 – 31.12.2013	City Centre Protests and Occupy Camps (around multiple issues)	A Community Media Project (in the Maré Favelas)
2	1.1.2014 – 31.07.2014	City Centre Protests and Social Movements (around the 2014 World Cup and related issues)	Favela Movements and Medias (around the military occupation of Maré and related issues)
3	1.8.2014 – 31.10.2014		Favela Protests and Campaigns (around the military occupation of Maré and related issues)

Table 3.2-3.4 Data Collection Activities and Types	
Interactional Sources	Example Data Types
<i>Landscape Surveying</i>	photographs of signage and settings
<i>Participant Observation</i>	field notes / photographs and film of events
<i>Interviews</i>	audio recordings and interview notes
<i>Field Recordings</i>	audio recordings of speeches and chants
Text-Artifact Sources	
Text-Artifact Sources	Example Data Types
<i>Street Artefacts</i>	texts from events (e.g. fliers, pamphlets)
<i>Local Pedagogical Materials</i>	texts from courses (e.g. handouts, handbooks)
<i>Local Cultural / Historical Documents</i>	e.g. newspapers, magazines, photographs, films
<i>Local Academic Publications</i>	e.g. research articles and books
<i>Local / Municipal Statistics</i>	e.g. demographics, policing and housing records
See also <i>Online Interaction and Data</i>	

Participation and Observation Types	
Full Participation	<i>Activity for its own sake / Activity not deliberatively documented as data</i>
Full Observation	<i>Landscape Surveying (e.g. photography of settings) / Media Production (e.g. filming of events) / Pedagogic Observation (e.g. classes, lectures, etc.)</i>
Participation and Observation links	<i>e.g. Theoretical Orientation (participation orientated by the prior concepts of a disciplinary field) / Inductive Interactions (participation orientated by attention to emerging patterns) / Observation Schedules (participation as systematized through planned observations of particular aspects of events)</i>

Field Notes Types	
(i) <i>Participatory notes</i>	observational, descriptive, real time, or shortly after, or same day
(ii) <i>Consolidated notes</i>	added comments, theoretical notes, reflexive notes, following (i)
(iii) <i>Processed notes</i>	typed up, organized, labelled, and archived, versions of (i) and (ii)

Table 3.5 Interview Types		
Participants	1-1	All solo interviews conducted 1-1
Location	<i>Street</i>	e.g. interviews conducted at protests / occupy camps (mostly in P1, mostly with no pre-established relations) 5-25 minutes
	<i>Roomed</i>	Pre-arranged interviews, with actors from 'three main groups' (mostly in P2, with pre-established relations) 45-90 minutes on average
	<i>Online Spaces</i>	No interview conducted online but follow up questions and answers via closed online spaces (e.g. email, FB)
Structure	<i>Semi-Structured to Unstructured (and / or vice versa)</i>	Semi-structured interviews were ordered in three main ways (see Formats below) / Unstructured interviews included both first contact street based interviews, and pre / post extensions of semi-structured interviews (e.g. normally lasting between 45-90 minutes but with the longest example continuing for 3 hours)
Formats	<i>Artefact Focussed</i>	Artefact focussed interviews involved either: i) asking participants in street based interviews to discuss signs / street texts on site, or ii) asking participants in pre-arranged semi-structured interviews to bring one or more texts / photos of their choice to discuss, about the protests, and / or respective social practices
	<i>Question Prompts</i>	A small selection of open ended questions were used during semi-structured interviews about participants' respective group practices and the protests at the time
	<i>Oral Event History</i>	One question prompt in the semi-structured interviews (where relevant) was to ask participants to recall the most memorable protests that they had participated in and why this was the case. Examples of extended and uninterrupted tellings became recorded oral histories
Co-working	<i>Community Media</i>	Collaborating with two groups I conducted pair work interviews (2 interviewers to 1 or more interviewees): the former became community news articles and the latter edited into recorded stories played aurally at a cultural/political event in P2 and also published online - this interview content was not used directly as data
	<i>Political Art Actions</i>	
Public Q & A	<i>Speeches / Lectures</i>	Through Phases 1-3 I attended numerous public spaces where question and answer sessions were typical parts of interaction. I participated in such spaces, sometimes recording them, where applicable, and with permission
	<i>Classes / Workshops</i>	
	<i>Forums / Assemblies</i>	
	<i>Online Communities</i>	

Table 3.6		Online Site Interaction and Data
Online Site	Role	
<i>Facebook</i>	SNS / Social Media Platform: Centrally important hub of communications for all actors over P1-3, e.g. FB 'personal profiles' and 'community pages', '(open/closed) groups', 'event pages' - used by all individuals and groups	
<i>Twitter</i>	Micro-Blogging Platform: rarely used by actors at the time, not discussed	
<i>Blogger / WordPress</i>	Blog / Blog-Website: Centrally important for community media, used for online versions of community media publications since the mid-late 2000s	
<i>ISSUU</i>	Digital Magazine Publication Site: Used by one community media project	
<i>YouTube</i>	Video Sharing Platform: Widely used by movements, often circulated via FB	
<i>U-Stream</i>	Live Streaming Platform: Streaming common in protest events but done by media-activists - most common mobile technology not sufficient at the time	
<i>Gmail / Rise Up</i>	Email and Encrypted Email: Email commonly used to communicate but also increasing use of encrypted email by local movements in 2014, e.g. Rise Up	
Common Examples of Data: Print screens of FB Pages (e.g. status updates, comments, event pages) and Blogs (e.g. blog articles) / Photos, films, and streaming (e.g. shared on FB, YT, Us) / Digital copies of community media and newspapers (e.g. via ISSUU) / Interactions with participants (via FB / email). Sharing and reuse of social media content common within local media and academic research, with the standard open source etiquette being to cite sources used (and request permission if requested).		

3.3 PHASE 1: September to December 2013

3.3.1 The City Centre

When I arrived in Rio in September 2013 to start my fieldwork, I was confronted with problems and possibilities straight away.

I had arranged a temporary place to stay in the city centre and my arrival coincided with a protest in this same area on Independence Day (7.9.13), involving violent clashes between police and protesters.

This was just one of regular protest events during the starting point of the second period of the '2013 protests' from September to November (see Table 3.8).

During this period I attended most of the protest events that I became aware of (e.g. several per week and occasionally multiple protests on the same day), initially alone, and thereafter accompanying people I met.



Figure 3.2: Educational reform protests in Rio city centre, October 2013 (Photo: Globo, 2013c)

Also in the city centre streets at the same time were three Occupy camps, each one relating to different issues (e.g. education, transport prices, and the selling of national oil reserves), set up by respective social movements.

On my doorstep, I started to visit these camps which had daily programmes of activities (e.g. speeches, workshops, film projections, artistic activities).

One camp started up a weekly 'popular assembly' (i.e. public meetings where people share news, debate issues, and develop collective actions) which I attended during Phases 1 and 2 (see **Chapter 8**).



Figure 3.3: Popular assembly organized by Ocupa Câmara (Occupy Town Hall) in October 2013

Phase 1 in Rio city centre was a fervent scene to arrive into, but also a difficult one in terms of research, because so much was going on at the same time as well as opaque forces being at work where it was not always clear who was motivating what and for what purpose.

I collected a lot of data during this period - field notes, photos, and street-based interviews (see Tables 3.5 and 3.7), with a diverse range of actors, including teachers, students, retirees, youths, journalists, media-activists, artists, and more.

However this data does not feature directly in the data driven chapters, basically because I decided later to narrow down my focus to protest events that were in or linked to the Maré favelas (in Phases 2 and 3).

I recall this fieldwork here however, because it was formative in how and why I came to focus on protests (albeit, other ones).

It is difficult to explain such a period of ongoing protests whereby the city and its routines become destabilized slightly – as was the case in mid to late 2013. It was an experience of which I had not encountered before and it had a significant effect, where besides directly participating in events of visceral emotional highs and lows, I established points of shared reference and camaraderie with contacts made, as well as coming to understand grouping and sectarian divisions amongst protesters participating in the streets, all in ways I learned from and which informed my fieldwork that followed.

3.3.2 The Maré Favelas

On arrival in September 2013 during the scenario described above in 3.3.1, I ended up encountering problems with my pre-arranged visits to community education projects.

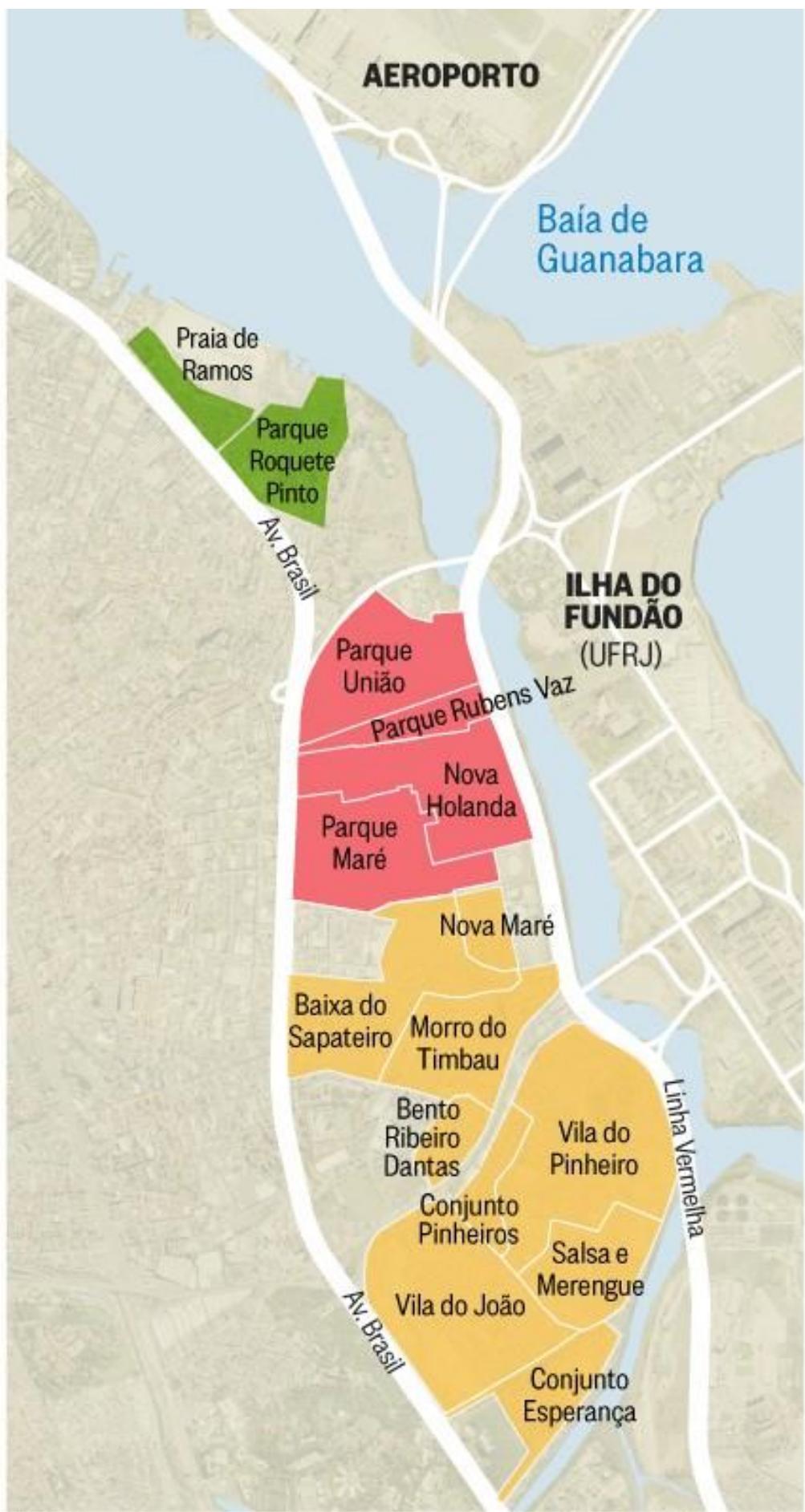
Of the four projects that I had pre-arranged, one stopped corresponding permanently after the start of protests in June, another suggested I would have to wait at least 6 months to start, and another I participated in a four day training course with but found it not suitable for my study. The last of the four however, would feature in my study, changing its direction and shaping it profoundly.

In this fourth case, via contacts in the UK, I had arranged to visit an NGO known as CEASM (the Maré Centre for Studies and Solidarity Actions – introduced in *Chapters 1 and 4*) located in a set of favelas in the North Zone periphery of Rio, named Maré.

Figures 3.4

[Below 1] Aerial map of the Maré Favelas (Infographic from Globo, 2014d)

*[Below 2 and 3] Morro do Timbau and Baixa do Sapateiro favelas in Maré
(Photos: Observatório de Favelas, 2014).*



Maré (description written by a local resident then translated by me for a CEASM project in 2013)

The complex of sixteen favelas known as Maré is a major constituent of the wider Leopoldina region situated in the North Zone periphery of Rio de Janeiro. Maré has a particular visibility due to its geographical location, stretching along the city's bay area, on one side, as well as being located between two main roads that interconnect the municipality, on the other.

Maré means 'tide' and until relatively recently [i.e. the 1970s to 1980s] its local landscape was characterized by wooden houses, built on stilts, so as to stand above the muddy waterways and the rise and fall of the tide. These suspended constructions of oftentimes precarious housing over the marshy land and the proximity of this periphery scenery to both the International Airport and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro contributed to a long term perception of Maré in the mainstream, as a place of poverty, supposedly devoid of decent living space, as well as with regular associations with violence. Regardless of such one dimensional representations disseminated principally through the commercial media, it is undeniable that the location is a proletarian space with a predominantly black population many of whom live in subordinate conditions and with low educational and socio-professional profiles [Maré has the third lowest HDI / Human Development Index in the city of Rio].

According to the 2010 Census, Maré has approximately 129,770 inhabitants, with an average of 3.4 people per household. In comparing rates of population density, the district has a rate of about 21,400 inhabitants per km², whilst the municipality of Rio de Janeiro has an average of 328 inhabitants per km². This intense process of occupying the local area is a defining factor in some aspects of the landscape, such as, in particular, the absence of trees, the vertical ascendance of housing, and the intense movement of pedestrians and vehicles.

The population is distributed across 41,731 households, in sixteen favelas: Marcílio Dias, Praia de Ramos, Roquete Pinto, Parque União, Rubens Vaz, Nova Holanda, Parque Maré, Nova Maré, Baixa do Sapateiro, Morro do Timbau, Bento Ribeiro Dantas, Conjunto Pinheiros, Vila dos Pinheiros, Salsa e Merengue, Vila do João, and Conjunto Esperança. Concentrations of roads, public buildings, industrial, and commercial facilities, form boundaries between these communities. Rivalry between local factions drug trafficking [e.g. areas highlighted in red and yellow respectively, in Images 3.4] also plays an inhibitory role in movement of residents between local spaces. In addition to factions, there are also spaces controlled by militia [ex/non-professional policing/military, e.g. areas in green in Images 3.4]. Formally in terms of public security, the 22nd Military Police Battalion works in Maré and the arrival of UPP Pacification Policing Units in the area is planned to start next year [2014].



Since its founding in 1998, CEASM ran several 'popular/communitarian' education courses (in Morro do Timbau, above) but the coordinator was not present to show me the entire project on the day that I visited, so I ended up staying with one specific course which I had asked to see.

This was one of the sessions from a 10 week community media training course of one of the longest functioning favela community media projects in Rio (i.e. since 1999) named *Jornal O Cidadão* (The Citizen Newspaper).



Figure 3.5: [above] Front cover of the Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper print edition, edition 65 relating to July – September 2013: 'Mega-events: What does this word represent for the people?'

The purpose of this course was to train local community journalists in Maré, but it attracted people interested in community media from other favelas and social movements around Rio as well.

From my first day and from activities I attended afterward it became apparent I had arrived at a site I should research.

Why was this site of interest? My interest in the Citizen was not in journalism, but rather in how I recognised in the course, its content, and the talks of the coordinators and the course teachers the continuation of Brazilian traditions of what is often referred to outside of Brazil as critical literacy and communication for social change (see Freire & Macedo 2005, Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte 2006, *cf.* 3.2.1).

Moreover, the coinciding of the course with the first and second period of 2013 protests meant that the work of the Citizen, at this time, included critical literacy perspectives on these events and themes from the periphery and more specifically from Maré's favelas – presenting views different and at times counter to those which I encountered in the centre.

3.3.2.1 Local Media, Movements, and Protest Linkages

Throughout much of the content of the Citizen there was no necessary link with protest at all – this is important to state. And importantly also my initial interest in the Citizen was not about protests but community media itself.

However, I arrived at one of several moments in the story of this local project when protest happened to be foregrounded – e.g. via particular actors, events, and texts, linked to local and translocal social movements, contesting current issues and organizing protests as one means of doing so.

From the first course session that I observed and participated in, the theme of the protests appeared via attendees making their own mock up front covers from scraps of newspapers and magazines. I enjoyed the session (about design and layout) and spoke with the facilitator afterwards about what I had been doing since I arrived and she invited me to a meeting that was due to occur in a community centre bar nearby.

Several people at this meeting I would see on an ongoing basis at other similar movement meetings, protest events, camps, and related activities, occurring in the city centre, during late 2013.

In sum, from my first visits to the Citizen course, its connections with both local and trans-local movements from favelas were made apparent, as were connections with the protest events in the city centre. This set up an initial comparison of perspectives about what was going on.

As had been the case on the first day of the course I attended, following course sessions introduced me to networks of people and projects (both past and present) which besides being practitioners of media-activism were participants of social movements, from or linked to favelas.

Beside field notes, photographs, and course materials, I was also given video recordings of the course sessions by one of the participants, allowing me to familiarise myself more with course content, which I coupled with reading of back issues of the newspaper itself.

The end of the course coincided more or less with the end of Phase 1, i.e. December 2013. At this time, I helped set up and participate in the end of course party, which happened to

coincide with the 14th anniversary celebrations of the Citizen, as well as an important local demonstration (described in *Chapter 6*).

I also participated in the end of course project, where attendees were asked to write short articles to be published, via the online website, or in the following edition of the newspaper.

Having done this, I continued to participate with the Citizen team after the course ended, writing and publishing further articles on request through its online site in Phases 2 and 3 (see *Chapter 11*).

In terms of interviewing (see section 3.8 and Tables 3.5, 3.7) although I conversed extensively with people during the course and at related events I did not conduct any interviews proper (i.e. semi-structured to unstructured, audio recorded) with the Citizen team, or any related actors until in Phase 2.

3.4 PHASE 2: January to July 2014

3.4.1 The City Centre

After a lapse since late November 2013, protests restarted around the city centre area in mid-January 2014, with a range of themes – from the rights of street vendors, to transport price increases, recent favela evictions, ‘Anti-World Cup’ protesting, and more (see Table 3.8).

One protest that marked this period capturing the anarchic atmosphere was a strike action with accompanying demonstrations by refuse collectors during carnival (from late February to early March) – meaning that during this heavy touristic moment and during hot summer months the streets became piled up with uncollected rubbish. Simultaneously, this was the

first year a new collective entitled Occupy Carnival paraded, with songs emanating explicitly political themes of the times, through these same streets (see *Chapter 8*).

In Phase 2, I continued the same fieldwork activities as in Phase 1 during city centre protests although interviewing less in the streets (see Table 3.5). This was mainly because street based interviews held with people that I did not know were often ineffective and overly superficial (see 3.8).

From Phase 2, I started to conduct in depth interviews with people I had met and developed relationships with over Phases 1 and 2 (see Table 3.7, *cf.* 3.8).

3.4.1.1. Perspectives and People

An additional perspective emerged in my fieldwork in Phase 2 that was important. I refer to this as participation with a 'political art movement' (see 3.4.1.1.1).

This became the third of three main groups I participated with during my fieldwork, i.e. a popular assembly, a community media project, and lastly this political arts movement (see Table 3.7).

The practices of all three I learned from and their perspectives informed my understanding of and outlook on what was going on. Rather than being the same, these three perspectives involved points in common as well as contrasts and being involved with all three allowed me to bring together and compare different perspectives on social movements and protests over 2014, triangulating these analytically later.

3.4.1.1.1 Political Arts Movement: People

Why arts?

After working together in the project of a mutual friend over Christmas 2013 in March 2014 I moved into a house share with an artist and teacher involved with social movements in Rio for many years.

I introduce this person through a basic profile below (and then two more people in the same way after).

People: Ítala Isis

Ítala was a 36 year old female, from north-eastern Brazil (Salvador, Bahia). Raised in a working class family in a periphery housing cooperative, she moved to Rio at 15 following a university scholarship (as the first generation in her family to go to university). She studied lithography, becoming an artist and school teacher afterward, as well as amongst other projects and jobs, working at NGO CEASM in Maré for five years (i.e. founders of the Citizen), as well as working in a local school and living nearby. Her direct involvement in social movements in Rio dated back to her participation in student politics and the arts, but was strongly shaped by her experiences working among social movements in Maré.

Movimento Cidades Invisíveis (MCI: the Invisible Cities Movement) founded by Ítala in 2011 involved her, with friends, colleagues, and local residents, co-producing arts ‘actions’ around the city, often in response to, and commenting on, some recent event - e.g. via graffiti, visual installations, and street performances. In this sense, it was an arts movement in which political issues were foregrounded.

Living together and becoming close friends during 2014 Ítala and I started to attend social movement events together and I participated in three MCI actions (from April to August).

The first was a kind of community interviewing action, named ‘Swap a Coffee for a Word about the City’, whereby we walked around locations in the city centre and the periphery

carrying a drinks dispenser, conversing and recording local residents' views about current issues (an example of 'co-working interviews', see Table 3.5). These recordings were edited into a sound collage after to be played over loud speakers at a monthly cultural event in a city centre public square. Another action was named 'Silence' in which Ítala stitched words and phrases in large lettering into a selection of masks that people wore in particular places in the city centre provoking reactions from passers-by. The third action was named 'the City Marks' (described in detail in *Chapter 11*) involving a distinctive kind of performance moving through city centre streets firstly, then the Maré favelas in one later enactment, leaving trails and markings, using red floor paint. I was asked by her to document this via photos and film.

Artistic and performance interventions have a long history in social movements in Brazil (as I describe in *Chapter 8*). I learned more about these practices through participating with MCI.

More importantly than this though, my friendship and co-working with Ítala made me more subtly attentive to issues of class, gender, and race, both in social movements and Brazilian society more broadly. Considering this intersection was a focus of her work, I learned from this. I also learned more about the histories of movements and institutions in Maré, where Ítala spent several years working, including five years as an art teacher at the NGO CEASM.

In sum therefore the third group perspective of political artistic movements involved much more than 'art' per se, and Ítala in many ways became a key informant during my fieldwork.

Figures 3.6

[Below 1] MCI written masks

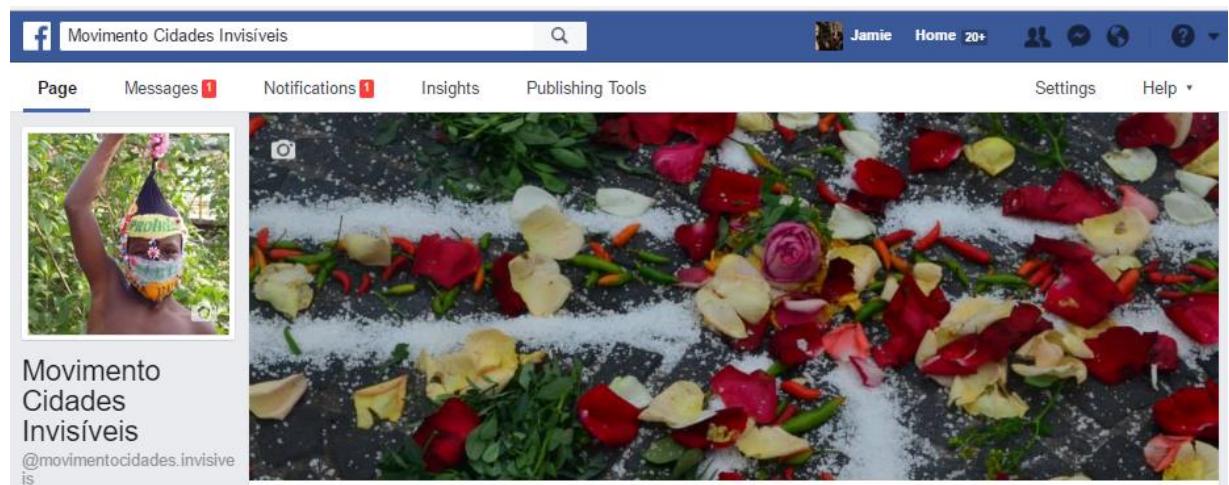
[Below 2] MCI Facebook page header

[Below 3] Co-interviewing with Ítala (Photo: Wellington Dias / MCI)



Screenshot of a Facebook page for 'Movimento Cidades Invisíveis' (Movement of Invisible Cities). The page header shows the profile picture of a person wearing a colorful headwrap, the page name, and a search bar. The top navigation bar includes 'Page', 'Messages 1', 'Notifications 1', 'Insights', 'Publishing Tools', 'Settings', and 'Help'. The main content area features a large image of a memorial on a dark surface, decorated with red, yellow, and white flowers and green leaves. To the left of the image is a sidebar with the page's name and a small profile picture.

Movimento Cidades Invisíveis
@movimentocidades.invisiveis



3.4.2 The Maré Favelas

In Phase 2, I continued as a 'collaborator' with the Citizen team, writing occasional articles about events which needed covering, as well as attending some of the organized team meetings.

It was during this period that I conducted interviews with team members, course teachers, and course attendees (see Table 3.7 and section 4.8).

Also from Phase 2 onwards, I read the majority of previous editions of the Citizen (65 from 1999-2014) as well as a wide range of the blog entries (from 2009 on) and website entries (from 2013 onwards).

Both these interviews and especially this reading of past editions developed my knowledge of local history and set up comparative references with the present.

Why was history and comparison important here?

Recalling symbols and stories from the past of social movements as a part of social movement events and texts in the present was a common practice locally in general - but particularly so over 2013-2014, and particularly at protest events (see *Chapters 5-7, Chapters 8-9*).

History was important in local social movements here therefore because it was reaffirmed as such, where people in the present, regularly pointed towards, and reminded of the past.

Phase 2 in Maré was marked by the emergence of very particular themes in protest locally and a series of very specific protest events from Phase 2 into 3 (introduced in 4.2.2 below). Local social movement history was referred to explicitly and implicitly through these events.

It was owing to this that my reading of past editions of Citizen became especially important, enabling me to familiarize myself with important names, symbols, and stories of protest which had informed local social movement history and cultural memory (see *Chapters 5-7*).

Having gauged this importance, I systematized my readings of the Citizen's archive, through

basic content analysis (see section 3.7), marking the appearance of content about protests and the main recurring themes in contestation (e.g. policing and evictions) featuring in the newspaper pages, from its starting in 1999, until 2013-2014 (i.e. the period of my fieldwork).

Below, I introduce the two people who produced such content about protests in the Citizen most frequently during 2014 (i.e. in Phase 2).

Participation: Three Main Groups		Table 3.7
Groups	Link	Example Fieldwork Activities
<i>Occupy Camp / Popular Assembly: Ocupa Camera (OC)</i> <i>'Occupy Town Hall / Popular Assembly'</i> <i>Main Period of Participation: Phase 1 and 2</i>		Participation daily in one occupy camp and its cultural activities (workshops, lectures, etc.) in P1 / Visits to four other occupy camps in P1-2 / Participation in a popular assembly weekly in P1 / Visits to four other popular assemblies in P1-2 / Semi-structured interviews conducted with participants (8) in P1-2
<i>Community Media Project: Jornal Cidadão (JC)</i> <i>'The Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper'</i> <i>Main Period of Participation: Phase 1 and 3</i>		Participation in community media training courses in P1 and P3 (10 weeks, weekly sessions, related workshops and activities) / Writing of articles for the project in P2 and P3 / Semi structured interviews with team members (4) course teachers and attendees (6) conducted in P2-3
<i>Political Arts Movement: Movimento Cidades Invisíveis (MCI)</i> <i>'Invisible Cities Movement'</i> <i>Main Period of Participation: Phase 2 and 3</i>		Participation in community based research and artistic performances and recording in P2-3 / Participation with arts movements and in a monthly art-cultural-political event in P2 / Semi-structured interviews with participants (4) conducted in P2-3
Protest Events: Actors / practices from these three main groups crossover and co-appear in protest events and movement activities over 2013-2014. For example: actors from JC / Maré participating and commenting on protests in the city centre in Chapter 5; Anti-World Cup street decorating firstly done by city centre occupy collectives and popular assemblies appearing inside Maré in Chapter 8; movements from favelas including actors from JC / Maré organizing a protest in the city centre and South Zone during the 2014 World Cup in Chapters 9-10; MCI enacting a performance during a protest event in Maré in Chapter 11. There were multiple examples of such cross group linkages.		Participant observation, interviews, and surveying conducted during and about protest events in all zones of the city during P1-3 (North, South, West, Centre) focussing on city centre protests in P1 and protests in Maré in P3, but all chapter content revolves around protesting specifically linked to Maré.

3.4.2.1 Community Media: People

At the start of 2014 (i.e. Phase 2) the Citizen team consisted of 6 people along with several occasional collaborators such as myself.

Of these 6, only three wrote about protests and themes in protest regularly. I introduce the two who did most frequently here.



People: Gizele Martins

Gizele (coordinator of the Citizen since 2008 and community reporter since 2004) had been a well-known community journalist and social movement activist in Rio for several years prior to 2013-14, both through the Citizen and numerous other groups. She did not like other people talking about her background but some basic background details can be recalled necessarily. Turning 30 in 2013-2014, Gizele was born and raised in Maré after family members had migrated from the Brazilian northeast, as was very common in Maré and other favelas in Rio. She was from a typically low income working

class background, but gained a scholarship to study Journalism at university. The Citizen functioned essentially via volunteering and in 2013 Gizele was employed as the communications / press officer for a union. Like many activists her age locally, part of her trajectory into social movements was via networks and projects in and around CEASM, e.g. the Citizen and a popular education course known as a 'CPV' (Community Pre Vestibular) based around critical transformational social justice principles. In such ways, Gizele was an example of longer term deeply committed participation in local activism.



Figures 3.7: [above] Gizele profile picture for 'Rio on Watch (2016a): Community Reporting on Rio' website [above] Tatiana presenting during a workshop during the 2013 Citizen community media course which I also attended [below] Tatiana distributing copies of the Citizen door to door in Maré

People: Tatiana Alvarenga

Tatiana was a participant on the Citizen course in 2013 and joined as community reporter afterward

(later coordinating the project herself). In contrast to Gizele, direct participation in social movements started in 2013 for her, around the time of the mass protesting in June 2013 and the ongoing protest events which followed over 2013-14 which she participated in regularly. She was completing her degree in Journalism at this time, though not writing or studying about the protests relating to this. Tatiana was not from Maré, or from a favela, *per se*, but rather, from a working class periphery area named São Gonçalo. She went to Maré to participate with the Citizen to learn about communitarian media and she was not aware of any similar projects where she lived. Over 2013-2014, finishing her degree as a mature student turning 30, she was either unemployed or doing freelance work, besides volunteering with the Citizen, and other social projects, including through the evangelical church, in which she was a member. Tati's involvement participating and in her case reporting on protests from 2013 onwards (e.g. through the Citizen) serves as one example of someone who had become directly involved in social movements for the first time, at this time (i.e. differently to Gizele and Ítala above).





Figure 3.8: APF occupation of Maré on April 5 2014

3.4.2.2 The Military Occupation and Pacification of Maré

In Phase 2, the setting in Maré changed dramatically.

The Maré favelas were 'occupied' through a combined army and military policing operation named the Army Pacification Force (APF) serving both as part of security operations for the 2014 FIFA World Cup, as well as starting the pacification policing process locally in Maré (as described in *Chapters 7, 8, and 11*).

In response to the arrival of the APF in Maré in April 2014, local movements organized a coordinated response: sending out media-activists to film the arrival as a kind of human rights watch; setting up hashtags and a new Facebook page for residents to post denouncements to; producing written and video versions of a manifesto contesting the military intervention in Maré; and organizing a local demonstration on the day of the arrival. Via contacts which I had made through collaborating with the Citizen, I was invited to participate in one of these overnight human rights watches to observe the entrance of the APF (from 4 to 5 April 2014). The day after, I also translated the manifesto into English on behalf of local movements and attended the demonstration organized by them.

Fieldwork in this context was full of complications owing to multiple and conflicting interests locally as well as a kind of media spectacle surrounding this military occupation of Maré. For such reasons and general sensitivity around what was happening amongst relations which I had built, I decided not to try to research the APF directly myself, although this appeared to be an important and necessary object of research.

However, prior to making that decision I wrote field notes about my co-participation in the human rights watch during the arriving of the APF and I wrote specific observational field

notes about extensive APF stop and search practices (e.g. I was stop searched six times during one week in Maré in April 2014). One particular example is illustrated in *Chapter 11*.

Later in Phase 3 also, I incorporated this topic of APF presence in Maré into the data driven chapters through my main focus on protest events.

For example, over Phases 2 and 3, I attended and documented three protest events and one social movement campaign inside Maré, within this context of APF occupation (see *Chapters 8 and 11*). All of these directly contested the APF presence in Maré.

3.4.3 The World Cup in Rio

Throughout the period of the World Cup from June to July 2014 there were protest events and campaigns of many different sorts, especially at the start and the end. I continued my fieldwork throughout this period, involved in activities of one sort or another on most days – e.g. writing notes and photographing protest events particularly, but also helping with the translation of pamphlets and fliers into English for social movements organizing events via contacts I made at one of the popular assemblies in the city centre in Phase 1 (see 3.3.1).

Two examples during this 2014 World Cup period I discuss in *Chapter 8* and *Chapters 9-10* respectively included: firstly, an ‘Anti-World Cup Street Decorating’ campaign, and secondly, a series of three protest events organized by social movements from favelas.

This so called Anti-World Cup Street Decorating campaign occurred during the build up to the World Cup from May into June 2014, with examples produced by all of the groups that I participated with (i.e. occupy collectives / popular assemblies, political art movements, and community media, see Table 3.7). At this time, I participated directly in two street decorating events in the city centre and discussed events in Maré which I had not attended

in person with colleagues who had participated (data collected here included: photographs and film, social and mass media, audio recorded interviews, and a related debate on graffiti, see *Chapter 8*).

The series of three protest events organized by social movements from favelas during the World Cup was named - 'The Party in the Stadiums Is not Worth the Tears in the Favelas'. Organized by movements from or linked to favelas which I had met in Phase 1 and 2 (see *Chapter 9*), these three demonstrations occurring from June to July were not performed in periphery locations however, but at specific World Cup sites, such as in the city centre and the affluent South Zone of Rio, nearby to tourist centres, and outside the municipal stadium. I participated in all three events, although there was one in particular which was significant, which I wrote extensive field notes about, photographed extensively, and conducted street based interviews at the site of the protest event with people already known to me, as well as collecting social media and news about the event after it. All this data informed *Chapters 9-10*.



Figure 3.9: Anti-World Cup protests during June 2014 ('Hospitals yes! FIFA no!')

3.4.3.1 Towards the Main Thematic Focus of the Thesis

In 3.4.3, centrally to both this street decorating campaign and series of three protest events was the displaying of what I referred to as *names as symbols of protest and sites of memory* (terms defined in **Chapters 5 and 6**) for example: whereby specific stories of police killings of favela residents were recalled from the past to the present, through graffiti, protest signs, pamphlets, and other such semiotic means.

This practice was not new and I had seen similar previously in Phase 1 (see **Chapters 6-9**) however the prominence and recurrence of such names during protest events around the World Cup in 2014 was significant for my thesis.

I saw specific names again and again during demonstrations across a range of differing texts and practices, and it was through this contact, emerging empirically through what I saw and observed at such protest events, that I started to focus increasingly on names as symbols of protest and sites of memory, as a central aspect of texts, events, and practices of protesting in Rio over 2013-2014.

It is important to point out here that there is a long and problematic history of non-local representations of favelas in terms of violence (in multiple senses) which have very often reproduced negative stereotypes and prejudice (see Valladares, 2005).

My interest was in not doing this. However, following my focus on protest events, the most recurrent and prominent theme that emerged was police violence and very frequently cases of police killings (see Table 3.8).

Likewise, the recalling of names and stories of victims through particular genres of texts and performances was the principle means through which favela social movements' criticisms of police violence was done during such protest events.

There were other important themes in protest in these events - especially so 'removals' (evictions, displacements, etc.) but these were not as prominent (*cf. Chapters 8-11*).

Accordingly, any critical ethnographic account of protest events in Rio over 2013-2014, relating to favelas, necessitated a focus on issues of police violence, as I ended up doing – i.e. based in the empirical, but coupled to a critical-ethical positioning, reproducing local contestations, in solidarity with their cause.

Consequently, centrally to my thesis, names as symbols of protest and sites of memory are discussed and contextualised, firstly from diachronic perspectives in *Chapters 5-7* and then from interactional and synchronic perspectives through *Chapters 8-11*.

3.5 PHASE 3: August to November 2014

3.5.1 The Maré Favelas

3.5.1.1. Toward the Main Locational Focus of the Thesis

In Phase 3 my focus was specifically on protests and campaigns in Maré occupied by the APF at the time.

During this period, from August to October 2014, I continued collaborating with the Citizen, co-writing three more articles with colleagues which were published through the online site (see *Chapter 11*). I also attended three sessions from the Citizen's yearly community media

training course once again, as I had done the year before (cf. 3.3.2). I particularly attended sessions on local histories of community media and human rights, which I wanted to learn more about, and I conducted short interviews about related topics with three of the course participants.

Coincidentally at this same time there was a series of interlinking protest events in the area that were significant and it was my participation in these that ultimately shaped the focus of my thesis on protests events in or linked to Maré.

There had been related one-off events in December 2013 and April 2014, but from August 2014 to February 2015 there were five protest events as well as two campaigns in Maré that specifically contested pacification and removals (see Table 3.8).

I participated in three of the five protest events, documenting one extensively, with a friend who assisted me, writing notes, taking photos and films, recording chants, conducting street based interviews with several participants, including mothers from a 'mother's movement' publicly speaking about their sons killed by police in pacified favelas (see *Chapters 9* and *11*).

Besides research writing, part of this material was also used in a short co-written article for the Citizen on request, reporting on this specific protest event (on 6.9.2014; see *Chapter 11*).

In Phase 3 news emerged that a community museum and community centre project in Maré running in a disused warehouse was being threatened with a repossession order – a project founded by local NGO CEASM (i.e. the founder of the Citizen). Social movements organized a campaign against this threatened removal - including two public meetings and a workshop event that I attended, as well as a social media campaign, and one demonstration at which

the Invisible Cities Movement performed a specific intervention named ‘the City Marks’ (see 3.4.1.1.1) . Also during the campaign, I wrote an article for the Citizen about it, as part of the mobilization process (including an interview with one museum worker). The demonstration itself (on 18.10.2014) I could not attend as I had to return to the UK. But I followed updates live via SNS as well as conducting interviews with and collecting films and photos of the day via the MCI. Relating to removals, this was the first high profile case of threatened eviction to occur in Maré since arrival of the APF. I describe all these campaign activities contesting it in ***Chapter 11***.

This particular period of local protest events informed my thesis significantly. In sum, as a result of Phase 3, I ended up focussing on protests in Maré specifically (i.e. rather than on a broader range of events as I had considered earlier, e.g. where there would have been more detail on Phase 1 and 2 protests in the Centre and South Zone).

Accordingly, from the three participant / locational groups, Maré became the final focus.

This funnelling down towards focussing on protests in or linked to Maré is illustrated below through chronological listing of events which I attended and / or researched over 2013-2014 (i.e. all the events in Table 3.8), versus those which I actually documented and detailed in data driven chapters (highlighted in blue and green – see the Table 3.8 key).

Table 3.9 thereafter provides a brief description of examples of groups and projects, members of which, I encountered at protest events in Maré from Phase 1-3 (i.e. those listed and highlighted in anterior Table 3.8).

Table 3.10 after that presents personal details of actors I interviewed who attended protests.

Table 3.8 Protest Marches / Demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro (with dates / themes in protest / and locations)

Pre Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Post Phase
From June to August 2013 National Protests (multiple events and multiple themes) Brazil	07.09.13 Independence Day (multiple themes) Centre	7.01.14 Metro Favela Evictions and Displacements North Zone	22.08.14 National 'Genocide' Black Rights North Zone	23.02.15 APF in Maré Maré, North Zone
	from 17.09.13 until 15.10.13 Teachers' Strike (multiple events) Centre	06.02.14 11.02.14 MPL Transport Prices Centre	06.09.14 Local 'Genocide' Favela Rights Maré, North Zone	03.04.15 Police Killing of Eduardo Alemão, North Zone
	19.9.13 Anti-Favela Evictions and Displacements Centre	27.02.14 Occupy Carnival Demonstrations Centre	13.9.14 Mothers' Movements in Manguinhos North Zone	from Abril 2015 until July 2016 National Protests (multiple events and multiple themes)
20.06.13 The March of a Million, Rio Centre	21.10.13 Anti-National Oil Field Auction Centre / West Zone	07.03.14 Refuse Collectors Strike Centre	18.10.14 Community Museum Eviction Maré, North Zone	
24.06.13 25.06.13 02.07.14 Military Police Operations and Killings of Youths in Maré North Zone	31.10.13 For Liberty of Expression Centre	17.3.14 Police Killing of Favela Resident Claudia North Zone		
	20.11.13 Zumbi Day / Black Consciousness Day / Periphery Movements Centre	01.04.14 50 Years Since the Start of Dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985) Centre		
17.07.13 19.07.13 01.08.13 11.08.13 14.08.13 22.08.13 Police Killing of Amarildo South Zone	07.12.13 5 Years Since the Killing of Maré Favelas Resident Matheus North Zone	05.04.14 Army Pacification Force (APF) Occupation of the Maré Favelas North Zone		
	20.12.13 22.12.13 MPL Transport Prices Centre	14.04.14 Telerj Favela Eviction North Zone Centre		
		22.04.14 27.04.14 Police Killing of Favela Resident Douglas DG South Zone		
		23.05.14 Anti-UPP Policing and Anti-World Cup in the Alemão Favelas North Zone		
		From 12.6.14 to 13.07.14 Anti-World Cup (multiple events) Centre, North / South Zones		

Protest events referred to in the thesis that occurred before or after fieldwork
Protest events referred to in the thesis that occurred during fieldwork activity

Table 3.9 Examples of Favela and / or Periphery, Social Movements, Projects, and Medias, with Participant Members that Attended Protests in Maré (from September 2013 to November 2014)

Name / Start	Translated / Adapted Introductions
Association of professionals / friends of funk 2008-	An association defending funk music rights and fighting against prejudice and the criminalization of funk culture [a local musical style], with debates, awareness activities, lectures, performances, and street band parades. https://www.facebook.com/ApafunkRJ/
CEASM community pre-vestibular course 1998-	A course aiming to expand educational / cultural possibilities of Maré residents gaining access to higher education under conditions of equality. Content based learning for university entrance exams is integrated with emancipatory political formation, contributing to formation of new political actors. https://cpvceasm.wordpress.com/
Favela in focus multi-media collective 2009-	Multimedia documentary production in favelas of Rio de Janeiro, with the main objective to represent working class spaces and their struggles for fundamental rights. https://www.facebook.com/ColetivoFavelaEmFoco/
Favela watch 2013-	A social media page aiming to give visibility to what happens in the Maré favelas. https://www.facebook.com/FavelaFiscal/
If we're blessed it's good to go 2005-	A local carnival band named <i>Se Benze que Dá</i> , formed by social movements and residents from the Maré favelas, with educational, cultural, and political themes. http://blocosebenzequedablogspot.com.br/
Images of the people 2004-	A training centre and photography project based in the Maré favelas for working class photographers, combining photographic technique with social issues. http://www.imagensdopovo.org.br/pt
Invisible cities movement 2010-	An artist, with friends, colleagues, and local residents, co-producing political art and performance actions around the city of Rio. https://movimentocidadesinvisiveis.wordpress.com/
Manguinhos mothers 2014-	A movement formed by mothers from the favela of Manguinhos whose sons were killed by the military police of the state of Rio de Janeiro. https://www.facebook.com/maesdemanguinhos/
Maré museum 2006-	A local heritage, cultural, and educational project based on / in the Maré Favelas. http://www.museudaMare.org.br/
Maré lives 2014-	A collaborative community media channel where the information source is local residents; with constantly updated with verified news, a policy of anonymity for people who collaborate, and positioning assumedly in favour of Maré residents. https://www.facebook.com/Marevive/
Méier popular assembly 2014-	A popular assembly, or meeting space for proposing of and debating local initiatives, to promote a fairer, more libertarian, and more conscious city. https://www.facebook.com/assembleiadomeier/
Network of communities and movements against violence 2003-	A social movement independent of the state, companies, political parties, and churches, uniting residents from favelas, poor communities in general, survivors, relatives of victims of policing or military violence, and working class human rights activists, fighting against violence and human rights violations. http://redecontraviolencia.org/
Occupy Alemão 2012	A human rights focussed collective started after a local resident was killed by military police. Inspired by international mobilizations of 'Occupy', residents from Alemão and Borel favelas held an event repudiating police violence that became the first 'Occupy' initiative from favelas in Rio. https://www.facebook.com/OcupaAlemao/

Party of socialism and liberty – Maré 2003-	A party started by political groups, socialist militants, and left-wing intellectuals, discontent with PT's government; defending labour rights, social security, public service, conservative threat to women, black, LGBT, indigenous, and other rights. http://www.psol50.org.br/
Piratininga communications Centre 1997-	Constituted of communicators, journalists, professors, graphic artists, illustrators and photographers, working with communication in social movements, or trade unions, and other collectives, through courses, lectures and seminars, and the production of training materials and information. http://nucleopiratininga.org.br/
Popular forum of mutual support 2013-	A meeting space, to stimulate mutual support and build networks of solidarity among residents from favelas and the periphery, to promote initiatives of local collective economy, community media, local culture and history, and to debate topics considered important by these localities. https://forumapoimutuo.wordpress.com/
Farm collective 2010-	A collective self-managing the distribution of products of small agro-ecological farmers and local producers via a community centre and bar in Maré which also serves as space of social interaction, with cultural events and learning resources. https://roca-rio.com/
Social forum of Manguinhos 2007-	A meeting space for residents, institutions, and social movements defending citizenship and social rights, through direct participation in design, construction, executing, monitoring, and controlling of public policies. https://www.facebook.com/forumsocialdemanguinhos/
Straight talk collective 2013-	An independent communication collective made up of young people from the favelas of Alemão and Penha, disseminating news within the favela as a channel that shows favela reality, "from the favela to the favela", "us by us". https://100ko.wordpress.com/sobre/
Sunflower communications 2012-	Bloggers and videographers on events happening in favelas with topics including capoeira, poetry, reparations for slavery, community media, and local activism during the context of mega-events. https://www.facebook.com/girasol.comunicacoes
There are residents 2012-	A collective project of photographic documentation recording the daily life of communities threatened with evictions and their resistance, both reporting on violations, and providing support and solidarity to the struggle for housing rights. https://www.facebook.com/temmorador/
The citizen neighbourhood newspaper 1999-	A project seeking to broaden and consolidate the basic right to communicate for residents of the Maré favelas realized through the production and circulation of a printed newspaper, with free distribution, at schools, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and neighbourhood associations (as well as online). http://jornalocidadao.net/
The favela won't be silent 2012	A movement of grassroots activism (e.g. meetings, debates, activities) realised across Rio's favelas and periphery, confronting challenges in common, with the aim of building a more just and egalitarian society. http://favelanaosecala.blogspot.com.br/
The marginal company 2006-	A theatre and performance collective based in the Maré Favelas, formed by young artists and activists. http://www.ciamarginal.com/

3.6 Post Phase

The post fieldwork phase had two aspects necessary to recall in brief.

Firstly after I left the field I was still in contact with people I had met there, principally through SNS. This meant I was kept informed about what happened after I left, including the continuations of related protest events and activities.

Secondly, I returned to live in Brazil from 2016 onward as I was writing up my thesis and my doing so coincided with yet another set of serious social and political changes (i.e. the impeachment of the current president, a controversial unelected regime, a massive corruption scandal, and an economic crisis – see *Chapter 11*). During this period, I was living in the far North Zone periphery (in Agua Santa) but returned to visit protests and movement activities in the city centre and in Maré from time to time, but without doing any more field-work, choosing to retain my focus specifically on the 2013-2014 period.

3.7 Organizing and Analyzing the Data

In this section, I describe some basic ways I organized and analyzed data during fieldwork and then in more detail after fieldwork had finished.

Through my research, I inductively developed codes, categories, and themes, i.e. building relationally from the former into the latter (i.e. following Saldana 2013, as explained below).

This movement toward themes was initially oriented by the NLS' main literacy ethnography framework (e.g. events, practices, texts, recontextualizations) which informed what I focused on.

For example, I observed protest events with two main foci: firstly, documenting typical literacy events at protests events, followed after by inferring practices across multiple and ongoing protest events; secondly, documenting presences of specific texts at protest events and trajectories of these texts across multiple and ongoing protest events, followed after by inferring how these texts mediated protest events. This was my basic initial 'observational plan' based on the NLS (Gobo 2008; Street & Heath 2008).

Prolonged engagement should be mentioned in linking data collection and analysis. By my retaining this NLS focus over a year of protests, patterns emerged through repetitions and variations. Whilst this is perhaps stating the obvious, it is worth highlighting how a kind of saturation does occur over longer periods of time (Madden 2010). Via ongoing participant observation across a year of similar experiences and working closely with local people I feel that I can say comfortably many things which happened during protests in Rio over 2013-2014 and how these were understood, based on my developing of understandings of local perspectives and prolonged contact with these. Whilst I mean this in a descriptive surface level sense initially, there is already more than description here. Through looking at protests methodologically as I did – e.g. in terms of protest events as informed by literacy events and practices, and as mediated by texts (Barton & Hamilton 2000, Heath & Street 2008), in such a way I was already transforming what I was observing into something else, based on this methodological lens, i.e. the basis of analysis (Gobo 2008).

3.7.1 Phase 1: Archiving and First Cycle Coding

During Phase 1, I started archiving data using a basic title and keywords labeling system: (e.g. DATE, LOCATION, TITLE, keyword 1, keyword 2, keyword 3, etc.).

This early chronologically focused system allowed me to map the spatial and temporal trajectories of actors, events, texts, text content, and so forth, retrospectively.

I use the term labeling here, i.e. title and keywords – this is because these data were not coded closely at an in-text level at this stage. They were mostly read for main ideas and labeled accordingly with titles and keywords. This was broadly equivalent to what Saldana (2012) refers to as first cycle coding with lumped codes.

During Phase 1, I was re-reading and reflecting on the material that I collected. I added to initial observational and consolidated field notes with both analytical ideas on them – or theoretical notes (Gobo, 2008) and reflexive notes (Davies, 1999). In the main however, I saw myself as participating and archiving rather than analyzing.

Yet from the beginning, digitally processed field notes (Scollon 1998) allowed me to search across the majority of data that I was collecting and archiving, e.g. via the dates, locations, titles, and keywords, of field notes, social media texts, collected digital documents, images and audio files (etc.). Searches brought up a list of all relevant files, dated and labeled, that I could re-read, compare, and analyze further.

Interviews in Phase 1 (i.e. mostly street based, and not in-depth) were not transcribed and translated (i.e. from Portuguese) but I made field notes on them. I also used audio software to tag and label sections so that I could re-listen directly to particular parts - a kind of audio equivalent of visually highlighting and reorganizing sections of text. Secondly, in accordance with Blommaert and Jong (2010), I selected and marked particular audio extracts to transcribe, i.e. those which seemed to be most important, in relation to my research questions.

These were all practical devices in the field therefore to manage data during the early stages of fieldwork in which time and funds were short.

3.7.2 Phase 2 to 3 and Post Phase: Second Cycle Coding

From Phase 2 to 3 and after, I started more detailed in-text coding of field notes, interview transcriptions, and social media texts.

In a way similarly to Saldana (2012): codes here were refined through their repetition and re-usage across the emerging data set; categories were considered from repeated patterns of inter-relating codes; and themes were read at a wider level than categories and codes.

Repeated patterns and criteria used for establishing codes, categories, and themes included, e.g. comparative and contrastive patterning; forms of co-occurrences, reoccurrences and discontinuities; high and low presences or omissions; content emphasized as important by actors for multiple reasons; or that I found important, in relation to the RQs, literature, or theory (see Miles and Huberman 1994; Saldana 2012).

Referred to by Saldana (2012) as a move from First Cycle Coding to Second Cycle Coding, this inductive movement of elaborating from codes, to categories, to themes, from which thesis ideas were generated, represents the logic of how I thought about working with data.

A general contrast between deconstructive (open) and constructive (axial) coding proposed by Gobo (2008) in a social-constructivist take on grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990) was also helpful here.

For example, deconstructive coding related to labelling and describing of events, whilst constructive coding being about considering configurations of practices, i.e. orientated by

the basic framework of 'casual conditions / phenomenon under study (e.g. protest events and protest literacies) / context(s) / intervening conditions / action and interactional sequences' (Gobo 2008, p.235).

3.8 Interview and Image Data: Procedures and Ethics

In this section, I will discuss in more detail how interview and image data were collected.

Consent here was dealt with in different ways, depending on the participant, and the form of their participation in my study – as I describe below, through the example of interviews.

As seen in previously in Tables 3.5 and 3.7, there were different techniques used, but essentially two main kinds of interviews that were completed, which I summarise underneath, in terms of 'encounter' and 'engaged' interviews.

3.8.1 Encounter Interviews

I did not do any covert research. During fieldwork, I introduced myself as a PhD student / researcher, from a UK university, researching communication and protest. Likewise I also introduced myself as a Brazilian citizen (which is the case). I am fluent in Portuguese and have lived in Brazil for many years, so all research activities were conducted in Portuguese with a general level of shared linguistic and cultural knowledge. This was the starting point of self-presentation relating to meeting new people whilst I was engaged in data collection (e.g. encounter interviews).

Encounter Interviews were done principally in Phase 1 (*cf.* Tables 3.1, 3.5, and 3.7). These ones occurred where I met people during protest events or social movement activities who I did not know previously (or that I had not developed significant relationships with). These were done in the streets. They tended to be temporally short (e.g. 5-25 minutes). They were both informal, but also focussed, in the sense that I asked people about the event participated in at that time, as well as about the meanings of texts that they or other people were displaying (e.g. protest signs).

Such encounters tended to unfold through presenting myself to people who were showing protest signs, or handing out pamphlets - as above, explaining that I was doing research on protest and communication, then asking about their texts.

Some were audio recorded asking for permission to do so but not recording any identifiable details, others were unrecorded, either because it was unsuitable or through the preference of the interviewee.

I did not ask these people for any identifying information and thus any insights that I gained from these conversations were only written about in a fully anonymised way inside my field notes (written after returning from an event) and any ideas from these conversations that I used in my thesis cannot be traced to any specific people.

Such interviews tended to be one-off.

Though these encounters were sometimes overly superficial and because of this I reduced doing them after Phase 1 (*cf.* Table 3.7), they were also valuable in the sense of talking with people, in real time, during significant events, and gaining particular insights, during these moments.

3.8.2 Engaged Interviews

These interviews were commenced from Phase 2 (see Tables 3.5 and 3.7). Interviewees in these examples were all from the three main groups (seen in Table 3.7). Accordingly, interviewees had been known to me for at least 5 to 6 months of ongoing contacts prior to being interviewed.

These interviews were pre-arranged firstly through informal conversations and confirming participation, followed by in depth semi-structured to unstructured interviews in a location of their choice (e.g. their home, an NGO).

Most of these interviews were recorded (e.g. ranging from 45 minutes to about 3 hours) though there were a few unrecorded examples, relating to either personal preference or technical problems (see Table 3.10).

In these engaged interviews, I sought consent in the following way. Interviewing followed a period of around six months in which I got to know participants. By the time, I approached them for interviews, they knew me, had talked to me many times, and participated with me in certain activities (collaborating with the community newspaper, political arts movement, popular assembly activities, etc.). In such ways, consent was based upon rapport and trust.

Early on in my research, I decided not to distribute official institutional consent forms when inviting people to be interviewed.

Firstly in a general sense it seemed apparent that people involved in protest movements at the time would not respond well to my asking them to fill in such forms. Secondly I needed to be consistent with everyone, so in fact, even though there were some people and some contexts where I could have asked for written consent, this would have proven problematic

(e.g. why some people and not others?). The context of Rio at the time of my research was a sensitive social and political climate (see 4.9). It was important therefore to be consistent in terms of self-presentation.

In terms of naming, with each participant, I discussed whether they wanted their identity to be known or not. Throughout my ongoing contact with participants (i.e. both in person and online, during and after fieldwork), I made it clear if at any stage they changed their mind and no longer wanted to be interviewed, or to support me with their ideas, they would just have to let me know.

During these conversations I also explained to people I interviewed that when the thesis was written and I knew which of their views would be used and in what form I would get back to them and share with them what I had written and seek their consent for this.

These conversations were an opportunity for participants to see the data, what I did with it, and to raise any issues they had. During these conversations I provided an information sheet as well as sharing parts of the thesis that included their views. If anything was written which they felt misrepresented what they said, I changed or deleted it.

In sum, I reconfirmed participation in my study and in what capacity (including, importantly, their presence as named or anonymized participants). I discussed this issue with each person I interviewed and followed their preference. Many activists I interviewed were well known in social movement circles and were very active on social media, in community newspapers, and similar. What they imparted to me formed a part of what they imparted to many people at the time. They told their stories in their ways and wanted their stories to be heard. They wanted to be known publicly as participants in social movements. In the thesis, I used such public figures real names for these reasons.

I can guarantee that none of the data that I use placed participants in any risk whatsoever (i.e. more than they are already in participating in social movements in Rio). The data that I include regarding them did not include any sensitive material that has not been published in other sources (e.g. English and Portuguese national and global media, human rights research, academic research, etc.). If I anonymized them, no specific protection would be gained, and they are not exposed to further risks by being included in my study (see 3.8.4 'Ethics Approval').

3.8.3 Personal Images and Public Images

I included two main types of images in the thesis.

There are pre-published images which are not mine, but which were taken by professional photographers or by activists themselves. I reproduce these photographs and acknowledge the photographer as was common etiquette in the social movements I worked with. These were not photographs that were taken for private use but circulated widely via social media and newspapers.

I also took my own photographs (e.g. mostly focussing on protest texts such as placards and banners, or large crowds and collective activities during protest events such as marches). A few of these photographs have faces anonymised through lack of consent (e.g. via unknown people appearing foregrounded in crowds). The others are consented, either anonymized or not, decided upon by participants appearing.

3.8.4 Ethics Approval

Ethics approval for my study was obtained from Lancaster University - approving data collection, storage, and usages.

Table 3.10		Personal Details	Main Focus	Data	Documentation
F	40s	Teacher	Favela Movements and Protests	September 2014	Recorded
M	Late Teens	Student	Favela Community Projects, Art, and Protests	October 2014	Recorded (parts)
M	30s	Journalist	Community Media and Protests	April 2014	Recorded
F	30s	Student	General Protests and Art	February 2013	Not Recorded
M	20s	Student	Favela Movements and Protests	August 2014	Recorded (parts)
F	30s	Lawyer	General Protests	April 2014	Recorded
M	20s	Co-ordinator of Media Project	Community Media	May 2014	Not Recorded
M	40s	Teacher	General Protests	January 2014	Recorded (faulty audio)
M	30s	Security Officer / Journalist	Community Media and Protests	May 2014	Recorded
M	30s	Teacher	General Protests and Media	April 2014	Recorded
F	30s	Student / Musician	Community Media	March 2014	Recorded
F	50s	Unemployed	Favela Movements and Protests	September 2014	Recorded (parts)
F	40s	Unemployed	Favela Movements and Protests	September 2014	Recorded (parts)
M	30s	Teacher / Actor	Favela Community Projects and Art	August 2014	Not Recorded
M	50s	Unemployed / Freelance Journalist	General Protests and Media	May 2014	Recorded
F	20s	Communications Worker / Journalist	Community Media, Favela Movements, and Protests	July 2014	Not Recorded
F	30s	Teacher / Artist	General Protests, Media and Art	April 2014	Recorded

M	Late Teens	Student	Favela Community Projects, Art, and Protests	August 2014	Recorded (parts)
F	30s	Production (audio-visual)	General Protests	June 2014	Not Recorded
F / M	30s / 20s	Teacher / Unemployed	General Protests	January 2014	Recorded
M	40s	Researcher	General Protests and Movements	July 2014	Not Recorded
M	30s	Unemployed	General Protests and Movements	July 2014	Not Recorded
F	30s	Designer	Favela Movements, Media, and Protests	April 2014	Not Recorded
M	40s	Coordinator of Media Project	Community Media and Protests	April 2014	Recorded
F	30s	Communications Worker / Journalist	Community Media	September 2014	Not Recorded
M	30s	Shop Assistant	Community Media	January 2014	Recorded
F	30s	Student / Freelance Journalist	Community Media and Protests	April 2014	Recorded
F	Late Teens	Student	Community Media and Protests	April 2014	Recorded
M	30s	Community Centre Worker / Student	Favela Movements	April 2014	Not Recorded
X	X	Favela Residents 16	General Favelas	May 2014	Recorded x 16

Key

Recorded 'Parts' refers to if I did not record an entire interview but asked to record a specific comment about a specific thing – for example, a specific comment about a protest sign.

Recorded x 16 refers not to long 'in depth' interviews, but also not ad hoc, i.e. being with a group of residents I recorded speaking life in favelas generally, with interviewees introduced to me by a local activist resident of the same favela, who introduced me to them beforehand, saying who I was and what I was doing, etc.

3.9 Positioning and Problematics

In closing this chapter, I will refer further to some questions of positioning during fieldwork (both mine and others) as well as some of the problematics which emerged which required attention (see also 3.1.1 on process perspectives and 3.4.3.1 on representations of violence).

Doing fieldwork in the unfolding context which I have outlined presented many challenges. Differently to some theoretical literature on 'new' protest movements and social media that sometimes presents a kind of harmonious classless crowd (*cf.* Castells 2012, Gerbaudo 2012, Postills 2014), what I encountered in going back and forth between the centre and periphery of Rio, included both traditional and newer online forms of mutual support, co-participation, and solidarity showing, but also, quite frequently, taut relations, dispute between individual people, groups, and / or organizations, as well as prominence of long standing race and class based identity politics which were divisive (i.e. among social movement actors themselves).

In the data driven chapters (5-7), such issues are not addressed directly, owing to my decision making about the extensive data set and topics I felt most important to cover (see 3.1.2, on 'Reflexivity'). Social tensions and at times sectarianism were strong however and negotiating my own identities and research purposes in this context was sometimes challenging. I raise some points about such social dynamics and my positioning below.

In the case of the Citizen, I had made prior contact with its founding NGO CEASM to arrange a visit as a researcher from the UK. In most other cases, contacts emerged through meeting people in the field as I went along. In Phase 1 and 2, getting to know people and sites and in

interviews with unknown people (as I explained in 3.8) I introduced myself as a researcher from a UK university studying protests and ‘popular communication’ (which in Portuguese, can mean both media of social movements, as well as everyday / vernacular practices), whilst also introducing myself as a resident in Rio and Brazilian citizen, explaining relevant details from my background (see *Chapters 1 and 3*).

This interaction was sometimes unproblematic, sometimes quite the opposite. In the centre when I started there was a lot of caution around the Occupy camps and protests relating to multiple factors. Most seriously, there had been reported cases and ongoing expectation of plain clothes infiltrators and informants (referred to as ‘P2’ or ‘X9’) both from police as well as from right wing interest groups. I was questioned in public several times during Phase 1, at times aggressively, to introduce myself, and what I was doing. From my first visits I sought to converse and participate where possible rather than just hanging around or observing. As a result of this, on two occasions, people who I had spoken to one to one at length vouched for me and suggested I was trustworthy. Thereafter, through regular attendance at events, I made some friends and gained trust more widely, but not of everybody.

There was every reason to be paranoid in this context. In Phase 2, for example, after the World Cup had finished, police reports were made public showing lists of groups that had been monitored during 2013-2014. Both groups which I participated with in the city centre and several of the movements in Maré and other favelas whose events I had attended were on this list.

In the case of Maré there were other issues. Not so much of trust, as I had been invited to local social movement events by people from the Citizen involved, but about what I stood for socially and politically. It was necessary to introduce myself regularly, in a kind of local

secular ritual establishing ‘where somebody is coming from’ (or their ‘place of speech’ as it is referred to in Portuguese, *cf.* Hall 1990).

None of the (privileged) categories - white, male, British, researcher – proved helpful here. However, as before, I emphasised aspects of my personal history linking to locally relevant issues (previous living and working in favelas, squatting and social housing work, community education projects, etc.). These more general points were not assumedly radicalized enough for some people. Others were more receptive to my interests and solidarity and showed me theirs. There was this mixture. As in the city centre, my continued presence and participation in activities as well as gaining more understanding of local positions and supporting of these led to more acceptance, but again, not of everyone.

In general, there was strong scepticism about non-local researchers amongst movements in Maré. I was one of many before me. There were established ideals which I was not able to achieve – i.e. preferentially being born and raised locally, or committed over the long term. That is, the notion of the ethnographer doing ‘step in step out work’ was problematic (Madden, 2010), but extended fieldwork was also – e.g. the standard arriving to spend a year or more living in the favela. I heard both discredited. I did the former.

Beyond a range of more generalised arguments about the usages and purposes of academic research (produced by and for whom?), the traditional idea of ethnographers arriving to live in favelas became problematic in specific ways here too – for example, arriving to live and research in favelas which had become a focus of attention of government projects linked to gentrification initiatives (sometimes including or funding research themselves). I sensed this tension immediately and it was one of several reasons that informed my decision not to live in Maré whilst doing fieldwork.

The generalised media spectacle around both the imminent hosting of the World Cup and the national mass protests since 2013 strained relations at times and added to criticisms of ‘opportunism’ relating to journalism and research also. In Maré’s case the serious protests occurring locally during the national protests in 2013 (described in *Chapter 5*) added to the media and movement attention around Maré. The arrival of the military occupation in the area in 2014 linked to holding the FIFA World Cup (described in *Chapters 8* and *11*) added further to this. Of all favelas in Rio, Maré became a centre of attention over this period, and symbolic forms of capital (cultural, social, political, etc.) as well as economic forms in some cases were at stake (see Bourdieu, 1984).

The combination of such shifting social dynamics and critical traditions of social movements locally affected both interpersonal relations generally and the doing of ethnography specifically.

Two examples of this can be seen in local storytelling rights and in organizational relations.

In terms of organizational relations, one central and sensitive issue around which so much seemed to revolve was the introduction of the pacification policing in favelas known as UPP and issues linked to this (see *Chapters 4* and *6-11*). From the moment I arrived in Maré (but also in years before, apparently) ongoing tension around the impending arrival of pacification was present. Most obviously was the conflicting of interests between influential local organizations (e.g. NGOs) which supported the arriving pacification project albeit cautiously (i.e. linked as it was to significant public and private streams of funding and investment), in contrast to local movements which had contested pacification policing since its introduction in Rio in 2008 and who were very active and vocal in their criticisms of it. My participation and personal-political positioning here aligned with this latter group and it

became necessary for me to affirm this unambiguously amongst the respective movements. In fact such positioning was necessary with most issues. Impartiality and neutrality were not well received notions. At times, one result of this became the necessity of supporting strong and monological arguments for the sake of relations, i.e. where from a researching point of view, pertinent counter arguments and more balancing of perspectives sometimes seemed necessary and important.

Because of local histories of critical pedagogy, community media, and social movements generally in Maré, there were well established practices of documenting local life stories and vernacular activities, as well as a strong sense of ownership around these. Combined with recently adopted self-publishing affordances of social media being taken up widely by local movements and media-activists at the time, alongside the mass media interest linked to the mega-events and protests, the telling of local everyday stories was both highly active as well as sought after more than usual. For me, one result of this was that particular people who I would have liked to focus on individually (in relation to more personalised protesting practices and literacy practices) preferred not to, or did so already, through other available means. One aspect of ethnography I had intended to emphasise, I was not able to therefore.

One last problematic that I will mention briefly here in closing concerns tropes of voice. The commonly heard metaphor both in critical ethnography and social movement literatures of ‘giving voice’ (frequently linked to notions of ‘empowerment’) was far from suitable for the fieldwork context that I describe. Local activists that I refer to had ‘voice’ in abundance (i.e. locally, but also nationally and globally in certain cases) and certainly considered themselves ‘empowered’ in a political sense: i.e. if the former term is understood as a ‘capacity to make oneself understood in one’s own terms’ (Blommaert 2008, p.17; Hymes 1996) and the later

term revolving around notions of 'changing of existing power distribution in interpersonal and institutional relations' (Papen & Mauch 1997, p.198). The role of the researcher and the ethnographic text in relation to the political and communication contexts I encountered requires a different set of metaphors.

CHATER 4 SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS: BRAZIL, RIO, AND MARÉ

In this chapter, I provide an overview of socio-political contexts from the 1970s until 2013 (i.e. the period my fieldwork started and where *Part 1 Chapters 5-7* commence). Contexts introduced here are related to or referred to directly in data driven chapters (*5-11*).

4.1 1979-1985: From Dictatorship to Democracy

In 1979 social movements and mass demonstrations were becoming increasingly prominent in what would turn out to be the end of thirty years of right wing military dictatorship in Brazil. One year later in 1980, labour, intellectual, and religious movements converging during this period joined together to formalize a new left wing political party known as 'PT' - the Workers' Party (see Keck, 1992). During this period of mobilizations from around 1979 until 1985, when military rule officially came to end, use of the term *comunicação popular* gained prominence in Brazil – with its more specific meaning, referring to the combined communications practices of 'popular movements' (known more commonly later as 'social movements').

Alternative instruments from the popular sector were created that were not subject to government controls or business laws. Portraying a moment in the democratic process, this was a communication linked to the practices of collective movements... this new communication represented a previously suffocated shouting out, through small newspapers, newsletters, pamphlets, fliers, banners, placards, posters, street theatre, megaphones, loudspeakers, and audio-visuals (Peruzzo 2006, p.10, my translation).

For Brazilian theorist of the time Peruzzo (2006, 2008, 2009), this ‘popular communication’ per se was not seen as a particular type of media produced by these social movements, but rather as an ongoing mobilizing process emerging out of their collective actions and channels of communication. This view of a conjoining of such texts and practices forming part of a specific historical trajectory of social movements is an important precedent of how I will later define protest literacies (see *Chapters 2 and 12*).

After a series of massive national demonstrations calling for ‘Rights Now!’ culminated in 1984 with the end of military rule ensuing in 1985, social movements in Brazil passed through a period of change around a rearranging political scene, socio-economic shifts, and the emerging democratic process, building towards a new Brazilian constitution in 1988, and the first elected president (since 1960) in 1989. This was the fading out and transforming therefore of one of the most important episodes of protest in Brazilian history.

4.2 1989-2003: Global and Local Restructurations

Surrounded by huge national debt accrued during dictatorship years and a volatile currency, neoliberal restructuring of the Brazilian economy emerged during the 1980s to 1990s throughout and after the transition from military rule to democracy, with ‘extensive privatizations, the flexibilization of labour law, and the promotion of alliances between foreign and domestic capital’ (Saad-Filho, 2014; Saad-Filho & Johnstone 2005). Whilst Rio had always been a city of marked social inequality, the city’s GINI coefficient (an international statistical measure of economic inequality) reached its highest ever levels in the early 1990s – indexing massive disparities between affluent and precarious living, amongst the widest in the world at that time (Cardoso & Urani, 1995).

During this 1980s to 1990 period, the international cocaine market boomed with Brazil and Rio becoming an important transit and selling point on route from other South American countries nearby where the drug was produced. In the 1990s, operations expanded further with internationally linked cartels consolidating business and power including through Rio's favelas (Rodríguez 2005). While favelas had been represented in prejudiced and stereotyped ways as dangerous spaces via mainstream media channels since the early 20th century (see Valladares, 2005), through these 1980s and 1990s years sensationalist texts and images of armed youths became central to media content on favelas in the public sphere (Jaguaribe 2004). Echoing international discourses on a so-called 'war on drugs', policy and policing of conflict in Rio now became framed increasingly as if a kind of '(civil) war' was taking place, justifying repressive interventions and the death of local youths killed in armed conflicts (Leeds 1996).

In 1993, this reached new levels, highlighted through two events occurring over one month – the killings by police 'death squads' of 8 street children in Candelaria and 21 favela youths in Vigário Geral. One of Rio's principle NGOs working in favelas named Viva Rio was founded in the months after these two incidents with a mission statement at the time 'to integrate a divided society and develop a culture of peace' (Pereira, 1996). Along with the emergence of such NGOs, grassroots social movements in and around favelas mobilized campaigning and protesting against military policing (see Freire 2012, Landim & Siquiera 2013, Nobre 1994). These 1990s years were an important moment in the development and history of social movements in Rio's favela (discussed further in relation to so called 'mothers' movements' in *Chapter 9*).

In 1988 and 1992 progressive new housing laws were introduced in Brazil affirming for the first time the objective of ‘integrating favelas into the formal city’, as well as ‘preserving their local character’ (Osbourne, 2012). In 1993, a new municipal housing program followed named *Favela-Bairro* (Favela-Neighbourhood). These changes signalled a significant policy shift away from pursuing ‘removal’ of consolidated favelas in Rio (i.e. such as that which had occurred throughout the 20th century previously, for example, with 175,000 people displaced from favelas from 1963-1975 during the military regime, Brum 2013). Instead city government now started to refer to the ‘upgrading’ and ‘urbanizing’ of favelas, as well as to more integrative social development policies (Zaluar & Alvito, 1998).

Favela to Neighbourhood related development and social pressure to reduce urban violence were two central factors in the funding of and purposes of NGOs in favelas at this time. From critical perspectives, NGO growth in the 1990s accompanied expanding neoliberalism and the minimizing of the state (or in worst cases, tax schemes, money laundering, and other false-front forms of corruption) (Petras 1997, Wanderley 1998; see Machado 2012). However, this viewpoint does not account for the heterogeneity of the many and diverse NGOs and civic organizations that developed in Rio – especially those which emerged out of 1970s to 1980s ‘popular’ or ‘social’ movements which continued previous progressive-socialist traditions (see Gohn 1995, Peruzzo 1998; also Machado 2012). The community project that I participated in doing fieldwork developed out of one such NGO named CEASM (‘the Centre for Studies and Solidarity Actions in Maré’).

There is a history of activism in the Maré favelas (the main field site in my research introduced previously in **Chapters 1, 3 and 4**) dating back to first half of the 20th century developing in tandem with the consolidation of the area (see Denis, Belfort & Ribeiro 2012,

2013; C. Silva 2006; Viera 2006). More recently, one of the most influential examples is CEASM.

Commencing in 1997, CEASM arose out of its four founders' local participation in the Workers' Party (PT), the Catholic Church, residents' associations, and higher education (C. Silva 2006, E. Silva 2006). There were both connections and disconnections with PT in this early part of CEASM's story however. The founders' original plans had been to set up a local centre for PT in Maré, but this never actually happened. Lack of sufficient participation and funding from PT, coupled with perceived short termism in PT's local interventions and electioneering around the time, led to a shift in plans towards what would eventually become the NGO (E. Silva, 2006).

Officially opening in 1997, CEASM became the third NGO in Maré, but the first to be founded by local residents. Amongst CEASM's different aims education was central. The four local founders were all university educated compared to only 0.53% in Maré (Observatório das Favelas, 2005). The notion of developing a tier of educated local leaders and learning in the community followed throughout the NGO's early work and particularly notable in their literatures was a specific emphasis on language and literacy from critical perspectives. One area of intervention concerned criticisms of language of absence in relation to favelas – representations focussing on what there is not rather than what there is, a negative focus based on deficit. Negative figures of illegality, sanitation, education, safety, and culture, have all recurred historically through such deficit perspectives on favelas (see Valladares, 2005). For CEASM, these were to be contested through language of 'potency / potential' and 'valorisation', with the affirmation of local culture and the voicing of this through local protagonists and medias (Silva & Barbosa 2005,

Silva et al, 2009). One specific example of this perspective being put into practice can be seen through the setting up of a new community media project in Maré named the Citizen (introduced in *Chapter 3*).

4.2.1 Community Media and Popular Education

Founded by CEASM in 1999, community media in the example of the Citizen and traditions from which it emerged was different from generic local media. Its focus was not on commerce or ‘what’s on’ type content commonly encountered in local news of urban areas – though it included these. It was fundamentally linked to the practices of social movements and was essentially political, although this political-ness was expressed in different ways. Community media here was idealized as produced ‘by’ local residents, in collaboration ‘with’ local residents, and principally ‘for’ local residents. Two themes were central. Firstly, everyday life and vernacular culture: promoting and defending local practices, identity, and heritage. Secondly, explicit forms of local activism: increasingly over time concerning issues of citizenship and human rights. Since its start in 1998 the Citizen revolved around the former local ‘identity’ focus, but from mid-2000s on the latter ‘rights’ focus became increasingly central.

The Citizen was a relatively traditional example of community media and media-activism closely linked to Brazilian theories and practices of critical literacy and communication for social change (for theoretical background see, e.g. Freire 1973, Freire & Macedo 2005, Freire & Guimarães 2014, Peruzzo 1998, Paiva 2007; on the Citizen see Esteves 2004, Souza 2010, 2013; Martins in Rio on Watch 2016, 2017; Cavalcante in the Guardian 2015; see also, Jacob & Vaz 2016; Custódio 2014, 2016, 2017).

A connection here which I do not discuss in the data driven chapters but that is important is CEASMs ‘popular education’ courses (with ‘popular’ here meaning essentially working class), especially so, its preparatory courses for university entrance known as the ‘CPV’ (Community Pre Vestibular). The significance is that many influential activists from Maré involved in social movements participated in CEASM’s CPV during the early 2000s years (e.g. Marielle Franco, Renata Souza, Gizele Martins, and many others, see *Chapters 6-7*). The main function of CPVs was to gain access to university placements and scholarships for local youths, but they also became an important site in the Maré favelas where activism and social movements have taken shape. CPVs in Maré have been written about extensively (see Souza 2003, E. Silva 2006, C. Silva 2006, Franco 2016, Souza 2018; also Custódio 2016).

4.3 2003-2013: From Brazilian Boom to National Protests

Returning to a wider macro political perspective, in Brazil in 2002 after three attempts previously (1989, 1994, 1998) Luiz Inácio ‘Lula’ da Silva and PT won the general election. This was a historic and hopeful moment for the Brazilian left, becoming the first left-wing government since before the military regime (i.e. from 1964-1985) led by an iconic figure from a poor working class background.

On entering office in 2003, it became apparent there was to be no radical change however, with the first Lula administration initially continuing the macroeconomic policies of the previous centre-right PSDB party, including agreeing to meet all pre-made agreements with the IMF and Brazil’s other foreign creditors. PT had moved to the centre ground politically (see Castro, Koonings, & Wiesebron 2014; Morais & Saad-Filho 2005; Sader 2015). Though Lula’s government was not going to challenge domestic and foreign elites directly, it would be unquestionably ‘pro-poor’. By 2008, 23% of the population were living below the poverty

line compared to 36% in 2003 (Saad-Filho, 2014). From 2000 to 2009, incomes rose by up to 42% in the poorer northeast region (versus 16% in the more affluent southeast) (Saad-Filho 2014). Social policies were expanded, such as *bolsa familia* offering financial aid to poor families, *minha casa minha vida* offering social housing, and educational policies and projects including new racial quotas and funding for low earners. In 2007, a national 'Accelerated Growth Program' (PAC 1) was initiated, with new large scale investments in sanitation, transport, and housing, coupled with improved access to credit and financing. In the five years following, Brazil reached its lowest ever official unemployment levels - 4.7% (GOV.BR, 2012).

These shifts were both facilitated by and formed part of an economic boom in Brazil building from the mid-2000s until around 2013. From this macro-economic viewpoint, Brazil was in a good moment (as seen below in Table 4.1 on the following page, in the left hand column).

However (as seen also in Table 4.1, in the right hand column) in counterpoint to this success story, in parallel, in the periphery of Rio, particular voices of discontent could be heard – voices from Maré being one such example. Discontents related to a wide range of issues, but especially so, the continued, but apparently increasing, militarization of policing operations, which from the early to mid-2000s were resulting in increasing numbers of civilian deaths (HRW 2009, detailed in *Chapter 5*). As before in the mid-1990s, during the mid to late 2000s, social movement campaigning and protesting about this issue started to gain prominence once again in Rio (as summarised in Table 4.1, then discussed in detail in *Chapters 5 and 7*).

Examples of Economic Boom and Mega-Events in Rio		Examples of Protest in Data Driven Chapters	
2000s	Brazilian commodities boom	Increasing 'militarization' of policing in favelas	<i>Chapter 5</i>
2005		Death of a youth in Maré followed by protests (Carlos Henrique)	<i>Chapter 5</i>
2006	Largest oil reserves found in Brazil for 30 years	Death of a youth in Maré followed by protests (Renan)	<i>Chapter 5</i>
		Campaigns and protests against military policing in favelas	<i>Chapter 5</i>
2007	Brazilian economy resilient to global economic crisis		
	National Accelerated Growth Program (PAC1)		
	Rio hosts the Pan-American Games (athletics championship)	Military police occupation and killings in favelas followed by protests (Pan Chacina)	<i>Chapter 5</i>
	Brazil announced host of 2014 World Cup	Campaigns and protests against military policing in favelas	
2008	Brazil's economy awarded investment grade status	Death of a youth in Maré followed by protests (Matheus)	<i>Chapter 6, 7</i>
	Brazilian stock market (BOVESPA) achieves all-time highs	Start of 'pacification' policing in favelas	<i>Chapter 7, 8</i>
	Housing sector boom (243+% increases in Rio 2008-2013)		
2009	Rio announced host city of the 2016 Olympic Games	Death of a youth in Maré followed by protests (Felipe)	<i>Chapter 6, 7</i>
2010	GDP growth rates reach twenty year high of 7.5%	Start of a new municipal program of 'favela reductions'	<i>Chapter 9, 11</i>
2011	Brazil becomes sixth largest economy in the world		
2012	Rio the city with highest investment levels in the world		
2013	Brazil hosts the FIFA Confederations Cup (football tournament)	National protests Military police occupation and killings in Maré followed by protests (Maré Chacina)	<i>Chapter 5, 8</i>

Table 4.1

More specifically, from around 2007 campaigning and protesting against military policing and other related issues started to revolve increasingly around developments in the city connected to the preparations for the hosting of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics – referred to in Rio as the mega-events. This was a new development locally, but there were

precedents globally. Since the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, both these four yearly events had become associated with implementations of expansive urban redevelopment projects and gentrification of inner cities, backed by funding from global investment partnerships and guaranteed influxes of capital. Associations also developed however with corruption as well as displacements of local populations in respective locations (Jennings et al 2014, Gaffney 2016, Rolnik 2014).

This was the case in Rio, governed at the municipal and state level by a governor and mayor from the conservative-elite centre-right PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party). Both men assumed their roles in 2007 and 2008 respectively, coinciding with the start of preparations for the hosting of the mega-events in Rio, whereafter the terms of both involved highly controversial policy interventions in the city, especially in relation to policing and housing in periphery areas. In favelas, the two issues which caused most controversy were referred to summarily as 'pacification' and 'removals' (i.e. two of the central themes in protest that I discuss from *Chapters 7-11*).

4.3.1 Pacification and Military Policing

In 2008, a new policing initiative was introduced in the favelas known in short as 'UPP' (Pacifying Policing Units). Though initially promoted as a new type of community policing (Palermo 2013), UPP formed part of and was implemented by the State of Rio de Janeiro's Military Police (PMERJ) whose principle function is the armed enforcement of public order (*Chapter 5* discusses different types of police and the history of military policing in Rio).

From 2007-2008 onward, after extended operations in favelas until gaining control of them, UPPs and military policing presence were installed permanently, either inside or around the entrance and exits of these now 'pacified' favelas. The first official UPP was installed in 2008

in a South Zone favela named Santa Marta and by 2013 there were 34 UPP units, with 8,591 officers, covering 231 communities (SESEG, 2013).

Pacification proved divisive, with adamant supporters and critics, people and groups that stood to gain, whilst others felt under threat (depending on location, legality of land, ownership, profession, beliefs, among many other issues). For its critics, besides problems of police power abuses and violence in and around favelas, the implanting of UPPs also became closely associated with actual and anticipated real estate speculation linked to the concurrent housing boom in Rio (as seen below in Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Land prices increased steeply in middle and upper class neighbourhoods after the pacification of favelas nearby (e.g. in the hills surrounding), as well as in favelas themselves, especially so those targeted for upcoming redevelopments and investment. Such price hikes were referred to in the media, housing, and investment sectors at the time as 'the pacification effect' (see Figure 4.1). Initiated and secured by its military policing presence, in such cases UPP was described by critics as the first step of a model of 'gentrification' particular to Rio de Janeiro (i.e. with this term used locally, with both positive and negative connotations respective of interests). One year after its starting in 2008, in 2009 UPP became linked to another controversial project, a new municipal program of 'favela reductions' closely linked to hosting of the mega-events and related construction works across the city. This process was referred to by social movements in short as 'removals'. Removals followed pacification. One project followed the other, with both suggesting local consensus governmentally, but both accused of coercion by social movements (for criticisms of UPP and its links to gentrification issues, see Brito & de Oliveria 2013; Franco 2016; Gaffney 2012, 2016; Larkin 2013, 2015; Rekow 2015, 2016a, 2016b).

O GLOBO RIO

AVANTE

BUSCAR

f

t

Efeito pacificação

UPPs aumentam sensação de segurança e reaquecem mercado imobiliário nos bairros beneficiados

O Globo
27/04/2012 - 23:56

Vista panorâmica da Rocinha, com o Cristo Redentor ao fundo: processo de pacificação começou em novembro de 2011. Foto: Marcia Foletto/06-11-2009

Pacificação e valorização

O mapa mostra a localização das comunidades pacificadas do Rio de Janeiro e a valorização imobiliária registrada pelo Secovi-Rio para imóveis residenciais de dois quartos, antes e depois da ocupação

Legend:

- Nome da comunidade
- Data da ocupação
- Data da inauguração da UPP
- Época de instalação da UPP
- Preço de venda
- Variação

PENHA

Como a ocupação do Complexo do Alemao é recente ainda não há dados do Secovi-Rio sobre a valorização, mas o bairro já tem sido alvo de novos estudos e em breve deve receber lançamentos.

Table: Jacarepaguá

abril/06	R\$ 112.653	-
dez/09	R\$ 105.432	-6,41%
agosto/11	R\$ 218.346	107,10%

Nota: embora a pacificação tenha se iniciado em 2008, a ocupação só ocorreu em 2010, quando a UPP Cidade de Deus, por conseguinte, variação deve também aos investimentos olímpicos na Barra da Tijuca.

Table: Tijuca

dez/09	R\$ 197.506	-
out/10	R\$ 272.610	38,03%
agosto/11	R\$ 388.690	42,58%

Nota: embora a pacificação tenha se iniciado em 2008, a ocupação só ocorreu em 2010, quando a UPP Cidade de Deus, por conseguinte, variação menor nos bairros, as estatísticas do Zap Imóveis apontam para uma variação de 42,58% entre 2008 e 2011 para imóveis residenciais de dois quartos na Tijuca.

Table: Rocinha

13/11/2011	Previsão até final março	-
------------	--------------------------	---

Table: Vidigal

13/11/2011	Previsão para o final do ano	-
------------	------------------------------	---

Table: São Conrado

Como a ocupação do morro do Vidigal e da favela da Rocinha são recentes, ainda não há dados do Secovi-Rio sobre a valorização, mas estatísticas do Zap Imóveis mostram que em 2011 o preço do metro quadrado passou de R\$ 7,3 mil para R\$ 9,6 mil, uma variação de 31,5%, já antecipando parte do efeito da pacificação.

Table: Ipanema

abril/07	R\$ 527.051	-
dez/09	R\$ 675.455	28,16%
agosto/11	R\$ 1.180.958	74,81%

Nota: vale ressaltar que os bairros da zona sul têm preços mais altos, mas também mais elevados de serviços, por isso não toda essa variação de preços se deve à pacificação.

Figure 4.1: Map of Rio published in a mainstream newspaper showing real estate price hikes following after the installation of UPPs, i.e. 'The pacification effect' (Globo, 2012)

[Key: (i) orange boxes = name of favelas and UPP starting date, (ii) grey / blue / green / yellow boxes date / UPP start date / property price increases in Brazilian Rs / price increases in % (examples in middle and upper class neighbourhoods with increases after pacification of favelas in areas nearby, e.g. where in Rio wealthy neighbourhoods are often surrounded by favelas such as in hillsides above)]

4.3.2 Removals and Displacements

According to the most commonly stated figures in research on the issue, from 2009-2013, 20,229 families, or approximately 65,000 people, were displaced from Rio's favelas (Azevedo & Faulhaber, 2015). Here in direct translation from the Portuguese, the term 'removals' was used locally in reference to a range of relating examples of displacement - including demolitions and forced evictions, the coerced sale of property, necessitated moves due to cost of living increases, and government encouraged relocations into social housing provisions. In the case of government assisted relocation, residents were offered recently developed social housing mostly on the outskirts of the city. Or alternatively they could apply for housing benefit payments, but at rates that were commonly not sufficient to rent equivalent property in the areas which they were removed from. Both cases provoked diasporic movements. During this process, sites in favelas were legally classified structurally or environmentally as 'areas of risk', justifying demolitions and reconstructions, whilst in particular examples, entire favelas were removed, or there were attempts made to do so, especially those situated in areas planned for construction work relating to the World Cup and Olympics (see Azevedo & Falhauber 2015; CPRCO 2013, 2014; Cummings 2015, Gaffney 2010, 2012, 2016). The map below (in Figure 4.2) shows how removals occurred most predominantly in favelas in the city centre (highlighted in north-east section on the map) as well as in favelas in the South Zone or West Zone locations seen along the coastal strip – that is all being areas of prime real estate (but also areas surrounded by favelas, *cf.* Figure 4.1). The multiple lines on the map indicate the direction of relocations of people from these affluent areas towards the lower cost north-western periphery of the city and newly built 'my house my life' social housing constructed in this area. I discuss this map further in *Chapter 9*.

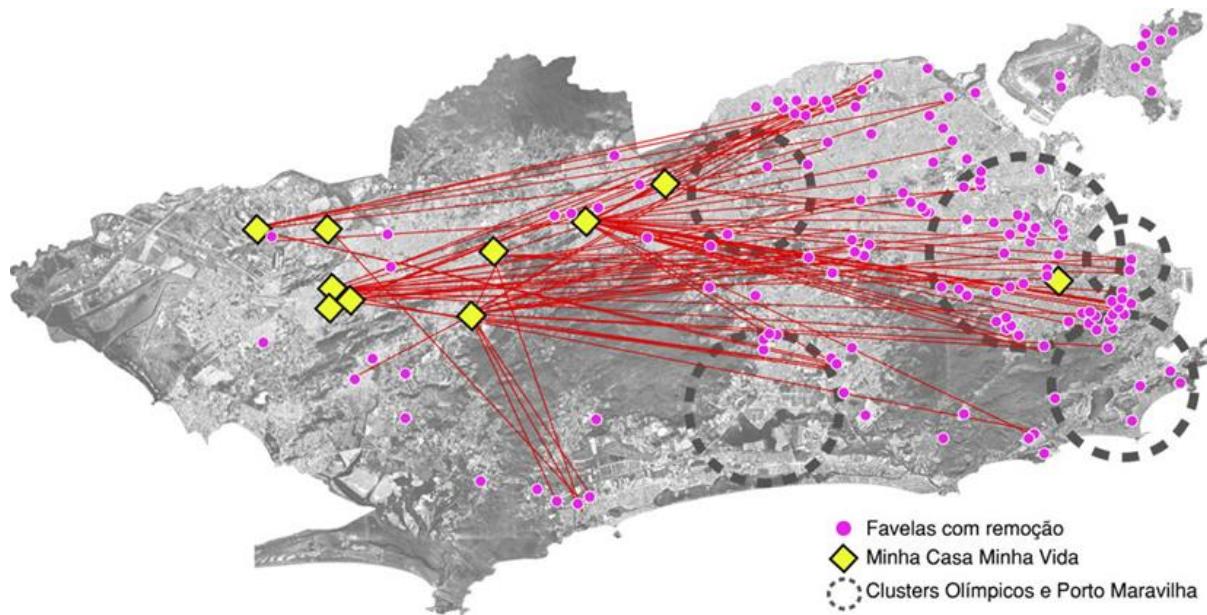


Figure 4.2: 'Removals' in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro 2009-2013 (Azevedo & Faulhaber, 2015)

[Key: (i) pink dots = favelas with 'removals', (ii) yellow stars = new 'my house my life' social housing developments mostly in the periphery, (iii) lines = directions of movements of people, iv) large dotted circles = principle areas of construction and development work linked to the Olympics

New government and real estate marketing of South Zone and city centre favelas as tourist sites and investment opportunities, not only raised the price of renting and buying property, but also basic costs in areas subject to dynamics of gentrification. Following the installation of UPP in favelas, both private and public companies entered to regulate and charge for utilities and services, which had in some cases not been paid for directly before, or paid less for, electricity being one of the main examples. Generally, this is because in some favelas, there were previously schemes of appropriating electricity and collectively distributed it locally through non-official channels charging lower prices (*gato* schemes, as referred to). However, besides this, residents and researchers presented evidence that electricity charges being newly implemented were higher, relatively, than in other non-favela locations,

suggesting that this was another means of displacing local populations from favelas situated on increasingly valuable lands (see Rio on Watch 2014; CPRCO, 2013, CPRCO 2014).

Another area of controversy was local practices facing new controls and prohibitions. There were a range of examples from informal street trading to public transport practices, but the example that created most controversy was the prohibition of one of the most popular forms of music in favelas known as *baile funk*, a style with broad appeal although this general prohibition was based on mainstream critics associating it with gang culture (de Souza Oliveira & Guerreiro, 2013).

These and other processes became referred to by social movements from favelas at this time as forming part of a '(white) gentrification', invoking the displacement of 'black working class' long term residents with an increasing presence of 'white middle class' people and practices (see Cummings 2015).

Seven years after the first examples in Rio from 2008 and 2009, pacification and removals arrived in the Maré favelas, during the period of my fieldwork: the former is discussed principally in ***Chapters 7, 8, and 11***; the latter in ***Chapters 9 and 11***.

4.3.3 Protest Movements and Medias

One important factor in social movements challenging the impacts of the mega-events such as those of evictions and displacements in Rio's favelas was the expansion of social networking sites (SNS) and social media usage across the communicative environment including its increasing uptake by such social movements (from around 2011 onwards; see Globo 2011, Observatório de Favelas 2014).

Online activism had existed in Brazil before. There had been more vanguard movements of hackers, free software developers, and online indie-media projects (Moraes 2001, 2007). From around 2006, less specialised digital producers also started to develop networks of content sharing of political and activist content, through email lists, blogs, early SNS platforms such as Orkut, YouTube, as well as the websites of local institutions such as NGOs (see Peruzzo 2013, Gohn 2014). In *Chapter 7*, for example, I discuss the emergence of blogging as one such early example of online media-activism in the Maré favelas, showing its first uses as part of the Citizen community media project from 2009 onwards, as the 'Citizen Online'.

Facebook influenced the communications environment in Rio both generally and in terms of social movements more significantly than these prior examples of SNS and social media however, because it was used more widely and used to do new things, or prior practices, in more expansive and elaborate ways. Facebook entered Brazil in 2004, but in its earlier years it did not catch on across the wider population, with the rival SNS platform Orkut preferred locally. Yet by 2011 this had clearly changed. As of August that year, Facebook became the SNS with the highest number of daily users in Brazil – 30.9 million. By May of 2012, that number had doubled to 58 million, and by June 2013, it was 76 million users, near to half the population of the country at the time (i.e. roughly 200 million) and with higher access levels in the more densely populated southern cities such as Rio (Facebook user data published in news: Globo 2011, Veja 2013).

Though I have only referred to protest movements relating to favelas so far in this chapter, there was in fact a much more complex swell of participation in contentious politics, from both the left and right wing of the Brazilian political spectrum, during this same period,

from around 2011-2013. This was evidenced most dramatically in June of 2013 with the outbreak of the largest and most sustained period of protesting in Brazil for thirty years (i.e. since the 1979-1985 period described previously in 4.1). Facebook usage and social media technologies (Twitter, YouTube, Blogs, etc.) were clearly central to the mobilizing of these mass protests in June 2013 – a point made explicit by commentators and demonstrators at the time, who referred to the demonstrations as ‘coming from Facebook’ and protesters in terms of a ‘social network’ (Castells 2013). In this way, their comments echoed other protest movements that had happened around the world shortly before, such as the Arab Spring in 2011, 15M in Spain in 2011, the Occupy movement from 2011-2012, and Gezi Park in Turkey in 2013, the latter overlapping with the Brazilian protests of June 2013 (see Castells 2012, Cammaerts & Jiménez-Martínez 2014, Gerbaudo 2012, Juris 2012, Postill 2014).

It is this point that I start from in the following data driven chapters. *Chapter 5* for example begins with a description of these mass protests in June 2013 and their realizations in Rio city centre. However, rather than discuss these protests in general, I discuss them specifically from the perspective of one resident from the Maré favelas and then in relation to smaller protests which occurred at the same time in Maré.

The reason for this is that these protest events in Maré in June-July 2013 form part of an extended episode or cycle of contention (as explained in *Chapter 2*) from 2006-2016 where local social movements contested mega-events, pacification, and removals as referred to previously (see 4.3). From *Chapter 5-7*, I describe the emergence and start of this cycle from 2006 to 2013, thereafter in *Chapters 8-11*, I describe its continuation and then fading out from 2014-2016.

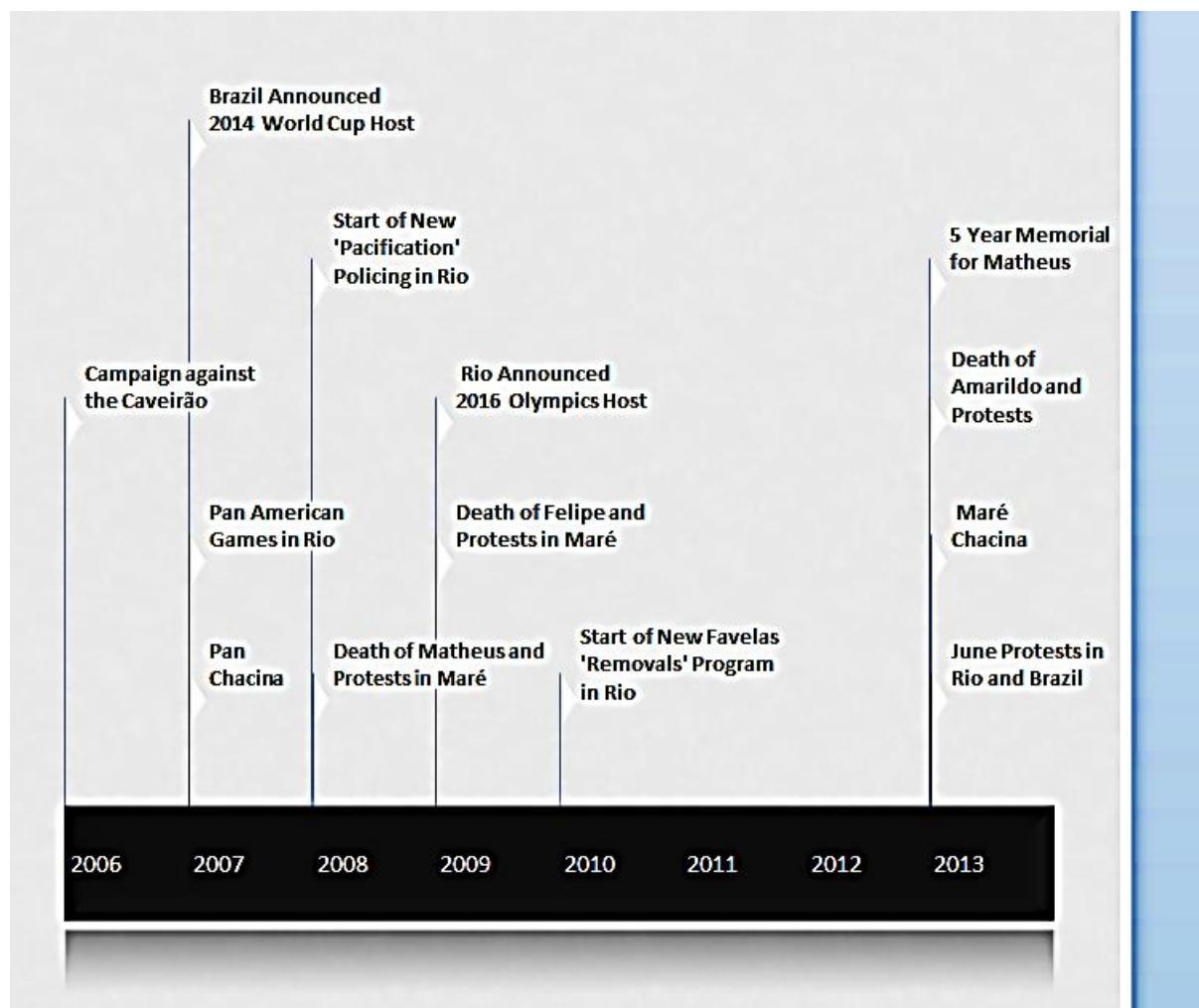
PART 1: CHAPTERS 5-7

PART 1 TEMPORAL FOCUS

DIACHRONIC: 2006-2009

SYNCHRONIC: 2013

PART 1: Timeline of Main Events (2006-2013)



Protest Marches / Demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro (with dates / themes in protest / and locations)					
Pre Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Post Phase	
From June to August 2013 National Protests (multiple events and multiple themes) Brazil	07.09.13 Independence Day (multiple themes) Centre	7.01.14 Metro Favela Evictions and Displacements North Zone	22.08.14 National 'Genocide' Black Rights North Zone	23.02.15 APF in Maré Maré, North Zone	
	from 17.09.13 until 15.10.13 Teachers' Strike (multiple events) Centre	06.02.14 11.02.14 MPL Transport Prices Centre	06.09.14 Local 'Genocide' Favela Rights Maré, North Zone	03.04.15 Police Killing of Eduardo Alemão, North Zone	
	19.9.13 Anti-Favela Evictions and Displacements Centre	27.02.14 Occupy Carnival Demonstrations Centre	13.9.14 Mothers' Movements in Manguinhos North Zone	from Abril 2015 until July 2016 National Protests (multiple events and multiple themes)	
20.06.13 The March of a Million, Rio Centre	21.10.13 Anti-National Oil Field Auction Centre / West Zone	07.03.14 Refuse Collectors Strike Centre	18.10.14 Community Museum Eviction Maré, North Zone		
24.06.13 25.06.13 02.07.14 Military Police Operations and Killings of Youths in Maré North Zone	31.10.13 For Liberty of Expression Centre	17.3.14 Police Killing of Favela Resident Claudia North Zone			
	20.11.13 Zumbi Day / Black Consciousness Day / Periphery Movements Centre	01.04.14 50 Years Since the Start of Dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985) Centre			
17.07.13 19.07.13 01.08.13 11.08.13 14.08.13 22.08.13 Police Killing of Amarildo South Zone	07.12.13 5 Years Since the Killing of Maré Favelas Resident Matheus North Zone	05.04.14 Army Pacification Force (APF) Occupation of the Maré Favelas North Zone			
	20.12.13 22.12.13 MPL Transport Prices Centre	14.04.14 Telerj Favela Eviction North Zone Centre			
		22.04.14 27.04.14 Police Killing of Favela Resident Douglas DG South Zone			
		23.05.14 Anti-UPP Policing and Anti-World Cup in the Alemão Favelas North Zone			
		From 12.6.14 to 13.07.14 Anti-World Cup (multiple events) Centre, North / South Zones			

	Protest events referred to in Part 1 that occurred before or after fieldwork
	Protest events referred to in Part 1 that occurred during fieldwork activity

CHAPTER 5 SYMBOLIZATION TRAJECTORIES AND CAMPAIGNING LITERACIES

5.1 Two Scenes from the June Protests in 2013

5.1.1 The March of a Million (June 20, 2013)

On 21 June 2013, an account of a demonstration was published by a community newspaper named *Jornal O Cidadão* (the Citizen) situated in a set of favelas named Maré, in the North Zone periphery of Rio de Janeiro.

More precisely, this account was published via a blog post, on the Citizen Online website – written by 'a local resident from Maré' (in the words of the text).

Occurring one day before on 20 June, the demonstration that was described in this account happened to be the largest seen in Brazil for thirty years, with estimates of 300,000 people in Rio de Janeiro and a suggested 2 million participating in 100 cities across Brazil (Artigo 19, 2014), representing the numerical peak of two weeks of daily protesting activities that had been increasing in size and frequency since the beginning of June.

These national protests and their realization in Rio were arguably without precedent, noted for their complexity and perplexity at the time, with a broad and shifting spectrum of social and political issues and interests (as I outlined in *Chapter 4*: see also Conde & Jazeel 2013, Dent & Pinheiro-Machado 2013, Gohn 2014, Saad-Filho 2013, Vainer et al. 2013), many of which came to converge and clash during this largest demonstration of the period on 20 June in the overcrowded city centre streets of Rio.

Yet in spite of this cacophony of voices and themes, after a brief description of the euphoric scenes earlier on during the start of the event, the account of the demonstration published

in the Citizen Online by the favela resident from Maré retained one very clear specific focus - police violence.

At the beginning of the demonstration what I heard around me was a peaceful and even festive mobilization. However, all this happiness was interrupted. The police started attacking everybody! Friends in Lapa [in the city centre] said that they simply did not know what was going on when police passed and threw tear gas into the bar where they were, which was very small, making it difficult to breathe, with the only response being to pour vinegar on the floor and continue taking refuge there, even with the gas, because the police were still firing indiscriminately at everyone out in the streets.

Excerpt from 'Account of a Moradora [Female Resident] from Maré on the Protests', Citizen Online, 21.06.2013

This kind of account of police violence was extremely common during this event and in days after, with numerous written and visual documentations circulated particularly via means of social media (Artigo 19 2014, Castañeda 2013, Cammaerts & Jiménez-Martínez 2014, Holston 2014, Peruzzo 2014). And though I was not in Rio at the time, I received and read many such accounts live or shortly afterwards via Facebook newsfeeds and messages sent to me by family and friends who were demonstrating, one of whom was shot in the leg and injured by a rubber bullet, having to go to hospital that night.

Though similar policing truculence had been characteristic of the protests during June 2013 generally (as before), 20 June was widely noted as being particularly brutal in terms of police actions undertaken to disperse assembled crowds (Berzerra & Grillo 2014, Gutteres 2014). However, in commenting on these police actions in the city centre, the account published in the Citizen Online made one particular point that was quite notably distinct – differentiating more general perspectives of events from a more localised one from favelas and from Maré.

This comment revolved around use of military police apparatus (i.e. a kind of armoured car)

referred to commonly in Rio as 'the Caveirão', where the writer stated somewhat caustically:

One thing which I actually liked seeing was the Caveirão in the South Zone [the affluent area of Rio]...

[So that] now everybody knows what favela residents complain about is true.

Excerpts from 'Account of a Moradora [Female Resident] from Maré on the Protests', Citizen Online,

21.06.2013



Figure 5.1: Caveirão and tear gas firing during demonstrations in Rio city centre (Folha 2013, June 20)

Jornal O Cidadão Online

Versão web do Jornal Comunitário que circula há 14 anos no Complexo da Maré

Quem somos

O Cidadão - Jornal do Complexo das Favelas da Maré "O CIDADÃO", um dos projetos da ONG Ceama, busca ampliar e consolidar o direito básico à comunicação aos moradores das 15 favelas da Maré, no Complexo de Favelas da Maré. Isto se dá por meio da produção e circulação do Jornal Comunitário com tiragem de 20 mil exemplares. A distribuição é gratuita e os principais pontos de entrega são os órgãos governamentais e não-governamentais, e as associações de moradores.

[Visualizar meu perfil completo](#)

Onde estamos

Ceama (Centro de Estudos e Ações Solidárias da Maré)
Praça dos Castelos, nº 7, 3º andar.
Muro do Timbau
Complexo de Favelas da Maré - RJ.
CEP: 21042050
E-mail: jornaldamare@gmail.com

Mostrar todas as postagens

Classificar por data

21 de Junho de 2013

Relato de uma moradora da Maré sobre os Protestos

21 de Junho de 2013.

No inicio da manifestação os relatos que eu ouvia em tempo real falavam de uma mobilização pacifica, até festiva. O povo mostrando que já é chegada a hora de mudanças, era a satisfação de estarem unidos pelo mesmo ideal, sem diferença de classe social, raga ou coisas do tipo. Porém, toda essa felicidade foi interrompida, segundo aqueles que estavam lá. Começaram a falar sobre a força policial, que chegou e começou a agir de forma desumana, com muita violência, é verdade, mas era um minoria. Muitos inocentes foram feridos, jovens e adultos estavam apavorados! Uma amiga relatou que se agachou numa rua e ao seu lado sentiu-se uma senhora em pânico!

Participou do protesto de segunda-feira (17) e o clima era de paz, até que na ALERJ (Assembleia Legislativa do Rio de Janeiro) um grupo fez o que fez. Quanto ao confronto de ontem (20), a polícia deveria sim ter deido saudades, mas o problema é que nas favelas, a polícia age sem a menor consideração, e diferenças de classe não é o caso. A polícia chegou e começou a atirar, quando que estavam em um bar na Lapa disseram que simplesmente só ficaram sabendo de o que estava havendo quando a polícia passou atirando e jogando gás lacrimogêneo, no bar que era bem pequeno e nesse ambiente ficou difícil para respirar, a única ressalva foi jogar vinagre no chão e continuar refugiado lá dentro, mesmo com o gás. Porque a polícia estava atirando indiscriminadamente em todos que estavam nas ruas.

Pesquise no BLOG

Figure 5.2: Citizen Online (2013a, June 21)

5.1.2 The Maré Chacina (June 24-25, 2013)

Shortly after 20 June the Caveirão featured again in accounts of demonstrations, differently this time though, it appeared in policing operations in a set of favelas.

Over 24-25 June, these operations by military police in Maré led to what became referred to thereafter as ‘the Maré Chacina’.

Chacina is a commonly used term locally to refer to cases of multiple police killings. Literally it is translated as massacre or slaughter, but below and in subsequent chapters I will retain use of the Portuguese because of its regular appearance as a proper name as well as associations of meaning broader than the literal meaning.

5.1.2.1 Day One, 24 June: the Maré Chacina, Operation to Occupation

According to police reports announced through the national news (e.g. Globo, 2013a), on the afternoon of June 24, a group of local youths were conducting armed robberies on a main road in front of the Maré Favelas, whereafter conflict ensued as police intervened, with the youths running back into the favela and exchanges of fire leaving at least one local resident and one policeman dead – the latter a Sargent from the BOPE (Battalion of Special Policing Operations, Rio State Military Police).

This was the basic story which recurred through the mainstream media, though there were significant variations on it through alternative media sources, such as local residents, social movements, and human rights organizations (e.g. as recalled below in Global Justice, 2013). These versions tended to emphasise a protest march similar to those in the city centre had been occurring in the vicinity and it was around this that the exchanges of fire had occurred, leading to accusations police had intervened with excessive force around the demonstration

as they had been doing regularly with others at the time (such as in the city centre on 20 June), as well as demanding accountability for the police killing of local residents in Maré that day (i.e. on 24 June). In short, such local reports did not deny that there had been confrontations between local youths and police, but they both stated that the response was disproportionate and implied that ulterior motives were involved in the action.


 A screenshot of the Justiça Global website. The header features the logo 'justiça global' with a red and white circular icon. Navigation links include 'PORTUGUÊS | ESPAÑOL | ENGLISH', social media icons for M, f, t, and r, a search bar, and a magnifying glass icon. The main menu has categories like 'Direitos Humanos, Econômicos, Sociais, Culturais e Ambientais', 'Violência Institucional e Segurança Pública', 'Defensores de Direitos Humanos', 'Sobre nós', 'Biblioteca', 'Comunicação', 'ATUAÇÃO', 'RELATÓRIOS', 'SISTEMAS INTERNACIONAIS DE PROTEÇÃO AOS DIREITOS HUMANOS', 'REDES', and 'NOTÍCIAS'. Below the menu, a breadcrumb trail shows 'HOME / VISP / NOTÍCIAS / Nota contra a violência policial: após protestos polícia realiza chacina na Maré'. A timestamp '25 DE JUNHO DE 2013 - 18H57 | POR JUSTIÇA GLOBAL' is present. The main title of the article is 'Nota contra a violência policial: após protestos polícia realiza chacina na Maré'. To the left of the text is a small image showing police officers in riot gear on a street. The text discusses the occupation of Maré favelas by PMERJ units like BOPE on June 24th, following a demonstration in Bonsucesso, and the resulting police violence that killed one resident and a BOPE sergeant, with nine more people killed in the operation.

Figure 5.3: 'Public notice against police violence: Police massacre in Maré... [signed by local, national, and global social movements and human rights organizations, re-circulated via Global Justice, 2013]

On June 24, the favelas of Maré were occupied by different units of Rio State Military Police (PMERJ) including the Special Operations Battalion (BOPE) with its war apparatus including rifle, the Caveirão, and helicopters. The military occupation happened after a demonstration held in Bonsucesso [next to Maré] for reductions of bus ticket prices like countless others all over the country since June 6. Police actions led to the death of one resident [and] a BOPE Sergeant also died [after which] police violence intensified, with another nine people killed in the operation, in a clear example of retaliation killings... We repudiate all criminalization of protesting. We repudiate all criminalization of favela residents.'

As referred to in the extract from the 'public notice' above, a large scale policing operation led by the BOPE ensued inside Maré (around the Nova Holanda area) starting on the

afternoon of 24 June, but becoming an overnight ‘occupation’ (i.e. with occupation, here, referring to the permanent presence of police in the favela). Resulting from this operation were the deaths of more residents – officially stated as nine, but several resident reports stating the number as thirteen. Local accounts (e.g. ARJI 2013, Redes 2013) described what occurred as one of the most violent policing operations seen in Maré, with 12 hours of gunfire in the streets, cutting of electricity, and residents’ houses being entered, searched, and occupied for purposes of the operation by physically and verbally abusive police.

5.1.2.2 Day Two, 25 June: Protesting the Operation-Occupation and Expelling the Caveirão

Mobilized through local social movements and wider mutual support networks overnight, a protest march was arranged the next day in response to the operation and occupation (details of which I came to know through interviews with attendees and social media texts that they wrote, as exemplified below).

At around 2.30pm (25 June) two groups of marchers converged together in the backstreets of Maré, forming a demonstration of around 500 people in total made up of local residents and activists, along with non-local contacts, and colleagues. In what ensued, demonstrators marched in the direction of the main road in front of the favela trying to occupy it in protest (with ‘occupy’ referring, in this case, to remaining in the road to march in protest, stopping traffic in doing so).

Police fired stun grenades and tear gas into the crowds pushing them back preventing this. Nonetheless, the demonstrators continued marching around the streets until later on into the evening. And it was later during this continued marching that an especially significant incident occurred – the incident which this demonstration would be most remembered for.

The crowd started to confront an armoured car that was stationed inside the favela there, by marching around it and chanting, calling for it to leave the favela. Simultaneously to this, a local community leader had been negotiating with the police for them to leave and to end the occupation - which they did, agreeing not to return that evening, or over the following days. This withdrawal of the police and particularly so the withdrawal of the Caveirão came to be celebrated as a kind of symbolic success by protesters, as expressed recurrently in accounts of events on 25 June, frequently with sentiments similar to the examples below.

We knew it would not be forever. But it happened and seeing the police leaving was an emotional moment - women, children, youths, and the elderly, all of us walking, shouting protest chants, and taking back that place. I was very, very scared, principally when we arrived so close to the Caveirão, that monster made of iron, silent, waiting to pounce. But this time it would say nothing and leave. It was impossible not to cry. Impossible not to remember the call out: "we need bodies in the street!" Today we turned that phrase into action, in what was a risky act, but also a real collective invention.

(Facebook status update: 'Today we expelled the BOPE' - demonstrator account of 25 June).

What most marked my memory of the protest were fear and the feeling of overcoming the Caveirão. The plan was to march around the block, coming back to the starting point. Right at the beginning of the march we realised that we were going to encounter the Caveirão en route, but also that leaders organizing the march had been negotiating with the police to get them to withdraw and guarantee a peaceful protest. But so many rights had been suppressed around the favela that I had no doubt of a possibility that things could go fucking wrong. So I was really scared. I had walked those same streets so many times, but I was really scared. And so when I saw the Caveirão retreating and backing out of the way of oncoming marchers and then outside of the favela, all that fear and the wider tension in the crowd transformed in something which is difficult to describe or name, some kind of collective sense of joy. I will always remember that day and that moment. (Interview on protesting in Maré in June 2013, my recording / translation - demonstrator account of June 25).



*Protest banner [top] 'The police that repress in the streets are the same that kill in favelas /
Communities and movements network against violence'*



Figures 5.4: Photographic accounts from 25 June (Citizen FB 2013, Vânia Bento)
Photos show the Caveirão, withdrawing from the favela, in front of the protests

5.2 Symbols of Protest and Social Movements

5.2.1 The Caveirão during the June Days Protests in 2013

The fact that this exiting of the Caveirão became so central to the accounts of protesting on 25 June and the Maré Chacina could be explained through the specifics of the situation at that time. It represented the start of the end of what had been a 36 hour policing operation which involved local deaths, physical and psychological disruption and damage, but also from another perspective, an important sense of agency and the feeling of local movements having provoked a turning point through their demonstrating (e.g. as captured summarily in the status update title above 'Today, We Expulsed the BOPE').

These factors provide some explanation for this becoming of a memorable scene and event. But they are not sufficient. The Caveirão had a long history of uses, experiences, and stories, notorious inside Rio's favelas and periphery, which pre-dated, and pre-empted many of the

perceptions and narratings of it in the streets of Maré on 25 June 2013. This was especially so for local activists from social movements and community media projects from Maré which had campaigned against its use in the past.

It was to such history that the favela resident from Maré alluded through her comments on the 20 June mass protests in the city centre (i.e. as above, in the Citizen Online blog post) when stating that she had actually liked (in some way) seeing the Caveirão in the city centre because of it serving as proof. But why so, proof of what?

Whilst the Rio state government's deployment of the Caveirão as part of its heavy handed policing of mass demonstrations on 20 June was something new for many of the protesters or at least rarely seen in recent times in the city centre or in the affluent south zone of Rio - in contrast, below, I describe how the Caveirão had gained notoriety previously across Rio's favelas and periphery since its first uses 10 years prior to the protests in 2013, becoming referred to recurrently through social movement texts and practices - as a symbol of protest.



Figure 5.5: 'Get out Caveirão! More health and education / PSOL [Party of Socialism and Liberty] Centre for Maré', protest banner shown at a public ecumenical and demonstration named 'Chacina never again' held in Maré one week after the events of the Maré Chacina (Photo: Globo 2013b, July)

5.2.2 Symbols of Protest, Symbolization Trajectories, and Cycles of Contention

What are symbols of protest and how do such symbols come to develop and disseminate?

In what ways can the Caveirão be understood as a symbol of protest?

As I will define them, *symbols of protest* are social phenomenon of specific importance which become represented through multiple cultural forms (e.g. texts).

As social phenomenon they incorporate some ‘conjunction of form and meaning’ and as cultural forms they become ‘means by which people interpret and express meaning’ (see Kress 2010, p.14; see Mavers & Kress 2012, p.1).

The former is expressed in the latter, with symbols of protest materialising and multiplying in differing ways across the wide range of differing texts and practices in which they feature.

Rather than generally speaking however, whereby ‘anything by definition can be a symbol’ (Ortner 1972, p.1339), symbols of protest are associated with heightened salience and emotionality, linked to experiences and politics of contention, e.g. with claims made by one social group against another, referring to the past, present, or future, frequently involving asymmetrical power relations (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

Accordingly in their ongoing presences over time, symbols of protest and the multiple cultural forms which manifest from them and around them develop a ‘transliteral’ aspect, i.e. ‘referring not only to primary phenomenon, but also to particularly important experiences related to the phenomenon’ that continue to accrue (Kowalewski 1980, p.440).

One way this process has been described is via the concept of condensation (Sapir, 1934). Turner (1969, p.52) for example uses this metaphor as a way of referring to how symbols

come to represent multiple relations simultaneously, 'unifying elements from different domains of social experience'. Shifting from the anthropology of ritual to politics, Edelman (1964, p. 6) adds emphasis on the capacity of symbols to evoke and to recombine emotions: 'condens[ing] into one symbolic event, sign, or act [for example] pride, anxieties, remembrances of past humiliations or glories, promises of [the] future... some one of these or all of them'.

Condensation of elements here informs one common role symbols of protest play – summarization. Ortner (1972) for example focusses on how symbols serve to sum up in 'emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated ways' what social groups, practices, and systems, represent and mean, amongst groups themselves, and between them (p.1340).

Symbols of condensation and summarization per se feature centrally in processes of 'definition, socialization, and legitimization' (Jasinski 2001, p.99) informing 'political education, social solidarity, and group identity' (p.99), as well as providing social and cultural frames of reference for people's understanding of complex events.

Condensation here involves accumulated experiences and relations between experiences. Summarization symbols emerge out of such condensation. Considering symbols of protest in such a way emphasises the importance of a diachronic viewpoint, concerning how symbols came to mean and emote, as they do so recurrently, and formative moments in this process.

In literature on condensation and summary symbols within politics (e.g. Edelman 1964, Graber 1976) such symbols are often discussed in terms of textual forms, such as some specific 'name, word, phrase, or maxim, which stirs vivid impressions [and] basic values'

(Graber, 1976, p. 289) incorporating 'images, attitudes, reactions, and evaluative judgments [amongst other elements]' (Jasinski 2001, p.99).

Short emotive texts such as these are central to literacy practices of protests, for example, appearing on placards, banners, and paraphernalia, frequently alongside associated imagistic-iconic-symbolic versions, as well as being verbalised in chant or song forms. Beyond protest, such texts also feature as the part of the broader sets of literacy practices and social practices of social movements – e.g. appearing across social movement campaigns and campaigning literacies (as discussed below in 1.4).

In following chapters (**6-11**), I focus specifically on literacy practices and trajectories of texts through which the names and images of particular people got developed and disseminated as symbols of protest. These people were favela resident victims of military police violence. Here in this chapter however, introductory, I describe the development and dissemination of the Caveirão as a symbol of protest, i.e. emerging out of a specific socio-political context, then gaining prominence through campaigning literacies and a succession of protest events.

The Caveirão serves therefore as one example of how symbols of protest develop over time, from condensation to acting as summary – representing most centrally, police violence. But beyond this specific *symbolization trajectory* of the Caveirão, the broader point which I introduce here and continue in following chapters concerns how several significant symbolization trajectories and interrelating themes in protest started to accumulate and accentuate from the early-mid 2000s onwards.

Through the tracing of these trajectories as I do from **Chapters 5-11**, the emergence of what I define as a *cycle of contention* in Rio starts to become apparent (i.e. an extended episode

of contentious politics about a specific set of themes in protest), from around 2006 onwards. The story of the Caveirão developing as a symbol of protest overlaps with the story of the emergence of this cycle of contention – for that reason, it is especially significant and I start off with discussion of its history, in 5.3 below.

Significant changes started to emerge at a macro socio-political-contextual level in Brazil from the early 2000s onward, a selection of which I discuss in this and subsequent chapters. In the periphery of Rio specifically, one of the first sectors in which changes in question started to become apparent was in public security, with a so called increasing ‘militarization’ of policing operations around favelas. The Caveirão became a figurehead and emblem of this widening militarization of policing: on one side, being promoted by the PMERJ (Rio State Military Police) and supporters in the public sphere; whilst on the other, being contested by local and non-local social movements who came together to mobilize and campaign against its usage. The symbolic status Caveirão gained emerged from these two contrasting forces, dating back to the early 2000s.

From 5.3-5.4, I overview this symbolization trajectory of the Caveirão: from its introduction into police service in 2001, to the first specific campaigning by social movements in Rio contesting it from 2005-2007. Through both the mass media and campaigning literacies around this time, the Caveirão can be seen becoming consolidated as a symbol of protest, e.g. where texts developed and disseminated from that point onwards recurred thereafter. Following the trajectory of these texts leads directly into the emergence of the cycle of contention, whereby texts featuring the Caveirão as a symbol of protest appeared in campaigns and protest events alongside subsequent symbols of protest and themes - central to which were ‘mega-events’ - as I will describe.

5.3 Symbols of Protest in the Making

5.3.1 The Military Police

Policing in Rio as in Brazil is divided into three levels: federal, state, and municipal.

Relevant to discussion here is state level policing. State level police is subdivided into civil police and military police: the former is associated with criminal investigation functions, the latter with maintaining public order functions.

This 'military police' is referred to as 'military' for both historical and constitutional reasons.

Historically so, because the military police was founded by the Portuguese royal court (who relocated en masse to Rio in 1808 after Napoleon invaded Lisbon, whereafter Rio became the centre of Portuguese empire albeit temporarily). Started officially in 1809, this setting up of the first organized police system in Rio involved a Military Division of the Royal Police Guard based on an army structure. Moreover, this new policing system was set up shortly after the successful slave led revolution in Haiti in 1804. Central to Rio's economy was slavery, where approximately half of the population were slaves. From its beginnings therefore, the role of military policing in Rio was maintaining control or 'public order' over the local population. A long history of police repression and criminalization of poverty especially relating to Rio's black population dates back to this period (Ashcroft 2014, Holloway 1997, Sousa & Morais 2011).

Returning to the present, constitutionally and institutionally the military police are 'military' because they are described in the Brazilian constitution as an 'ancillary force of the army' (Brazilian Constitution 1988, Article 144), i.e. both technically separate, but also linked to the federal army, as a kind of a gendarmerie, or military based component, within the

jurisdiction of law enforcement, subordinate to state government and the governor.

As the public face of public order it is the armed military police that patrol the streets of Rio and customarily so using clearly marked uniforms and vehicles displaying particular symbols relating to their particular divisions (see 5.3.2). Probably the most well-known of these divisions of the military police is referred to as the BOPE (or Special Police Operations Battalion).

The BOPE is the most heavily militarized part of the military police, tending to be represented and promoted by both police and mass media in terms of a kind of internal urban warfare division central to a so called “war on drugs” (since this idea became popularized in the 1980s-1990s), i.e. perennially in counterpoint to “criminal factions” involved in the trading of illegalized goods (for critique of war on drugs policy in Rio and related issues of criminalization of favelas: see Amnesty 2005, Araujo 2016, Campos 2012).

The Caveirão was a military vehicle specially designed for and deployed by the BOPE emerging out of this long term and highly contentious context, where what was actually happening, why, and for whose benefit, were all strongly contested, with accounts of police, politicians, local populations, and social movements, often radically different.

5.3.2 VBTP/T to Caveirão



Figure 5.6: The BOPE symbol

What was the Caveirão?

It was officially known as the VBTP/T (Armoured Transport Vehicle for Troops / Personnel).

Its pseudonym Caveirão literally translates as ‘Big Skull’. The reason for this naming is that the VBTP/T was designed and deployed by the BOPE and their official symbol is a skull, crossed by two guns, penetrated by a large knife (Figure 5.6). Displayed on BOPE apparatus, such as their vehicles, it was through fitting this symbol onto the VBTP/T doors and bonnet that the name Caveirão first came about, via enlarged (i.e. ‘Big’) painted versions of the ‘Skull’ (see Ribeiro 2013, Amnesty 2006).

There had been antecedent VBTP/T used in Brazil and Rio, but the Caveirão was a specially designed model, with added armour plating, manoeuvring ability, a gun turret on top, and the capacity for up to 15 people inside. Officially the justification for their use by the BOPE was to facilitate entering favelas in Rio “controlled by criminal factions” (in their terms) and to reduce police deaths during such operations (Souza, 2008).

Following preliminary tests, this vehicle started to be increasingly deployed in Rio’s favelas from 2001 onwards.

5.3.3 Expansions: More Places, More Vehicles, More Killings, More Actions, More Texts...

This initial implementation of the Caveirão in 2001 was followed shortly afterwards by an expansion in several senses.

Firstly there was an expansion in a spatial sense across newly “dominated” areas from 2001 as referred to by the BOPE (see Ribeiro 2014) - including some of the most prominent favelas in Rio (e.g. Borel, Alemão, Mineira, São Carlos, Juramento, São José Operário, Vila

Cruzeiro, Caroba, Aço, Estado, Lagoinha, Salgueiro, Vila Ipiranga, Manguinhos, Jacarezinho, Providencia, and Maré).

Secondly, accompanying this movement from 2001 to 2006, there was also the expansion in the numbers of actual Caveirão in Rio – with an increase from one vehicle to twelve in active usage (Amnesty, 2006).

In tandem, during this same period, from 2001 until reaching a peak in 2007, there was also an expansion in the numbers of cases of police killings of civilians in Rio. Especially notable here was an increase in the number of cases registered as *auto de resistência*, (translated usually as ‘acts of resistance’), i.e. a technical-legal term used by police for the documentation of deaths, occurring as a result of self-defence, or resisting arrest, among other related criteria, removing culpability from the police officers responsible for the action of killing.

For example, coinciding with the introduction of the Caveirão from 2001-2003, the number of cases of registered as *auto de resistência* doubled from 592 to 1195 (per year) forming part of an upward trend, which by 2007, reached a record high in Rio of 1330, i.e. compared to the total of 32 police officers killed on duty during that same year – or, 41.5 civilian deaths, for every one officer (HRW 2009).

<i>Rio / RJ</i>	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
City	278	381	615	789	676	707	673	902
State	454	592	900	1195	983	1098	1063	1330

*Figure 5.7 and Table 5.1: Registered cases of *auto de resistência* in Rio from 2000-2007 (ISPRJ data in Misse 2011)*

From around 2003, accompanying the trend described above, issues of police violence and militarization of policing in Rio came to be criticised increasingly through a range of actors – from local grassroots social movements, to civic organizations, NGOs, and globally reaching human rights organizations.

One way this emerging and increasing criticism can be seen registered is throughout an extensive body of research materials and related public documents published around this time, all addressing issues of police violence in question (e.g. Amnesty 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; Global Justice 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010; HRW 2009; Lucas / NACLA 2008; MAPAS 2005; SDH, UNICEF, & Observatório de Favelas, 2010; Waiselfisz, FLASCO, & UNESCO 2006).



Figures 5.8: [left] Project report / case study – to kill, to die, “to civilize”: The “problem of public security” (MAPAS, 2005) [right] Global report on public security and policing in Rio (Amnesty, 2005)

This was not for the first time in Rio that police violence had been focussed on prominently, but it was a renewed focus, more so than in years directly before, and concerning a changing social, economic, political context - central to which were issues of public security.

From amongst this general shift in the social movement base, orientating to and organizing responses to issues of police violence and the militarization of policing, between 2005-2007, a specific campaign emerged contesting usage of Caveirão, starting from local movements and NGOs initially (e.g. RCMCV 2005, 2006a), before involving two global organizations (Amnesty 2006, Global Justice 2007; see also Magalhães, 2007).

Through the texts and practices of this campaign and related mass media, the development of the Caveirão as a symbol protest can be seen, whereby besides its specific contestations, the Caveirão came to synthesize and summarize many of the main issues of police violence and the militarization of policing which were in contention in Rio at that time.

Thereafter, via the onward trajectories of these campaigning texts, significant linkages with other subsequent symbols of protest and themes developed also - as described below in 5.4.

5.4 Campaigning Against the Caveirão in the Cultural Context of 2005-2007: An Example of Symbols of Protest Emerging through Campaigning Literacies

There were three principle moments in campaigning against the Caveirão: a building phase from around 2005, a main campaign phase from 2006, and a continuation phase from 2007.

Rather than look at these in close detail here, I overview each, showing the emergence of the Caveirão as a contested theme through these phases via its appearances across a range of text-artefacts and respective literacy practices - highlighting in the conjunction of these texts and practices, examples of how symbolic elements came to converge and connect through campaigning literacies.

2005

The Caveirão started to be increasingly contested in the public sphere in Rio from late 2005.

Prior to this, local social movements, human rights organizations, university researchers, and NGOs had already been involved in documenting complaints about use of the Caveirão in Rio's favelas and periphery. But it was around the end of 2005 that these details and claims started to surface increasingly in public – through research, statements, initial campaigning materials, and then coverage in the mainstream press shortly afterwards (e.g. MAPAS 2005, Globo Extra 2005; see Landim & Siqueira 2013).

Notably also just prior to this, in August 2005, the Caveirão had already gained attention in the mass media, having featured in a widely watched television program named *Fantastico*, or more precisely, in a kind of children's section of this broadcast. The feature was about what children were most afraid of contemporarily. After asking different children and adolescents this question, the presenter highlighted how youths from favelas had responded they were no longer scared of the traditional bogeymen of fables and horror stories - but rather, they were afraid of "the Caveirão", i.e. replacing ghosts and mythic figures, with this police vehicle and its skull symbol, and thus imaginative fear for this real physical presence. This finding was emphasised through the programme as a main point, and probably owing to the cultural resonance of popular television, this claim recurred regularly thereafter in discussion about the Caveirão.

Shortly after, the first mainstream newspaper article was published (nationally) with content about campaigning against the Caveirão in Rio (in October 2005), and it led with a distinctive and dramatic headline, citing claims made by favela residents which had been documented and disseminated by social movements and NGOs. Positioned next to a photograph showing the Caveirão on the newspaper front cover, this headline read (in an approximated translation): 'I am going to take your soul'.

The phrase was one of several examples of announcements made through megaphones by police during operations in favelas from inside Caveirão (others are shown in Figures 5.10) recorded and reported by local sources. But more than other related content, this particular phrase came to recur regularly (either directly, or with slight variations) across the many different texts that ensued concerning the Caveirão from 2005-2007, i.e. developing into a kind of motif.

Linking back to its first documentations and disseminations by social movements and NGOs, this repeating motif can be seen featuring centrally as part of campaigning literacies in 2006.



Figures 5.9: Globo Extra 2005

('I'm going to take your soul...')

('Caveirão does not only scare criminals...')



Figures 5,9: Globo 2006

(‘I’ve come to get your soul...’)

(‘Caveirão at the centre of controversy...’)

2006

A campaign proper was officially launched in March 2006 – involving four organizations directly and others in collaboration.

The four official organizations included: *Rede de Comunidades e Movimentos Contra a Violência* (Communities and Movements Network against Violence, or RCMCV); *Centro de Defesa de Direitos Humanos de Petrópolis* (Petropolis Centre in Defence of Human Rights); Amnesty International; and Global Justice.

The first two were local and second two global NGOs but with specific bases and histories of work in Rio. I will mention one example of each – RCMCV as local and Amnesty as global.

5.4.1 RCMCV, Amnesty, and Campaigning Literacies

RCMCV was made up of three groups: firstly, participants from previous social movements in Rio working in favelas or the periphery; secondly, residents from favelas participating in activism where they were living (as well as in other favelas); thirdly, family members of victims of police violence (*cf. Chapter 9*, on ‘Mothers’ Movements’).

In their literature, the RCMCV self-described as a ‘(movement and network) independent of the state, companies, political parties, and churches, which unites residents from favelas, poor communities, survivors, and the relatives of victims of police or military violence, alongside popular [i.e. working class] human rights activists, who fight against violence, and human rights violations’ (RCMCV, 2006b).

Among RCMCV’s mission statement, one main role was the development of activities and archives of denouncements against cases of police killings (RCMCV, 2006b). RCMCV in turn developed a public database documenting the names and stories of ensuing cases – material featuring in campaigning literatures against the Caveirão (e.g. via a short leaflet and a longer report, excerpts from which can be seen in Figures 5.10).

This longer report (10 pages) including most of the main contestations concerning usage of the Caveirão was collaboratively produced, but published in both Portuguese and English by Amnesty International - with simultaneous events promoting the launching of the document both in Rio and in London, the former involving a demonstration with a protest march and public speeches in Rio city centre.

Amnesty had a long history of work in Brazil, pioneering what they refer to as 'urgent action campaigning' around the case of a political arrest in 1973 during military dictatorship years (Amnesty, 2013). This initially revolved around co-ordinated mass letter writing coupled with related activities demanding a response from targeted institutions based on the belief that international pressure could be exerted politically on human rights offenders. Similar appeared in Amnesty's published texts for the campaign against the Caveirão, which besides a report also included specially made postcards linked to a petition (with Portuguese and English versions) all preaddressed to be mass-mailed to the Governor of Rio.

Through these campaigning texts, themes contesting the Caveirão can be seen condensing - e.g. from a ten page report (including extensive details and specific case studies); to a leaflet (with reduced detail and bullet point claims); to the shorter form texts of this postcard and a petition sheet; lastly to campaign slogans and logo-symbols which recurred across these former texts also, as well as appearing prominently on placards and banners, displayed during the demonstration which launched the campaign.

Distinctively, in this condensing movement from the longer to the shorter campaigning texts only one of the names and stories of victims of Caveirão operations described in the case studies appears - i.e. the name of a boy named Carlos Henrique from the Maré favelas, coupled with a micro-account of his death, and a set of demands, to end use of the Caveirão.

Note: Carlos Henrique's name and story from 2005 was the earliest from the Maré favelas I heard referred to during campaigns and protest events in 2013-2014. He was the first example locally of what I describe in Chapters 6-11, as 'names as symbols of protest' and 'memorialization trajectories'.

Examples of and example excerpts from the campaigning texts contesting the Caveirão are illustrated below (in Figures 5.10).

anistia internacional

Brasil

“Vim buscar sua alma”: o caveirão e o policiamento no Rio de Janeiro



The *caveirão* is often deployed in operations involving excessive use of force. This contravenes Article 3 of the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials which states that force should be used only when strictly necessary and that "the force used should not be disproportionate to the legitimate objectives to be achieved".

The *caveirão* is used as a part of an overall strategy of discriminatory policing to intimidate whole communities, through random firing, the aggressive use of loudhailers, and menacing symbolism (the skull emblem).

Far from providing protection, the *caveirão* is deeply unpopular amongst the communities targeted, who fear and resent the insensitive and disrespectful way their neighbourhoods are policed.

Caveirão-led operations endanger the lives of residents, several of whom have been killed or wounded by bullets fired by police from inside the *caveirão*.

The use of military-style equipment has further fuelled an arms race between the police and drug gangs, contributing to an escalation of violence and human rights abuses.

The *caveirão* gives police anonymity, making prosecutions against them far more difficult to bring.

Amnesty International has grave concerns around the manner in which the *caveirão* has been deployed. The organisation has received reports of *caveirões* driving into communities firing at random, sending people running for their lives. According to Edilson Santos, the director of the arts centre *Lona Cultural* in the Complexo da Maré, from 10 o'clock onwards *caveirões* routinely enter the community shooting. "Often, when you are coming back from work, you see mothers, children and other people running in fear. It even seems like they're guilty of something. It's so sad. Everyone – young people, children, old people, artists – we are all anxious about how unsafe this vehicle is."

Loud-speakers mounted on the outside of the vehicle repeatedly announce the *caveirão*'s arrival. Expressions used vary from the polite: "Residents, we are here to defend your community. Please, don't go out of your homes, it's dangerous"; to the alarmist: "Children, get out of the street. There's going to be a shootout"; to outright intimidation: "We have come to take your souls". When the *caveirão* approaches someone in the street, police shout through the megaphone: "Hey, you over there! You are acting suspiciously. Move very slowly, lift up your shirt, turn around... now you can go". Amnesty International has also received reports of police swearing and using derogatory language against residents, particularly women.

The tone and the language used by police during *caveirão*-led operations are hostile and authoritarian. The threats and insults have had a traumatising effect on communities, with children particularly vulnerable. According to local NGOs, since the *caveirão*'s introduction, children have begun to suffer emotional and psychological problems. The innocent fear of "the bogeyman" has been replaced by that of the *caveirão* – a sad reflection on policing in Rio de Janeiro.

principalmente, em programas educacionais, culturais e sanitários nas comunidades. Enquanto faltam escolas, postos de saúde, centros culturais, saneamento e outros equipamentos sociais nas comunidades, o governo gasta milhões para comprar e manter em funcionamento máquinas de morte e terror.

PARTICIPE DA CAMPANHA CONTRA O “CAVEIRÃO” E PELA GARANTIA DE DIREITOS NAS COMUNIDADES

A Rede de Comunidades e Movimentos contra a Violência, a Justiça Global, a Anistia Internacional e o Centro de Defesa dos Direitos Humanos de Petrópolis, entre outras organizações e entidades, estão coletando assinaturas para um abaixo-assinado contra a utilização do blindado ("Caveirão", "Pacificador", ou qualquer outro nome que dêem a ele), como o principal instrumento da campanha contra mais essa forma de imposição do medo, criminalização da pobreza e agressão aos direitos das comunidades.

As assinaturas serão entregues ao governo do estado numa manifestação pública em data a ser divulgada. Elas também estão sendo coletadas em outros estados brasileiros e em outros países. Com o abaixo-assinado queremos mostrar o repúdio da sociedade à atual política de “segurança” pública no Rio de Janeiro.



Por que é importante a identificação além da assinatura no abaixo-assinado?

Porque a identificação (que pode ser RG, título eleitoral, etc) garante que ninguém assine mais de uma vez, e assegura a lisura e representatividade da nossa campanha.

Onde as assinaturas devem ser entregues?

Você pode entregar as folhas assinadas para a pessoa com que você as pegou, ou então na Justiça Global, no endereço abaixo:

Avenida Beira Mar, 406, sala 1207
(Centro do Rio), entre 10:00h e 18:00h

Para mais informações sobre a campanha, você pode utilizar os contatos a seguir:

Telefones:
2544-2320 / 9977-4916
Correio eletrônico:
redecontraviolencia@grupos.com.br



POR QUE

**SOMOS CONTRA O USO DO BLINDADO
“CAVEIRÃO” NAS COMUNIDADES?**



Diversos movimentos sociais, ONGs, moradores de comunidades e familiares de vítimas da violência policial estão em campanha contra o uso do blindado pelas forças policiais do Rio de Janeiro. Conhecido como “Caveirão” ou “Pacificador”, o blindado, antes utilizado apenas pelo Batalhão de Operações Especiais (Bope) da PM, hoje também está sendo usado por diversos batalhões (22º, 16º e 9º, entre outros) e pela Coordenadoria de Recursos Especiais (Core) da Polícia Civil, havendo previsão pelo governo da ampliação permanente do número de blindados em operação.



*Exma. Governadora Sra. Rosângela Rosinha
Garotinho de Oliveira*

Carlos Henrique estava indo para casa quando a polícia invadiu a favela Vila do João, em julho de 2005. Bebendo como testemunhas, ele recebeu um tiro na cabeça disparado pelo veículo militar blindado popularmente conhecido como covardão. De lá pra cá, 11 anos de idade. Entre maio e setembro de 2011, 11 pessoas foram mortas em operações envolvendo covardões.

A militarização da polícia falhou em proporcionar segurança às comunidades mais vulneráveis do Rio de Janeiro.

- para matar indiscriminadamente
 - para intimidar comunidades inteiros
 - para realizar operações policiais violentas com uso excessivo de força

Uma política pública de segurança, baseada no respeito aos direitos humanos, deve ser introduzida sem demora. Somente então poderá ter um fim o ciclo de violência no Rio de Janeiro.

Atenciosamente,

Uma política pública de segurança, baseada no respeito aos direitos humanos, deve ser introduzida sem demora. Somente então poderá ter um fim o ciclo de violência no Rio de Janeiro.

Atenciosamente,

Name / Name: _____

Pais / Country:

Assinatura / Signature: _____

Visitors/State / Big visitors: _____

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Exma. Governadora Sra.
Rosângela Rosinha Garotinho
de Oliveira

de Oliveira
Palácio Guanabara
Rua Pinheiro Machado, s/nº
Laranjeiras
22238-900 - Rio de Janeiro - RJ
Brasil



Exma. Governadora Sra. Rosângela Rosinha Garotinho de Oliveira

Carlos Henrique was on his way home when police stormed the Vila do João *favela* in July 2005. According to eyewitnesses, he was shot in the head by a bullet fired from a military-style vehicle, popularly known as the *caveirão*. He was 11 years old. Between May and September 2005, 11 people were killed in *caveirão*-led operations.

The militarization of policing policies has failed to provide security for Rio de Janeiro's most vulnerable communities.

I urge you to stop using the *caveirão* to:

- kill indiscriminately
 - intimidate whole communities
 - mount violent policing operations involving excessive use of force.

An inclusive public security policy based on respect for human rights must be introduced without delay. Only then will there be an end to the cycle of violence in Rio de Janeiro.

Yours sincerely
Name:
Country:
Signature:



Figures 5.10: [top] Report [below] Leaflet [below] Postcard [below] Logo / Slogan ('Who is going to take your soul?') with this same slogan here titling both the protest banner and campaign report

5.4.2 Community Media in Collaboration

Amongst collaborators with the campaign was the Citizen newspaper in the Maré Favelas which published a special edition focussing on contestations of the Caveirão, but specifically about local residents' experiences and opinions. Brought together with these local accounts were also the entextualizing of the Caveirão through more popular and vernacular genres such as the publishing of a rap song that had been written about it as well as several cartoon illustrations of the Caveirão – resemiotizing and extending figurative aspects to the Caveirão as a summary symbol, as well as incorporating it as this symbol into local practices.

This Citizen edition was significant because of how it highlighted how specific changes underway in the social context were informing local practices - the literacy practices of the Citizen included. For example, in covering the story of the Caveirão, this edition of the Citizen became the first in eight years of publications that 'violence' was addressed explicitly in the newspaper. Previous editions had addressed this issue via related themes, but only indirectly so. Here, however, focus on and criticism of violence, policing, and public security policy, was clearly stated, being the first edition of an editorial turn to publishing increasingly about human rights and contentious politics from 2006 onwards. In sum, changes in local context were reflected and responded to through the Citizen's texts.



Figure 5.11: [above] Illustrations sequence, showing children playing in the street, then disappearing after a Caveirão has passed (featuring in the Citizen 44 Cover Story, 'Who's scared of the Caveirão?')



Figure 5.12: [above] Citizen 2006 February-April
(Title: 'Who is going to take your soul?')

[Editorial] In this issue, the Citizen addresses a theme that affects the lives of various communities: violence. Residents are forced to live in constant tension, not knowing if their life or that of another will be ended through a stray bullet. Violence affects quality of life, it makes you sick, impairs your studying, devalues your property, and restricts your right to come and go. We are in solidarity with people who on a daily basis have their rights disrespected, including by the state... The cover story points out the errors of the public security policy used by the government of Mrs Rosinha Garotinho, a policy that adopts as its flagship instrument use of "the Pacifier", the armoured car better known as the Caveirão. This Peacemaker has already killed countless residents from Maré and from other communities in Rio... Our objective is to promote a responsible debate around violence, because we believe solutions will only come if we unite and ask ourselves and government bodies to take responsibility... (Excerpts from the 'Editorial' of the Citizen 44, February to Abril 2006, entitled 'Respect and dignity').

2007

The campaign against the Caveirão continued into early 2007 before fading out.

2006 had been an election year and what seemed to be one major achievement was to have had the new Governor elect support the campaign and pledge to change use of the Caveirão on entering office in January 2007 (RCMCV, 2007a). Yet by the first months of his mandate, rather than this becoming the case, the new Governor named Sergio Cabral oversaw the exact opposite – with marked increase in military policing operations in Rio’s favelas and 2007 ending up having the highest number of recorded police killings per year in Rio (HRW, 2009).

Cabral was the governor that would later oversee the implementation of the pacification policing project known as ‘UPP’ from the end of 2008 onwards (see *Chapter 7*). Policing operations in 2007 were building up to this.

Amongst these was one case of a large scale military police operation in a set of favelas near Maré, named Complexo do Alemão (on 27 June 2007). In the official figures, including related operations occupying Alemão since 2 May 2007, 40 people were killed and 100 injured. Social movements and human rights organizations claimed higher figures (see Amnesty 2017; RCMCV 2007b, 2007c).

This policing ‘mega-operation’ on June 27, as it was referred to in news and reports, occurred prior to the start of a large cultural event in Rio - the 2007 Pan American Games, an International Athletics Championships, due to commence on 13 July. Occurring before, but directly linked as part of public security preparations, the events of June 27 in Alemão became known as ‘the Pan Chacina’ (i.e. massacre/slaughter, the term discussed previously).

During these 2007 Pan American Games (or 'Pan' as referred to in short), human rights activities were organized in favelas by local social movements, coupled also with the mobilizing of a demonstration in the city centre (RCMCV, 2007c).

Here the symbol of the Caveirão appeared once again, but this time on protest banners and campaign paraphernalia contesting the Pan Chacina (e.g. produced by the RCMCV and other groups). Similarly to demonstrations the year before, the image of the Caveirão was prominent, but now in a supporting rather than a main role. It was still present as a summary symbol of police violence, but now backgrounded slightly behind another symbol, i.e. the main symbol of protest for this particular demonstration – the mascot for Pan 2007, which had been redesigned by a cartoonist named Carlos Latuff well known in Rio for his work with social movements (see RCMCV, 2008).



Figure 5.13: The Pan 2007 mascot with the Caveirão, drawn by Carlos Latuff

Figures 5.14: [below] Mainstream news site page on Pan 2007 about protesting (UOL 2007, July 13)
Photographs of protest paraphernalia with recurring slogans / symbols [below] Protest banner with recurring symbols / slogans held out in front of Pan 2007 mascot during protests in Rio on 13.7.2007

UOL Pan 2007

13/07/2007 - 13h28

No centro do Rio, protesto contra o Pan antecipa abertura

Rodrigo Bertolotto
Enviado especial do UOL
No Rio de Janeiro*

O mascote Cauê virou Caô (mentira na gíria carioca), e o Pan se transformou em Pandemônio. Um protesto contra os gastos no Pan e a política de segurança às vésperas dos Jogos foi promovido na frente do prédio da Prefeitura carioca, nesta sexta, dia da festa de abertura da competição.

CENAS DO PROTESTO NO RIO



Mulher mostra a camiseta com o mascote Cauê, que virou Caô, e o Pandemônio



Manifestantes protestaram contra os Jogos e pediram verbas para saúde e educação



Apesar da polícia fazer uma prontidão com viaturas e tropa de choque para que o ato se concentrasse só no centro do Rio, os manifestantes chegaram ao Maracanã por volta das 15h30 com gritos de ordem: "Para rico, Pan é esporte. Para pobre, porrada e morte".

Por lá, uma das barracas vendia por R\$ 10 camisetas com o desenho de Cauê com fuzil na mão e acompanhado de um caveirão, veículo blindado usado pela polícia nas invasões de favelas, como aconteceu no Complexo do Alemão, com 19 mortes há 10 dias.

"Já fizemos umas 100 camisetas, e elas estão saindo como água", disse Maurício Campos, que faz parte do Rede de Comunidades Contra a Violência, uma das entidades presentes na manifestação - estavam presentes partidos de esquerda (como PSTU, PSOL e PCB), sindicatos, movimentos como sem-terra e sem-teto e alguns punks.

Também havia representantes dos moradores do Complexo do Alemão, denunciando morte de inocentes durante a ocupação policial do conjunto de favelas próxima à Linha Amarela, um dos principais eixos de transporte do Rio e do Pan-Americano.

CALENDÁRIO OFICIAL

D	S	T	Q	Q	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

► [Calendário completo](#)
► [Locais de competição](#)

ENQUETE

[:: VOTAR ::](#)
► [Ver resultado](#)



In merging with Pan, the Caveirão as a symbol of protest merged into a series of themes which would be central to social movements and protesting from the periphery of Rio over the next ten years. How so?

Retrospectively, Pan 2007 can be seen as a precursor. Although not apparent at that time, the holding of Pan served as the start of experimental changes in public security in Rio. In years prior, Brazil had initiated a bid to hold the 2014 FIFA World Cup and by 2006 FIFA president Sepp Blatter had stated publicly that he supported the Brazilian bid but that there were still concerns over Brazil's capacity to meet all necessary requirements, with public security being a principle one (see UOL 2007, Jennings et al 2014).

The military policing operations around Pan 2007 had served as a kind of test (i.e. in part) to prove to FIFA and potential investors the country could host the much larger and much more lucrative global mega-event of the FIFA World Cup (Jennings et al 2014, Gaffney 2010).

Pan 2007 was a precursor in other ways besides policing: the costing of Pan spiralled many times higher than the original budget (figures vary by exactly how much) with accusations of overbilling schemes (*superfaturamento*); construction of a so called 'Pan American Village' (a residential area built especially for Pan then sold privately) led to threatened evictions in favelas nearby; whilst in the city centre temporary displacements of the street population occurred (see Fazendo Midia 2007, Gaffney 2010, Gaffney & Melo 2013, Silvestre & de Oliveira 2012, Viehoff & Poynter 2016).

In sum, the Caveirão as a symbol of protest had merged into this much wider set of themes, themes which would start to consolidate shortly afterward as a specific *cycle of contention*. That is, contestations against global mega-events, military policing, and favela evictions

made against Pan 2007, would come to repeat, but on a much larger scale, from 2008-2009 onwards – contesting the hosting of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics in Brazil and Rio. It was from this point in 2008-2009, and around this set of themes, that the cycle of contention in question started to take shape (as I continue to discuss, in **Chapters 6-11**).

Below, I summarize some of the main points in this chapter and link them to following ones.

5.5 Summary and Link

Social movements can be thought of in terms of two interacting perspectives: firstly, *social movement bases* as ‘the social background, organizational resources, cultural framework of contention and collective action’; and secondly, *social movement campaigns*, as specific and ‘sustained challenges [toward a group of] power holders’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.236-237; see also **Chapter 2**).

This movement from bases to campaigns involves both *synergetic effects* (Lahusen 1996) with coordination and convergence of communications and activities at a particular time, and *diagetic effects* (Lahusen 1996) with connecting of communications and activities continuing over time, via flows of interconnecting things and events, moments of intensification and transformation.

At the centre of campaigns involving contestation, symbolic practices are particularly salient with actors seeking to authorise their versions of the past, present and future (Keränen, 2017). In turn, campaigns become sites where social phenomenon come to develop as *symbols of protest*, becoming reified across a wide range of cultural forms, as well as travelling onwards, through re-uses in different contexts, taking on new, condensed, and changing meanings. In this latter sense of ongoing meaning making and text

trajectories through which they develop, symbols of protest can be traced diachronically in terms of their *symbolization trajectories*.

The Caveirão serves as one example of how such symbols of protest developed over time: e.g. from its denotative name and direct reference as the VBTP/T (Armoured Transport Vehicle for Troops/Personnel); to its symbolic renaming as the Caveirão (or Big Skull); to a series of reported stories and claims and images alongside direct experiences of it; to resemiotizations and recontextualizations of these through an expanding range of actors, texts, practices and contexts; finally to the establishment of this military police vehicle appearing across a wider range of semiotic forms and cultural associations. Central to these however from the perspective of social movements from the periphery of Rio were roles of representing, summarising, and contesting military policing.

In *Chapter 5*, I overviewed and emphasised how the Caveirão as this symbol of protest developed and disseminated through what I referred to as campaigning literacies.

Campaigning literacies were sets of literacy practices regularly featuring in social movement campaigns. I described the production, circulation, and uses of interrelating texts including: e.g. public and press notices on campaign themes by social movements and organizations; research data, findings, and claims via press, academic, and human rights publications; community newspapers and medias in local registers; and specially made campaign leaflets, postcards, and petitions.

Protest events have long formed part of the repertoire of social movement campaigns and the campaign against the Caveirão was launched through one such event: i.e. a demonstration and protest march. Here the anterior campaigning texts and themes

converged and overlapped with the making and showing of protest signs, marching through public spaces, and other activities associated most directly with protest events. In this sense campaigning literacies were shown to connect into *demonstration literacies* (as discussed further in **Chapters 9-10**).

Following this example of the Caveirão, a broader point I introduced in this chapter and continue via **Chapters 6-11** concerns how a series of significant symbols of protest and contentious themes can be seen accumulating in Rio from early-mid 2000s onwards.

The Caveirão was but one of these.

These symbols and trajectories were markers and traces of what I refer to as an emerging *cycle of contention*. From 2006-2007, through intersecting of campaigning and protesting about the long term issue of military police and more recent issue of global mega-events, this cycle of contention per se started to take shape. Shortly after, from 2008-2009, it became fully specified.

In **Chapters 6** and **7**, I describe further examples of symbols of protest and literacies focussing on this subsequent period from 2008-2009.

CHAPTER 6 MEMORIALIZATION TRAJECTORIES AND MEMORIAL LITERACIES

The first name that I heard repeated in relation to protests in Maré was Matheus. Who was he? By the accounts of those who knew him, he was a common eight year old boy from the periphery of Rio who had a particular love of football. Like many others who heard his name at protests, I would never know him in person, though I would hear Matheus Rodrigues Carvalho referred to time and time again. What had his name to do with protest? Though I had seen this name previously on protest signs in 2013, I became acquainted with the story of Matheus principally through two people and one particular event.

6.1 Memory through People, Memory through Events

6.1.1 People

These two people were firstly, Gizele Martins, coordinator of the Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper and its yearly community media course I participated in from September-December of 2013, and secondly, Renata Souza, a speaker on one of its weekly sessions about the history of the Citizen (see *Chapter 3*). Gizele had been writing for the Citizen as a volunteer reporter since 2005 before becoming editor in 2008, then effectively running the project from 2012-2014. Renata worked as the editor prior to Gizele from 2006-2008, writing as reporter previously from 2001. Both were from the same generation (late 20s to early 30s), both were raised in Maré, and both were long term participants in social movement activities locally (e.g. for over ten years). These two women, who were renowned for their history of activist work in Maré, alongside several other colleagues and collectives, played an important role in how Matheus' name and story came to be recognised and be remembered locally as a kind of symbol of protest (as defined previously in *Chapter 5*).

Both here in *Chapter 6*, and following in *Chapter 7*, I describe some of the ways in which this symbolization came into being and was represented in the case of Matheus from 2008-2013.

6.1.2 Event(s)

The next way that I came to know about Matheus was through attending a particular event on 7 December 2013. More precisely this was in fact two events that merged into one. The first was a combined memorial event and demonstration held on the afternoon of 7 December in homage to Matheus remembering five years since his passing away. The second was the 14th anniversary celebration of the Citizen newspaper later that evening. These two events linked together with the former leading into the latter, both physically and symbolically, with a procession cum protest march ending where the anniversary was due to commence, but also, in a more profound sense because of how Matheus' story had informed that of the Citizen and vice versa, dating back to the events of his death five years before.

Below, I describe scenes from this memorial and demonstration event on 7 December 2013. Represented through a particular set of literacy practices, or *memorial literacies*, through this event, Matheus' name and story are made apparent as a symbol of protest of special importance locally.

6.2 Memorial and Demonstration Events

6.2.1 In Memory of Matheus (December 7, 2013)

A Crossroads and Public Square in the Backstreets of Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré

It has been five years that we are protesting against this murder. He was an 8 year old child who would have wanted the right to live, but he did not even have the right to buy bread...

Another name on the list of murdered poor... This has happened again and again and it is our obligation as favela residents to try to speak about it. This can be through the community, it can be through one voice, through a chant, a hymn, or even in silence. But this revolt must always continue inside us, so that we never accept it. We cannot accept the killing of black, poor, favela residents. Nor can we let victims become forgotten...

(Public speaking by Gizele Martins, in Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré – my recording / translation)

Around a small streetside square were 50 or so attendees standing around and conversing whilst ongoing speeches were made through a microphone and a small portable amplifier out of which music was played, before and after each speaker. The microphone was 'open', with different people taking it in turns, with family members alongside the event organizers from local social movements, and attendees from other favelas and social movements there showing support.

Full of young children, coming and going playing, with older youths on motorbikes passing through its crossroads every few minutes, the square and alleyways here around the Baixa do Sapateiro neighbourhood in Maré were fairly typical of what favelas in Rio are supposed to look like in stereotypical terms – a dense ensemble of weathered red brick constructions, faded colours, graffiti, and electric wires, with flows of movements through narrowing back-streets.

God bless children in Brazil, all children in favelas. Let God guard them with love, on every corner, and in each school, because they are passing through bad days. But the police don't respect this. The police lack respect. They come in here, firing up in the air, not paying attention with children coming and going... Why should we have to put up with this absurdity? Because we live in a favela?

(Public speaking by Dona Maria, in Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré – my recording / translation)

The memorial event for Matheus took place in front of his family home. His grandmother Dona Maria (pseudonym) was handing out cups of coffee in between speaking about her memories of Matheus and what had happened. Alongside her, Matheus' mother Grace (pseudonym) conversed individually with people around the square, before briefly taking the microphone herself to thank those that had come. Around the speeches, Grace's other six children were out in the streets playing, although they would take the microphone themselves in turn, singing an evangelical song in chorus, in homage to their brother.

Besides the speeches and music, a cord had been tied up around one of the corners of the square where people concentrated. Hanging from this cord and stuck up on the walls with cellotape were cuttings from newspaper articles, photos, notes, and protest signs brought along by those who had come to the event.

As with the speeches, mostly all of these texts decorating the corner were about Matheus, or represented themes related to his story or to issues of police violence in Maré. Together, through these overlapping communications, Baixa da Sapateiro was turned temporarily into a place of remembrance and demonstration.

Later, as the event was coming to end, this scene was undone, with its props carried over for use in the next planned activity. Getting ready, those in the corner removed the cord from the wall, but without removing the texts which had been hanging over it. Pulling the cord tight, so that it stretched across the width of the road at the entrance to the square, what had been an installation now became a kind of protest banner.

Behind this cord-banner leading the way, others collected up the placards scattered around the square, some of which had been made there and then, whilst others brought along

from previous events and reused. Taking up and passing around these protest signs to carry and show, the crowd started to organize itself into a march.

Held across the street at the front of the march, the thin cord with loose paper copies and photographs hanging over it carried little weight. So differently to a traditional large sized protest banner made of a sturdy fabric or plastic, it required several people to walk along holding the cord and hanging copies together as the crowd moved off - out of the square, into the streets, and then up Timbau Hill, in the direction of the buildings of the local NGO CEASM, and the Citizen.

The march proceeded onwards, and upwards, moving along, slowly, and in silence. Local residents said nothing as it passed them by, but they looked on, seeing what the demonstration was about, through the hanging photographic images and protest texts leading its way.

Arriving at the top of Timbau Hill and through the gates of CEASM, those carrying the improvised banner manoeuvred to hang it up, tying it from the entrance along the walls of the building inside.

The hanging cord and texts draping over would remain up from that afternoon until late into the evening, here serving as an installation once again, but this time as a part of anniversary commemorations of the Citizen – with the images and words placed at the entrance, being the first thing that people coming in would see, recalling Matheus and the violence that had ended his life prematurely.

Figures 6.1-6.5 [below]

Assorted texts hanging along a wall around the corner of a public square in Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré



Figure 6.1: [left] The event flier ('In memory of Mateus / 7 December 2-4pm...')
 [right] Newspaper cuttings from 2008 ('Protests and prostration at a funeral...')



Figure 6.2: Newspaper cuttings from 2008 ('Bullet takes little Mateus' Life...')



Figure 6.3: [left] Family photo [mid] Citizen from 2008 ('Maré in mourning') [right] Newspaper cuttings from 2008 ('One more life... / Boy of 8 hit by bullet in Maré...')



Figure 6.4: Newspaper cutting from 2009 ('Death rates in Rio three times more...')
(Picture / Caption: 'Felipe, 17 years old / 'There's a genocide in this age group...')



Figure 6.5: [above] A Caveirão [sign] 'Don't kill our children'



Figure 6.6: Carrying texts as a protest/processional banner in the streets of Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré

6.3 From Luto to Luta

In Portuguese, the two alliterating words *luto* and *luta* translate approximately as mourning and struggle or fight. Both conjoin regularly in motifs of social protest, e.g. *do luta à luta* ('from mourning to protest') or similar variations around this theme. The memorial event and demonstration on 7 December 2013 in Maré acted out this motif and traditions it alluded to - combining a familial and communitarian aspect central to the history of mourning, with the public and explicitly political purposes implied by *a luta*.

Central to the memorial event and the demonstration was one recurrent name - Matheus - a name representing both *luto* and *luta*, both remembrance and protest.

Matheus' name recurred among the small gathering of people and things put on display, in speech making, and on written texts of different sorts, all alongside photographic images of him. These materializations functioned as memorial, but also, beyond this, they functioned as denouncements, in two main senses.

Firstly, in a specific and individual sense, they denounced that it was officers from Rio's military police who had murdered Matheus, without anyone having been held accountable to date (see **Chapter 7** for example content from these texts and the details of these claims).

Secondly, in a generalised sense, they denounced (as put in the speech making) the death of another "black, poor, favela resident" by state sponsored actors, as an exemplar of an institutionalized racial and class based inequality of the most violent kind, forming part of a long term and ongoing history of similar homicides and surrounding stories (see Waiselfisz 2013, also Nascimento 2016). This second sense of denouncement

was referred to regularly, in more general local terms (i.e. rather than through via specific theoretical references), as a ‘structural’ view on violence.

What did structural mean here? In its most basic sense it meant a focus on repetitions and recurring incidences, how these resembled each other and especially how such recurrences were reproduced on an ongoing basis in ‘systematic’ ways, via the apparatus of dominant institutions and governance (*cf.* definitions of ‘structural violence’ in *Chapter 2*).

This view was a fundamental one in Brazilian social movements because of a brutal history of colonialism, oligarchy, and slavery, resulting in social demographics where class and race intersect with specific power relations, e.g. where the lowest socio-economic indicators remain and the highest police homicide rates coincide with populations in majority ‘black’ (Waiselfisz 2013, Nascimento 2016).

Yet as fundamental as such a structural view is within this context politically, its movement toward generalization raises questions empirically, especially so, in relation to social protest. If similar cases of police killing recur regularly, why did some cases generate public coverage and others not, or some much more, or others much less so, i.e. both in general in the public sphere as well as amongst the ‘counter publics’ of local activists and movements themselves (Fraser, 1992)?

Why was it that certain cases and contexts of police killings mobilized protest movements into action and memorial events years later, whilst others not, or much less so?

Matheus was one such case that generated public coverage, protest movements, memorials and more. What was there therefore that was specific in relation to Matheus’ case which made it such a significant one?

I address that question here in *Chapter 6* introductoryily, through the texts and practices central to the realization of the memorial and demonstration event in December 2013 – i.e. through a particular example of *memorial literacies*.

Thereafter in *Chapter 7*, I address it in more detail through accounts of how social movements responded to the death of Matheus and surrounding context in December 2008 producing a trajectory of texts of protest and memorial interlinking this five year period – i.e. a particular example of a *memorialization trajectory*.

6.4 Literacy Practices of Memorial Assemblage

6.4.1 Literacy Events, Texts, and Names as Symbols

On 7 December, central to the memorial and demonstration event were a series of literacy events and assemblages of texts that constructed its space in a makeshift manner (as described above in 5.2.1 and illustrated in Figures 6.1-6.6).

These in several ways were fairly typical of similar ‘memorial assemblages’ (Santino, 2006) and ‘grassroots memorials’ in Rio as elsewhere (Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011, Sánchez-Carretero & Ortiz 2011; see also Fraenkel 2010, 2011; Santino 2004, 2016).

Common to which, as seen at the event on 7 December, were a range of differing vernacular texts, or texts used in vernacular literacy events, including different genres and formats.

For example: placards, written notes, photographs, cut out pages from local community newspapers and national media concerning the case of Matheus, all brought together as a kind of installation in this public space. It was these which constructed the visual environment of the memorial event.

One main function of this assemblage of texts was the marking of a place of death through texts which commented on it – i.e. written and displayed to both remember this, but also to protest against it, as well as wider policing practices and policies associated. Memorial assemblages are frequently also protest assemblages in this way (Santino, 2016, Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011).

In Matheus' memorial and demonstration event, as in others similar, the centrality of a particular name recurring across many of the texts put on display became a visual focus of attention and consequently a thematic locus – synthesizing a range of meanings associated with his story through his name as a condensation symbol and summary symbol (Sapir 1934, Ortner 1973, as defined previously in *Chapter 5*). This visual presence of a proper name was surrounded by speeches and chanting of the same name. Here as elsewhere therefore, a person's name as a condensation symbol and summary symbol became a core feature of a memorial assemblage and protest assemblage (see *Chapters 8* and *9*, for further examples).

6.4.2 Texts, Times, and Ties

There was a more particular temporal dimension to these texts used in marking this space. Most of the texts related to two very particular times – a present context of social tension and protest around 2013-2014 (i.e. current texts) and a past context of social tension and protest around 2008-2009 (i.e. text archives).

Through these intersecting sets of texts on December 7, links between these two particular contexts of contestation in Rio were constructed symbolically and displayed in public locally in Maré. It is in linkages between these two particular periods that several explanations

become apparent for why Matheus' story became an especially significant one for social movements locally.

6.4.2.1 Ties from 2008-2009 to 2013-2014

2008 was the year that a new and highly controversial community policing project would be launched in Rio's favelas known as 'UPP' (Pacification Police Units). The death of Matheus, in December 2008, and a period of protesting that followed it, coincided temporally therefore with this launching of UPP from 2008 into 2009.

Furthermore, UPP was directly linked to preparations for and promotions of the so called mega-events in Rio – the upcoming 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games – whereby the installation of permanent policing inside favelas via UPP was presented as the flagship of a new public security regime linked to urban planning and investment initiatives (as introduced in *Chapter 4*).

So beside the brutal incident itself and the age of the boy, the fact that Matheus' death coincided with the commencing of the controversial UPP project as well as preparations for and promotions of the mega-events meant that these became elements in how Matheus became symbolized in protest at the time in 2008-2009 and memorialized five years later in 2013-2014.

Shortly after the memorial event on 7 December 2013, the turning of the year into 2014 signalled not only arrival of the 2014 World Cup (i.e. the first of the two mega-events), but also the imminent arrival of pacification policing in Maré, with UPP having spread across 36 other favelas previously from 2008-2013, and the Maré favelas next in line.

Through the memorial assemblage on December 7 described above, these past to present links between the case of Matheus and UPP and the mega-events were materialised both through diverse texts and photographs put on display (e.g. Figures 6.1 to 6.6), as well as around these via public speech making.

All of these linkages I discuss in more detail in *Chapter 7* through descriptions of the histories of these text-artefacts (e.g. where, when, how, and by whom they were produced) as a way of explaining the particular symbolization of Matheus in protest during 2008-2009 and 2013-2014.

6.4.2.2 Ties with the Citizen

Another linkage was that most of this assemblage of present and past texts at the memorial event connected to the Citizen community media project, either directly or in indirect ways. In the production of the memorial event, the Citizen served as a local archive and a fund of knowledge (González & Amanti, 2005, Barton & Hamilton 2012) both through recycled texts put on display, but also through the experiences of people who had produced the project - with the march and the carrying of the texts through Maré, connecting one place and story (i.e. that of Matheus and his memorial) with another place and story (i.e. that of the Citizen and its anniversary commemorations) acting out the meaningful connection between the two. The Citizen's texts and practices and the people who were involved in producing it were all centrally important in how Matheus' name and story became a symbol of protest (as discussed further in *Chapter 7*).

There were not only the texts of the Citizen in this memorial assemblage on 7 December however. As seen above, there were also mainstream media texts (e.g. Figures 6.3, 6.5) and

other social movement media texts (e.g. 6.1, 6.2). But even still, most of these mainstream media and social movement media texts had been informed in particular ways by the Citizen and local residents producing or collaborating with it (either in the past, or present).

In *Chapter 7*, I discuss in more detail these three groups of texts that made up the memorial assemblage in Maré on 7 December 2013, i.e. mainstream media texts (e.g. newspapers from 2008), social movement texts (e.g. photographs from 2008-2009), and also community media texts (e.g. particular pages and editions of the Citizen from 2008-2009).

I reconstruct contexts, processes, and practices, through which these texts were produced and circulated (i.e. their trajectories), showing how the name and story of Matheus became a symbol of protest from 2008-2009 reasserted later in 2013-2014.

Prior to that however, closing this chapter, I define in more detail what I mean by memory and explain how memorial assemblages such as the one described can be seen as a one particular example of memorial literacies.

6.5 Cultural Memory and Sites of Memory

Two common ways memory is referred to in research on conflict and protest include: firstly, acts of remembrance, where individuals reconstruct in the present, experiences underwent personally in the past (e.g. autobiographic retellings); secondly, where social groups are shown to share common representations of the past, manifested in the present (e.g. through cultural artefacts and social practices).

The second of these relates to concepts of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992) and cultural memory (Assmann, 2011; the latter term developing from the former).

Cultural memory captures a process whereby some ‘body of reusable texts, images, and rituals’ (Assmann & Czaplicka 1995, p.32) conveys an identity and purpose, with shared significations of the past and shared means of doing so, ‘contribut[ing] to group cohesion by allowing personal memory [and] supra-individual memory of community’ to interlink in multiple senses (Schulze 2009, p.vii).

Building on this concept of collective memory, Nora (1996) uses the term *lieu de mémoire* (or ‘sites of memory’, herein) to refer to ‘...any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community [such as] any place, object or concept vested with historical significance in the popular collective memory’ (Nora 1996, p.xvii).

The emphasis here is on seeing such sites as ‘a symbolic instrument rather than a physical site’ (Nora 1984, p.xxxiv–xxxv) with respective linking of symbolic, material, and functional aspects. Functional in this case refers to for example - how sites of memory materialise memories making them perceivable; how they counteract processes of forgetting; how they immortalize death; as well as how they form a part of particular social practices, such as mourning, demonstrating, denouncing of guilty parties, and demanding of accountability (see Hite 2012; Dias de León, Llorente, & Salvi 2015; Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011).

Nora (1984) has a specific way of defining and dichotomizing ‘memory’ and ‘history’ which has been problematized amongst global south and post-colonial settings such as South America and Brazil (but which I will not repeat here: *cf.* Sengupta 2008; de León 2015, Hite 2011, Montaño 2008).

For purposes herein it suffices to say use of the term 'history' relates to how representations of dominant social institutions populate and mediate cultural memory. However there are both (more or less) vernacular and dominant texts and practices which interrelate in often complex ways (see Barton & Papen 2010, Street 1993) in the formations of both collective memory and counter memories (i.e. more localised and bottom up perspectives of 'resistance against the official versions of historical continuity' Foucault 1977, p.160). Cultural memory is hybrid therefore, but it is these more localised and bottom up political perspectives that I emphasise.

In sum, in *Chapters 5-11*, I draw on understandings of sites of memory and cultural memory in three main ways.

Firstly, symbols of protest as I have defined and described them (in *Chapters 5* and *6*) can be thought of as sites of memory, for example, as condensation symbols and summary symbols, with their own particular symbolic, material, functional, and affective configurations (e.g. with particular names being one example that I refer to regularly from *Chapter 6-10*).

Secondly, specific events and spaces can be sites of memory, such as protest events and especially those in places of historical or emotional significance for the people protesting (e.g. as seen in *Chapter 6*, through a community based memorial and demonstration event).

Thirdly, sites of memory, such as these, link into broader, collective, cultural, and politicised memories, central to which are local archives of texts and artefacts and the social practices in which these are located (e.g. as discussed further in *Chapter 7* and in following chapters).

All of these three aspects imply multiple roles for sites of memory, but in protest practices I refer to recalling from the past to the present, the most recurrent roles of sites of memory relate to denunciation of policing violence, usually realized through some form of literacy.

6.6 Summary and Link

Memorial literacies in the context I describe were sets of literacy practices featuring in social movement and protest practices of public remembrance of particular people and events. They featured in collective activities shortly after contentious deaths combining familial and community mourning with social movement and protest practices, but also recurred through ongoing memorial and demonstration events of 'not forgetting' and 'denouncement', months and years later, especially marking anniversaries.

Central to such events were the writing and the displaying of names and short messages in public spaces, especially spaces connected in some way with respective cases (e.g. victims' places of death and homes, funerals and religious sites, town hall and political sites, or streets and buildings associated with culpable parties).

As described further in *Chapters 8-9*, such memorial literacies were one of the most characteristic features of protest events over 2013-2014 organized by social movements from or in support of favelas.

There was another more distinctive example however whereby memorial practices and protest practices combined – the mounting more elaborately of what I referred to as memorial assemblages.

Central to the memorial assemblage on 7 December 2013 described here in *Chapter 6* was the recurring presence of the name of Matheus - as a symbol of protest and site of memory. This recalling from the past to the present of his name, the incident of his death five years before, and a wide range of different texts and cultural artefacts from the period in 2008 were all also examples of the continuation of a particular meaning making trajectory and

symbolization trajectory that I refer to as a *memorialization trajectory* (i.e. from 2008-2013).

It is the start of this trajectory, and why this was significant, which I turn to next in

Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7 MEMORIALIZATION TRAJECTORIES AND MEDIA-ACTIVIST LITERACIES

Continuing from *Chapter 6*, *Chapter 7* discusses the histories of the texts of memorial and protest displayed during the memorial event for Matheus on 7 December 2013, e.g. fliers, photographs, pages from past community newspapers, and national newspapers (see Figures 6.1- 6.6).

From where did these texts come and how was this particular? I address that question in this chapter, reconstructing the contexts in which these texts were produced and circulated.

The focus in *Chapter 7* is on showing how via media-activist literacies a story and name developed and disseminated as a symbol of protest and site of memory from 2008 to 2013 (as defined in *Chapters 5* and *6*).

‘Community media’ is one of the most traditional forms of media-activism in favelas in Rio and central to this trajectory of symbolization and memorialization were roles played by a community newspaper and social movement project in Maré named the Citizen (introduced in *Chapter 3* and *4*; see Souza 2010, 2013; Custódio 2014, 2016).

Media-activist literacies were sets of literacy practices traditional to social movement journalism such as the Citizen, e.g. the writing and publishing of articles ‘reporting’ on events, representing and making comment on them from the viewpoint of social movements locally, i.e. ‘producing and making use of written texts to achieve social goals’ (Papen 2010, p. 78).

However, coinciding with the symbolization and memorialization trajectory from 2008-2013 was also the social mediafication of media-activist literacies, emerging in the case of the

Citizen, firstly through a weblog (initiated in early 2009) and then Facebook (from late 2012) so that by 2013 their community media was being done mainly through these online means. The new affordances of social media led to adaptations in local community media literacies including new roles that directly informed the symbolization and memorialization trajectory - as I will describe.

In studies of social movements and contentious politics, *brokerage* has been defined as the 'production of a new connection between previously unconnected sites' (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.31), whilst *diffusion* the 'spread[ing] of a form of contention, an issue, or a way of framing it, from one site to another' (p.31).

Below in sections 7.1-7.7, I describe multiple processes, practices, texts and technologies through which the story and name of Matheus diffused from 2008-2013. But these began through mediational roles played by the Citizen, connecting voices and images of local residents and media-activists from the Maré favelas into the mainstream media.

7.1 Diffusion through Mainstream Media

7.1.1 First Accounts (4 December, 2008)

At around 7.30am, on the morning of 4th December 2008, Matheus and his brothers and sisters were sent out to school, but Matheus came back around half an hour later. As they had not had breakfast, his mother Grace sent him out to buy some bread. But moments after he opened the front door she heard a bang:

I heard a loud bang. I thought it was a firecracker because it was Christmas time. I went to look for Matheus. I saw him lying in the doorway, shot [in the lower part of his face] (Matheus' mother, interviewed in February 2009 – Alves & Evanson 2011, p.66).

Grace's account described the scenes that followed immediately afterward as: 'despair on the street – with people, running, screaming, crying...' Family and neighbours called out for help and among those that arrived were colleagues from Grace's workplace nearby, NGO CEASM, where the Citizen is located.

Tensions remained around the site because of either or both (depending on accounts) policeman and fireman attempting to remove the body, while protesting locals insisted a medical specialist should be present and attend to the boy.

Gizele Martins and other community reporters, from, or linked to the Citizen documented scenes and events in writing, whilst a local photographer named Naldinho Lourenço documented them photographically.

Soon after this incident, in the ensuing hours and days, these written and photographic documentations started to circulate from local to national media networks.

7.1.2 Brokerage: First Contacts to Press Contacts

Renata Souza the editor of the Citizen at the time in 2008 and one of the people that documented events around Matheus' death explained an initial role of brokerage played by the community media project in the following manner:

After clarifying all the details, we decided to send a note to the entire press, including our contacts and IDs as reporters from The Citizen. From that moment on, our phones did not stop ringing. It felt good to be able to spread the local residents' versions of events as the police were already telling a different story at that time, the so-called "official version" that the boy had been shot by traffickers in an exchange of gunfire between traffickers. The Citizen managed to get these two versions juxtaposed in the major newspapers. At the time

our strategy was to try to get the greatest visibility possible into the press about the murder of the child, so as to pressure the state government to punish the policemen responsible (...) Journalists from the press started contacting the Citizen, to act as a bridge in contacting the victim's relatives. But we managed this situation however, by speaking with these journalists and being very clear that if they were going to publish a biased or insensitive report then the family member would not give them an interview (Renata Souza, on the Citizen in December 2008, my translation and adaptation from her written accounts, in Souza 2013).

Looking back over press publications at this time there were three main stages of publishing of news about Matheus via the mass media: firstly, mainstream news online (breaking news and updates on December 4); secondly, mainstream news in print (on December 5); thirdly, mainstream news threads (e.g. the posting of further articles, photographs, videos, and opinion columns, in the days and weeks afterwards).

Mediating roles played by the Citizen and local accounts can be seen in all three.

7.1.3 Diffusion: Local Accounts into Mainstream Media

From mainstream news online, to mainstream news in print, and mainstream news threads, the story of Matheus appeared in all of the principle publications in Rio - from more working class to the more middle class and elite readerships (e.g. Correio do Brasil, Estadão, Folha de São Paulo, Globo Extra, Jornal do Brasil, IG, O Dia, O Globo, UOL).

Three of these news sources were referred to as having done 'adequate' coverage by the Citizen – Jornal do Brasil, O Dia, and O Globo / Globo Extra (Souza, 2013), with this adequacy based on: firstly inclusions of local voices and accounts; and secondly, the juxtapositions of local versions and police versions of events appearing in news sources.

Appearing across these sources as named and quoted were: family, friends, and neighbours; a local resident employee from local NGO CEASM; a local resident political activist and employee from Rio state's ALERJ Human Rights Commission; the director of a local NGO, and a politician with links to the area.

As exemplified in excerpts below this meant across these interlinking actors, a multi-tiered argument appeared in circulation through the mass media - involving a range of contentious claims, statuses of institutional authority, and communicational styles (albeit mediated once again, through the respective reporters and the genres of mainstream media in publication).

Local Accounts in the News

(1) Residents reported that the boy was shot by a policeman, pursuing a man carrying a radio transmitter, supposedly a drug trafficker. No shots went off other than that which killed the child, they guaranteed. According to Leonardo Melo an employee of the NGO CEASM where the mother of the victim also works, witnesses saw a military policeman going back to the crime scene in a vehicle with three other officers and try to take the body, but they were impeded by residents who demanded presence of a medical examiner. "We do not understand how a boy of 8 years old could be confused with a drug trafficker", criticised Leonardo ...

(2) For Marielle Franco, friend of the victim's family, as well as an adviser to the State Representative of the Legislative Assembly Human Rights Commission, the police took fright or were acting in reprisal for a lack of paying bribes. "It was not a narrow place, or an alley, where a drug dealer would target someone. They could have been scared, because the boy was about ten inches above the street, coming out of the raised steps of his doorway. And there is the stereotype thing: the boy was black, with a shaved head, barefoot and shirtless".

News Excerpts [above]

Jornal do Brasil (2008, December 4) 'Boy dead in Maré holding R\$1 to buy bread'

Figures 7.1

News Headlines [below]

O Dia (2008, December 5) 'Contradictions in the versions of the military police'

Globo Extra (2008b, December 4) 'Military police present mismatching versions [of events] about the death of an eight year old boy in Maré'

CONTRADIÇÕES NA VERSÃO DA PM

■ Quatro policiais militares compareceram à 21ª DP (Bonsucesso) para prestar depoimento. Quatro fuzis e quatro pistolas apreendidos e as armas serão encaminhadas à perícia para que seja feito confronto balístico a fim de verificar se a bala que matou o menino partiu de uma delas.

O delegado Carlos Eduardo Almeida revelou que há pelo menos duas contradições nas informações passadas pela PM. Uma delas diz respeito à identificação da viatura policial que estava na favela na hora do crime. "Os moradores nos forneceram um número, que eles anotaram, mas a PM apresentou outro. Agora vamos investigar para esclarecer qual carro e equipe estiveram na favela", disse.

Outra contradição está na informação passada oficial-

mente pela PM e no depoimento de dois sargentos, um cabo e um soldado na delegacia. A corporação garante que os policiais foram atraídos para o local pelo barulho de tiros de um suposto confronto entre traficantes da Nova Holanda e Baixa do Sapateiro. No local, foi apreendida uma mochila com drogas e um revólver calibre 38. A PM informou que os policiais só souberam da morte do menino ao chegar na delegacia. Em depoimento, os policiais militares disseram que foram alertados por moradores, ainda na favela, sobre a morte do menino. O coronel Álvaro Garcia, comandante de unidades especiais da PM, revelou que os policiais saíram do 22º BPM (Maré) pela porta dos fundos porque a Linha Vermelha estava com o trânsito engarrafado.

The screenshot shows a news article from 'EXTRA' with the following details:

- Header:** EXTRA
- Navigation:** CAPA, NOTÍCIAS, POLÍCIA, EMPREGO, FAMOSOS, MULHER, TV E LAZER, ESPORTE, EXTRASHOP
- Date:** 04/12/08 23:35 - 14/12/10 17:57
- Share Options:** Tweetar, G+
- Article Title:** **Polícia Militar apresenta versões desencontradas para a morte de menino de oito anos na Maré**
- Text:** Gabriela Moreira e Isabel Boechat
- Comment Section:** Tamanho do texto A A A
- Commentary Section:** Comentário, Comentários Encerrados, with a note: Os comentários são de responsabilidade exclusiva de seus autores e não representam a opinião deste site. Se achar algo que viole os [termos de uso](#), denuncie. Leia as [perguntas mais frequentes](#) para saber o que é impróprio ou ilegal.

7.1.4 Diffusion: Local Images into Mainstream Media and Viral Media

Taking a different route into the mass media, photographs taken at the scene by Naldinho were sent into and posted onto the website of one of the major favela based NGOs in Rio - named Viva Rio / Viva Favela, whose work initiated around issues of police violence (see Lucas, 2012). Their original publication was accompanied by a note written by the editor of photography for the NGO, emphasising publication of the images as being 'not about sensationalism of any kind, but a manifestation of deep indignation at what had happened to this boy'. The reason for this note was that several of the photos from this set contained strong and shocking content, such as images of the boy shot dead in the doorway of his house. One of these in particular became widely published – a picture directly overlooking one hand of Matheus, still holding the one *real* coin given to him to buy bread.



Figures 7.2: [top] Globo Extra (2008b, December 20) 'Every child Has the right to live' [below] Global Justice et al (2009) 'The criminalization of poverty: a report on economic, social, and cultural causes of torture and other forms of violence in Brazil' both featuring Naldinho Lourenço's photo of Matheus

Following its wide republication and recirculation that would ensue, this particular picture, more than any of the others, would become an symbolic image of 'the case' of Matheus – an example of a text-artefact produced by local residents and community media, which diffused across a wide range of contexts, both at the time, as a kind of viral media, but also in days, months and years after, recalled by social movement actors as a resource reshown in media, protest, and research texts, contesting issues of police violence (cf. Figure 7.6).



A CRIMINALIZAÇÃO DA POBREZA

Relatório sobre as Causas Econômicas, Sociais e Culturais da Tortura e Outras Formas de Violência no

Brasil

Note: the mainstream newspapers articles and photographs referred to above in 7.1 are examples of texts appearing at the memorial and protest event for Matheus on 7 December 2013 (see Chapter 6).

7.2 Diffusion through Overlapping Contexts and Texts in 2008: The Start of Pacification Policing

The case of Matheus was not unique - tragically, similar stories have repeated in favelas (see Alves & Evanson, 2011). However, the surrounding context of the case was particular.

A month before his death, from late October 2008 a process got underway to install a new type of permanent 'community policing' in Rio's favelas. Although not referred to as such yet, this was the start of a project known as UPP (Pacification Police Units) (Palermo, 2014).

Coincidentally on the same 4 December morning that Matheus died, the Brazilian President Luiz Inácio 'Lula' da Silva and Rio's Governor Sergio Cabral were due to give speeches in the Complexo do Alemão favelas situated just 6 kilometres away from Maré. President Lula was there to promote a federal program named 'Territories for Peace' linked to the community policing initiative being introduced in the weeks before by Governor Cabral and colleagues.

Lula's speech promoted a 'new model of policing' coupled to investments in social projects seeking to change the established local views of police, suggesting that they should now be seen more as '*companheiros/as*' (a local expression for a companion, colleague, friend, etc.) (FENAPEF, 2008).

Due to start at 10 am on the morning of 4 December 2008, President Lula's and Governor Cabral's launch would occur two hours after Matheus had died, temporally overlapping with protesting occurring in the Maré favelas nearby. This overlapping was one of several specific examples of high profile social events, whereby public security policy linked to pacification, cases of police killings, and public protesting, came to coincide temporally and textually,

via media accounts (e.g. via written, photographic, and filmic content), both at a mass scale through the mainstream media, as well through social movement medias (at a lesser range).

Morning news on 4 December (2008) had already been reporting about the President's and the Governor's speeches and proposals about policing. But shortly afterwards, news started to report the death of Matheus and the accusations and protesting against police in the area - accordingly, both events and stories started to become conflated.

This conflation became most explicit in newspaper articles the next day (5 December): e.g.

Child Dies Shot in the Maré Complex: Residents' accuse military police of the crime, closing off main roads by setting a car on fire. Only six kilometres away from where President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva was launching the project 'Territories of Peace'... residents from the Maré favelas protested against the death of the boy Matheus (O Globo, 2008b).

Through texts such as this one and others similar at the time, a series of distinctive linkages occurred through the mainstream media.

Firstly, in a more general sense, Matheus' name and story converged with and became incorporated into other significant news stories (and vice versa) with reproduction and recirculation of these through mainstream media channels on a mass scale.

Secondly in a more specific sense, resultantly, Matheus' case became one example of a controversial police killing which linked into public discourses on the new pacification policing project in Rio.

More precisely, his became the first (widely covered) case of police killing in a favela which appeared in the media and public sphere, after the initiating of the pacification policing project in Rio, and its subsequent governmental and mediatic promotion.

7.3 Diffusion through Overlapping Contexts and Texts in 2008: A Period of Local Protests

There were four protest events in December 2008 relating to Matheus' case.

Firstly there were spontaneous protests in Maré on 4 December and secondly demonstrations during a burial on 5 December, principally with local residents and activists. But these were followed by two more on 10 and 20 December and through these latter two a series of linkages started to emerge between protest events, mobilizing texts, and themes.

On 10 December, for example, six days after Matheus' death, the third of the four protests occurred, this time in Rio city centre however, and involving particular coincidences. In much of the media reporting on this event at the time, it appeared as if this protest had been organized for Matheus. But that was not the case. In spite of speech and text making for Matheus central to the event, this demonstration had actually been arranged prior to the death of Matheus.

In the weeks before, it had been co-organized, and mobilized, by several social movements, human rights groups, and NGOs, across Rio, in commemoration of the annual 'International Day of Human Rights', which in 2008, happened to also coincide with the '60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights'.

The death of Matheus and the local protests on 4 and 5 December and the flows of media following occurred therefore in the middle of the mobilization process of this pre-planned demonstration on 10 December.

A specific overlapping can be seen clearly here, for example, through the production and circulation of fliers for the 10 December demonstration – as I will explain below.

Although this 10 December demonstration involved the international human rights theme this was coupled with a local human rights focus also, stated through the event title ‘Enough Exterminations, Cabral’ (i.e. the Governor of Rio, Sergio Cabral, see also *Chapter 5*).

‘Enough Exterminations, Cabral’ mobilizing texts (e.g. fliers in hard copy and digital formats) started to be circulated from the end of November 2008: one week before Matheus died on 4 December; two weeks before the human rights demonstration on 10 December; and also during the same November-December period in which the new pacification policing project was being launched and promoted in Rio by Governor Cabral.

Summarising themes on policing in circulation across social movements in Rio at this time, central to the written content of the fliers were: claims and statements accusing successive past and present governors of a ‘politics of extermination’; recalling of names of past cases of ‘chacinas’ (i.e. police killings); and citing of current statistics of increasing numbers of civilians killed by police (i.e. over the previous decade).

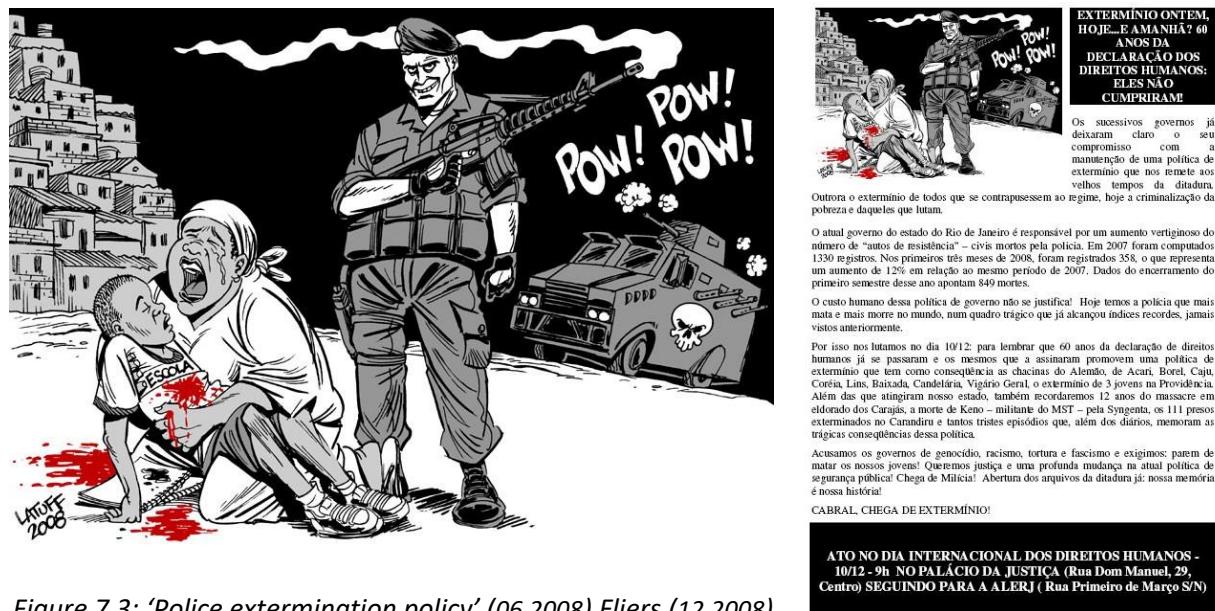


Figure 7.3: ‘Police extermination policy’ (06.2008) Fliers (12.2008)

Most prominent on the flier was one particular image, an illustration drawn by a Brazilian political cartoonist and collaborator with social movements in Rio, named Carlos Latuff. Entitled 'Police Extermination Policy', Latuff's illustration depicted an armed policeman with a disturbing expression on his face, alongside a military police vehicle known as the Caveirão (*cf. Chapter 5*) - overlooking a distraught mother, holding a school child, who had been shot.

In spite of its close similarity, this picture had not been drawn about Matheus. But rather, it had been published six months earlier in June 2008, in remembrance of police killings in Rio one year before linked to a 'mega-event', i.e. the so called 'Pan Chacina' in June 2007 (see *Chapter 5*). This image had been co-opted for the fliers mobilizing the demonstration on 10 December.

So by coincidence, through its circulations on these protest fliers, from the days just prior to, and then following Matheus' death (on December 4), this image of the child killed by police started to overlap with similar content relating to Matheus, such as photographic images of the scenes of Matheus' death, circulating at that same time through social movement media and mainstream media channels (e.g. Figures 7.2, 7.6). These images overlapped to the extent commentators frequently referred to them as referring to the same event although that was not in fact the case.

Adding another layer, on the actual day of the demonstration on 10 December 2008, Carlos Latuff published another illustration, though this time a newly drawn one (Figure 7.4).

This new one now represented the case of Matheus explicitly through an illustration closely copying and caricaturising one of the scenes of Matheus' death which had been captured in a photograph previously by Naldinho Lourenço (e.g. Figure 7.6).

Adding to the specificity of this new drawing further still, an accompanying note was written by Latuff, addressed directly to the governor.

Congratulations, Sérgio Cabral Filho.

On the day celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I pay homage to the Governor of Rio, Sérgio Cabral Filho, for all the deaths of innocent people during police operations in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, especially that of the boy Matheus Rodrigues, 8, killed by police with a bullet to the head, when he left home to buy bread in the Baixa do Sapateiro favela.

(Latuff, in CMI 2008).

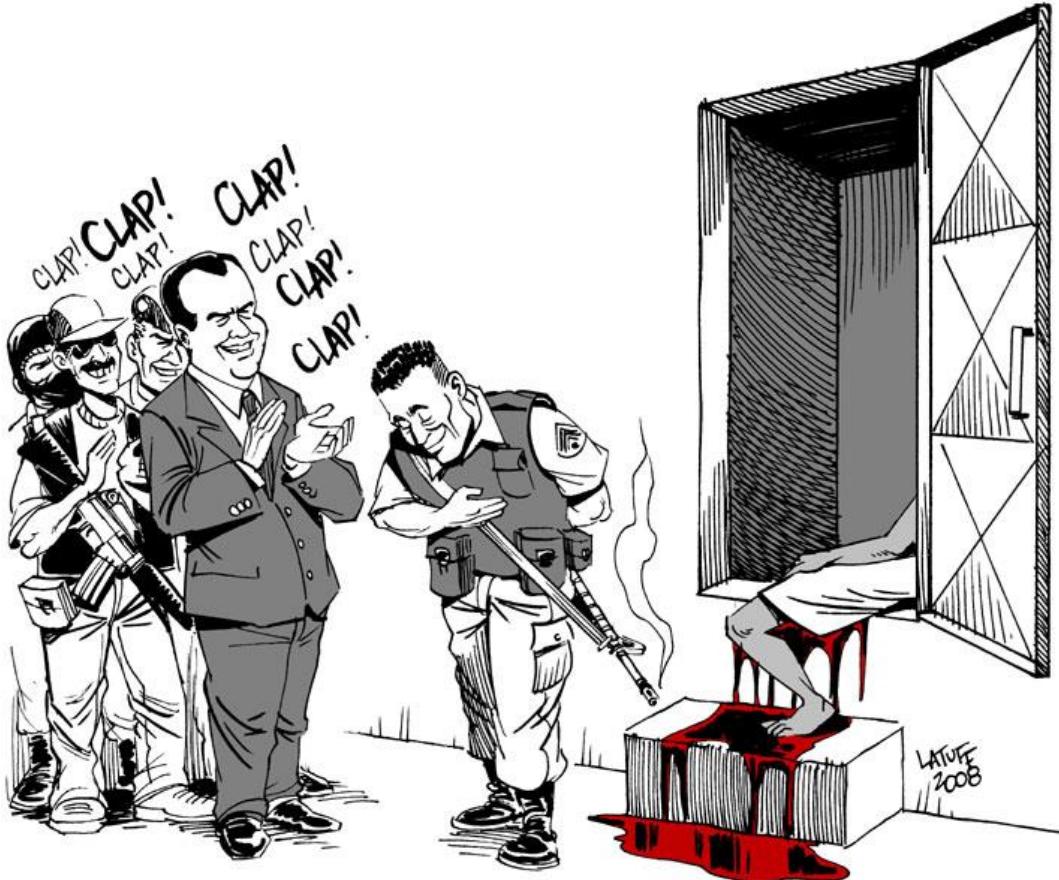


Figure 7.4: Carlos Latuff's illustration of Matheus' death (December, 2008), cf. Figure 7.6

The fourth and last protest occurred on 20 December 2008.

As in the previous demonstration fliers were circulated but this time with two images.

The first one was of Naldinho's Lourenço photograph of Matheus' hand holding the coin.

The second was Carlos Latuff's cartoon of Governor Cabral applauding the killing of Matheus (see Figures 7.5).

For the last of the four protest events in December 2008 these two images were brought together to perform the role of mobilizing this demonstration.

If certain texts 'mark' particular times – becoming kinds of memorable 'texts of the times' then these appear to be two such examples, both being recalled and re-used not only here in this example, days and weeks later, but also years later, such as at protests in 2013-2014 (cf. Figure 7.14).



Matheus Rodrigues, de 8 anos, não teve aula hoje. Não havia professor no CIEP Samora Marchel, que fica no Complexo da Maré. Matheus voltou para casa mais cedo e, ao chegar, seu tio Uisses lhe pediu para a camisa o pão. Deu-lhe um real em moeda. Ao abrir o portão foi executado com um tiro de fuzil na nuca, que saiu pelo rosto junto com sua dentição.

Infelizmente, essas duras histórias não param de se repetir em favelas do Rio de Janeiro. A política de extermínio do favelado ceifa a vida de quem está para frente, ou, no caso, de costas. A política de segurança pública deveria, por princípio, resguardar a vida.

Entretanto, o que se vê, são policiais explicando o inexplicável e o injustificável.

No caso de Matheus, executado na manhã do dia 4, na Rocinha do Sepetiba, os moradores acusam policiais do 22º Batalhão da Maré, mas outras, em depoimento à 21ª DP, alegam que havia 3 tiros de fuzil no local. No entanto, todas as testemunhas afirmam que só havia um policial naquela área. De acordo com o Relatório da Comissão da Verdade, da Comissão da Verdade, disse que só poderia acreditar as cartas para averiguação já que não havia testemunhas que pudessem reconhecer os policiais. Obviamente, os moradores que viram a ação não querem deixar por meio de relatações por parte dos policiais envolvidos.

Até quando seremos obrigados a enterrar nossas crianças dessa forma?

Os familiares de Matheus, juntamente com movimentos e organizações de direitos humanos, convocam a todas e todos para se fazerem presentes na caminhada contra a violência policial.



Matheus Rodrigues, de 8 anos, não teve aula hoje. Não havia professor no CIEP Samora Marchel, que fica no Complexo da Maré. Matheus voltou para casa mais cedo e, ao chegar, seu tio Uisses lhe pediu para comprar o pão. Deu-lhe um real em moeda. Ao abrir o portão foi executado com um tiro de fuzil na nuca, que saiu pelo rosto junto com sua dentição.

Infelizmente, essas duras histórias não param de se repetir em favelas do Rio de Janeiro. A política de extermínio do favelado ceifa a vida de quem está para frente, ou, no caso, de costas. A política de segurança pública deveria, por princípio, resguardar a vida. Entretanto, o que se vê, são policiais explicando o inexplicável e o injustificável.

Até quando seremos obrigados a enterrar nossas crianças dessa forma?

Os familiares de Matheus, juntamente com movimentos e organizações de direitos humanos, convocam a todas e todos para se fazerem presentes na caminhada contra a violência policial.

Figures 7.5: Alternate images for the flier-pamphlets for the demonstration on 20 December

The organized demonstrations on 10 and 20 December 2008 were marches, with making and showing of protest signs, speech making by family members, residents, activists, and movements - all of which were typical and traditional practices that I will describe in more detail through my own participation in similar events over 2013-2014 (e.g. **Chapters 8-11**). However there was one distinctive literacy event that stood out during the demonstrations on 10 and 20 December 2008 - demonstrators carrying copies of particular texts which had become prominent during this particular period, i.e. texts of the times. Two examples were the cartoons and photos, already seen reused in fliers, but now seen reused again carried and shown as protest signs in themselves (e.g. Figure 7.6).



*Figure 7.6: December 2008 protester carrying a photo
by Naldinho Lourenço (Photo: Virus Planetário, 2008)*

7.4 Diffusion through Community Media

In sections 7.1-7.3, I overviewed how written and photographic texts produced by people working with the Citizen became one route through which the name and story of Matheus came to circulate – firstly showing examples of diffusion via the mainstream media and thereafter via a wider a range of texts associated with social movement literacies and especially demonstration literacies (e.g. fliers made for and protest signs shown at protest events).

Another route through which the name and story of Matheus developed and disseminated as a symbol of protest was through the media-activist literacies of ‘community media’ locally and the pages of the Citizen itself.

7.4.1 Diffusion from Local Names to Conjoining Names to Structural Arguments

At the time, the Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper was a quarterly publication in print. Owing to the affordances of such traditional publishing there was a significant gap remaining between social events and publications of texts about them. For example, the Citizen’s 58th edition (OC58) which corresponded to October-December 2008 was published in print at the end of the year (actually, in January 2009) one month after Matheus’ death and protesting that ensued.

Accordingly, texts that appeared had a kind of summary aspect - i.e. a retrospective summarising of the case of Matheus just past. This retrospective view on events was normal for the paper but the content was not. For example, two texts published in this 58th edition about the case of Matheus, became the first ever content, in the Citizen, to name and

discuss local children (in fact, any local resident, as far as I am aware) killed by police in Maré.

The inclusion of this content marked a specific moment of change in the history of the texts of the Citizen. Though there had been similar cases, such as that of Carlos Henrique in 2005, and Renan in 2006 (children of 11 and 3 respectively, both from Maré and both killed during military police operations in the area: see *Chapter 5*), these previous names and stories had not actually been reported on in the paper (at least not explicitly so).

Via a new 'human rights' focus adopted in 2006, the sensitive issue of local violence in Maré linked to policing and to public security policy (or public 'insecurity' as referred to ironically) had started to be addressed directly for the first time in the pages of the Citizen (*Chapter 5*). However it was actually only through Matheus' case in 2008 that the first explicit articles naming local victims of police killings appeared in the newspaper. Being the first in this way meant Matheus' case became a kind of marking point, through which similar cases previously were recalled and discussed, whilst also opening the way for production of content about similar cases from that point onwards.

Specifically in relation to previous cases, discussion of Matheus' case in the 58th edition co-occurred intratextually with the citing of six similar cases, which were now recalled and discussed alongside Matheus. Whilst mentioning there were many other similar stories the inclusion of these six names specifically related to the fact that they were all children who had died as a result of police actions in favelas within the space of 15 days in 2006. The fact that the text into which these six names were now recalled was about Matheus primarily, however, meant it was his name and story which became the main focal point – i.e. becoming presented as a kind of synthesis, or summarizing case, incorporating

the others. In such a way, Matheus and his story mediated the starting of discussions of police killings of youths within the pages of the Citizen, as well as appearing both as a condensation symbol and summary symbol (as defined in *Chapter 5*).

But summarising what? Beyond the specific details of any one of these individual cases, bringing them together (i.e. where Matheus' and the six children's deaths were related through similar social economic profiles and similar types of incidents and conditions) formed part of an argument becoming stated. This argument was made through but moving beyond these individual cases, to the assertion of such police killings of youths from favelas, as a form of state sponsored violence, that was recurrent, patterned, and 'structural' (as defined in local terms in *Chapter 6*).

This was stated initially via an 'Editorial' entitled 'the Absence / Failure of Public Policy', followed by a main article named 'Maré in Mourning' (in OC58). Opening with the line, 'one more child has fallen victim to the failure of public security policy in the state of Rio de Janeiro, to abandonment, fear, and injustice' (OC58, p.3), this Maré in Mourning article described what happened to Matheus, before reminding that the incident was not 'a one-off', but rather, that such stories 'do not stop repeating', forming part of 'policies of extermination' which 'negate any considerations of citizenship and rights to life' (OC58 p.3).

In concluding, descriptions of Matheus' case, the other six names, and assertions of structural dimensions of the violence involved, became coupled with a call out for citizens in Maré to mobilize - notably so, during a period in which protests were occurring regularly such as the four events following Matheus' death (*cf. 7.3*). In turn, through the text and its coda, Matheus (alongside other names) became associated with and symbolized not only violence and mourning, but also, for local social movements, resistance to this, and protest.

Maré em luto

Mais uma criança é vítima do desastroso da Política Pública de Segurança do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, do abandono, do medo e da injustiça. No dia 4 de dezembro, Matheus Rodrigues, de 8 anos, não teve aula no Cep Samora Marques e voltou para casa, na Baixa do Sapateiro, mais cedo. Ao chegar, seu tio Ulisses lhe pediu para comprar o pão. Deu-lhe um real em moeda. Ao abrir o portão, a criança foi executada com um tiro de fuzil na nuca, que saiu pelo rosto com parte de sua dentição.

Inelutavelmente, essas duras histórias não param de se repetir em favelas do Rio de Janeiro. A Política Pública de (In)Segurança do Rio de Janeiro é uma política de extermínio do favelado que ceifa a vida de quem está pela frente, ou, no caso, de costas. Política que deveria, por princípio, resguardar a vida. Entretanto, o que se vê são policiais explicando e justificando o inexplicável e o injustificável. Trata-se de um sistema que não leva em consideração a cidadania e nem o direito humano à vida.

A moeda de um real no centro da pequena mão enteaberta de Matheus era um sinal de que o tiro que o atingiu o matou na hora. A polícia disse que no momento havia confronto entre facções rivais. Todas as testemunhas afirmam que ouviram um único disparo. Que mãe permitiria que seu filho fosse comprar pão em meio a um tiroteio?

A família prestou depoimento na 21ª DP, em Benfica, mas o delegado adjunto, Jorge Maranhão, disse que só poderia apreender

as armas para averiguação, já que não havia testemunhas que pudessem reconhecer os policiais. Os moradores que viram a ação não querem depor por medo de retaliações. A organização de direitos humanos Projeto Legal se responsabilizou em assessorar a família juridicamente e psicologicamente.



Moradores protestam durante o enterro de Matheus Rodrigues, cemitério do Caju

Mais casos

Não por acaso, essa fatalidade remete a outros casos de crianças que foram alvejadas em condições muito semelhantes à morte de Matheus. Claro que estaremos cometendo injustiça em não citar outras vítimas, mas as que serão citadas a seguir foram assassinadas brutalmente em menos de 15 dias do ano de 2006. São elas Renan da Costa Ribeiro, 3 anos, morto dia primeiro de outubro de 2006, com um tiro de fuzil na barriga, na Nova Holanda, Complexo da Maré. Lohan de Souza Santos, 9 anos, morto por uma bala de fuzil na cabeça no dia 16 de setembro de 2006, no Morro do Borel. Guilherme Custódio Moraes, 8 anos, morto dia 20 de setembro de 2006, por bala perdida na Favela do Guarabu, na Ilha do Governador. Paulo Víncius de Oliveira Chaves, 7 anos, morto atropelado por uma viatura da Polícia Militar, dia 20 de setembro de 2006,

em Vigário Geral. Moisés Alves Timim, 16 anos, morto dia dois de outubro de 2006, com um tiro de fuzil, no Morro da Esperança, Complexo do Alemão.

Maré de luto

Obviamente os mareenses sentiram na pele a dor da perda de mais uma de suas crianças. Na última homenagem prestada a Matheus e Renan no Cemitério do Caju, cartazes com as inscrições: "Paz", "Mais uma de nossas crianças foi assassinada"; "Até quando?", acompanharam o cortejo. Nesse momento, importantes organizações da Maré se uniram para gritar por justiça.

O CIDADÃO, como o jornal e a voz da Maré, sente-se na obrigação de convocar todos os mareenses a estarem juntos na luta contra a política pública de (in)segurança do

Estado, que extermina a classe trabalhadora, que criminaliza o pobre, o negro, o favelado. Não podemos deixar mais mães como Gracielle Rodrigues (mãe do Matheus) e Roberta Costa (mãe do Renan) chorar em nosso colo. Apoiamos a luta dessas guerreiras e clamamos por JUSTIÇA.

O CIDADÃO



Paz, justiça e direito à vida, foi o que moradores e familiares de Matheus pediram em caminhada pela comunidade da Maré no dia do enterro

Figure 7.7: The Citizen 58, October to December 2008, 'Maré in mourning...' (p.3) [photo 1 caption]

'Residents protest during the funeral of Matheus in Caju cemetery' [photo 2 caption] 'Peace, justice and the right to life were what residents and family of Matheus asked for, on the march, led by the community of Maré, on the day of the funeral...' [photo bottom: a protest sign directed at a Caveirão]

Note: the 'Maré in mourning' article was one of the texts displayed in the memorial assemblage and demonstration march 5 years later in December 2013 - as shown previously, in Chapter 6, Figure 6.3.

7.5 Diffusion through Overlapping Contexts and Texts in 2009: Another Police Killing in Maré

Shortly afterwards, with local movements and medias still active around Matheus' case, another similar case occurred, provoking another period of protesting.

In April 2009, just three months after Matheus' death in December 2008, Felipe Correia (17) was killed by police in Baixo do Sapateiro – i.e. the same neighbourhood in Maré where Matheus had died.

According to local witnesses at around 11 am on 4 April, Felipe, a local student and worker at a snack bar was seen shot in the head by officers from the civil police, five of whom had arrived by police vehicle into the street where he lived (RCMCV, 2009).

Similarly to in December, three months before, both spontaneous protesting and organized demonstrations ensued locally over the following days, criticising violent incursions of police into Maré and contesting the innocence of Felipe.

Differently to the cases of Carlos Henrique, Renan, and Matheus however (i.e. 11, 3, and 8, respectively), Felipe was a 17 year old youth, and like many such youths killed during police operations in favelas, the police accused him of being a (drug) 'trafficker'.

This claim was disputed by his family and neighbourhood, including people from the Citizen who knew him. But for them, the question should never have been, whether or not, this boy was a so called 'trafficker' - but rather, how it could be that yet another local youth had been shot by police outside his home in Maré.

The next quarterly edition of the Citizen, i.e. the 59th edition (from January to May: OC59) reported this point of view.

As Matheus' story had in the previous edition, appearing in the editorial and opening article (named, 'Politics of Extermination of Black, Poor, and Favela Youths'), these texts on Felipe continued themes which had appeared for the first time in the Citizen through the texts on Matheus.

In doing so, they emphasised structural arguments and protesting similarly to before, but more strongly so than previously – e.g. from the article entitling, to the main body content, to the images which were incorporated into the main body text (see Figure 7.8).

Though reporting on similar incidents and themes, via this second event three months later, there can be seen a kind of intensification, i.e. in the entextualization of contentious politics in pages of OC59 (April 2009, e.g. Figure 7.8) in comparison to OC58 (December 2008, e.g. Figure 7.7).



Figure 7.8: The Citizen 59 January-May 2009

'Politics of extermination of black, poor, and favela youths' (p.3)

[photo sign left] 'Justice / Stop the deaths of innocents / The death of Felipe cannot go unpunished'

[photo sign right] 'They killed a resident / Student killed at the doors of his home / We want justice'

[photo caption] 'Family and friends show protest signs at the funeral of Felipe, 17, held in Caju cemetery'

7.6 Diffusion through Overlapping Contexts and Texts in 2009: Community Media Online

This increasing expression of contentious politics in the pages of the Citizen (e.g. in 7.5) emerged in a context undergoing significant changes, amongst which were changes in the communications-media environment.

For example, simultaneous to all of the issues described so far in *Chapters 5-7* (e.g. an economic boom, preparations for hosting mega-events, militarization of policing, and social movement responses to these and to other issues), concurrently, there was also a boom in internet use underway in Rio and Brazil.

From around 2005 to 2008, residential internet usage doubled in Brazil (IBGE, 2010) – stimulated by fiscal incentives (WPR 2008). In favelas in Rio this was a period associated with a growth in low cost internet cafes (called LAN Houses locally) where cheap access could be attained even if personal ownership or institutional access routes (e.g. via NGOs) were restrictive or not possible.

It was also around this same time that initial phasing in of social media started to appear in social movements locally: through email lists, Orkut (an early social media platform) and weblogs – especially so the latter.

New affordances of 'blogs' and other online communications were taken up by local social movements in ways that modified and expanded on previous practices as well as recontextualizing and developing new ones.

Two examples of such new developments following the Citizen's adoption of a blog (named the 'Citizen Online') were texts and literacy practices of *memorialization* and of *mobilization*.

7.6.1 Memorialization through Weblogs

As previously referred to, the content of the Citizen newspaper was / is characteristically retrospective, reporting on events that had already passed by at the time of publication.

Likewise it did not typically publish repeated articles concerning the same specific stories.

It was temporally and spatially constrained by its quarterly publication of 24 printed pages.

Following the setting up of their new blog named the Citizen Online, digital publishing changed this considerably. Among new affordances made available was ongoing commentary about specific stories through unlimited posts, and with commentary now made before as well as after events – introducing anticipatory genres into the Citizen alongside retrospective ones (for example, texts of mobilization alongside texts of memorialization, as I will discuss below: *cf.* Scollon & Scollon 2000, 2004).

This cycle of text generation contributed to an increasing rate of publications by the Citizen via its online format – in general terms, but also more specifically via an accumulating body of texts published about certain issues of importance locally, with two prominent examples in the early Citizen Online texts being the cases of Matheus and Felipe (as I will show below).

Moreover, the Citizen's blog did not function in isolation. But rather increase in publications coincided with other related projects and social movements turn to social media, whereby one's increased production of texts was often multiplied further by others' duplications and re-circulations of these texts: for example, via hyperlinking, embedding, copying and pasting of content, and other similar means, facilitated by the features of weblogs and websites (i.e. prior to the popularization in Rio of Facebook and SNS 'sharing', after which such duplication and re-circulation of others texts would take on much wider proportions, see *Chapters 8-11*).

This increasing presence of recurring texts and themes in protest produced a kind of intensifying and condensing effect across the textually mediated social world of social movements online (see Barton & Papen 2010, Smith 1999), i.e. with an expanding coverage of interrelating textual materials across spaces of social interaction.

Such a process has been highlighted already in this chapter via the recurring appearances of particular texts across different sites – such as in the photographic images of Matheus' death (see Figures 7.2 and 7.5).

This intensification and condensation can be seen also as an emerging process through the first blogging texts of the Citizen Online, i.e. set up shortly after Felipe died in 2009, making multiple commentary posts about what happened in the days and weeks afterwards.

For example, texts of memorialization firstly appeared in the Citizen Online blog in December 2009. But there were a series of overlapping posts and respective themes that preceded these first texts of memorial: e.g. with an overlapping and interconnecting from the first posts about police killings and protesting about police killings; to the first posts which memorialized victims of police killings – as recalled summarily below.

7.6.1.2 First Posts about Police Killings and Protesting about Police Killings



Figure 7.9: Citizen Online 'Demonstration for life in Maré' reporting on one of the protests for Felipe

The Citizen Online blog commenced in April 2009, around a week after the death of Felipe. Thereafter, from April to December seven blog posts concerning Felipe's case were posted. These seven posts were the first digital content published through the Citizen that discussed police killings of youths in Maré. The first three of these posts on April 14, 15, and 22 (2009) were the first ever digital posts by the Citizen.

Most of these post made reference to and / or included images of protests, entextualizing the theme of police killings with the theme of protest - linking the two, through digital texts.

These first posts about police killings and protests about police killings related to Felipe, but they also overlapped, with other posts, retrospective posts, relating to Matheus' case. For example, following the posts concerning the case of Felipe from June to December 2009, there were six blog posts published concerning the case of Matheus (i.e. relating to 2008). Amongst these was the first explicit 'memorial' text to appear in the Citizen Online.

7.6.1.2 The First Memorial Posts: From Individual Names to Aggregated Names

In December 2009, marking the date of Matheus' death the year before, two memorial texts were posted paying homage to him and recalling what had happened. These were the first memorial texts in the Citizen Online, i.e. combining the themes of police killings and protests about police killings as before - but this time, with the specific 'memorial' of an individual, remembering the anniversary of their death.

Following memorial texts for Matheus, in April 2010 one year of Felipe's passing away was remembered in a similar way, through two more blog posts of memorial (once again with photos showing respective protests). But as seen below, differently to the first examples of memorial texts for Matheus, these memorial texts for Felipe, now included in

addition, lists of names of other youths killed by police in Maré, i.e. appearing adjacently in the same text, as interconnected names and aggregated cases (see Figures 7.10). These were the first memorial texts in the Citizen Online in which multiple names and cases of youths killed by police were represented this way.

In the public speeches of funeral events, demonstrations, and associated public meetings, such a recalling together of related names and cases was commonplace. Social movement media and community media also included similar texts previously (see for example the Citizen article 'Maré in Mourning' in Figure 7.7). However, this memorial blog post for Felipe and its listing of other victims' names was the first example of this aggregating literacy practice via the Citizen Online (i.e. appearing in a digital form). Other digital memorial texts followed with similar content, both in the Citizen Online, as well as through other related community media and social movement media.

One result of this development was a series of accumulating and cross-referencing online texts whereby specific names and stories, appeared and then co-appeared recurrently, as sites of memory and symbols of protests – remembering and denouncing cases of police violence, which were summarized thereafter, in terms of structural arguments of state sponsored violence.

14 de abril de 2010

Um ano sem Felipe



Hoje, dia 14 de abril de 2010, faz exatamente um ano que perdemos o nosso amigo Felipe Correia de Lima, de 17 anos. Felipe, que segundo moradores foi assassinado por policiais civis na porta de sua casa, rua 17 de fevereiro, Baixa do Sapateiro, assim como Matheus, Renan, Priscila, Carlos Henrique, Wallace, dentre diversos outros nomes, identidade, cor...teve a vida, aquilo que chamamos de vida – interrompida – por uma bala de fuzil.
[Mais informações »](#)

*The Citizen Online blog [14.4.2010] 'One Year Without Felipe...' [Peace Without Voice is Not Peace It is Fear]
Today ...it is exactly one year that we lost our friend Felipe... who following local residents was killed by the police at the door of his home... in Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré... where like Matheus, Renan, Carlos Henrique... and so many other names and identities of colour, he had life, what we call life, interrupted by a rifle bullet...*



Figures 7.10: [above] Citizen Online blog [27.4.2010] 'Remembrance of a youth lost in Maré' including interviews, social media comment, and photos, from residents / .family. The post is principally about Felipe's case, but also ends by adding the names of Matheus and other 'cases', e.g. 'Case 1 Renan (3) 2006... Case 2 Matheus (8) 2008... Case 3 Felipe (17) 2009... [and further cases]'

Note: Above and below posts, from among lists of name, recall four of the names that I have already mentioned, i.e. Carlos Henrique and Renan from Chapters 4-5, Matheus and Felipe in Chapters 6-7. Texts relating to Felipe's case appeared in the memorial assemblages as seen in Chapter 6 Figure 6.5.

7.7. Interconnecting Chapters 5 to 7 (From 2008 to 2013)

7.7.1 Memorialization and Mobilization

Like memorialization another new role for the Citizen's texts emerging through publication online was that of mobilization (e.g. here with the general sense of promoting of upcoming events, campaigns, and related activities, and participation in them).

These two new roles memorialization and mobilization can be seen to combine on occasion.

And this was the case through one particular example discussed below - a blog post produced and circulated by the Citizen Online (see Figure 7.11).

There had been other combined memorial and mobilization blog posts in the Citizen Online from 2010 onwards, but this one and the event which it referred to in 2013 were particular. The event mobilized through this post was a memorial event and protest event held in Maré in December 2013, i.e. in remembrance as well as demonstrating against the death of Matheus, five years earlier, in December 2008. Accordingly, it explicitly linked the period around 2008-2009 (discussed here in *Chapter 7*) with the posterior period in 2013-2014 (discussed in *Chapters 5-6* and *Chapters 8-11*).

Through this event and the texts mobilizing it and displayed during it, the name and story of Matheus recurred as a site of memory and symbol of protest, representing and interrelating both his individual case, but also beyond this, broader themes in protest from these periods - one specific example being local social movements' contestations of pacification policing.

7.7.1.1 The Citizen Online: 'To Not Forget! Five Years without Matheus' (Blog Post, 25.11.13)



Figure 7.11: The Citizen Online 25.11.2013 (with an updated layout and SNS linkages from 2013 on)

Differently from other texts discussed here in *Chapter 7*, I received this particular mobilizing post from the Citizen Online first hand and in real time.

At the time in November of 2013, I was participating in the Citizen's yearly community media training course in Maré (see *Chapter 3*) and received this Citizen Online blog post in the form of a link, attached to a Facebook status update that appeared in my Facebook newsfeed, circulated by members of the Citizen team, through their Facebook page.

Even after Facebook became widely used locally (i.e. from late 2012 onwards in the case of the Citizen) blog posts were still being produced and circulated through the Citizen Online, often simultaneously to Facebook, with materials hyperlinked or copied and pasted from one to the other (see *Chapter 8* for examples of mobilization specifically through Facebook).

The mobilizing blog post was entitled: 'To Not Forget! Five Years without Matheus'. Its short form text (i.e. consisting of fifteen lines) recalled Matheus' story summarily and the period of protest in response in 2008, coupled with a reminder that the case had never been resolved. Thereafter 'Maréeneses' (people from Maré) and 'friends of Maré' were invited to come, demonstrate, and to bring protest signs, newspapers, articles, photos, music, and poetry.

A copy of a flier designed for the event was embedded into the blog post, so it could be printed out and distributed - listing dates, times, and proposed activities, all superimposed over one of Naldinho Lourenço's photographs of Matheus from 2008, but in this case, with the image digitally edited into the style of animation, softening the stark details of the original photo (cf. Figures 7.2).



Figure 7.12: 'In memory of Mateus / Remembering our day to day struggle and what we construct through our spaces of strength and resistance / 7 December / 2-4pm / 2pm Demonstration: Five years since the killing of Matheus / 4pm: March through the streets of Maré / 6pm: 14th Anniversary of the Citizen [list of activities] / Locale... / Collectives, organizations, and communicators at the event [list of actors]'

Note: this mobilizing flier was another of the texts displayed as a part of the memorial assemblage during the memorial event and demonstration march - as shown previously in Chapter 6, Figure 6.1.

7.7.2 Mobilizing Texts to Memorial Assemblages

The event this blog post and flier were mobilizing was the event I described in *Chapter 6*. As described therein, after having been circulated online in the build up to the event, during the event itself, paper copies of this flier (in Figure 7.12) were stuck up on the walls of a public square, carried through the streets as part of a banner during a march, and then put up on display on the forecourt walls of a local NGO for local publics to see.

This meant that this flier relocated from embedding in a blog post recalling events of 2008 to appearing physically alongside of old copies of texts produced in and reporting on 2008. These texts from 2008 are those which I have been discussing throughout this chapter: e.g. from the mainstream news articles, to the social movement and community media content, all of which were recalled and put out on display representing and re-relating Matheus' case. It was this conjoining of texts and artefacts that made up the memorial assemblage central to the proceedings of the memorial and protest event - as described previously in *Chapter 6*.

This memorial-protest event for Matheus on 7 December 2013 was not only retrospective however. There were a series of significant backward and forward past and present links informing it, as well as a particular anticipatory aspect.

This anticipatory aspect was centrally relevant to recalling Matheus as a symbol of protest and site of memory in December 2013, just prior to the turn to 2014, as I will explain below.

7.7.2.1 Backward and Forward Linkages through a Memorial and Protest Event: Protest and Policing

Besides marking five years since the death of Matheus and protests during December 2008,

the memorial event for Matheus (on December 7, 2013) occurred six months *after* the Maré Chacina (from June 24-25, 2013; see **Chapter 5** and **8**) but also four months *before* the pacification of Maré (from April 5, 2014; see **Chapters 8** and **11**).

How were these events linked? The Maré Chacina and protests which occurred around it from 24 June to 4 July 2013 became a kind historic period for local social movements – recalled in years after similarly to the case of Matheus in 2008. At the time in June-July 2013 links from this present to this past event were asserted. For example, the name and story of Matheus was remembered during the Maré Chacina through protests and through social media around protests. Distinctive examples can be seen in the recalling of iconic texts relating to Matheus' case: e.g. the writing of the name of Matheus' onto protest signs (*cf. Chapter 8*), recirculations of Naldinho Lourenço's photographs (e.g. Figure 7.12), and Carlos Latuff's cartoons (e.g. Figure 7.13).

The trajectories of these texts continued the symbolization and memorialization trajectory of Matheus from 2008 to 2013 (interconnecting two important periods of protesting locally).



Figure 7.13: Facebook share of a 'Public notice against police violence: After protests police realize a chacina in Maré...' written, signed, and shared by local, national, and global social movements and human rights organizations (IDDH, 2014), cf. Figures 5.3 and 7.4

7.7.2.2 The Past-Present Pacification Link

Another important past-present linkage and the one with the particular anticipatory aspect related to the start of pacification policing in Rio in 2008 and its imminent arrival in Maré. Pacification policing started being promoted in Rio from October to November of 2008, in the weeks before, but overlapping with, the police killing of Matheus on 4 December 2008 (see 7.3). Five years later at the end of 2013, after several years of speculation, it was becoming increasingly clear that pacification policing would soon be arriving in Maré.

Known as UPP, this public security project of installing Pacification Policing Units inside and around favelas had proven highly controversial since its start in 2008, with complaints made by residents and social movements of police violence and power abuses continuing to build up - the most serious of which came to public attention in mid-2013 (de Oliveira & Brito 2013, Gaffney 2016 – as I discuss in *Chapters 8-9*).

So bringing together the past and the present, central to the memorial and protest event for Matheus in December 2013 were also this – both continued criticisms of military policing in relation to his case specifically and related cases generally, but also a contestation of UPP, directly relating to the fact it was due to be implanted in the Maré favelas shortly afterwards.

This connection can be seen explicitly through two interconnecting posts made on the same day through the Citizen Online Facebook page, on 3 December 2013 – in Figures 7.14 below.

One was mobilizing the memorial and demonstration for Matheus due to occur a few days later on December 7. The other called for the end of UPP. But both stated one thing in common - the particular period of five years, linking issues from 2008-2009 to 2013-2014.



Figures 7.14: [top] the Citizen Facebook page and flier 'To not forget: 5 years without Matheus' [below] the Citizen Facebook page and Meme 'UPP / 5 years / Enough!' - with both texts posted on 3.12.2013

7.8 Summary and Link

Matheus' case was in certain ways a common one in Rio. However beyond common aspects, in its specificities, a strong political and personal basis was apparent for local movements' contestations of military policing. Matheus' case was a very important one for many people, principally so for people directly involved, but also for others to whom the story was told

at the time in 2008-2009 and over years following until 2013-2014, i.e. when I first heard it doing fieldwork on protests.

In *Chapter 7*, I focussed on specificities of this period in 2008-2009 and how protest texts and practices at that time, through dense layers of linkages, connected with protest events later in 2013-2014 which I attended (cf. *Chapter 6*).

This diachronic approach had two principle aspects.

Firstly, I reconstructed the histories of texts appearing at a memorial event for Matheus in 2013, e.g. their particular contexts of production, circulation, and uses, from 2008-2009 onward.

Secondly, more specifically, I discussed the development and dissemination of Matheus' name and story as a symbol of protest and site of memory, through these texts and contexts.

In the former, I emphasised roles played by the community media literacies of the Citizen (as an example of media-activist literacies locally), initially revolving around print publishing of a neighbourhood newspaper, then later, the adoption and appropriation of social media.

In the latter, I emphasised via community media and social movement texts and practices trajectories of symbolization and memorialization through which Matheus' name and story developed and disseminated - as a condensation and a summary symbol of policing violence.

With pacification policing being so strongly contested in the public sphere over 2013 exactly for such controversial deaths of favela residents, and with such pacification policing due to arrive imminently in Maré, these symbolization and memorialization trajectories

continued and converged through mobilizing and enacting of protest events in 2013. This was made apparent, for example, through the memorial and demonstration event on 7 December 2013 (described in *Chapter 6*), simultaneously marking five years since the death of Matheus and also five years of UPP.

In contexts of contentious politics, Keränen (2017) summarises that symbolic practices become particularly salient where actors seek to authorise their versions of the past, present, and future. This was case at the event on 7 December where Matheus was invoked as symbol of protest, contesting policing retrospectively, but also in anticipation of UPP arriving in Maré.

These links to pacification (linked in turn to the preparations for the mega-events in Rio) highlight how contestations around the case of Matheus formed part of the wider cycle of contention in Rio from around 2006 onwards which I introduced in *Chapters 5 and 7* and which I discuss further in *Part 2 (Chapters 8-11)*.

In *Part 2 (Chapters 8-11)* more symbols of protest are discussed as forming part of this cycle of contention from 2006-2016, but shifting toward a more synchronic perspective, based on participant observation of protest events and protest literacies in Rio over 2014 – i.e. focussing on the period, before, during, and after the 2014 World Cup.

PART 2: CHAPTERS 8-11

PART 2 TEMPORAL FOCUS

DIACHRONIC: 2013-2016

SYNCHRONIC: 2014

Protest Marches / Demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro (with dates / themes in protest / and locations)					
Pre Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Post Phase	
From June to August 2013 National Protests (multiple events and multiple themes) Brazil	07.09.13 Independence Day (multiple themes) Centre	7.01.14 Metro Favela Evictions and Displacements North Zone	22.08.14 National 'Genocide' Black Rights North Zone	23.02.15 APF in Maré Maré, North Zone	
	from 17.09.13 until 15.10.13 Teachers' Strike (multiple events) Centre	06.02.14 11.02.14 MPL Transport Prices Centre	06.09.14 Local 'Genocide' Favela Rights Maré, North Zone	03.04.15 Police Killing of Eduardo Alemão, North Zone	
	19.9.13 Anti-Favela Evictions and Displacements Centre	27.02.14 Occupy Carnival Demonstrations Centre	13.9.14 Mothers' Movements in Manguinhos North Zone	from Abril 2015 until July 2016 National Protests (multiple events and multiple themes)	
20.06.13 The March of a Million, Rio Centre	21.10.13 Anti-National Oil Field Auction Centre / West Zone	07.03.14 Refuse Collectors Strike Centre	18.10.14 Community Museum Eviction Maré, North Zone		
24.06.13 25.06.13 02.07.14 Military Police Operations and Killings of Youths in Maré North Zone	31.10.13 For Liberty of Expression Centre	17.3.14 Police Killing of Favela Resident Claudia North Zone			
	20.11.13 Zumbi Day / Black Consciousness Day / Periphery Movements Centre	01.04.14 50 Years Since the Start of Dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985) Centre			
17.07.13 19.07.13 01.08.13 11.08.13 14.08.13 22.08.13 Police Killing of Amarildo South Zone	07.12.13 5 Years Since the Killing of Maré Favelas Resident Matheus North Zone	05.04.14 Army Pacification Force (APF) Occupation of the Maré Favelas North Zone			
	20.12.13 22.12.13 MPL Transport Prices Centre	14.04.14 Telerj Favela Eviction North Zone Centre			
		22.04.14 27.04.14 Police Killing of Favela Resident Douglas DG South Zone			
		23.05.14 Anti-UPP Policing and Anti-World Cup in the Alemão Favelas North Zone			
		From 12.6.14 to 13.07.14 Anti-World Cup (multiple events) Centre, North / South Zone			

Protest events referred to in Part 2 that occurred before or after fieldwork
Protest events referred to in Part 2 that occurred during fieldwork activity

CHAPTER 8 MEGA-EVENT MOBILIZATIONS AND ARTS-ACTIVIST LITERACIES

8.1 World Cup Street Decorating: Vernacular Practices to Critical Literacies

Since at least the late 1950s and Brazil's first of five times winning the FIFA World Cup it has been a widely celebrated national event in a country where football holds a prominent place in popular culture (see Fontes & Hollanda, 2014). My earliest experience of a World Cup in Brazil was in 2006. The road where I lived in Rio city centre was painted as a football pitch, whilst streams of miniature flags hung all along, colouring it in the yellow, blue, and green of the national flag, and football kit based on this.

Similar World Cup street decorations were common to encounter around Rio, oftentimes exuberantly so in Rio's favelas. And reading back through local archives years later in 2014, by coincidence, I found that during this same 2006 World Cup, the *Citizen* newspaper (the community media project in Maré I participated with doing fieldwork: see *Chapter 3*) focussed on such street decorating activities as the centrepiece of its edition at that time, with its front cover and cover story illustrating and discussing street decorating during the World Cup as a local practice (see Figures 8.1).

Collectively authored by the newspaper's team, the cover story started off with descriptive passages eulogizing the enacting of 'popular' traditions locally:

Where the streets were festive with joy and creativity like any other neighbourhood, if not more animated, with faces painted green and yellow, hair tied up with elastic the colour of the national flag, clothes to match, and the walls and streets canvases for creative paintings of players' faces and symbols of the World Cup (The Citizen, 45, June-September 2006, p.12).



Figures 8.1: OC45 Front cover [title] 'What sadness... And now elections' / Cover story [title] 'The World Cup: What a let down' [sub title] 'Brazil couldn't make it as sixth time champion'

Besides the street decorations and festivities, the Citizen article went on to describe a range of related practices, around food, music, and match watching in homes and public squares - but afterwards, however, it took a distinctly critical turn (as indicated in the article entitling above in Figures 8.1).

It reported the opinions of journalist-researchers, teachers from a local educational project, football coaches, and residents, among others, who pointed to: 'deals involving millions and millions between *Globo* [Brazil's national communications monopoly] and FIFA'; 'an empty nationalism, encouraged by this mass media'; as well as 'a forgetting of politics during the World Cup, which becomes a period when things get swept under the carpet' (p.12-13), especially so, during an election year, which was the case in 2006 (and in 2014). The general point being made here therefore was how this global event was associated with a range of contentious issues from perspectives of social movements locally in Maré, from oligarch benefitting business practices, to outright financial corruption schemes and forms of political manipulation.

In counterpoint to these criticisms however, the Citizen article suggested ideally how 'the World Cup could be an event that leads the population to ask: what kind of country is this that can be a world champion of football, but also a world champion of social inequality?' (p.13) - posing the question, which was rhetorical rather than a real possibility at that time: 'what if the same levels of mobilization for the World Cup occurred with other subjects, like health and education?' (p.13).

Remembering that no such Anti-World Cup mobilizations had ever occurred in Brazil before (that I am aware of) but would do, in the build-up to, and during the 2014 World Cup

(Jennings et al, 2014), this Citizen article written about the World Cup in 2006 provides a reference point from which to consider continuities and changes locally.

It was written by some of the same people who would later organize and participate in protests against the World Cup in 2014. But being written in 2006 meant its criticisms were posed two years before Brazil had been announced holders of the so called 'mega-events', i.e. the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics (announced from 2007 to 2009). It was also written anteriorly therefore to the emerging of the two main themes in protest for social movements from favelas associated with preparations for these mega-events, i.e. Rio's UPP 'pacification' project installing military policing units in favelas from 2008 and a new municipal programme of 'removals' in favelas (evictions, displacements) from 2009.

That is, although contestations of policing and evictions policies and practices had recurred throughout the histories of favelas and their social movements (Azevedo & Faulhaber 2015, Brum 2013, Campos 2010, Silva 2012, Valladares 2005), in a more specific sense, these issues did not become explicitly associated with the 2014 and 2016 mega-events until the period from 2007-2009 onwards.

Connections between mega-events and controversial government interventions in favelas came to public notice preliminarily through the hosting of the 2007 Pan American Games in Rio (see *Chapter 5*). This international event of sports, tourism, and investment interests served as a kind of precursor, with expansive military operations and occupations of favelas, cases of displacements from favelas linked to real estate projects, along with accusations of widespread corruption schemes (amongst other related issues). Following three months after Pan 2007, in October of 2007, Brazil was named host nation of the 2014 World Cup.

A year later in October 2008, the UPP pacification policing started in Rio's favelas. Three months after that in January 2009, the new municipal programme of removals commenced. Whilst in October 2009, Rio was announced the host city of the 2016 Olympics.

So, returning to the Citizen, and Maré, it was prior to these specific developments that the preceding edition of the Citizen was written (O45, in 2006, as shown above). Accordingly, the article can be seen to have expressed some of the more general values and practices at the base of social movements locally, out of which mobilizations of campaigning and protesting contesting mega-events (e.g. the 2014 World Cup) later developed.

For example, the article's 'valorising' of communitarian practices coupled with anti-capitalist and social justice ideals 'problematizing' the World Cup in 2006 expressed critical literacy perspectives typical of an active base of social movements in Maré (both at that time, as before, and after) - i.e. entextualized in this case through the pages of the Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper, which served as a well-known communicational means for that social movement base (Souza 2013b; cf. Freire and Macedo 2005).

Such valorising of local practices, in counterpoint to hegemonic and elite practices, evidently clashes with systematic displacements of residents and cultural sites from favelas, frequently justified, either explicitly or implicitly, through discourses of 'gentrification'. Likewise, issues of public security, public spending, and politicking around favelas had been regularly questioned and debated by social movements in the Maré favelas (see **Chapter 4- 6**, also C. Silva 2006; E. Silva 2012; Franco 2016; Souza 2018). So, questioning of these issues, in relation to extensive urban planning interventions proposed

around the mega-events in 2014 and 2016, can be seen as a logical extension of previous ways of critically reading effects of top down macro politics on life locally in favelas.

There still remains, however, a significant gap from the more general critical perspectives posited during the World Cup in 2006 (recalled above) to actual examples of protest events which came to be realised during the World Cup in 2014 (recalled below). So what changed?

In *Chapters 5-7*, I described contextual changes and specific events generally in Rio, then locally in Maré, which provide explanations and justifications for ongoing incidents of protesting – firstly from 2005-2006, secondly from 2008-2009, and then thirdly during 2013. I indicated that these periods of protesting were not isolated, but rather, interlinked through particular symbols of protest and their recontextualizations and resemiotizations across times and spaces, i.e. through trajectories of texts and meaning making activities. Owing to these connections, I referred to this period from around 2006 onwards in terms of an emerging cycle of contention, in which military policing, mega-events, and displacements in favelas, became increasingly represented as, and contested as, an interlinking set of themes in protest.

Below, I show these continuing developments manifesting during the 2014 World Cup itself – describing shifts from previous traditions of street decoration, to ‘Anti-World Cup’ street decorations, to the mobilization of a particular series of protest events named ‘The Party in the Stadiums is not Worth the Tears in the Favela’.

The empirical focus is on *arts-activist literacies*, i.e. particular sets of literacy practices associated with both vernacular and professionalised artistic practices, which frequently feature in protesting, campaigning, and social movements (e.g. graffiti, street art).

8.2 Anti-World Cup Street Decorations in Rio

8.2.1 Phrase Interventions, Street Art, and Carnivalesque

In late May of 2014, around three weeks before the start of the 2014 World Cup on June 12, 'Anti-World Cup' street decorations started to appear around Rio, principally so as graffiti and street art. Though examples of graffiti and street art with Anti-World Cup messages already existed across the city, this was a coordinated effort.

I first heard it was going to happen in May 2014 through 'popular assemblies' (i.e. public meetings that organize collective actions: Bookchin 2015, Sitrin & Azzellini 2014) that I participated in around the city centre during 2013-2014 (as described in *Chapter 3*) two of which would do their own street decorations. Beyond the activities of these assemblies, this idea had been promoted through a so called 'collective of other collectives' which had come together specifically for purposes of contesting this World Cup. Based in the city centre, this temporary group or project was named *Ocupa Copa* (Occupy World Cup).

This 'Occupy' label had several overlapping points of reference in Rio and Brazil. As a prefix it was used in the sense of setting up specific short term political encampments following the global trend in 2011, with significant examples in Rio in 2011 and again in 2013 (Vainer et al 2013, Juris & Razsa 2012, Martin Rojo 2014). Prior to this however, the same term was used in similar ways to refer to urban and rural squats and land occupations, i.e. 'occupied' here for the purposes of living and working, organized by groups such as MST (the Landless Workers Movement) and MTST (the Homeless Workers Movement) amongst others similar (Almeida, Sanchez, Hallewell 2000, Scherer-Warren 2009). A third use of the

term, commonly encountered anteriorly to 2011 also, concerned cases of the so-called ‘cultural occupation’ of public space – i.e. through visual arts, performances, and other creative, and critical interventions (Paiva 2016, SESI 2015) where examples ranged from a few hours and days, to months and even years in certain cases, depending on different spaces involved (e.g. from street corners, to derelict buildings).

In Rio, Occupy encampments in the streets (i.e. in the first of the three senses) were effectively prohibited by police after the peak of mass protesting from June to October of 2013. But the term continued to be used commonly in 2014, and afterwards, often drawing on the symbolism of ‘Occupy’ in the global sense, especially so, through political-artistic interventions and cultural occupations around particular events, such as in the example of Occupy World Cup.

For example, made up of participants from social movements and artistic collectives in Rio, Occupy World Cup’s mission statement, published through a Facebook ‘community’ page, talked of ‘using art as a method of action in the streets and on networks in order to infect the 2014 World Cup with the issues of local popular movements’ (i.e. invoking the metaphor of viral media common at the time, see 8.4).

Amongst other initiatives, Occupy World Cup was the first collective to promote and exhibit ‘Anti-World Cup’ street decorating across Rio in 2014, promoting it as a kind of competition (with a certain irony) principally via their Facebook community page (see Figure 8.2). Though examples of graffiti with Anti-World Cup messages already existed across the city, it was in this sense that this particular example was coordinated.

Besides this street decorating competition, this was an extremely creative moment in Rio, with many different kinds of texts and cultural artefacts being designed and produced by a wide range of different social movements, representing and circulating Anti-World Cup messages.

Many of these Anti-World Cup messages recalled so called ‘phrase intervention’ practices during Brazil’s dictatorship period (1964-1985; see Calirman 2013, Freitas 2013) whereby messages of transgression appeared not only as graffiti, but were also put into circulation via everyday objects – e.g. written onto money, bottles, newspapers, and more.

Added to this in the Anti-World Cup materials, there was also a particular aesthetic of carnivalesque in the more transgressive senses of this term (Bakhtin 1984, Robinson 2011) especially via satirical and contentious recombinations of Brazilian popular cultural symbols and performances – such as national football kit and festive parading designs, but bearing names and themes in protest (e.g. the name of a favela resident written on the back of football shirts, with ‘-1’ representing his death at the hands of police, as detailed below in 8.4).

In sum, Anti-World Cup street decorating during 2014 World Cup emerged from amongst and as part of this creative and transgressive communicative and aesthetic environment, e.g. as seen illustrated in a wide range of examples in the remaining sections of this chapter (from Figures 8.2 to 8.23).

Central to these artistic practices were literacy practices, principally so, the writing of protest slogans and short phrases, but especially, in texts which related to favelas, the writing of particular proper names as symbols of protest (as discussed in section 8.4-8.5).



Figure 8.2: Facebook event page, published by Ocupa Copa (2014, May 26); Facebook page entitled ('Competition - The most critical street in the city. Occupy World Cup invites everybody to use art as a method of protest and decorate their streets with criticisms of human rights violations committed in the name of the FIFA 2014 World Cup. Participate in the competition "The most critical street in the city" and send photos of your decorations to the Occupy World Cup Facebook page' [Background graffiti writing in the FB event page photo, in Dias da Cruz Street, Méier, North Zone] 'It's all wrong! [It is the] state [that] is the vandal / Less arms / Stop the evictions / Less exclusion, more participation / Less prisons and more schools / More health / [It is] capital [that] is the vandal / Demilitarization...')



Figure 8.3 [above] Anti-World Cup decoration in Rio in May 2014 featured in a national newspaper (Photo: Globo, 2014a) [written text from right to left] 'Are you injured? / Health 0 / Go find a stadium'



Figure 8.4: Examples of Anti-World Cup paraphernalia circulated by social movements in May 2014 [left, poster and meme] 'In my street... / FIFA go home / Paint your street! /... There's not going be a World Cup!' [right, football shirt, sticker, and meme] 'Amarildo -1 / Eliminated F.C. / Sticker album #there's not going to be a World Cup' (one example from a collection produced by Ocupa Copa 2014)



Figure 8.5: A recurrent protest slogan in Rio over 2013 to 2014, 'There is not going to be a World Cup'



Figures 8.6: Money stamping and social media photos of money stamps circulated via popular assemblies, social movements, and art collectives

[above] 'Fuck FIFA' (Photo: Casa Nuvem)

[below] 'Where is Amarildo?', 'What happened to Amarildo?'

8.3 Anti-World Cup Street Decorations in the Maré Favelas



Figure 8.7: Flier and meme posted by the Citizen (2014, June 6) Facebook page and other local pages ('Come to São Jorge Street / Let's have the World Cup that we want! / We want education, health, employment, security, and the right to life. Bring your ideas, designs, and willing / The street is ours! What? Street painting with the World Cup that we want / When? 14.6 (Saturday) 10 am / Where? São Jorge Street, Nova Holanda (Maré) / Realization: Residents and collective articulation in Maré')

On June 5 2014, slightly after the initial street decorations discussed above, I received a flier promoting an Anti-World Cup street decorating event in Maré (as seen above, in Figure 8.7). The text on the flier had been digitally written on top of a photograph of an earlier example of Anti-World Cup street decorating done in the suburban neighbourhood of Méier (i.e. the same example seen on the Occupy World Cup event page, in Figure 8.2).

This event in Maré was to be the first Anti-World Cup street decorating in a favela however

(that I knew of). I received the online flier for it through my news feed on Facebook posted by the Citizen team, several of whose members were active in the organization of the event and who would photograph and write reports on it.

Though I could not attend the event on the day, below I recall some texts and activities via photographs of it and discussions with a member of the Citizen team that participated. The day was a significant one for several reasons.

Looking backwards, its Anti-World Cup street decorations were the first of a kind in Maré or any other favela *during* a World Cup, therefore marking a particular moment of change from previous traditions.

Looking forwards however, these street decorations marked the specific starting point of a kind of visual campaign, involving the use of a set of texts, which would reappear in the mobilizing and enacting of protest events organized by favela social movements during the World Cup from June-July 2014 (as described in 8.5 and *Chapters 9-10*).

Writing and painting of specific names as symbols of protest featured centrally in these texts both developing on, but also quite different to, previous traditions of memorial literacies (such as those discussed in *Chapters 6-7*).

Distinctively also, this street decorating event in Maré on 14 June 2014 occurred within the very particular context of the recent military 'occupation' of the Maré favelas and the start of the process of pacification there. Three months earlier on 5 April 2014, this military occupation of the Maré favelas had officially commenced, with powers of 'patrol, inspection, and arrest' extended to army soldiers deployed within the Maré area for a provisional period of six months (extended later to one year). Enacted through federal

legislation known as the 'GLO (Guaranteeing of Law and Order)', requested by Governor Sergio Cabral and authorized by President Dilma Rousseff, this was a large scale operation, with 2700 soldiers deployed (Globo, 2014b) – approximately one for every 55 local residents – supported by tanks, helicopters, and other military apparatus (as described further in *Chapter 11*).



Figure 8.8: Entrance of the APF occupation and pacification in Maré on April 5 2014

This operation had two main interlinking purposes officially. The first one was to guarantee 'public security' during the 2014 World Cup due to start three months later in June. And the second was to secure the area so that UPP Pacification Policing Units could be implanted in the Maré favelas permanently thereafter.

The official name for this operation was the 'Army Pacification Force' (or APF).



Figure 8.9: The entrance of the APF occupation and starting of pacification of Maré on April 5 2014

In response to this arrival of the APF, local social movements in Maré organized a series of interlinking collective actions using social media – with mobile phone reporting, the setting up of three hashtags residents could post updates to, and the setting up of a new Facebook based media-activist and community media project named *Maré Vive*,

i.e. all with the purpose (at that time) of monitoring the entrance of the military operations in the area and presenting local perspectives on the occupation and pacification of Maré.

Forming part of this organised response by local social movements, on 5 April 2014, the first of several organized protest events occurred which would take place over 2014 specifically contesting the presence of the APF in Maré and the World Cup by association. I participated in all of these initiatives, invited by colleagues from the Citizen (as described in *Chapter 3*).

Three months later, the next organized public event in Maré that explicitly contested this presence of the APF was the Anti-World Cup street decorating event on June 14 (i.e. the one mobilized via the Facebook page inviting people to attend as shown previously in Figure 8.7). Below, I reconstruct this event, through recollections of one of the organizers and through photographs of it published through the Citizen (Figures 8.10 to 8.13).

After I discuss texts and practices apparent there in more detail.



Figure 8.10: Protest sign at the anti APF demonstration on 5 April 2014
(‘World Cup kills / Organize’)

A Retelling of Anti-World Cup Street Decorating in Maré on 14 June 2014 (from a group discussion with the Citizen Coordinator Gizele Martins – my recording / translation)

During the Anti-World Cup event we did graffiti on the walls and roads in remembrance of one year of the Maré Chacina [police killings in June of 2013]. We had arranged to meet to start the graffiti at 10 am but the first people to arrive at the site was actually a group of 12 or so soldiers in a truck, who stopped and asked us what we were doing. We replied that we were getting the street ready for a party, to which they said we were lying because they had seen that we had been publicizing an Anti-World Cup event in the area, “an event against the army”. We told them that it was them who were liars, before heading off to meet up with residents bringing their children who had turned up to take part. And after that, it turned out to be a really interesting day. We started off by painting the walls and hanging up flags near to the entrance way of the road, a really large road, where the Maré Chacina had happened the year before. There were about 30 kids, from around 2 years old, to teenagers, as well as some adults. We made a deal with the mothers and fathers, warning them in advance that their children were going to get covered in paint and end up coming back home really dirty and so not to get cross. But at the start of the event, during the first graffiti that we did with the Brazilian flag, some of the kids were like, “ah auntie [a local expression to call women] come on, let’s not get this dirty, let’s not do pichação [a local expression for graffiti] on the Brazilian flag, that’s going to look really bad, we should show more respect”, and so on. But not much later, with everybody out in the middle of the street doing the decorating together, the children got really into it, writing the slogans being written, ‘Maré Resists’, ‘Viva Maré’, ‘Viva Favela’, ‘Respect the Favela’, and more, hand painting on the flag, and other activities, all of which we discussed as we went along. So there was this shift on the day, putting art to work in the service of what we believe in and for the purposes of political education as well...



Figure 8.11: Local Residents Painting Slogans on Streets (Photo: *the Citizen*, 2014)



Figure 8.12: [above] Names of two people and one event stencilled on the streets [below] Name of people, an event, and themes ('Health', 'Education') stencilled on clothes (Photos: the Citizen, 2014)





Figure 8.13: Slogans painted on flags ['World Cup for what? / 'My cry is of pain!' / 'World Cup kills'] Names of people painted on flags including the stencilled names but with three others written as well Claudia and Amarildo are discussed below and in Chapter 9 / DG in Chapter 9 / Matheus Chapters 6-7 (Photo: *the Citizen*, 2014)

8.4 Names, Texts, and Ties

8.4.1 Three Co-Occurring Names: The Maré Chacina, Amarildo, and Claudia

As illustrated above in Figure 8.12, central to the street decorating on June 14 was the writing and painting of names.

These were (re)produced using stencils – i.e. designed and cut out templates through which lettering was spray painted, over shirt backgrounds that had been roller painted onto the streets, as well as over fabric shirts in the case of the clothing.

This was a technique familiar to me because I had done similar with an art collective which I participated with over 2014 (see **Chapters 3 and 11**).

Stencils here included: the *event name* ‘Maré Chacina’, two *personal names* ‘Amarildo’ and ‘Claudia’, along with the two general themes ‘Education’ and Health’ (the story of the Maré Chacina is described in *Chapter 5* and below, those of Amarildo and Claudia are described below and in *Chapter 9* – with all three examples referring to cases of police killings of favela residents).

Names and themes written here were coupled with respective minus numbers that referred to either, specific numbers of people killed by the police, in the case of the names, or a kind of ironic evaluative remark, in the case of the themes. The colouring of the national football kit and Brazilian flag recurred in all cases, linking these to the World Cup and to government.

In terms of themes, demanding of better education and health was straightforward enough where these were seen as precarious, especially whilst public funding was being spent on holding the World Cup. But why were the three names produced and shown together via stencilling?

This stencilling of Maré Chacina, Amarildo, and Claudia on 14 June 2014 was the first example of these three names appearing together via Anti-World Cup street decorations. Following this day, through use of the same stencils in other locations and through photographs and social media, these stencil designs would become recurring images through social movement campaigning and protesting against the World Cup (as seen in section 8.5 and *Chapters 9-10*).

As I explain below, these three names had become symbols of protest for social movements (as defined in *Chapters 5-6*). All three names referred to cases of police killings in favelas –

however, considering notoriously high homicide rates in Rio's favelas and periphery (see Waiselfisz, 2013), why were these three names in particular being reproduced through this stencilling and thus featuring centrally in this Anti-World Cup campaigning?

In Figure 8.13, by way of contrast, other names relating to similar cases can be seen hand written onto Brazilian flags at the same street decorating event. But this was done by individuals, at will, rather than structured, through the recurring format of the stencilling – so, in turn, such hand written names were less prominent, with less media documentation and less dissemination.

The main reason for the first two of the name stencils (i.e. the Maré Chacina and Amarildo) concerned memorial. The World Cup in June-July 2014 coincided with the one year anniversary of their cases in June-July 2013. This was made explicit in the materials of the organizers mobilizing attendance at the Anti-World Cup street decorating on June 14 and the protest events planned to follow (see 8.5).

However, this does not account for how these names came to have a high profile in the first place, i.e. prior to their continued symbolization and memorialization trajectories through protest events and texts during the World Cup in 2014. Below, I highlight some specifics of the contexts, practices, and texts, through which these names emerged and gained prominence as symbols of protest – as well as how specific links developed between them.

The Maré Chacina

The Maré Chacina came first, from 24 to 25 June 2013. As described in *Chapter 5*, this event involved an overnight police occupation of Maré which resulted in nine resident deaths,

becoming referred to locally as one of the most violent policing operations in the area in recent memory (Redes 2013, ARJI 2013).

Three protests occurred around this incident specifically in Maré (as well as one other in the city centre). Of the three in Maré, one of these protest events held a special importance for social movements locally because of how a notorious military police armoured vehicle known as the 'Caveirão' policing this demonstration was forced to withdraw from a favela. This incident was narrated at the time and memorialized after as a kind of symbolic victory (see *Chapter 5*).

However these events of the Maré Chacina also coincided with a highly particular context. Firstly, they coincided with a traditional preparatory event for the World Cup named the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup. Secondly, they happened four days after the most intense period of mass protests in Rio during the national protests in 2013 (see *Chapters 4 and 5*). Thirdly, they became viral media, via appearances as social media, especially so, having occurred in one of Rio's centres of favela media-activism.

In sum, the Maré Chacina became the first protesting in favelas during this historic period of protesting in June 2013 - disseminated widely, mobilizing widespread support, and serving as an exemplar of how policing practices differed from centre to periphery, as captured in the protest slogan: 'In the Favela the Bullets Weren't Made of Rubber' (and variations around this theme).

Amarildo

The case of Amarildo occurred just after the story of the Maré Chacina, overlapping with it from 13 July 2013 onwards (i.e. within the same particular context mentioned above).

The incident here was the disappearance, torture, and death of a 43 year old bricklayer and favela resident named Amarildo de Souza, at the hands of UPP police officers, in a pacified favela. Just a week after the last protest event relating to the Maré Chacina, protests commenced concerning Amarildo, becoming the second main example of protests from favelas, coinciding with, and forming part of, the wider protests in 2013.

At this time, these names of Amarildo and the Maré Chacina started to appear together on protest texts recurrently (e.g. on protest placards, banners, hashtags, memes, etc.), one widely disseminated example being a digital projection done and photographed in different locations then circulated online (see Figures 8.14-8.15).



*Figure 8.14: Digital projection in July 2013 (Photo: UniNômade, 2013)
[a poem / play on words roughly translating as 'Love to Maré and Amarildo']*



Figure 8.15: Digital projections at a community centre in Maré during the entrance of the APF operations from 4-5 April 2014

8.4.2 Names: Viral Media and Cross Media

Campaign virals as specific media objects which multiply and circulate on a large scale (e.g. a hashtag, or meme) can be differentiated from *viral campaigns* as some wider set of interrelating texts and activities that do so (Postill, 2014).

Relatedly, *cross media coverage* refers to the repetition and expansion of forms across media objects and contexts (i.e. such as names, logos, slogans, and images, on signs, clothes, hashtags, memes, etc), whilst *cross media storytelling* contrastively to how one main story can become told and developed through differing media technologies, platforms, and affordances (e.g. tweeting, status updates, video clips, or combinations of these and other similar means) (Cammaerts, Mattoni, & McCurdy 2013; Jenkins 2009, adapted).

Both cross media coverage and cross media storytelling combine in viral campaigns: the strategy of the first seeking to saturate a communicative environment with its presence and message; the second more about developing storylines and content in an ongoing basis through respective mediational means and their interlinking.

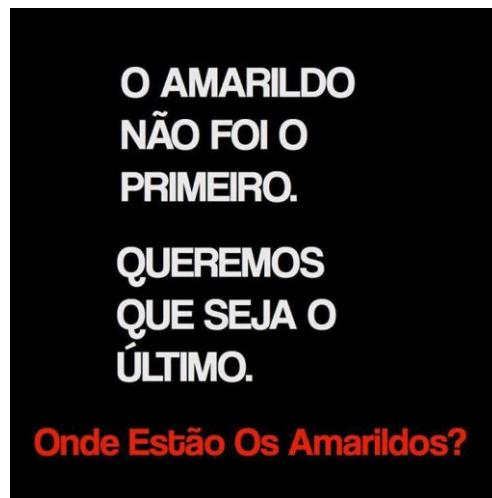
From July 2013, Amarildo's case and campaigning around it set a precedent – going viral both in a way and on a scale no other single case of a 'disappeared' favela resident had done so before in Rio (see Rocha 2016, Granja 2015, Mendes 2014). The initial campaign viral was the question 'Where is Amarildo?' But in turn, following a multiplying array of cross-media coverage (e.g. protest signs, graffiti, hashtags, memes, etc.) and cross media storytelling, through local, national, and global social movement media, and soon after, via national and global mass media - Amarildo became a viral campaign.

The fact that his death occurred inside an UPP pacified favela with UPP officers implicated led to campaigning becoming directly linked to criticisms of the 2014 World Cup because the UPP project was initiated as part of the preparations for the mega-events (Jennings et al 2014). The fact his disappearance coincided with the national protests meanwhile meant that the story of Amarildo and campaigning and protesting around it became one of the central themes of the wider story of the '2013 protests' in Rio - consolidated through masses of content produced through a social media boom at the time as well as mainstream media attention on Rio, locally, nationally, and also globally, relating to both the national protests and the mega-events.

Stories of police violence are common in Rio and deaths had occurred in UPP favelas before (Brito & Oliveira 2013, Gaffney 2016) – so it was a convergence of these contextual factors that led to the name and story of Amarildo becoming a symbol of protest, i.e. recurring prominently in campaigning and protesting events and texts, more so, than many other similar names and cases.



Figure 8.16: Amnesty International poster, '...Where is Amarildo?'



[8.17] Internet meme (Unknown Source)

'Amarildo was not the first, We want him to be the last, Where are the Amarildos?'

[8.18] News article - 'Where's Amarildo? / Where are they? (missing persons list)'

DESAPARECIDOS

Onde está Amarildo?

Pedro era desaparecido no Rio em 16 de julho, após ser baleado pela PM. Um agente respondeu ao momento que Amarildo foi levado por policiais. Ele nunca mais foi visto.

Cadei o Alair, Fábio, Murilo ou Célio? Eles fazem parte da lista de 43 pessoas que desapareceram, em Goiás, após abordagens policiais, desde 2000. Lista só cresce. **[3x4]**

Onde eles estão?

ANDERSON Desapareceu em 3 de abril de 1999, em Águas Lindas	RONIEL Desapareceu em 5. Canedo, em 23 de janeiro de 2007	EDILSON Desapareceu na cidade de Goiânia em 18 de janeiro de 2011
RODINEI Desapareceu em Águas Lindas, em outubro de 2000	GUSTAVO Desapareceu no dia 6 de julho de 2007, em Goiânia	GILVAN Desapareceu em Anápolis, em 22 de setembro de 2009
CRISTIANO Desapareceu em 8 de julho de 2002, em Luziânia	MARCONE Desapareceu no dia 6 de julho de 2007, em Goiânia	WARLEY Desapareceu em Goiânia, em 19 de março de 2007
ALAIR Desapareceu em 2 de março de 2003, em Aparecida	SÓSTENES Desapareceu em Goiânia, no dia 9 de outubro de 2010	MARCUS Desapareceu no dia 26 de maio de 2008, em Goiânia
ROGÉRIO Desapareceu no dia 12 de agosto de 2004, em Goiânia	CÉLIO ROBERTO Desapareceu em 11 de fevereiro de 2008, em Goiânia	UARLEY Desapareceu no dia 17 de maio de 2009, em Goiânia
MARCO AURÉLIO Desapareceu em 6 de outubro de 2004, em Goiânia	JOSEMAR Desapareceu em 10 de outubro de 2008, em São Félix do Araguaia	JOSÉ VINÍCIUS Desapareceu em 3 de setembro de 2010, em Goiânia
ROGÉRIO Desapareceu em 6 de outubro de 2004, em Goiânia	ALEXANDRE Desapareceu em local e data incertos	JONHY Desapareceu em 13 de julho de 2009 em Anápolis
UEVERSON Desapareceu na capital, em 11 de janeiro de 2005	HIGOR Desapareceu em 26 de fevereiro de 2009, em Arcoverde do Norte	CARLOS ANTÔNIO Desapareceu em 18 de maio de 2007, em Goiânia
MARCELO Desapareceu em 17 de fevereiro de 2005, em Aparecida	MAYRA Desapareceu em 3 de setembro de 2009, em Goiânia	DORIVALDO Desapareceu em 22 de julho de 2007, em Aparecida
MURIL Desapareceu em Aparecida, em 22 de abril de 2005	CAMILA Desapareceu em 8 de abril de 2009, em Goiânia	JADERSON Desapareceu no dia 25 de julho de 2007, em Aparecida
PAULO SÉRGIO Desapareceu em Aparecida, em 22 de abril de 2005	PEDRO Desapareceu em 26 de fevereiro de 2010, em Arcoverde do Norte	JOARME Desapareceu em 12 de janeiro de 2013, em Acrelândia
HÉLIO Desapareceu dia 14 de maio de 2003, em Luziânia	CLEITON Desapareceu em 26 de fevereiro de 2010, em Arcoverde do Norte	RONIVON Desapareceu em 30 de outubro de 2010 em Goiânia
RONES Desapareceu em Goiânia, em 7 de fevereiro de 2005	FÁBIO Desapareceu em 4 de janeiro de 2006, em Goiânia	FÁBIO Desapareceu em 2010, em Goiânia
CRISTIOMAR Desapareceu em S. Canedo, em 23 de janeiro de 2007	ADRIANO Desapareceu em 22 de novembro de 2010, em Goiânia	THIAGO Desapareceu em Goiânia, em 4 de maio de 2012

In the viral circulation of texts referring to Amarildo across online and offline contexts, there were particular protest slogans which recurred prominently (e.g. 'Where is Amarildo?' as seen above in Figure 8.16). Such slogans also appeared in slightly different versions and adapted forms. For example, one such adapted version which effected significant repetitions functioned to connect Amarildo's name with other similar cases (see Figure 8.17). Firstly, here, there was a change to the pluralization 'Where are the Amarildos?' recognizing that his case was one of many similar and invoking histories of military policing and state sponsored violence past and present. Secondly, via this figurative pluralization his name appeared in texts alongside other disappeared or missing person's names both in Rio and at a wider scale around Brazil (as seen in Figure 8.18).

In a similar though more specific process of aggregation and conjoining of names, from July 2013 onwards, the personal name Amarildo started to appear together

recurrently in protesting and campaigning texts alongside the event name Maré Chacina (as illustrated above in Figures 8.14 – 8.15). This aggregating and conjoining of the names of Amarildo and Maré Chacina became the first example during this specific period of aggregating and conjoining of names and stories from favelas as symbols of protest. However this same aggregating and conjoining as a particular form of recontextualization (Bernstein 1990, Fairclough 2003) recurred regularly thereafter in 2013 and 2014. Over this year, several new cases emerged and overlapped with previous ones (especially during campaigning and protesting against the mega-events and related issues, *cf. Chapters 9-11*).

For example, not long after the stories of Amarildo and the Maré Chacina in early 2014 another case of police violence occurred which provoked a similar response amongst social movements in Rio - this time involving a woman named Claudia Silva.

Thereafter, two names started to appear together across texts as symbols of protest, repeatedly, in a similar way - but this time, instead of Amarildo and the Maré Chacina, it was now Amarildo and Claudia.



Figure 8.19: Street decorations in June 2014
(‘Amarildo / World Cup for who? / Claudia’)

Claudia

The case of the last of the three names Claudia Silva occurred on 16 March 2014.

Her story went viral in a way similarly to Amarildo's, through demonstrations, social media, and mass media. Media content played a more specific role in this example of virality however.

Horrific video evidence of the scenes of her death were distributed widely across SNS and appeared on the national news, whereby what appeared to be police wrongdoing had been caught on camera by a civilian with a mobile phone in a car, with recordings showing Claudia being dragged along a road at high speed hanging out of the back of a police vehicle.

Police involved later claimed that they were saving her after she had been shot in a crossfire with local gang factions and were taking her to the hospital. Investigations highlighted, however, how these same officers had been involved in 69 other cases of civilian deaths, registered similarly as crossfires (Estadão 2014; Rekow 2015).



Figure 8.20: Internet images (search records for the '100 times Claudia...' social media campaigning)

Claudia was from a favela though notably her death did not occur in an UPP favela. Perhaps because of this, or because it did not coincide with the national mass protests in June/July 2013, Claudia's story did not attract global media attention as had Amarildo's. But nationally it did, with both President Dilma Rousseff and Rio's Governor Sergio Cabral discussing it publicly. Whilst in Rio's social movements, through social media campaigning, Claudia became highly prominent in very similar ways to Amarildo, with several viral hashtags and a campaign of memes entitled *100 Vezes Claudia* ('100 Times Claudia') whereby artists produced and circulated visual homages to her story.

Symbols of protest frequently function as summary symbols (as defined in *Chapter 5*) for example, with individual people and cases coming to represent wider social categories. Such summary symbols are perhaps most tellingly represented by visual portrait images – as seen in this example of '100 Times Claudia', where in several of the portraits, individual features were omitted, abstracted, or pluralised, to the extent that the entextualized person was identifiable only by generic social characteristics (e.g. Figure 8.20).



[Left] One of these '100 times Claudia' images that went viral [*'I am Black / I am a Women / I am from a Favela / And it was not an accident'*]. The picture shows a standard Brazilian ID Card. The words recall the three main categories that are referred to in structural violence arguments; that is, race, gender, and class (see Davis, 1981).

8.4.3 Names: Transtextual Relations

Symbols of protest functioning as condensation symbols (as defined in *Chapter 5*) frequently appear alongside other similar symbols – as seen in the three examples illustrated, with repeated aggregations and conjoinings of the names and images of the Maré Chacina, Amarildo, and Claudia, interconnecting their three stories, and their respective themes in protest.

In formal senses this occurred via intratextual, paratextual, and multimodal relations (see Linell 1998, Kress 2010): for example, appearing together in the same texts (e.g. lists of names), in the same designs (e.g. stencils, hashtags), in the same spaces (e.g. local walls, protest events), and in media of these texts and spaces (e.g. photographs) - as seen in Figures 8.12 above and 8.22 below. This formal conjoining of names and images of the Maré Chacina, Amarildo, and Claudia, invoked each one of their stories into the other intertextually, for example, drawing on tellings of one in tellings of the other, either explicitly or implicitly (see Fairclough 2003).

One effect of such conjoinings of names on protest materials was a compounding effect, on occasion, where the individual details of each case were elided with a collective purpose. This can be seen for example where Amarildo and Claudia appear together in protest texts as victim figures of the World Cup (e.g. Figure 8.19), although in Claudia's case, there had not been any direct connection with UPP, removals, or gentrification (i.e. the main link to the World Cup), as there had been in the case of Amarildo. The main connection between them was that they were both black working class favela residents killed in horrendous acts of police violence that got found out.

8.5 Anti-World Cup Street Decorating to Anti-World Cup Protest Events

In this last section of *Chapter 8*, I show how the names of Amarildo and Claudia featured in the mobilizing of a series of protest events contesting the World Cup, alongside the Maré Chacina once again, as well as other names.

When the World Cup arrived from June-July 2014, it marked one year since the historic protests in Rio in 2013. It also marked, therefore, one year since the Maré Chacina in June 2013 and the case of Amarildo in July 2013. On June 14 2014, the Anti-World Cup street decorating event in the Maré favelas described above in 8.3-8.4 became the first event during the World Cup period in which these two names Maré Chacina and Amarildo appeared together as symbols of protest.

These same name stencils would be reused on several occasions thereafter however, most specifically, in the mobilizing and enacting a series of three protest events organized by social movements contesting the World Cup. These three protest events all had the same name: 'The Party in the Stadiums is not Worth the Tears in the Favela' (which I refer to in short as the '...Favela' protests).

The first was described as a preparatory event arranged to start at 11 am in the city centre on June 12 - the opening day of the tournament. There were nine other organized protests on this day (that I knew of) mostly all marching through the same areas, in Rio's city centre. The next two '...Favela' protests were more particular however: the second was planned for June 23, publicised as remembering the Maré Chacina; the third for July 13, so as to coincide with the World Cup final held that day, but remembering the case of Amarildo. These dates marked one year (to within one day) of each of these two cases of police violence from the year before in 2013.

8.5.1 Names: Mobilizing Texts

A FESTA NOS ESTÁDIOS NAO VALE AS LAGRIMAS NAS FAVELAS

Nos dias 23/06 e 13/07, nós moradoras e moradores de favelas estaremos nas ruas contra as violências de Estado. As obras de preparação do Rio para a Copa do Mundo e Olimpíadas já removeram mais de 20 mil famílias, no Rio. Além da violação ao direito à moradia, os megaeventos são usados como justificativa para a implementação das UPP's, de compra de novos caveirões e armas bélicas. A população pobre e negra é submetida diariamente a uma política de medo e controle nas favelas com UPP's. Os resultados são os assassinatos, chacinas, desalojos e a intensificação da criminalização das manifestações e dos moradores de favela.

Vamos às ruas dias 23/06 e 13/07 contra a violência policial e as remoções!

Você quer saneamento? Você deve participar!
Você quer habitação? Você deve participar!
Você é contra a proibição do baile? Você deve participar!

23/06

Estaremos nas ruas lembrando 1 ano da chacina da Maré.
Concentração às 10h – na frente da Associação do Chapéu Mangueira.
Atividades: Capoeira, Roda de funk e rap, Grafite livre anti-Copa e Contação de histórias. Às 13h concentração no posto 1 do Leme.
Caminhada às 14h. Encerramento da caminhada e da manifestação no início da Ladeira Saint Roman/Sá Ferreira (entrada do Pavão/Pavãozinho).

13/07

Estaremos no Maracanã lembrando 1 ano sequestro, tortura, assassinato e desaparecimento do pedreiro Amarildo.

Figure 8.21: Flier for the '...Favela' Protests ('On 23/06 and 13/7 we residents of favelas will be in the streets protesting against state violence. Preparation work for the World Cup and Olympic games has already removed more than 20 thousand families in Rio. Besides violating our right to housing, mega-events were used as a justification for the implementing of UPP and buying of new military arms and armoured vehicles. Poor and black populations of favelas have been submitted to a politics of control and fear daily in favelas with UPP. The result has been police killings, evictions, the criminalization of protesting, and of favela residents.

Let's go to the streets on 23/6 and 13/7 against police violence and evictions! Do you want basic sanitation? Then you should participate. Do you want housing? Then you should participate. Are you against the prohibition of funk parties? Then you should also participate // On 23/6 we will be remembering one year since the Maré Chacina / Concentration at 10am. Activities: capoeira, a funk and rap circle, Anti-World Cup graffiti and storytelling... March at 2pm // On 13/7 we will be remembering one year of the disappearance, kidnapping, torture, and murder of Amarildo)'.

The mobilization of the ‘...Favela’ protests involved several overlapping means. Print copy fliers and printable online versions were produced (see Figure 8.21). But prior to these circulating, the first mobilizing text I encountered was a photograph of graffiti with the names of Amarildo and Claudia using the same stencils appearing previously in the street decorating in Maré on June 14 (see 8.3-8.4).

In this ‘shared’ Facebook photo, appearing in my newsfeed via contacts from the Citizen, these two names appeared in a new location, i.e. no longer in the periphery favelas of Maré, but instead, now appearing in an affluent South Zone neighbourhood (Humaita), near to where the second protest on June 23 was due to occur (Copacabana).

Thereafter, this same shared photograph reappeared again, reused as the header image for the Facebook event page which had been set up for the upcoming protests (as seen in Figure 8.22).



Figure 8.22: Facebook event page header ('June 23, Protest: The party in the streets is not worth the tears in favelas / Public / Organized by [6 people] / Participate / Not Sure / Refuse'), with an embedded photo ('...Claudia -1 / Amarildo -1 / The military police kill, whilst you shout goal!')

Following the initial photo and setting up of the Facebook event page in which it appeared, a series of related photos followed in which the same set of stencil designs came to appear again, though now with more names added. These appeared as posts onto the Facebook event page, other social movement Facebook pages and profiles, as well as on websites and blogs.

One of these subsequent photos showed ten different names (i.e. including but adding to the previous three), all distinctively arranged in the layout of a football team formation (see Figure 8.23) extending further the analogy of the football shirts criticising the 2014 World Cup and the contentious issues associated - especially UPP and cases of police killings in pacified favelas.

More names appeared as part of the mobilization via making and posting of a particular list (another 31 names: in 8.24, below), i.e. listing the names of people killed by police inside UPP pacified favelas, with lists circulated by event organizers, friends, and contacts, and added to by anyone with more names or information to divulge via comments and replies to posts.

All these names featuring in these mobilization texts for the protest on 23 June 2014 featured directly in the protest event itself – in ways which I describe next, in **Chapters 9-10**.

Figure 8.23: Anti-World Cup graffiti football team ('...The military police kill whilst you shout goal!')

Figure 8.24: Status update with UPP name lists ('UPP is a policy of ethnic-social cleansing, sold as the legacy of the mega-events. There is no peace with military police interventions. Boycott these games. The PM [i.e. military police] kill whilst you shout goal! We remember everyday all of these victims of this racist and excluding police' / 1-31 [names listed of youths killed within UPP favelas] / For the end of the police!). Photo and list produced and circulated by FB Community Page - Pela Moradia (2014).



Pela Moradia
23 de junho · Editado

A UPP é uma política de limpeza étnico-social, vendida como o grande legado dos megaeventos. Não há paz com intervenção militar! Boicote os jogos! A PM mata enquanto você grita gol!

Lembraremos todos os dias das vítimas dessa política racista e excludente:

- 1º André de Lima Cardoso Ferreira (12/06/2011) UPP Pavão-Pavãozinho
- 2º Hugo Leonardo Silva (17/04/2012) UPP Rocinha
- 3º Jackson Lessa dos Santos (07/06/2012) UPP Fogueteiro
- 4º Thales Pereira Ribeiro D'Adrea (25/06/2012) UPP Fogueteiro
- 5º Jean Marion Alves Vieira (26/07/2012) UPP Andaraí
- 6º Edinaldo de Conceição (26/07/2012) UPP Andaraí
- 7º Paulo Henrique Benedito (20/03/2013) UPP Cidade de Deus
- 8º Mateus Oliveira Case (17/03/2013) UPP Manguinhos
- 9º Alileson Nogueira (04/04/2013) UPP Jacarezinho
- 10º Anderson Simplicio de Meadonga (22/05/2013) UPP Alemão
- 11º Diogo de Oliveira Santos (08/06/2013) UPP Providência
- 12º Anderson dos Santos Moura (15/06/2013) UPP Morro do Queridinho
- 13º Amarildo Dias de Souza (14/07/2013) UPP Rocinha
- 14º Laercio Hilário da Luz Neo (14/08/2013) UPP Parque Proletário
- 15º Israel de Oliveira Malet (23/08/2013) UPP Jacarezinho
- 16º Paulo Roberto Pinho de Menezes (17/10/2013) UPP Manguinhos
- 17º Thomas Rodrigues Marins (24/10/2013) UPP Pavão-Pavãozinho
- 18º José Joaquim de Santana (19/12/2013) UPP Manguinhos
- 19º Patrick Costa dos Santos (18/01/2014) UPP Pavão-Pavãozinho
- 20º José Carlos Lopes Junior (12/02/2014) UPP São João
- 21º Douglas Rafael da Silva Pereira (22/04/2014) UPP Pavão-Pavãozinho
- 22º Edilson da Silva dos Santos (22/04/2014) UPP Pavão-Pavãozinho
- 23º Arlinda Bezerra das Chagas (27/04/2014) UPP Nova Brasília
- 24º Jonathas de Oliveira Lima (14/05/2014) UPP Manguinhos
- 25º Caio Moraes da Silva (27/05/2014) UPP Nova Brasília
- 26º Jefferson Felipe Pinto (28/05/2014) UPP São Carlos
- 27º Anderson Pereira da Silva (03/06/2014) UPP Alemão
- 28º Lucas Farias Canuto (15/6/2014) UPP Cidades Deus
- 29º Afonso Mauricio Linhares (18/06/2014) UPP Manguinhos
- 30º Lucas Lima (21/06/2014) UPP Alemão
- 31º Gabriel Ferreira (22/06/2014) UPP Alemão

Pelo fim da polícia!

8.6 Summary and Link

Arts-activist literacies are particular sets of literacy practices associated with artistic practices, which feature frequently in protesting, campaigning, and social movements.

In other chapters, I show illustrations, paintings, performances, and artisan productions appearing in mobilizing and enacting of protest events. However the example that links artistic practices to literacy practices most explicitly is graffiti.

In *Chapter 8*, I introduced the example of stencil (see also *Chapters 9* and *10*). Differently, to freehand graffiti and tagging, stencil designs require the pre-making of templates, which serve to reproduce those designs. This repetition and continuity lends itself to campaigning and the stencil designs discussed formed part of campaigning by social movements contesting the 2014 World Cup in Rio.

Rather than generic protest slogans, specific to these stencils was the recurrence of *names as symbols of protest*. Three names in particular featured centrally, one event name and two personal names, but all referring to cases of favela residents killed by military police.

Being reproduced alongside each other through the stencilling and media documentations created the sense of the aggregation and conjoining of these names as symbols of protest, i.e. with an implied movement from condensation towards acting together in summary (as defined in *Chapter 5*).

Appearing firstly in Maré, then as social media, one main function of these stencils was mobilization, e.g. with an increasing explicitness through their resemiotizations and recontextualizations into fliers and posts for upcoming demonstrations during the World Cup.

However prior to their co-occurrence during campaigning against the World Cup in 2014 these three names had already appeared together regularly in protesting texts and practices since one year before in 2013.

I described contexts, practices, and texts, in which they emerged and gained prominence as symbols of protest, as well as how they started to conjoin through these trajectories of symbolization and memorialization.

In sum, developing and disseminating through the specificities of the historic protest in 2013 the events of the Maré Chacina and Amarildo became two significant events forming part of the cycle of contention from 2006-2016 (as defined previously, contesting mega-events, pacification, and other related issues, as a specific set of themes in protest).

Claudia and other similar cases followed shortly afterwards, forming part of this ongoing process as well (see *Chapter 9*).

In *Chapter 8*, I started off by showing contexts prior to this cycle of contention out of which anti mega-event campaigning and protesting in Rio emerged at a local level amongst social movements in the Maré favelas.

This background context highlighted continuities, but also aspects of campaigning and protesting that occurred over 2013-2014 which had not been done previously – as exemplified

through the main focus on 'Anti-World Cup' street decorating events featuring names as symbols of protests.

Next in ***Chapters 9-10***, I describe the protest events which followed - during the World Cup.

CHAPTER 9 DEMONSTRATION LITERACIES: THE CONCENTRATION OF A PROTEST EVENT

On the afternoon of 23 June 2014 a demonstration was realised along Rio de Janeiro's world renowned Copacabana beachfront. Named 'the Party in the Stadiums is not Worth the Tears in the Favela', this protest march was the second of three such demonstrations organized by favela social movements during the hosting of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Rio (with all three using this same name, which I abbreviate henceforth as the '...Favela' protests).

Organization of these '...Favela' protests involved collaboration between three main groups: the Communities and Movements Network against Violence (RCMCV), Popular Forum of Mutual Support (FPAM), and Manguinhos Social Forum (FSM) - along with assistance from other organizations, collectives, and individuals.

RCMCV's activities across Rio's favelas and periphery focussed on campaigning about and offering practical support to victims of violence perpetrated by state actors, e.g. Rio's police. FPAM was a meeting space for participants from different periphery movements organized to collaborate and develop collective actions. FSM meanwhile was based in one specific favela named Manguinhos (next to Maré) as a project there for local residents and social movements working to defend citizen's rights.

I did not collaborate with these groups directly. My link with them and the '...Favela' protests emerged mainly via my participation with the Citizen community media project in Maré (see *Chapter 4*). Members from RCMCV and FSM gave talks and taught at the Citizen's training courses in 2013 and 2014, for example, whilst people working with the Citizen were also involved in the setting up of FPAM in 2013 and its ongoing meetings in 2014.

There was this crossover of projects and people. Meeting these in 2013 ultimately led to my presence at the ‘...Favela’ protests later in 2014.

In this chapter, I describe in detail the enacting of the most significant of the three ‘...Favela’ protests’. I attended all three. The first was a kind of preparatory event, whilst the third was closed down shortly after starting by the police. So the second was the only one of the three events that was actually performed in full – hence my focus on it.

Chapter 9 is divided into two parts.

The first part introduces the setting through discussion of an installation of texts of protest emplaced along Copacabana beach (i.e. the route that the protest march would later follow).

The second part thereafter describes what was referred to locally as the ‘concentration’ of a protest event, involving a range of relatively typical activities at a pre-planned meeting point where people congregated and aggregated, before setting off on a protest march. This June 23 concentration took place inside a favela named Chapéu Mangueira.

Following directly after in **Chapter 10**, I describe the performance of the protest march itself which started off from Chapéu Mangueira, passing along Copacabana beach and a World Cup spectator and media centre situated there, before finishing its route in another favela named Pavão–Pavãozinho.

Both in this chapter and the next I focus on *demonstration literacies* as particular sets of literacy practices featuring in demonstrations and marches, how these demonstration literacies interacted with media practices and new technologies, and how they formed part of broader social movement practices and purposes realized through protesting. As before recurrent again are examples of names as symbols of protest and sites of memory.

9.1 Name Crosses



Figures 9.1: The name crosses installation on Copacabana beach on June 23 2014 (Photo: Silva, 2014)

Saturday, 23 June 2014: From the Copacabana Beachfront to Chapéu Mangueira Favela...

The meeting point for the protest was in a favela called Chapéu Mangueira situated on a hillside stretching up and around the northern corner of Copacabana beach - one of Rio's most well-known locations, in the affluent South Zone of the city.

Going there on foot, I walked the coastal road where en route on the beach sands parallel to the entrance up to the favela, hundreds of small wooden crosses had been placed out in long rows, the front of each row bearing a name of a different favela from which there had been 'removals' (e.g. evictions, demolitions, displacements, etc.).

A protest banner laid in front of the crosses stated: THE LEGACY OF THE WORLD CUP / 250 THOUSAND PEOPLE / 2 BILLION IN REPRESSION, alongside a map entitled WE ARE ONE RIO / OF REMOVALS (Figures 9.1).

This map marked geographical locations in which these removals had occurred in Rio since the start of a new municipal programme of urban planning linked to preparations for the so-called mega-events (e.g. the FIFA World Cup), whereby from 2009-2014 one figure commonly cited by researchers and social movements claimed that 20,299 families, or around 67,000 people, had been compulsorily removed across the municipality of Rio (Azevedo & Falhauber 2015).

So although this map placed on the sands represented the municipality of Rio and the named removals marked on it locations in Rio, the figure of '250 thousand people' written on the banner alongside it actually referred to something else, i.e. to an estimate made by national researchers of the total number of removals to occur, across all of Brazil,

by the end of both mega-events (i.e. the 2014 World Cup followed by the 2016 Olympics: ANCOP, 2014).

Likewise, the adjacent figure of '2 billion' written onto this same banner referred not to Rio specifically, but to national level government spending on security operations and defence (Globo, 2014b), although this time, relating to the World Cup only, rather than to both of the mega-events as in the previous example.

Such combining and compounding of statistics was a common practice realised throughout protesting materials contesting the mega-events over 2013-2014 (as elsewhere). Recurring again here, in this case, it involved an interlinking of local, municipal, and national references, in its written and visual arrangement, designed to attract attention and provoke contestation amongst prospective readers passing by that day.

Organized by a group of residents and activists from three different favelas which were still under threat of more removals relating to the mega-events, this installation of name crosses was the first of several interventions in which public spaces in Copacabana were inscribed with messages of protest on June 23.

Centrally here there was the writing of particular proper names, on relatively large numbers of text-artefacts, which had been produced and displayed for the purpose of protesting. In this example, the names appearing on each cross were all place names (i.e. individual favelas), but combined into this visual arrangement, as aggregated names, they represented not only individual places and incidences, but the broader theme of 'removals' – i.e. one of the main themes in protest for social movements from favelas

at that time specifically because of the mega-events, but also a theme in protest recurring throughout the history of favelas (see Valladares 1978, 2005).

This removals crosses installation had been planned separately to the '...Favela' protest I was going to, though done to coincide with it, with the march due to pass by here later on. But both these removals crosses and the march (along with another protest that day) had all been planned so as to co-occur on the Saturday afternoon of a World Cup match in which Brazil's national team was due to play.

According to one organizer I spoke to named Flavio, the visual installation of emplacing these crosses onto Copacabana beach was to take advantage of large crowds of people and media coverage expected in the area, especially the presence of international press, so as to 'show the world what's going on in Brazil', as he put it.

This meant that the previous combination of local, municipal, and national references which were put on display, through the name crosses installation, also involved global orientations.

9.1.1 Localising Moves and Globalising Connects

Within this context, the emplacing and displaying of the removals crosses as a literacy event involved a convergence of localising moves and globalising connects.

9.1.1.1 Localising Moves

Localising moves refer to how 'literacy objects in action [can serve to] localize a context by framing it, orienting participants to here-and-now meanings' (Brandt & Clinton 2002, p.351). There were several examples of such localising moves enacted through the cross installation.

Firstly, in terms of localising moves there were 'ruling passions', where the issue of removals linked to the mega-events had become a powerfully affective and motivating issue for many residents and activists, with emotional ties, hopes and revolt, re-enacted personally through ongoing campaigning and protesting, such as on this day, and through this protest text-artefact filled site (see Barton & Hamilton 1998, p.83; also Goodwin, Jaspar, & Poletta 2009).

Secondly, there was also a particular transitory 'place making' act, typical of protest events, in this case, through this emplacing of named crosses and maps – both physically overlaying and symbolically marking a location and a public space, with particular references of people demonstrating, whereby in some cases, these markings were also the names of their homes (see Papen 2012, p.4; also Lefebvre 1991).

Thirdly, expanding on this last point, localising occurred through broader creative practices and appropriation: e.g. 'taking hold' of religious and protest symbols (the crosses); government slogans ('We are one Rio' being a campaign slogan of the incumbent mayor); the map of the city; as well as popular public space on the beachfront - all of which was recombined into a visual composition of contestation based on local interests, i.e. threat to these demonstrators' homes (see Kulick & Stroud 1993, p.55; de Certeau 1984).

This emplacing of crosses in the sands as an act of protest was not new, it had been done before in Rio, though mostly having involved other themes (e.g. especially being seen in response to events of urban violence: see Globo 2007, 2008a).

However, writing of names of favelas which had undergone removals in this same style and same location was new and indicative of creative uses of literacy during campaigning and protesting against the 2014 World Cup more generally (see also *Chapter 8*).

9.1.1.2 Globalising Connects

Globalising connects from a contrasting perspective concern how ‘technologies of literacy [serve] to carry reading and writing actions in and out of local contexts, or consolidate them’ (Brandt & Clinton 2002, p.352). There were several intersecting examples realised through the cross installation on June 23.

Firstly, through the name crosses, there was an ‘alignment’ displayed with wider collective and institutional texts and practices which interrelated distant places and people (Barton & Hamilton 2005, p.31).

For example, positioned alongside of the name crosses, the map and statistics based slogans contextualized their meaning - both as cases of individual removals, but also in a way each represented part of a systematic process (with the reductions of favelas concentrated in specific areas linked to urban planning and investment projects). Rather than being just a standard map of the city, this map placed on the sands (in Figures 9.1) marked movements in Rio where removals had occurred since 2009. But from where had this information come?

This map was actually a kind of simplified version of more extensive and detailed mappings, realised through a series of interrelating research endeavours that involved residents, social movements, university research clusters, and human rights organizations (as illustrated in *Chapter 4*; see also CPRCO 2013, 2014; Vainer et al 2013, 2014; Faulhaber & Azevedo 2015).

Since around 2010 onward, there had been a kind of ongoing collective cartography of removals processes in favelas in Rio, with details of places, coupled with stories

of residents, published and circulated through a range of textual means (e.g. maps, statistics, interviews, dossiers, and more). The installation of name crosses with its map locations and statistics quotes emplaced on the sands, both drew from, and connected back into this flow of textual resources about removals in Rio – a flow which I encountered myself regularly from 2013-2014, via friends', colleagues', and social movements' activities and their social media circulating of information concerning this issue.

Secondly in terms of globalising connects, there was positioning of the removals crosses and protest materials orientated by a particular media opportunity structure (Cammaerts, 2012). That is, there were a range of contextual features in Copacabana on June 23 that afforded local social movements opportunities 'to mobilize political support', 'to increase the legitimization and validation of their demands', and 'to widen the scope' of their message, including through mainstream and higher profile media channels (Cammaerts 2012, p.119).

Orientated by this media opportunity structure, globalising connects realized through the name cross installation, related to where the name crosses and protesting materials on the beach were physically positioned and why. The texts were positioned on a beachfront space, which was a touristic space generally, but more specifically, they were positioned near the site of both a spectator and a media centre set up for the World Cup, as well as being in the path of the protest march planned that day. In turn, the name cross protest texts would come to feature in recordings and transmissions of both the World Cup site and the protest event.

On June 23 the Brazil national football team was due to play in one of their first games in the 2014 World Cup tournament. There were thousands of people expected in Copacabana

coming to watch the game on large cinema screens set up at the spectator centre named the 'FIFA Fan Fest', nearby also to the headquarters set up for international media coverage.

In planning and conceptualizing of the protest event to take place where it was due to, two of the core logics of protesting were interconnected: 'numbers' and 'bearing witness' (della Porta & Diani 2009, p.170). The positioning of the name cross installation where it was made possible connections with large numbers of potential witnesses encountering and engaging with these texts and injustices projected through them, i.e. both in person in the area and through national and global media presence connecting to networks of audiences not present on the day.



Figure 9.2: A cross for *Chapéu Mangueira* favela (i.e. the name of the location of the 'concentration')

As this name cross literacy event was characterised by localising moves and globalising connects, other literacy events during the protest on June 23 were also - as I describe, below.

9.2 The Meeting Point and Concentration



Figure 9.3: [above] Decorated alleys walking to the meeting point in Chapéu Mangueira favela

Figure 9.4: [below] Chapéu Mangueira residents' association at the meeting point and concentration

The way which I had taken walking along the beach was a part of the route that the protest march would later follow. But prior to its starting, demonstrators were congregating up in one of the favelas in the hills directly behind the beach – a favela named Chapéu Mangueira where the meeting point and concentration for the march had been planned.

Walking up the steep hill to get to Chapéu Mangueira meant passing by street corners with armed police as UPP had been installed in this area since 2009. On this day the narrow back alleys leading toward the public square where the residents' association and meeting point for the concentration were located were being monitored by police officers also. As I passed by here, and arrived, the event was already busy, with the public square not being very big, as well as being enclosed by buildings all around, so that the people and activity seemed to fill it.



9.2.1 Visual Literacy Environment

Central to this setting were several distinctive literacy events. In one corner of the square, banners were laid out on the floor and being painted that would later be carried and shown on the demonstration, underneath other ones hung up on the wall that had been pre-made bearing the slogans: THE PARTY IN THE STADIUM IS NOT WORTH THE TEARS IN THE FAVELA (i.e. the name of the protest) and THE FAVELA WON'T SHUT UP / END UPP (the name of a locally based movement that collaborated in the organization of this particular event). Stretching around the walls behind these banners were old cut out newspaper articles and photo collages that had been stuck up, or were left hanging, from draping cords. Tied into the middle of one of these collages which wrapped around the doorway to the residents' association from where speeches and songs were being performed was one central placard with the words: WHY I HATE THE WORLD CUP. Scattered around the square, there were many other placards on show as well, either in the process of being made, or already made, with different sizes and shapes and a mix of everyday and decorating materials used (supermarket boxes, cardboard wood, paint, glue, etc.). Out of these same materials processional crosses and a coffin were being produced and painted as well, to be carried later on, leading the march. Screen printed t-shirts showing the names of people, movements, and protesting slogans were present both being worn by attendees involved in these activities, or hung up on display across the walls, amongst the other mounted texts. Lastly, 'Anti-World Cup' stenciling (the same seen a week before in Maré, in *Chapter 8*) was being roller and spray painted onto two of the walls around the square, alongside or on top of the preceding graffiti and quotidian signage.

Together all of these text-artefacts and activities formed a part of another transitory act of place making - producing a particular visual and thematic environment at the concentration and its thus particular representational space, i.e. with an overlaying of this everyday setting and its everyday practices, with the cultural artefacts and the themes in protest of the protest event and its producers.

Most of these forms of texts and activities I had seen regularly at similar social movement protest events over 2013-2014. Though on this day specifically there was one overarching theme that recurred across them - deaths of favela residents in which policing was blamed. Deliberately arranged to start and finish in two different pacified favelas, this issue of policing violence linked directly to UPP policing and to the 2014 World Cup because of how UPP had been initiated as part of preparations for hosting this 'mega-event'.



Figure 9.5: [above] A scene from the visual literacy environment - processional cross and banner making and painting; newspaper article cut outs about police violence stuck on the wall; quotidian posters 'Turn work into play'; a 'May Mothers against state terrorism' movement t-shirt (left to right)



Figure 9.6: [above] Example of mediated space / speech, film, collages ['Why I hate the World Cup']

Figure 9.7: [below] Example of mediated space / professional film and sound equipment / photo taking and showing [missing persons named t-shirt 'Flavio...' see also the 'name placards' section 9.4)



9.2.2 Visual Media Environment

Surrounding this display of texts and making of speeches, i.e. long term literacy and oratory practices central to the production of such concentrations as representational spaces, there were also newer media practices, including photography, filming, and live streaming, central to their re-production. Each of these practices was more recent than the last, with live streaming through mobile phones, for example, having only recently become an activity typical to see at protests in Rio (especially so, since the period of mass protesting the year before in 2013).

Differently from the lo-tech literacy and oratory practices, in themselves involving only basic materials and means, central to media practices surrounding were technologies that had a broader (and rapidly expanding) range of requirements and affordances, especially through connections with computers, the internet, and social media. When I arrived at the meeting point, such a media presence was already highly prominent. There seemed to be more people photographing, filming, and live streaming, than at many other similar events which I attended over 2013-204. This was noticeable particularly owing to being in a closed in square, with recording technologies and media practices encircling all of the concentration activities, so that it seemed as if every part of the square was being recorded, by someone, at some time, and often multiply so.

The main reason for a larger presence here was the event itself - being the first main protest event organized specifically by social movements from favelas during the World Cup and with this taking place in Rio's affluent South Zone of the city, where the tourist and media centres had been set up. Protest events in or organized by favelas were usually covered by local media activists and community media from favelas, as well as by social movement media activists supportive of favela causes (see *Chapter 3* for a list of examples). On this day there were all these, but more in number, as this was a relatively well-attended event. But also, along with these, there was also a wide range of national and global media in Rio for the World Cup, i.e. from non-local social movement media and independent media producers, to the commercial press and broadcasters (e.g. on June 23, the Guardian, Euronews, New York Times, Al Jazeera, and others).

Across this range of media production, there appeared more professional and technological equipment and practices than I was accustomed to seeing, indexing capital and transmission resources as well as training amongst people involved (Scollon 1998, Bourdieu 1986). For people present without specialist media roles, occasional photos or film clips produced via use of their own personal mobile phones was the norm for improvised documenting of protest events. This formed the basic way protests were produced as media content. A next level up commonly seen at events was presence of different cameras, from the basic pocket sized, to the more bulky lenses of professional cameras, which were relatively expensive and easily stolen in Rio, though used nonetheless by professional photographers, journalists, and researchers. But on June 23, beyond these, there was also professional filming equipment and related practices apparent, such as small group work with specifically delegated recording tasks underway (e.g. with different people manoeuvring sound poles and microphones around film cameras). In sum, all these made up the visual environment of the concentration as a mediated space (Couldry 1999, Mattoni 2013).

This extensive media presence felt invasive to me on several occasions especially considering the sensitive issues discussed (as below). But organizers and representatives of movements engaged with this continuously and openly all day, both during the concentration and the march. At the meeting point and concentration, what was stressed repeatedly through ongoing speeches and interviews was the importance of the fact that it had been favela movements that organized this event themselves and that they were speaking for themselves through it. Consequently, this media presence was understood to be a channel to divulge to a wider audience their voices and messages on the issues in question and themes in protest.

9.2.3 Literacy Generating Space meets Mediated Space

As described, this meeting point and concentration can be summarized in terms of the overlapping of literacy generating space (Kalman, 2005) and mediated space (Couldry, 1999). The first refers to the space of the protest event produced as a particular space of practice (see Bartlett & Holland 2002), whereby contentious texts and performances were produced and made available as resources to use and participate with. The second refers to how, in being multiply and continuously recorded and transmitted (in real time and later post event), the artefacts, activities, and communications which produced this event space were also simultaneously media content in process, inter-connected with both social media and mass media networks in which they would later appear.



Figure 9.8: Example of mediated space / multiple photography of name stencilling (discussed below)

9.3 Name Stencils



Figure 9.9: Anti-World Cup name stencils on June 23 2014

Being painted by local children onto one wall in the square was one of the concentration's promoted activities – Anti-World Cup graffiti. This had been organized by the same people and using the same stencils as before in Maré (as seen in *Chapter 8*), but with two new names added (Douglas DG and Edilson), to the three there had been previously (The Maré Chacina, Amarildo, and Claudia).

Ranging from 8-13 years old, there were around 25 children in the square coming and going involved in different painting activities. Five were doing the Anti-World Cup graffiti when I arrived - using rollers so as to reproduce football shirt designs and spray painting

the five available name stencils over the top of the shirt backgrounds - all seemingly enjoying and focussed on their task in hand.

I was not privy to how the activity of these children's scribing of these names onto the walls had been introduced to them by the organizers of the event, nor did I engage in discussion about these names and designs with them, as I found it problematic knowing their ages and the respective stories. That is, as with the other three stencil names, I was familiar with the stories of Douglas DG and Edilson prior to attending the event on 23 June. They had been known to me for around two months – through a combination of attending protests and following media coverage around their stories. So who were these two names and why were they added here though not present in Maré?

9.3.1 Local Names: DG and Edilson

Douglas ("DG") Pereirra was a 26 year old actor and professional dancer from a favela named Pavão-Pavãozinho nearby to Chapéu Mangueira. On April 22, DG's body was found dead outside a creche in Pavão-Pavãozinho, marked with multiple bodily injuries, which police reports said he had suffered from falling between buildings, having run away across rooftops, during exchanges of gunfire between UPP police and local gang factions. DG's mother and friends claimed these injuries related to him being beaten and shot by police who had been threatening him and calling him a criminal in the days before. Other residents claimed that the local UPP had been infiltrated by ex-police militia who were trying to remove local gang factions and control the area for themselves (including its protection rackets and its illicit drug trade).

In the hours after his body was found, serious protests ensued, including barricades, burnt

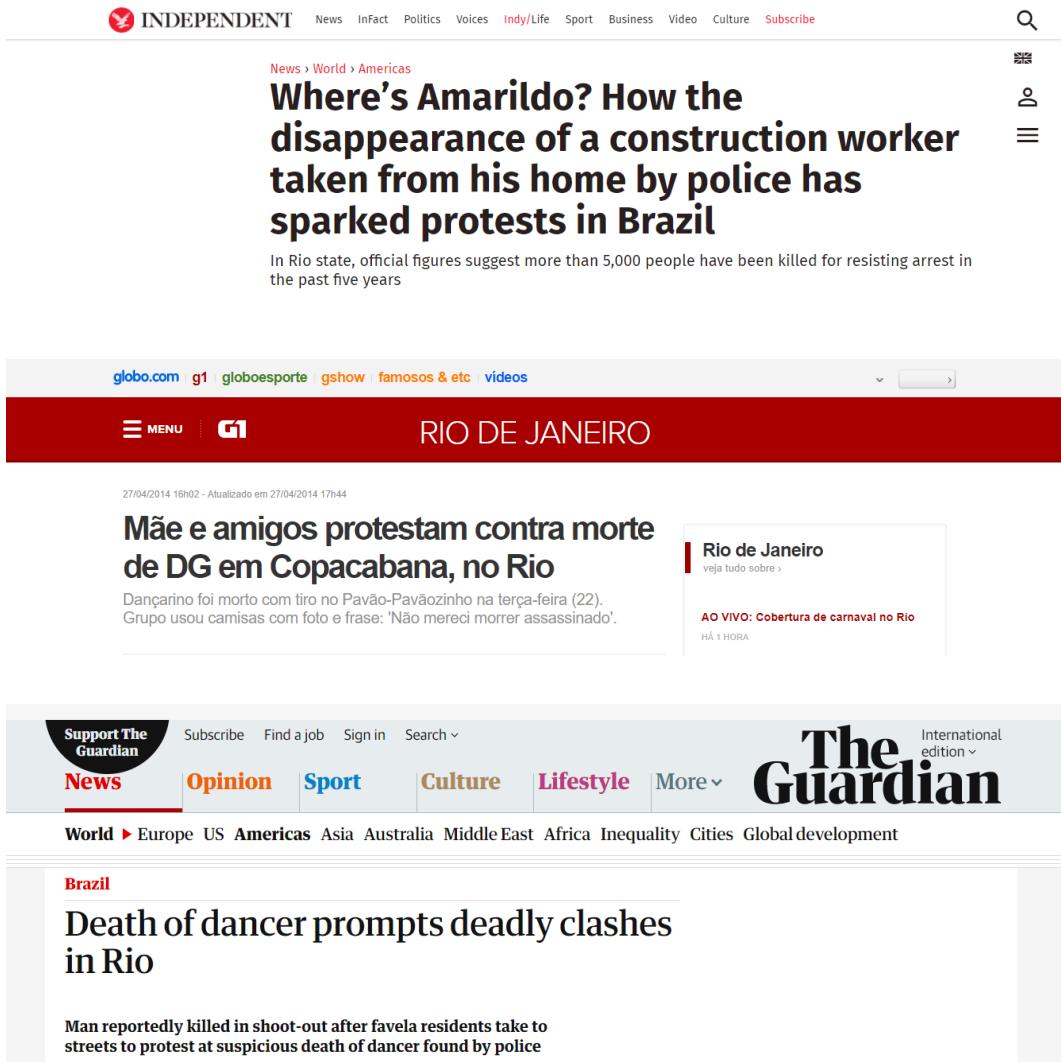
cars, and exchanges of fire between police and youths assumed to be from a local gang. During these scenes, Edilson de Santos (27), a 'mentally disabled' man (as referred to) brought up by an adopted mother who had also looked after DG was shot in the street by a police bullet and died. Further protests occurred the next day on April 24 during DG's funeral where - 'Get Out UPP', '5 Years Enough UPP', 'State Murderers', and similar protest signs and slogans were carried and chanted by family, local residents, and social movements. I attended this event with a colleague who was live streaming it for a social movement media collective, discussing the case with participants in the crowd.

9.3.2 Local Names to Global Flows: DG and Amarildo (UPP, World Cup, and Protest)

There were many parallels between the case of DG and the anterior case of Amarildo (discussed in *Chapter 8*).

Both men were killed by police in favelas they were from. Around a year after each case, investigations led to respective officers being charged with homicide, false testimony, and other crimes. Yet both were accused of involvement with criminality by police at the time, who denied any wrong doing themselves, though family, local residents, and social movements challenged this. Both cases provoked spontaneous protesting as well as subsequent planned demonstrations in response, mobilized by family, local residents, and social movements. Both occurred inside of UPP pacified favelas, during the build up to the World Cup, and during a year of ongoing protest activities (over 2013-2014). Both became symbolic names through this period, appearing recurrently and often more prominently so than other similar names and stories (e.g. at demonstrations criticising police violence and / or UPP pacification policing). Lastly, both involved social media virality coupled with mainstream media coverage

at national and global scales of reference linking into wider news coverage around preparations for the mega-events and the national protests in Rio and Brazil. Through these connections these two local names and stories were propelled into global media flows, i.e. amplifying the names of Amarildo and DG as symbols of protest.



The top image shows a screenshot of the Independent website. The headline reads: "Where's Amarildo? How the disappearance of a construction worker taken from his home by police has sparked protests in Brazil". Below the headline is a subtext: "In Rio state, official figures suggest more than 5,000 people have been killed for resisting arrest in the past five years". The middle image shows a screenshot of the Globo.com website. The headline reads: "Mãe e amigos protestam contra morte de DG em Copacabana, no Rio". Below the headline is a subtext: "Dançarino foi morto com tiro no Pavão-Pavãozinho na terça-feira (22). Grupo usou camisas com foto e frase: 'Não mereci morrer assassinado'". The bottom image shows a screenshot of the The Guardian website. The headline reads: "Death of dancer prompts deadly clashes in Rio". Below the headline is a subtext: "Man reportedly killed in shoot-out after favela residents take to streets to protest at suspicious death of dancer found by police".

Figures 9.10 [above]

[top] Global news on Amarildo and protests (Independent, 2013), for more extensive national and global examples in the case of Amarildo see Chapter 8

[middle] National news on DG and protests (Globo, 2014e)
Title: 'Mother and friends protest against the death of DG in Copacabana, Rio'

[below] Global news on DG and protests (Guardian, 2014)

9.3.3 Localising Moves and Globalising Connects

Through graffiti texts and practices, the appearances of the names of DG and Edilson, at the concentration (*Chapter 9*) and protest march which followed it (*Chapter 10*) involved particular localising moves and globalising connects.

In terms of localising moves, both the names were of local residents from Pavão-Pavãozinho favela nearby to Chapéu Mangueira favela - the site of the protest event meeting point and concentration. The route of the protest march had been planned so as to start off in Chapéu Mangueira then pass along the beachfront and FIFA World Cup spectator centre there before heading to Pavão-Pavãozinho as its final destination, where closing speeches were to bring the demonstration to an end. This ending point was the site of DG and Edilson's home and place of death. Beforehand, at the site of the concentration, the names of Douglas DG and Edilson recurring across the walls of the square marked this physical space where people were aggregating and where they would set off on the march. Graffiti stencils were customized so as to make this local reference in their decorating of the site and in their producing of it as a representational space.

In terms of globalising connects, firstly, there was an alignment process realized in the emplacing of five names together: Maré Chacina, Amarildo, Claudia, Douglas DG, Edilson – conjoining what were separate cases around thematic aspects that they had in common for the purpose of demonstrating on that day. All five names referred to: favela residents as victims of police violence; contesting of this police violence; contesting of UPP pacification police (either directly or by association); and contesting of the 2014 World Cup (by association). In such a way, the aggregating of all these five names came to serve as a particular set of symbolic resources and mediational means in the performing of the protest

and its purposes (Wertsch, 2001), e.g. a set of names and linking themes in protest, demonstrators would make, take up, and display, via protest texts, marching, chanting, and related performances en route.

In terms of globalising connects, secondly, there was the mediation opportunity structure – with the opportunities of both the political and the media environment from 2013 to 2014 playing a significant role in how the names and stories of Maré Chacina, Amarildo, Claudia, Douglas DG and Edilson had come to have a high profile in the first place among social movements specifically, as well as in the public sphere more generally (as discussed in *Chapter 8* and above). Through the protest event on June 23 2014 these five names were both recalled as symbols of protest and recirculated into local, national, and global mediatic flows, currently active around both the World Cup events and the ongoing protest events in response.

9.3.4 Names as Symbols of Protest within Longer Term Movement Practices

There were particular local practices of remembrance and demonstration into which these five names appearing through graffiti stencils can be located that were much longer term than any of their individual five cases. Moreover, beyond these five individual names there were many other similar names and stories, but which remained less well-known. In the next section, I discuss such longer term cases and practices and how these connected to the present on June 23. Names as symbols of protest and sites of memory appear again, but here through another example of texts and practices prominent at the concentration, as well as at many other similar protest events previously – i.e. name placards.

Whilst stencilling was an example of arts-activist literacies deployed during this protest, literacy practices of placards were a, or the, archetypal example of demonstration literacies.

9.4 Name Placards

In another corner of the square, a group of women were writing names, dates, and places, on sheets of paper, which were thereafter stuck on small wooden and cardboard placards.

Printed out photographs of people's faces were glued onto the other sides so there was an image on one side and corresponding identifying details on the other.

There were several piles of these that had been made already by the time I arrived all waiting to be passed around and carried during the demonstration.

There were names among these placards I was familiar with from other protest events over 2013-2014 (including those from the name stencils which appeared again on placards, e.g. Claudia).

The placards being made here also included many of the names on a list of favela residents killed by UPP police which had been circulated online during the mobilization prior to the protest (as seen in *Chapter 8*). This same list had now been printed out and carried to the site by the organizers, so that each of the names would be written out onto a placard – as illustrated in Figures 9.11.

Figures 9.11 [below]

Name placard writing, 'Claudia murdered dragged along a road by police in Congonha favela in 2014'

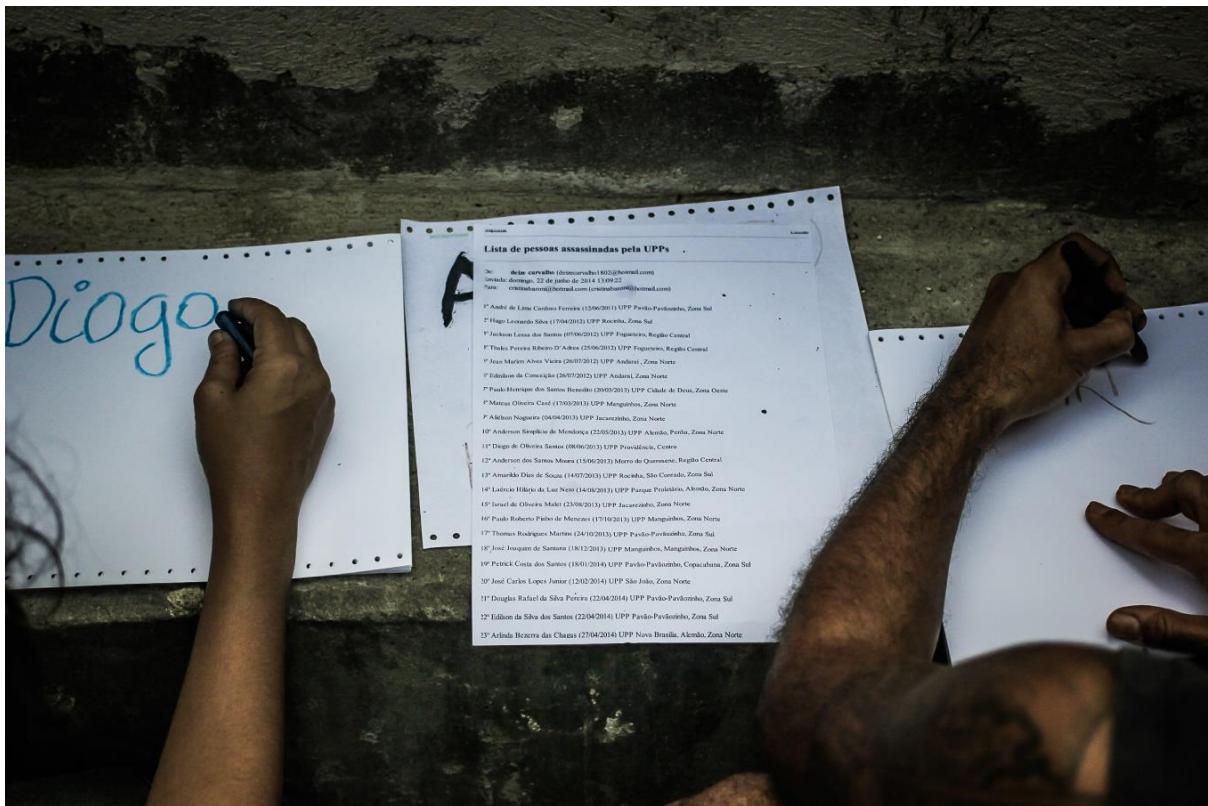
Placard making and placards in piles at the meeting point, including names, dates, places, etc.

Name placards with portrait images (Photo: CMI, 2014)

UPP name lists (Photo: MidiaNINJA, 2014)







(...) But besides these well-known names and listed names, all being transcribed on placards, there were further names, many of which I was not familiar with.

These included names of victims of police violence: either prior to UPP (i.e. initiated in 2008), or from areas not yet pacified (i.e. in 2014 UPP was in Rio municipality only, not yet in other municipalities within the state of Rio, and in just 36 of the city's 1000+ favelas).

One such name that appeared written onto a placard was Fabio (accompanied by the date: June 23, 2003). Fabio's elderly mother named Izabel (pseudonym) attended the protest event and addressed the crowd in the square telling his story, recounting how Fabio had gone out with friends to a traditional Brazilian 'June Festival' party in 2003 in the metropolitan region of Quiemados. According to local resident witnesses, on their way coming home, Fabio was stopped, questioned, and then detained by the police. He was

never seen again afterwards, in a very similar way to the more widely known story of Amarildo 10 years later in July 2013.

Recalled at the concentration through Izabel's placard and speech making, Fabio's story was one of several examples of spatial and temporal extensions from direct criticisms of UPP and the World Cup at the protest event, e.g. with his death having occurred both, in an area outside of UPP coverage, as well as five years prior to the starting of UPP and preparations for the mega-events in Rio (beginning around 2008).

In spite of this gap, Fabio's story and what this told about military policing in Rio generally echoed more recent stories told about UPP specifically. Through the texts and practices of the concentration, in multiple ways, past and present names converged together as symbols of protest and sites of memory.

For example, amongst all of the text making and showing at the meeting point, the two examples of name placards and name stencils discussed in this chapter became focal points of the concentration. The placards were similar to the stencils in terms of their textual content (i.e. in bearing names, basic identification details, and referencing similar stories), however, there was one specific difference between them relating to time.

The name stencils were all cases from 2013-2014. All five names were from within this period of one year, or more specifically, from the period of protesting in Rio from June 2013 onwards. In contrast to this, the name placards had far longer temporal connectivities (e.g. as in Fabio's case above), with some names and stories going back many years,

and the furthest reference I encountered dating back to the 1990s, twenty years prior to the protest event in which they (re)appeared on 23 June 2014.

Localising moves and globalising connects realized through these placard texts and activities also involved distinctive historical connects, therefore, or *historical ties* (as I will call them).

Personal memories, collective histories, and the remembering of and affirming of these, all played important roles, in the practices and purposes of social movements of marginalized groups in Rio over 2013-2014 - as they had done for many years previously (see Gohn 1995, Nobre 1994). On June 23 however, such historical ties related specifically to cases of police killings, where individual names and cases from different periods were recalled together and united in the forming of a collective action contesting violence.

What were the precedents of this collective action?

Writing of names on protest signs was a typical literacy practice at protest events in Rio in 2013-2014, especially at events organized by favela social movements such as this.

On June 23, name placard displaying overlapped with the wider protest sign displaying where names appeared prominently in similar ways, e.g. on banners and clothes (*cf.* 9.2.1).

Another way names were remembered and made present was through speech making ongoing around the placard making throughout the duration of the concentration.

Names and stories came to repeat and overlap in this way also, whereby the people giving speeches referred to the names and stories of people featuring visually on the protest texts around the square.

But beyond the event on June 23 and the period from 2013-2014, all of these examples of naming texts and practices trace back to longer term social movement histories of memorial

and demonstration which extend well before contestations of UPP and the 2014 World Cup. One specific example of long term social movement practices wherein these literacy events and texts of name placards, name stencils, and other similar means can be located is within the work of so-called mothers' movements.

9.4.1 Mothers' Movements



Figure 9.12: News story clippings from 2005 about the Acari Mothers 'Mothers against impunity...'

Although there are longer traditions in South America linking to missing persons during dictatorships that dominated the region in the second half of the 20th century (e.g. the activism of the Argentine 'Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo', see Bouvard 1994) one of the earliest and most emblematic examples of a mothers' movement in Rio is that of the 'Mothers of Acari' (i.e. a neighbourhood in the North Zone periphery).

In July of 1990, 8 youths (from 13-17) and three adults (from 26-32) went missing from a favela in Acari. None of these young people would ever be found. But in response to their disappearance a group of mothers of those missing came together to do two main things: firstly, they started to look into the circumstances of what happened and demand further investigations (which would later lead to evidence that the group had been threatened by military police before disappearing); secondly, they started

to appear regularly in public in the centre of Rio, carrying photos and other artefacts, showing their children's images and names and speaking about their cases. The mothers' public actions and sustained challenges of authorities became an especially influential example for social movements, with similar mothers' movements following (Nobre 1994).



Figure 9.13: 'Mothers of May

Memory, justice, liberty, and truth

Against state terrorism' (Logo and meme)

Another emblematic example that is more recent is that of the 'Mothers of May', self-described as an 'independent movement of mothers who struggle for memory, truth, and justice', who formed in 2006, after at least 564 people died (i.e. 504 civilians, 59 police), during a period of eight days of urban conflict and revenge killings between police and a local gang faction in the state of São Paulo (Caramente, 2016).

Included in people killed during these so called 'May Crimes' was the son of one of the main founders and most frequent public speakers of the movement, named Deborah Maria Silva. Through her and other participants' regular commentaries posted on their movement blog and its later Facebook page (followed by over 130,000 people as of 2014), as well as through appearances public speaking at events, and at demonstrations,

the Mothers of May became a national reference via their outspoken criticisms of military policing practices in Brazil, besides providing support to victims and families through networks of participation and interrelated groups across several cities in Brazil - including Rio.

There were several links between these two examples and the event organizers on June 23.

One of the three event organizers named the Communities and Movement Network against Violence was founded in 2003-2004 (RCMCV) following a specific incident of police killings in a favela named Borel. In their literature, the RCMCV cited the Mothers of Acari, amongst other mothers' movements, as an inspiration in their forming (RCMCV, 2006b). Central to RCMCV's work was their developing of mutual support networks concerning 'denunciation of cases of violence and violations of rights by the state', linked to 'medical, social, and psychological support for victims and survivors of state violence' (RCMCV, 2006b). Representatives of other mothers' movements (e.g. the May Mothers) both collaborated with and formed part of the RCMCV network, which amongst other activities, organized events that these mothers spoke publicly at. The protest event on June 23 was one such event and at the meeting point and concentration several of these mothers gave public speeches and interviews (e.g. Izabel, mentioned above).

Another of the event organizers, the Manguinhos Social Forum (FSM) was closely associated with the most recent mothers' movement to have commenced in Rio at the time. Present at the concentration were two representatives from this newly started movement named the 'Mothers of Manguinhos'. Formed just one month before the World Cup, the Manguinhos Mothers started through a meeting of one local mother whose son was shot by police in May of 2014, with another mother,

whose son had been shot only a few months before, in October of 2013 – with both cases occurring inside a pacified favela. The first of these two mothers, a 36 year old teacher named Dona Ana (pseudonym), started to speak regularly during demonstrations and social movement events from June 2014 onwards – with the ‘...Favela’ protest event on June 23 during the World Cup being one of the first events in which she did so.

On this day, as on many others thereafter, Dona Ana explained how her 19 year old son named Johnatha had been taking his girlfriend home on an afternoon when confrontations occurred between local youths and UPP police resulting in police gunfire. Unarmed, Johnatha was shot in the back, according to medical reports, whilst he had been running away, according to local resident witnesses.

The case was registered by police officers involved as a technical form of self-defence known as *auto de resistência* (usually translated as ‘acts of resistance’, see *Chapter 5*). Excessive usage of this term by police officers was a controversial issue in Brazil over 2013-2014, with the related legislation having been increasingly contested in years just prior. In this case, for example, the police officer that killed Johnatha had registered three other homicides in the same manner.

In her public speech at the concentration on June 23, Dona Ana said she had come to the protest event ‘asking for justice in the name of her son’ as well as for ‘all of the other youths who have been and continue to be murdered by police’. She emphasised how she wanted to clear the name of her son from any associations with gang factions, or with drug dealing, which according to her ‘seemingly every youth that dies in favelas becomes associated with automatically’, and in her son’s case ‘falsely’.

Differently to some of the other speakers on the day who seemed to speak about the theme of police violence primarily as a political issue, Dona Ana's public speaking seemed personal primarily and political secondarily. Her loss was recent, being only a month before, and her speech expressed this emotionally.

However, her speech was explicitly political also. Dona Ana had not had any direct connection with protests or social movements prior to the death of Johnatha, although soon after, she was assisted by the May Mothers and the locally based Manguinhos Social Forum, amongst other movements – developing political ties from there.

In spite of being only one month later on June 23, her speech making already drew from and was positioned within particular local political practices which were distinctive, made apparent, for example, through her stating of several terms and arguments, commonly used by periphery social movements in Rio at that time, but which also linked into longer term histories of usages and meanings.

Two examples of terms appearing in Dona Ana's and others' speeches which indexed such wider social movement practices were 'dictatorship' and 'genocide'. Both these terms linked to notions of structural violence and institutionalized racism in Brazil.

9.4.2 Localising Moves and Historical Ties

Like others at the meeting point and on the protest march following it, Dona Ana referred to UPP in terms of a 'dictatorship' and to homicide rates of black youths in terms of 'genocide'. How were these terms used here?



Figure 9.14: Public Speech by Dona Ana from the Manguinhos Mothers (Photo: Rio on Watch, 2014)



Figure 9.15: Media interviews with mothers' movements, with three mothers' movements banners

Text in Images [above]

Movement T-Shirt '[Rest in] peace / another life thrown away / dreams gone away'.

Lines quoted from the song 'Where do they go' by rapper Gabriel Pensador.

*Banner 1 [above] '[Death was a consequence] of unsuitable security /
earning a raise for bravery ending in killing'.*

*Banner 2 [right] 'Guns are not toys / when the police invade the favela spreading fear and terror /
it's those people from the people that don't understand us / using violence'.*

*Banners 1 and 2 are lines quoted from a song named 'The common citizen'
by rapper MV Bill.*

Banner 3 [below] 'Johnatha / heaven is having a party with your arrival'.

I am here with my protest sign today with the photo of my son demanding justice.

*I have come so as not to let become forgotten what happened to my son and to give visibility and to
participate in this struggle.*

*I know my son will never come back, but I fear and worry for the lives of all the other youths in
Manguinhos, not only there, but in all the other favelas which are suffering with this same kind of
violence.*

*It is for this reason that I am here, so that this is not forgotten. I want justice and I want for this in
one way or another to come to end.*

*And I am here, to be an example, for other mothers, for them to participate in this struggle,
because I believe it is only in this way
that the violence will stop.*

Excerpt from an interview with Dona Ana in 2014 – my recording / translation

(...) Both terms were localised via Dona Ana's speech making: firstly, through personalising, linking wider issues into the specific and personal story of her son being killed, and secondly, via local references, to her own community in Manguinhos.

Dona Ana referred to Manguinhos as 'being silenced by UPP' (with UPP referred to in terms of a 'dictatorship' in relation to this silencing), coupled also with specific details, such as how two more youths had already been killed by UPP police in Manguinhos since Johnatha - giving her the feeling of an 'extermination' of youths being underway by a 'genocidal police', as she put it.

This personal comment echoed similar social movement commentary however, dating back to the installation of UPP in favelas in 2008, where in years after, UPP started to be referred to by social movements critical of it, either explicitly, or in related terms, as '(also) dictatorship'.

This tended to be done in two main ways which sometimes contrasted, i.e. referring to UPP in terms of specific changes and / or in terms of generalised continuities.

2.4.2.1 Changes Perspectives

In the former, UPP was associated with criticism of a new or an increasing 'militarization' of public space in and around favelas with the setting up of check points at entrance and exits, regular stop and search activities, prohibitions of cultural activities such as popular cultural music events, forced evictions, as well as an extending list of names of local residents from favelas killed by this pacification policing (such as Amarildo, DG, Johnatha, and others, whose names were seen on protest signs at the meeting point and concentration on June 23).

All of these criticisms of specific changes since the starting of UPP lent themselves straightforwardly enough to comparisons, with ‘military rule’, or ‘dictatorship’ (see Vargas 2013).

2.4.2.2 Continuities Perspectives

In contrast, but also overlapping with such change perspectives were those that emphasised continuities.

Usage of the term ‘dictatorship’ was one discursive means through which this was realised. For example, in 2014 use of this term was topical and circulating in the public sphere because 2014 marked 50 years since the start of the last officially recognised period of (right wing led) ‘military regime’ or ‘dictatorship’ in Brazil which lasted from 1964 until 1985.

This period of military rule from 1964-1985 was one associated with repression in favelas generally, but especially so with massive numbers of forced evictions and displacements (175,000 people from 1963-1974, Brum 2013), i.e. becoming the most extensive era of removals in Rio until the recent period from 2009-2010 onward linked to preparations for the mega-events.

This is one of the senses of continuity therefore, where similarities between these two eras were highlighted through speeches and signs at the meeting point and concentration on June 23 – specifically so referring to Rio’s centre-right wing Governor and Mayor responsible for the implementation of UPP and municipal programme of favela removals, as ‘dictators’ (with varying degrees of irony).

There was another deeper sense of continuity here however which both overlapped and contrasted with historical comparisons between 1964 and 2014, as captured in the recurring protest slogan: 'Dictatorship Never Ended'.

One argument asserted here was that social repression, military presence, missing persons, forced removals, and other features associated with the 1964-1985 military regime in Brazil, both pre-dated, and continued after, this actual dictatorship, for residents of Rio's favelas (if in differing degrees of severity, at different points in time).

This deeper understanding of continuity links directly into the other related term that Dona Ana and local social movement actors referred to during the concentration on June 23.

The term 'genocide' has a long history of use in race and rights movements both in Brazil and the Americas (Nascimento 1989, 2016; Vargas 2005, 2010; Davis 1981). Brazil had the largest slave trade in the Americas and the last official abolition in the western hemisphere (in 1888) and resulting from this socio-economic-political-historical context, structural racism, became a, or, the, central aspect of broader notions of structural violence in Brazil. Structural, that is, because such racism and violence are understood in terms of discriminatory practices that have been reproduced and transformed in systematic ways throughout the history of Brazil. Genocide then became one term used to capture this structural aspect, for example in 'the refusal of the rights of existence of particular racial, political, or cultural groups', including 'the extermination of their individuals, and the disintegration of their political, social, and cultural institutions' (Nascimento 2016, p.15).

Usage of the term genocide here has two main references: i.e. firstly to document historical periods and policies which explicitly encouraged genocidal practices (see Nascimento 2016);

secondly, more diffusely, through ongoing practices which form part of wider structures of governance and social control, such as policing – for example, whereby it is very often working class black police officers killing working class black periphery residents, not with a deliberate intention of genocide per se, but with such practices seen to produce genocidal effects.

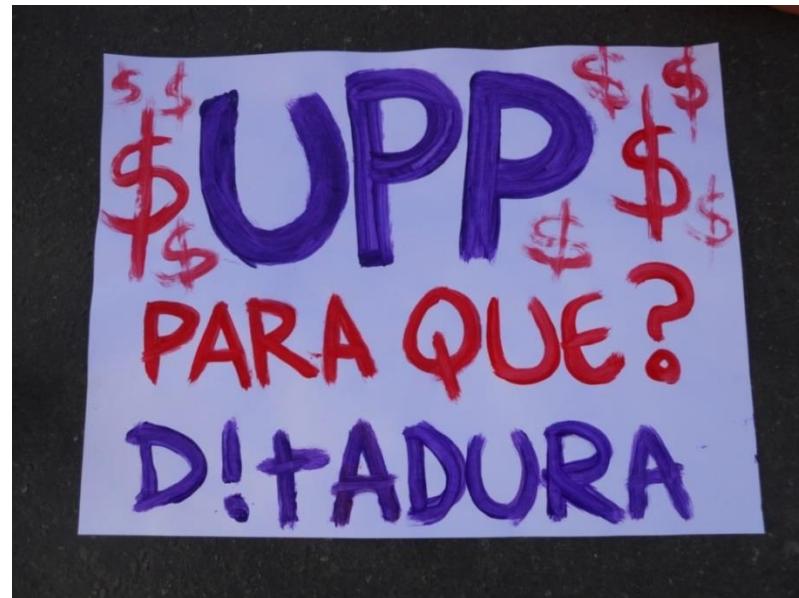


Figure 9.16: Placards on June 23, '\$\$ UPP \$\$ for what? Dictatorship'



Figure 9.17: (Photo: CMI, 2014) Placards 'Claudia' [cf. Figure 9.11]', '...For the end of genocidal UPP! / For the end of the military police'

9.5 Summary and Link

What was the concentration? By local definition, it was the place that people arrived at and aggregated prior to a protest march. But what came to concentrate here was more than just people. It was the opening phase of a protest event, in which a range of typical literacy and oratory practices produced a representational space with the themes in protest of the social movements and protesters. This involved both physical and symbolic accumulation of means which were taken up by protesters in demonstration both at this meeting point itself, as well as thereafter on the march which followed. Surrounding this, documenting it and disseminating it were a range of media practices, which on this day, June 23 2014, involved a kind of saturation of the site with numerous social movement media and mainstream media in attendance, owing to importance attributed to the event, contesting the 2014 World Cup.

This chapter addressed at this site the encounters and effects of traditions and innovations, past and present, lo-tech and hi-tech, local and global. The central example once again here was names as symbols of protest and sites of memory appearing across texts and practices at the meeting point and concentration, but also how these were located, within broader social movement practices, especially so, in contesting of and calling for the end of UPP and military police.

All of the literacies discussed in previous chapters were evidenced at the concentration (e.g. campaign, memorial, media-activist, and arts-activist). Most centrally though were demonstration literacies, described here in *Chapter 9* through examples of protest placard literacy practices, then continued next in *Chapter 10* through examples of protest banner literacy practices during the ensuing march.

CHAPTER 10 DEMONSTRATION LITERACIES: THE MARCH AND DISPERSAL OF A PROTEST EVENT

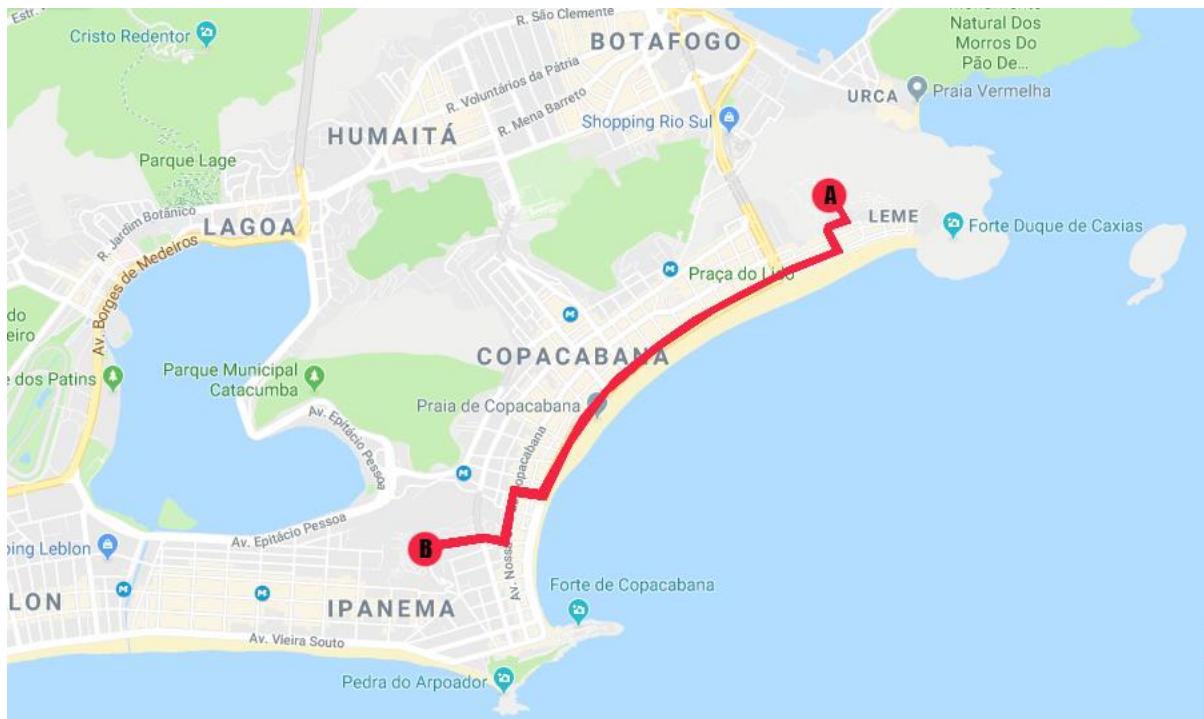


Figure 10.1: [from Google maps, adapted] The route of the protest march from (A) Chapéu Mangueira to (B) Pavão–Pavãozinho

10.1 From a Concentration to a March

The concentration described in the previous chapter came to an end with the pulsing drone of a berimbau, the abrasive one string bow that provides the rhythm to capoeira - the last of the activities in the square, a distinctive fusion of dance, music, and martial arts, developing in Brazil from the traditions of African slaves and associated symbolically with local histories of physical and cultural resistance (Assunção, 2004).

To this sound, people and things in the square started to organize themselves after the announcement that the march was now due to start - with placards, crosses, and other items destined for the march, picked up and grouped together through friends and colleagues finding each other.

Moving through back alleys from the square ensued in file as the narrow space allowed it. But once in the open in front of the favela, the banners made for the march which were previously without sufficient space to be extended were now carried out in front of the crowds and opened up, ready to lead the way down the hill, to the beachfront below.



Figure 10.2: Marching (Photo: MidiaNINJA, 2014)

10.2 Protest Banners

10.2.1 The Initial Range and Roles: Bearing the name of the protest event and leading the march from the front was an *event name banner* THE PARTY IN THE STADIUMS IS NOT WORTH THE TEARS IN THE FAPELA.

Around this leading banner in the so called 'front line' were a group of the mothers (along with family members and colleagues from movements) who had been giving

speeches in the square earlier. Moving along with the crowd, the faces and names of their sons, coupled with phrases of memorial, appeared on t-shirts, and protest placards, as well as on *portrait banners* with larger and bolder facial images which stood out.

Following the leading banner, next in line were three *quotation banners*, also belonging to and carried by the mothers' movements and their colleagues. These had been stuck up on the walls at the meeting point (see Figure 9.15) with quoted lines of lyrics from a rap song named 'the Common Citizen' telling the story of a police operation in a favela where gunfire leads to commotion and the death of a local resident.

On none of these banners were written the names or specific purposes of the movements which carried them. However, around these event name, quotation, and portrait banners were *movement name banners* and *movement campaign banners* such as those produced by a locally based movement known as 'The Favela Won't Shut Up' that collaborated in the organization of the march and whose name and principle campaigning purposes were now stated as a part of it through their written slogans: FOR THE END OF UPP / THE FAVELA WON'T SHUT, on one banner; and FOR THE END OF THE GENOCIDE OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS / FOR THE END OF MILITARY POLICE / FOR THE DEMILITARIZATION OF POLICE, on another.

Behind these name and campaign banners was another large banner produced by another of the event organizers, named the 'Popular Forum of Mutual Support'. Slightly differently, this was a kind of *movement base banner* (i.e. contrasting the concepts of social movement 'bases' and 'campaigns', in Tilly & Tarrow 2015). Phrases here stated references which were broader and more historical than any particular campaign purposes, with examples such as FROM QUILOMBOS TO FAVLAS / VIVA ZUMBI / VIVA BLACK AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

and VIVA COLLECTIVES. This series of slogans written on one protest banner, for example, both referenced and interconnected, early periphery communities set up by escaped slaves and separatists in Brazil historically, to favelas contemporarily, and in so doing, invoked national symbols of race and class based militancy in a broad aspect (see Campos, 2010).

Having been produced by the event organizers, carried from the meeting point, and now leading the demonstration down the hill - all of these formed the initial range of banners paraded on the protest march on June 23.

Across these protest banners most of the main themes of the demonstration on the day were represented, from missing persons and victims of violence, to the criticisms of UPP and military policing, to wider political positions about race and class.

As the protest march continued on its route, shortly after, more people and more banners would start to accumulate, aggregating around this initial range, and adding to it.



Figure 10.3: Marching with protest banners

10.2.2 Occupying and Marking Space: The name writing and short phrasal language of the initial protest banners and protest placards around them became echoed, via spoken and sung chants, called out and responded to by the crowd.

Choruses of particular songs regularly sung at protests recurred, animating singers, for example...

"Eu só quero é ser feliz... andar tranquilamente na favela onde eu nasci... e poder me orgulhar e ter a consciência que o pobre tem que lutar"

[I just want to be happy... to walk with tranquillity in the favela where I was born... to be proud and to have the conscience that the poor have to fight]

But more frequent and interspersed between such songs were shorter chants which addressed the themes of the protest more explicitly:

"Não acabou. Tem que acabar. Eu quero o fim da Polícia Militar!"

[It's still around. It has to stop. I want the end of military police!]

"Sem hipocrisia, essa polícia mata pobre todo dia!"

[No hypocrisy, this police kill the poor every day!]

"A verdade é dura, UPP também é ditadura!"

[The Truth is hard, UPP is also dictatorship!]

"UPP chegou para matar trabalhador!"

[The UPP has arrived to kill our workers!]

"Chega de chacina polícia assassina!"

[Enough massacres, police murderers!]

Also repeated through similar call and response routines were lists of people's names – e.g. Amarildo, Claudia, DG, Johnatha, Paulo Roberto, Matheus, and many others, whereby after

each name called by an individual from the crowd, the entire march chanted back the word 'Present!'

Surrounded by many of these same names chanted and their respective portraits on protest materials around the crowd, this recurring name call and response produced a kind of echo effect that was distinctively multimodal (Kress, 2010). Beside these names a similar overlapping occurred with other words, slogans, and song lyrics - recurring and recombining in different ways during the demonstration.

Together all of these forms filled the backroads down from the favela, occupying the locations passed through with their themes in protest, but transiently so, and in passing, with the march moving at speed towards its next stopping point at the bottom of the hill.

Moving on down the hill, led by the banners at the front, the chanting marchers passed the local UPP unit, as well as several other staggered groupings of police officers that were stationed along the route. This meant that the protest signs and chants were being directed towards them - both physically and thematically - all the way down, until arriving at the bottom, whereafter the specific troop of military police designated to police the demonstration came into view.

It was not only police that were waiting there however.

The bottom of the downhill road led out on to Copacabana's long beachfront avenue which is spatially divided approximately every kilometre by a set of lifeguard stations which serve doubly as marking points - referred to as 'Posts'. Arriving marchers now congregated around the first of these, known as Post 1, around which other demonstrators had been waiting and would now join in.

One large banner had been tied up here onto the railings of Post 1 (Figure 10.4) and another between some palm trees nearby, along with three others which had been laid down on the pavement in front – all of which served as *marking banners*.



Figure 10.4: Marking banner (Photo: Ideais de Uma Luta Morro da Providência) 'Police that repress in the streets are the same that kill in favelas / Communities and movements network against violence'

These banners marked this site as a secondary meeting point for people who would join the march from the streetside here, i.e. rather than previously from the main meeting point and concentration in Chapéu Mangueira (as described in *Chapter 9*). The laying out and hanging up of these banners there with the protest's slogans and themes produced another example of the overlaying and appropriating of beachfront space in Rio's affluent South Zone setting (see also 'Name Crosses' in *Chapter 9*).

Of the two main banners tied up and put on display most prominently here, the first was a movement name and movement campaign banner which read THE POLICE THAT REPRESS IN THE STREETS ARE THE SAME THAT KILL IN FAVELAS / COMMUNITIES AND MOVEMENTS

NETWORK AGAINST VIOLENCE [RCMCV]. Produced and displayed by the RCMCV, this banner (Figure 10.4) had been made during the mass protests the year before in June 2013 (as seen in *Chapter 5*) where its title had been written in reference to the contrast between policing of demonstrations in the city centre and in the periphery.

The second of the two main marking banners was another event name banner THE PARTY IN THE STREETS IS NOT WORTH THE TEARS IN FAVEALS. From here, this event name banner (in Figure 10.5) would now replace the previous one (in Figure 10.2). Premade by the event organizers, this one was larger. With its length fully outstretched, this second event name banner was sufficiently wide enough to reach across the several spaces of public transport access it was due to pass en route, from promenades and cycle lanes to the broader width of the beachfront avenue main road - simultaneously impeding flows of traffic, whilst also attracting attention of pedestrians in the street.

This *occupying banner* role performed most prominently by this second event name banner was another traditional use of protest banners (Tilly, 2008), re-realised during the march on June 23. In this case, occupying transport ways was not only to present written messages or to produce displays but also to produce disruptive effects in the affluent South Zone setting.

Leading from the front, this substituted larger format event name banner, now became the most prominent protest text during the demonstration. And following on behind from Post 1 onwards, there was now the accompaniment of a much larger crowd than before, building up to around 1000 people, formed of: e.g. favela residents; social movements and media from favelas or supportive of favela causes; unaffiliated attendees who turned up to demonstrate in solidarity; participants from another protest

which was due to start directly afterwards on the same route; as well as a few curious tourists in beach attire that started to join in.

In its initial trajectory this expanded march now moved off along Copacabana's beachfront promenade, between Post 1 and Post 2, deliberately passing the 'FIFA Fan-Fest' spectator centre set up there.

This site was the physical location on the route most directly linked to the main themes of the protest event, contesting this mega-event and its effects.

Accordingly, on passing, the previous chants that were more general in topic now shifted towards more specifically 'Anti-World Cup' themes.



Figure 10.5: The second event name banner, marching past FIFA Fan Fest (Photo: MidiaNINJA, 2014)

“Ei, FIFA, volta pra Suiça!” “Ei, FIFA, paga a minha tarifa!”

[Hey, FIFA, go on back to Switzerland!], [Hey, FIFA, pay my bus fare!]

“...Enquanto a bola rola, não tem saúde, não tem transporte, não tem escola”

[In the stadium whilst the game goes on, there's no health, no transport, and no education']

“Da Copa, da Copa, da Copa eu abro mão. Eu quero é dinheiro pra saúde e educação!”

[...The world cup, I can give that up. I want my money in health and education!]

“Copa é o caralho! Lá no Maracá tem sangue de operário!”

[Fuck the World Cup! There's workers blood in the stadium!]

“Não vai ter Copa! Não vai ter Copa para Amarildo!”

[There is not going to be a World Cup, not for Amarildo!]



10.3 Literacy and Media Interactions: Banner Choreographies

Continuing, the march now moved outwards from the beachfront promenade onto the main road alongside it, with the policing following in parallel, forming a kind of human cordon, containing the movement of the front section of the crowd (as in Figure 10.5).

Out in the road, the event name banner led from the front once again. But differently than before, from here onwards, a particular organizational routine ensued along the route which involved a kind of strategic stop starting every five hundred metres or so. This movement was choreographed around the leading banner.

On this day, as I had seen previously at other similar protest marches, as well as the two or more people holding and pulling the leading banner tight from its two sides and front, there were also a few people who came and stood directly ahead of it. It was these people (i.e. different people taking turns) who played a specific coordinational role.

This coordinating role involved one person communicating both with people holding the leading banner, and with the crowds following directly behind, so as to stop the march at temporary intervals. It was this stopping which produced a particular routine, with several performative aspects and effects.

Firstly, the person calling the stop did so in a theatrical manner, drawing attention toward herself / himself, by engaging in a series of gestures, resembling a musical conductor – the understanding of which appeared to be taken for granted but achieved the stopping effect. Secondly, thereafter, this same person walked along the front of the banner, looking back at it, checking to see that it was stretched tight, and that the message was fully visible. Thirdly, this stopping also had an effect of allowing people trailing behind to catch up with the main crowd, so that the march started to move again as a more compact unit. Fourthly, this visual arrangement around the leading banner afforded photographers and those filming time and space to move around to the front and to take unobstructed and stationary pictures of the march head on, which looked more impressively full at that time because of this manoeuvre.





Figures 10.6: [above top] The front view of a banner stop [above below] Media production at a stop

Figures 10.7: Layers of banners during a stop [left text] 'The removed favela residents are the same that work in the houses of the bourgeoisie / Estradinhha favela suffers from removals because it is poor people that live there / The mayor hates the poor' [right text] 'There's not going to be a World Cup for Amarildo [plus a list of other names of favela residents]' / 'UPP + Light [electricity company] = Removals' (Photos: CMI, 2014)

In such ways, this stopping routine co-ordinated the protest march and the media making around it at temporary intervals en route. It was one example of how the use of traditional lo-tech literacy artefacts and practices interacted with other hi-tech media technologies and practices in an overtly mediated space.

The choreographing of the event-space here physically shaped what came to appear within the media recordings of the protest march and the effectiveness of these images in turn – images which would be disseminated in due course from the protest event, outwards and onwards across multiple media channels and social networks.

The banner choreography, as such, incorporated both physical organizational and aesthetic compositional roles, which served to maximize the potential of the march and its themes in protest (making lesser crowds seem more substantial and highlighting specific messages and

images at the front of fuller crowds), i.e. with the march treated as if a kind of text being read, both in performance at that time, as well as in media content post hoc (cf. Section 10.2 and Figure 10.2, also Figures 10.6-10.7).

In similar ways, one feature of Rio's well known carnival parades is how its crowds of people parading together can be viewed as a kind of collective text and do become recognised and talked about as such locally. Parades are said to perform *enredos* ('themes') with interlinking 'allegorical' sub-themes for different sections of parades - adding this textual and reflexively read dimension to the popular cultural practices of carnival parading. Banners are seen used to lead from the front here, displaying names, symbols, and slogans, as well as to section off parts of parades, physically controlling the flows of people and themes being presented.

Although protest marches such as the one on June 23 were not so clearly defined, traces of broader practices of parading were manifest (e.g. in the multimodal texts in movement in 10.2, the leading banners in 10.5-6, and thematic sub-sections such as the one referring to removals in 10.7).

Protest marches as a social practice both emerged from and in their performances regularly display their resemblance with other closely interrelated practices, such as military marches, religious processions, as well as such cultural-artistic parading practices (Reiss 2007) which in Rio's case, especially so through histories of carnival, retain strong influence on the identity of the city and its inhabitants.

In a very broad sense, most central to such representational practices of marching, parading and processions are what has been referred as '...practices of showing' (Couldry 2012, p.49).

This term was actually intended to refer more specifically to literacy and media related 'acts that make something publicly available' (p.49), especially so such acts occurring within and changing among the expanding digitally mediated environments of early 21st century social life.

During the protest on 23 June 2014, both broader senses of making public such as marching through public spaces and more recently mediated senses combined in distinctive ways. For example, through premeditated joining of the traditional literacy practices of showing protest banners to onlooking publics and this choreographing of crowds of protesters and placards behind them (described above) with new and expanding possibilities and understandings of protest 'being shown' (Couldry 2012, p.50).

By 2014, and particularly after a year of ongoing protest events in Rio over 2013-2014, there was an assumption that what was done at protests, would become rapidly converted into a flow of online texts and images that had become 'integral' to the practices and purposes of social movements and to the identities of persons and groups involved (Couldry 2012, P.51). Protest marches and practices of showing typically part of them were seemingly inseparably associated with the entailment of an extensive 'chain of re-showings' (p.50). 'Being shown' meant not only appearing in media content - but its 'being put into wider circulation' (p.50).

Accordingly, the banner choreography and the protest sign showing were not only 'figuring' the space of the protest in the streets on June 23 through the 'collectively produced, motive orientated, artefact mediated, relational activities' on the day (see Bartlett & Holland 2002, p.20), but also, knowingly so, there was a figuring of textually mediated social worlds online.

Central to this figuring of multiple spaces simultaneously was showing of cases of police killings and forced removals, i.e. as denouncements of government sponsored violence, represented most prominently and recurrently through names and portrait images as symbols of protest. Such cases were shown therefore, both through banners and how these were arranged and displayed during the march, as well as how the march was orchestrated in such a way media producers could produce images of these banners which would be circulated widely via social media.

10.4 Literacy and Media Interactions: Banner Arrests

Throughout the march, there had been no major violent incidents or direct confrontations between protesters and police (that I was aware of). However near to the end of the march there was one protester arrest which I witnessed up close and the incident revolved around a banner.



Figure 10.8: Banner confiscation (Film screenshot: Coletivo Tatu)

This occurrence started where a part time performance artist and street vendor known by the nickname *Homen-Aranha* (Spiderman) who was sitting in the street alongside another male protester in drag during one of the temporary stops, continued to chant, in front of a group of police officers: 'It's still here... It has to stop... I want the end of military police' (i.e. a protest standard, heard recurrently throughout the march).

Shortly after, two officers confronted him and told him to give them the protest banner he had been carrying which at this point was not stretched out and being displayed, but rather, carried, as semi rolled up, in his arms – for this reason, I did not see what was written and I assume that the police did not either, unless they had done so earlier on during the march.

Whilst these police officers tried to inspect the banner, Spiderman resisted.

This led to one of the officers physically apprehending him, trying to confiscate the banner, but he still did not let go, engaging in verbal exchanges, saying that they could not do what they were doing, amongst swearing and other inaudible commentary.

Soon afterwards the two police officers moved to forcibly isolate him, taking him behind a human cordon of policing and removing the protest banner from his arms in doing so. During this movement, one officer came from behind, placing a truncheon around his neck, which resulted in the detainee screaming out exceedingly loudly.

In turn, this screaming and the agitated scene attracted a swell of other protesters nearby who now came and surrounded the police, chanting at them and pointing cameras and phones in their faces, taking pictures and filming what was happening there.

As the crowds continued to grow, with more protesters arriving to see what had been going on, the police quickly widened their cordon of men, so as to facilitate a police vehicle which had just arrived entering. From behind this, Spiderman was arrested and taken away from the site.

As I saw it, this was an arbitrary arrest, with something having been done, written, or said, or a combination of these, that took offence. But it was explicitly around the actual protest banner that the detention took place – asking for it to be handed over. So this text-artefact became the centre of a literacy event in which one and then multiple police officers exerted physical force excessively followed by their powers of arrest over a protester.

Note: Policing interventions involving banner confiscations occurred during several protests over the June-July World Cup period. One later example caught on camera (Figure 10.9) resulted in the ripping up of RCMCV's banner (i.e. the banner shown in 10.4, marking the second meeting point on June 23).



Figure 10.9: Photo collage by Global Justice (2014) Banner ripping by military police, on July 13 2014 ('Police that repress in the streets are the same that kill in favelas / RCMCV...', cf. Figure 10.4)

(...) Back on June 23, the previously described banner confiscation and arrest of Spiderman set in motion a specific set of activities often seen during demonstrations in 2013-2014, linking this literacy event into a kind of hyper mediated context, with particular media practices shaping this.

Such incidents of confrontations, between protesters and police, particularly so, arrests of protesters, regularly resulted in crowds of demonstrators surrounding scenes of contention very quickly to record what was going on, documenting through filming and photographing as a form of improvised human rights monitoring (i.e. amongst any other uses to which such recordings were put).

In this case, even though its content could not be seen by most of the onlookers at that time, the physical object of the banner itself came to be at the centre of these recordings of this clash on June 23 between this one protester and multiple police officers (e.g. Figure 10.8).

There are several possible interlinking reasons for why the police felt it important to remove this banner in such a way and from such a setting – from an instinctive dislike of the message and/or the messenger, to any premeditated efforts to disrupt the protest and/or protesters. Centrally here however was the fact that contemporarily banners had become a visible form of protest, which not only projected onto one setting and immediate surroundings, but that instead disseminated and could become seen by many people in very short amounts of time. This viral quality in the age of social media, i.e. here as an extension of the affordances of protest banner texts, potentially added power to banners as resources for protestors and potential threat to police.

Centrally to any added power and threat was this sense of speed and diffusion - be that actual or presumed - whereby photographed or filmed events may be seen by many people and with this sense of speed at which texts can not only be seen, but also produce effects, beyond an event itself, adding the power and threat.

Moreover, sites of conflict at protest events, such as this one described, produced a kind of hyper mediated effect, with an intensification in the amounts of filming and photography acts taking place, adding to this threat, as well as enacting it, through the physical presence of large numbers of people visibly making media and protesting.

For the demonstrators, in one aspect, this unfolding was adrenaline fuelled, with following of action and interaction, responding to the moment.

But in a wider perspective, this activity of protesters and residents in the area filming and taking photographs of police can also be located within a recent and particular popularization of practices of media-activism and of citizen reporting in Rio – which had gained visibility significantly through the contexts of ongoing mass protests in 2013, their frequently violent policing, public criticisms of this policing, and the very recent boom in social media and mobile communications in Brazil just prior to this (see Gohn 2014, Peruzzo 2013; see also Bock 2016).

This kind of popular counter surveillance of policing, or sousveillance (see Cammaerts 2012; Cammaerts, Mattoni, & McCurdy 2013) had become consolidated as part of protest literacy and media practices by 2014 – as demonstrated clearly by the numbers of protesters which were engaged in doing it on June 23 (*cf.* Figure 10.16).

How were sousveillance practices learned? Besides the informal learning of watching others do the same at protest events and seeing respective content shared as social media, over 2013-2014 there were also spaces of more formalized learning associated with social movements such as workshop events, training courses, and literatures (Figure 10.10) on how to produce effective media for human rights purposes, during protests and related activities.

Over 2013-2014, in Rio, there were several NGOs, civic organizations, and social movement based projects which had taught media activist techniques for many years (e.g. the Citizen's course in community media in Maré, see *Chapters 3 and 4*).

However, the onset of ongoing protesting over this 2013-2014 period, the centrality of the police abuse issues in protests generally, as well as the specific contentions in favelas about the militarization of public spaces via presence of UPP and military policing (see *Chapter 11*) meant that along with general teaching about media-activism there were also examples of specific training on how to document protests, human rights abuses, and the counter monitoring of policing (or sousveillance). These were done as vernacular practices predominantly, but with examples of training also.

One such example of more formalized learning that underpinned sousveillance practices in the case of social movements from favelas including those organizing the protest event on June 23 can be seen illustrated below through pedagogical materials entitled: '10 Tips to Film Protests, Demonstrations, and Police Conduct' (one of several handouts used at a workshop I attended in community centres in Rio in 2014, as facilitated by the pressure group Witness International).

DICAS DA WITNESS



10 DICAS PARA FILMAR PROTESTOS, MANIFESTAÇÕES E CONDUTA POLICIAL

FILMAR PARA DEFENDER OS DIREITOS HUMANOS PODE SER PERIGOSO:
FILME COM SEGURANÇA, ÉTICA E EFETIVIDADE.

1 PREPARE-SE

As leis sobre os direitos de filmar variam de país a país. Conheça seus direitos antes de ligar a câmera. Tenha um plano de segurança para se proteger. Memorize contatos de emergência ou escreva-os em locais seguros e fáceis de acessar. Conheça seu equipamento, e se ele for grande ou pesado demais para carregar se você tiver que correr, não o leve.

2 BATERIAS, BATERIAS!

Traga baterias extras carregadas e cartões vazios de memória. Se você estiver filmando com um smartphone, maximize a bateria desligando aplicativos e wifi e reduza o brilho da tela do aparelho.

3 GRAVE A SI MESMO

Grave um registro de você mesmo falando para a câmera para que a identidade de quem está filmando possa ser verificada se necessário. Outra alternativa é manter registros escritos com cada arquivo original de vídeo com essas informações. Se você precisar permanecer anônimo por motivos da segurança, use um pseudônimo.

4 VERIFICAÇÃO

Seu material será mais facilmente verificável se você registrar data, hora e local da filmagem. Se possível, habilite as funções do seu aparelho que gravam data, horário e posição de GPS automaticamente. Se isso não for possível, filme jornais para mostra a data, cruzamentos para mostrar o local, placas de rua e outros pontos de referência.

5 FILME COM UM OBJETIVO CLARO

Filme cada tomada por pelo menos 10 segundos antes de passar para a próxima imagem. Mantenha a câmera firme e se mexa bem devagar se precisar mudar de posição. Evite movimentos de zigue-zague e o zoom.



6 VÁRIOS ÂNGULOS

Contextualize os acontecimentos filmando planos abertos e médios. Use closes para capturar detalhes. Use vários ângulos e filme de locais elevados para registrar o tamanho e o comportamento das pessoas reunidas. Registre a presença de autoridades. Se entrevistados precisarem permanecer anônimos, filme a cabeça da pessoa por trás ou apenas os pés.

10 DICAS PARA FILMAR V 1.0

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1

Figure 10.10: Witness workshop handout from Maré, 2014: '10 tips to film protests and police conduct / Filming to defend human rights can be dangerous / Film with security, ethics, and effectiveness / Excerpts from the English version of points 1-8 below (from: Witness, 2015)

BE PREPARED: Know your rights before you turn on the camera. Develop a security plan to protect your safety. Memorize emergency contact information. Know your equipment...

POWER UP: Bring additional charged batteries and empty memory cards. If filming with a smartphone, maximize battery life...

RECORD YOURSELF: Speak into the camera to verify that you are the one filming. Alternately, keep a written record. If you need to be anonymous for security reasons, use a code name.

VERIFICATION: Your media is easier to verify if you capture the date, time and location of your footage. If possible, turn on automatic date, time and GPS location capturing features. Alternately, film newspapers, intersections, street signs and landmarks...

FILM WITH INTENTION: Hold shots for a minimum of 10 seconds. Keep the camera steady and move it very slowly when changing your position. Avoid jerky movements and zooming...

VARIOUS ANGLES: Contextualize events through wide and medium shots. Use close-ups to capture details. Use various angles and elevation to capture the size and behaviour of the crowd. Capture footage of the presence and formation of authorities...

CAPTURE DETAILS: When safe, document the details of an arrest or violence by filming the identities of individuals involved, the surrounding crowd, injuries, bullet holes, or nearby vehicles. Contextualize details by narrating the incident as you film.

FILMING AUTHORITIES: When possible, film or record yourself saying officers' names and their badge/helmet numbers. Record general police conduct such as orders being given to officers. Document police that are filming the protests and any weapons that the authorities are holding or using...

Besides discussing local practices and perspectives, sessions here involved teaching residents and local movements particular technical know-how, and related practical techniques, so as to produce legally valid and usable digital media content 'to defend human rights, securely ethically and effectively', and especially so, via basic mobile phones and camera equipment.

Through such materials and in their being used in teaching activities by both local and non-local professional practitioners, alongside of the much spoken about influences of globally circulating mobile phone and social media technologies (Castells 2012, Gerbaudo 2012) in this case, there were also these influences of globally circulating human rights practices and knowledge exchange in accompaniment - informing local media practices at protests in Rio, such as during the protest event on June 23.

10.5 Performance Tagging: Names, Phrases, and Images

Throughout the march, a small symbolic coffin was carried at the front (as in Figure 10.11).

Made out of cardboard and painted black with red handprints all over, initially it had been full of small black cardboard crosses which were distributed amongst the crowd marching.

Carried by one or two people, it was supposed to resemble a kind of funeral procession.

But towards the ending of the march, this coffin was also used for another purpose.

Besides its being carried and displayed in this manner, the coffin was also put to use during the demonstration by a group of youths who had been involved in its making and painting in the square, as part of doing *pichação* – a local term used to describe quotidian, low status, illegal forms of graffiti and tagging (i.e. in contrast to institutionally valued graffiti as ‘street art’, or the institutionally sanctioned and sponsored graffiti of specific decriminalized zones in Rio: see Larruscahim 2014, Fraenkel 2010).

This was a particular kind of *pichação* however, combining written protest slogans and name writing, with simple drawings, as well as a kind of body stencilling act. During the protest march, the youths used the coffin as a part of doing this – by walking ahead of the crowd on the road, or finding space amongst it, putting the coffin down on the street and using it as a stencil, drawing the outline of it onto the surface of the pavement using chalk.

Or alternatively, one of the youths laid down on the road themselves providing their own body as a template for another to draw around, leaving the shape of a body on the street, alongside which they wrote particular names such as ‘Amarildo’, ‘DG’ and ‘Edilson’, or they wrote protest slogans including ‘We Fight For [a name]’, ‘the World Cup Kills’, and ‘Less UPP, More Health and Education’.

Particular poignancy was added to these body outlines and name tagging, after talking to one of the boys leading the activities, who responded to my question asking why he was protesting, by telling me in passing (i.e. he wanted to get on with painting) that his father was killed in front of the local UPP unit (he did not say exactly by who) but that the police had done nothing about it.

Doing these pichação interventions in the South Zone streets was a transgressive act – in a specific sense more because of the location than content. Being done outside of municipally sanctioned areas, if it was in fact pichação, then it was technically illegal. However both the placings and forms of the writing act were also transgressive in another more general sense of not fitting neatly into categories. Being done in chalk rather than through spray paint it is questionable as to whether this street writing would be deemed as an offence anyway. The Brazilian law does not specify in terms of the materials used, but rather to somewhat vague notions of causing environmental damage (Reis, Araujo, & Torres 2017). Furthermore, being done during and as part of the carnivalesque of a protest (see Robinson 2011) normal rules of enforcement can sometimes become more flexible – i.e. although policing can often be very heavy handed in Brazil (as in the case of Spiderman above), at other times, including during protests, sometimes minor acts of transgression can be overlooked so as to avoid provoking more serious issues. So whether because of the materials used, or their performative roles as a part of protesting, or the extensive media presences on June 23, these literacy events were not treated as an illegal act by the police on duty during the march on June 23, with policing not intervening, or trying to prohibit these pichação activities, even on occasion, where they were being written and drawn directly in front of them.



Figure 10.11: Chalk pichação on June 23 ('Health and education')



Figure 10.12: Chalk pichação, June 23

('Less UPP, more health')



Figure 10.13: Chalk pichação, June 23 (Coffin and Body Outline Drawings)



Figure 10.14: Chalk pichaçao, June 23
(‘We Fight For Edilson and DG’) (Photo: CMI, 2014)

10.5.1 Body Outlines

This body outline performance I had seen done previously in the city centre, organized by a project named #JMV *Juventude Marcada para Viver* ('Youth Marked to Live') linked to an NGO named *Observatório de Favelas* in Maré. Participants from this project painted body shapes in city centre streets in a similar way after two people were killed in December 2013 near to where I was living at the time. Mimicking police usage of chalk outlines at crime scenes, the project stated this intervention to be a symbolic form of protesting against urban violence - but particularly so, against the numbers of deaths of black youths, from periphery areas, occurring in Rio (JMV, 2013; the 'Black Lives Matter' movement had done similar in the US recently before in 2013; 1980s street theatre also, see Freeman et al, 1999).



Figure 10.15: JMV body outlines and hashtags (Photo: Globo, 2013d)

People that had participated in this #JMV performance were involved in the organization of the protest on June 23 as well, so there was this connection, with the body outlines planned in part, if not necessarily their messages. And besides these boys who I saw do it, around the front of the march, chalk was passed around the crowds, with other protesters doing similar themselves.

One difference however was this anterior JMV intervention wrote neither any particular names nor any particular messages (other, that is, than their project hashtag #JMV). This difference was particularly marked on June 23 where demonstrators wrote the names of two favela residents DG and Edilson next to two body outlines, in front of police, in front of the favela, where both DG and Edison were from, and where police had killed them just three months before (as discussed in *Chapter 9*, see Figure 10.14).

Continuing from their appearance through the usage of name stencils and spray painting at the concentration, this name tagging in chalk became another example of localising through names as symbols of protest - with an appropriating of anterior more abstract designs, adapting and adding to these local names, and then emplacing or 'tagging' of them in respective locations. As in previous examples, this localising was done in the presence of media, in this case, the hyper mediated space of the protest march and the World Cup activities surrounding, meaning that such localising moves linked into globalising connects (as discussed in *Chapter 9*).

10.6 Dispersals as Regrouping and Dissemination

Both the arrest of the so called Spiderman and the body outlines name tagged as DG and Edilson occurred at the end of the protest, near its finishing point, in front of the entrance to another favela named Pavão–Pavãozinho.

The local term used for the end of a protest is 'dispersal', which referred to a period of time where marchers slowly arrived and re-aggregated at a pre-decided destination which in turn morphed into a more generalised space of socializing before people left the site in their own time. This re-aggregation at the point of 'dispersal' brought all of the protest materials and text-artefacts together in a space less spread out than along the march, similarly to the meeting point and 'concentration' earlier on with its dense and compressed mass of protest texts at the beginning of the protest event. Also similar were the activities common to see at this point of dispersal of protests: such as the speeches, displays of banners and placards, musical performances, artistic interventions, film projections, and people moving around photographing and filming the site and activities there.

On June 23, the dispersal was relatively short and simple, essentially 'closing speeches' only. These were given by several people of which I listened to four: mothers' movement activist Deize Carvalho (RCMCV), community journalist Gizele Martins (the Citizen), and two other speakers whose names I did not hear or know. The content of these speeches repeated stories and themes which I have already described previously in *Chapter 9*, so I will not recall those again here. Highly prominent however to the point of being distinct were the quantity and intensity of media presence and production at the point of dispersal and particularly around the closing speech making. Recalled below, images of this media presence capture well what I referred to as a kind of 'hyper' aspect of protest events as mediated spaces over 2013-2014. As seen in the photograph of the closing speeches by Deize (RCMCV) near to the entrance of Pavão-Pavãozinho favela and the UPP unit located there, there was a dense layering of photography, filming, and mobile phone live streaming, all clearly apparent.



Figure 10.16: Closing speeches on June 23 (Photo: MidiaNINJA, 2014)

10.6.1 Mediated Spaces to Hyper-Mediated Spaces

Previously, I referred to the protest event in its entirety in terms of a mediated space (adapting concepts from: Couldy 1999, Bartlett & Holland 2002, Lefebvre 1991) with media production present ongoingly through the overlapping activities of the protest (e.g. from the concentration, to the march, to the dispersal) and whereby media practices and technologies both captured the event as content, but also shaped protest activities, in particular ways, through their presence.

But more closely, throughout protest events such as that on June 23, media production was not one self-same flow, but rather, there were particular sites or activities around which production became most prominent: for example, around protest sign making and opening speeches at the concentration; the starting of the march; passing of landmarks of symbolic importance en route; as well as moments of controversy like police arrests of protesters (see section 10.4). These were all common examples which aggregated producers of texts and media together in greater number.

The closing speeches at the ending point on June 23 was another such example, but one in which the aggregation of producers of media was particularly intense. As there had been an upscaling in the production of traditional protesting materials to display during this protest event during the 2014 World Cup (with newly and numerously made placards, banners, and assorted paraphernalia, as described in *Chapters 9 and 10*) so there was an upscaling in the production of media content.

It was at the event's closing that this was most visibly prominent, whereby layers of media making could be seen clearly, enveloping acts of public speaking (e.g. above in Figure 10.16)

with hundreds of recording devices apparent around the speaker, and implicitly, therefore, also the enablement of a great deal of dissemination.

10.6.2 Dispersals and Recycling

The movement of people away from the 'dispersal' and from the site of protest was followed by a flow of texts. Most obviously, dissemination occurred through media production, via reification of the protest event into photographic, filmic, and written text-artefacts (Wenger 1998, Barton 2009), which were thereafter recontextualized multiply, via a wide range of individuals, collectives, movements, institutions, and others, most typically so, via SNS (e.g. Facebook most prominently), but also, though mainstream media channels, which were transmitting content, regionally, nationally, and globally.

Emerging from the protest event on June 23, one distinctive example of dissemination occurring principally at a local level I referred to as a specific kind of media *recycling* – i.e. with specific re-usages of scenes from the visual environment of an anterior protest, in producing of subsequent media, for the purpose of mobilizing a forthcoming protest (e.g. from the particular decontextualization of events, to particular recontextualizations as texts: Bauman & Briggs, 1990). In this case, this occurred from the second of the '...Favela' protests, to the third, and last, of the '...Favela' protest during the World Cup, due to occur two weeks later, on 13 July 2014.

Figure 10.17 (below) shows one example of such recycling, through online fliers made from the second protest on June 23, for this third protest, upcoming on July 13. Central to this flier can be seen one photograph showing an image from the June 23 protest. Prior to appearing in the flier, this same photograph had been re-circulated by friends and by contacts of mine on Facebook, in the days after the June 23 demonstration, i.e. as a 'shared'

Facebook photograph. This same photograph then reappeared again, around a week later (in early July) but now embedded as the visual header for a newly circulating Facebook event page that had been designed and disseminated to mobilize the last of ‘...Favela’ protests coming up on July 13. The same photograph then appeared once more thereafter, now embedded within the blog pages of the event organizers, e.g. via the website-blog of ‘Popular Forum of Mutual Support’ (FPAM, as illustrated in Figure 10.17) mobilizing the upcoming protest event through there as well.



Figure 10.17: Popular Forum of Mutual Support filer for the third ‘...Favela’ Protest’ on July 13 2014
(‘Protest: One year since the torture and disappearance of bricklayer Amarildo...’ FPAM, 2014)

Note: **Chapters 7, 9, and 11**, contain further examples of media content ‘recycling’.

This photo used in these mobilizing texts captured a ‘stopping’ of the march where one of body outlines had been performed and photographed – i.e. combining two of the literacy and media interactions I have previously mentioned: the lead banner routine, the pichaçao activity, and media practices around these. In this mobilizing post, all of these were reified into one photograph, resemiotized as social media content, and then recontextualised across SNS, together forming a process of recycling in the producing of online flyering texts for the purposes of protest mobilization.

This recycling of content from one protest event to another in such a way was common over 2014, but more noticeable in this case, because the two events were conjoined, i.e. as part of the same ‘...Favela’ protest campaign, with the third protest event in the campaign following shortly after the second one and continuing many of the same themes. Recycling is therefore another metaphor capturing a particular aspect of recontextualization and resemiotization – where, as seen above, reuse of materials from a prior event, became deliberatively generative in the production of ensuing events.

However, as previously mentioned, at the beginning of this chapter, the last of these three planned ‘...Favela’ protests, on July 13, would never actually be realized in full as planned. It was mobilized extensively with good numbers of people present at the meeting point and concentration on the day - although these had not only come for the ‘...Favela’ protests, but rather, for a range of different protest marches arranged to leave from the same place and time, as a kind of combined protest event organized by several different movements in Rio. But unbeknown at the time, police and army operations on July 13 would precede to detain all major protest events that day in Rio – i.e. the day of the 2014 ‘World Cup Final’ (the last game of the tournament).

Protesters were allowed to arrive and to concentrate in the pre-arranged meeting point in the case of the protest event, which I attended, but as the marching was starting the police and the army blocked off all entrances and exits of streets around the public square so as to produce a kind of blockade, so that people could neither enter or leave (myself included) for the duration of the game.

It was in this anticlimactic way that protesting against the World Cup in Rio came to an end.



Figure 10.18: Police blockade around the meeting point-concentration July 2013 (Photo: CPRCO, 2014)

10.7 Summary and Link

Demonstration literacies are sets of literacy practices commonly featuring in demonstrations and marches. In **Chapter 9** I described literacy practices of protest placards at the start of a protest event and in **Chapter 10** I described literacy practices of protest banners during the march itself. Together these were two of the most traditional examples of demonstration literacies.

However, continuing from **Chapter 9**, here in **Chapter 10**, I also focussed on interactions between such traditional literacy practices and emergent media practices, describing further ways in which more long term and lo-tech aspects combined

with hi-tech recent additions. I referred to practices of showing and being shown as interactional sites where specific continuities and changes in protesting practices and demonstration literacies could be seen, especially through the social mediafication of protest events. I highlighted for example particular reconfigurations of the power of protesting texts and practices, via their connection into the velocity and vastness of digital media and online networks (and / or people's perceptions of these).

In ending *Chapter 10*, I described the ending point of the protest event as a site of 'dispersal' (as referred to locally). I highlighted both typical dispersal practices, as well as features specific to this particular protest event contesting the 2014 World Cup. For example, I showed a shift from protest events as mediated spaces, to situations of hyper mediated spaces, i.e. with intense amounts of media production, in this case, on June 23, especially linked to the importance of the event being protested against both locally and globally. Central to the dispersal were trajectories of dissemination, with scenes and themes carried away from the site of the protest event to other sites via people and texts. Through such a movement following the event on June 23 I defined one distinctive type of recontextualization and resemiotization typical in Rio over 2013-2014, with an interlinking of one protest event, directly into another, through a recycling of content from one protest event reused in mobilizing texts for ensuing events.

This last theme of protest events being interconnected through texts and cultural artefacts is discussed further in *Chapter 11*.

CHAPTER 11 PROTEST LITERACIES, STREAMS OF CONTENTION, AND CYCLES OF CONTENTION

The World Cup came to an end on 13 July 2014 (as described in *Chapter 10*) but protesting continued in Rio directly afterwards, particularly so, in the Maré Favelas and surrounding North Zone periphery.

In *Chapter 11*, I describe a specific sequence of protest events in this area at this time, focussing on ways these events became interconnected through particular usages of texts.

I start by showing this sequence of events connecting from August 2014 to October 2014.

After, I describe how these events formed part of a broader *stream of contention* (from April 2014 to April 2015) and a broader still *cycle of contention* (from 2006 until 2016).

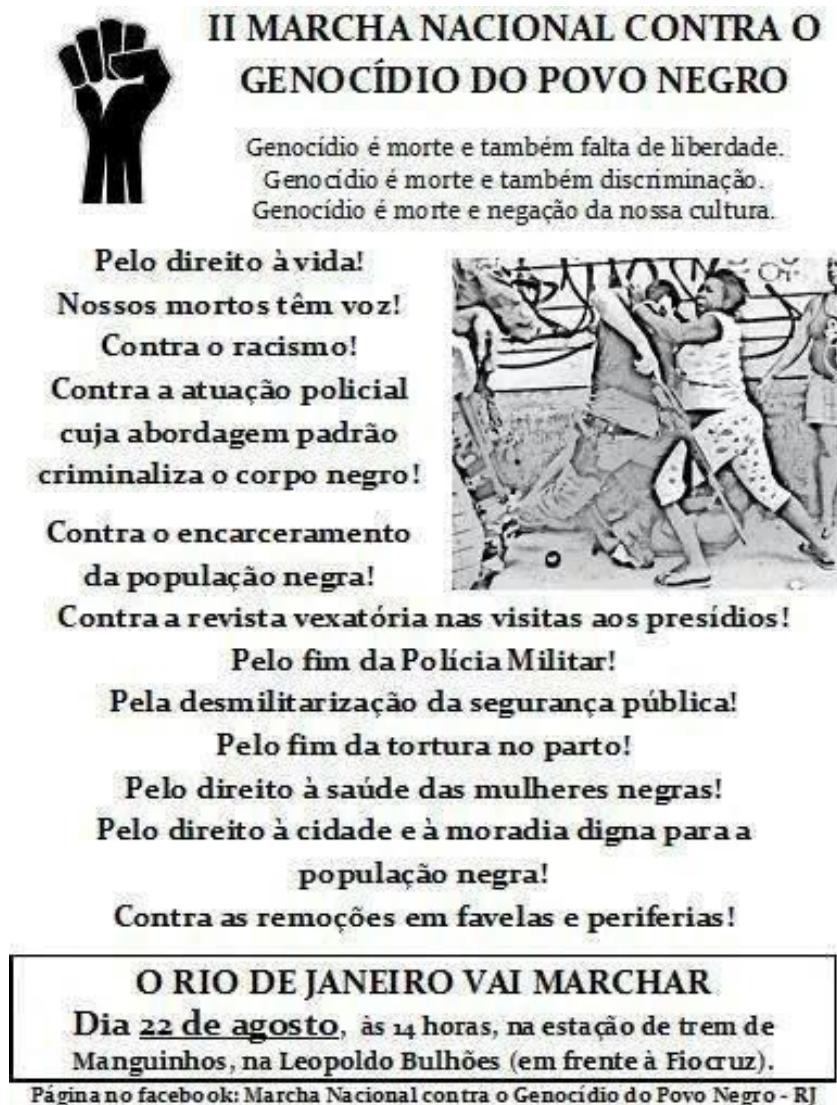
Contention refers here to ‘...interactions in which actors make claims that bear on someone else’s interests leading to coordinating efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs, in which governments [and dominant institutions] are as targets, the objects of claims’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.236).

This contention is performed through texts and practices such as those of social movements.

In previous chapters (*5-10*) I described five sets of literacy practices that were characteristic of social movements from and linked to favelas: campaigning literacies, memorial literacies, media-activist literacies, arts-activist literacies, and demonstration literacies. I showed ways these combined, especially through the mobilizing, enacting, and mediatizing of protests. Taken together, these were the *protest literacies* through which contention was performed.

In *Chapter 11*, trajectories of protest events are described via interconnecting examples of protest literacies that informed them.

11.1 Post World Cup Flows (from August 2014 to September 2014)



*National march against the genocide of black people / Genocide is death and also loss of liberty!
Genocide is death and also discrimination! Genocide is death and also the negation of our culture!
For the right to live! Our dead have voice! Against racism! Against police actions whose approaches
criminalize the black body! Against the imprisonment of the black population! Against provocative
searches on our visits to prisons! For the end of military policing! For the demilitarization of public
security! For the end of torture during childbirth! For the right to health for black women! For the
right to the city and decent accommodation for the black population! Against removals in favelas
and the periphery / Rio de Janeiro is going to march / 22 August ...*

Figure 11.1: Pamphlet produced for and distributed on the React 'Genocide...' march (my translation)

In August 2014, a Brazilian social movement named *Reaja* (React) organized a national march named 'March against the Genocide of Black People'. Marches were arranged in most major Brazilian cities through local networks of participation. In Rio's case, this meant its municipal 'Genocide...' march involved many of the same people who had been participating in protests against the same issues one month before – i.e. from June to July during the 2014 World Cup (where social movements from favelas organized a series of protests contesting homicides of working class black youths generally and impacts of mega-events on favelas specifically, as seen in *Chapters 9-10*).

The Rio 'Genocide...' march met in the Manguinhos favela (next to Maré) whereby many of the same activities seen on the 'Anti-World Cup' protests recurred, such as Afro-Brazilian music and dance, speeches by mothers and family members, and protest sign workshops – the latter featuring a typical converging of memorial literacies and demonstration literacies.

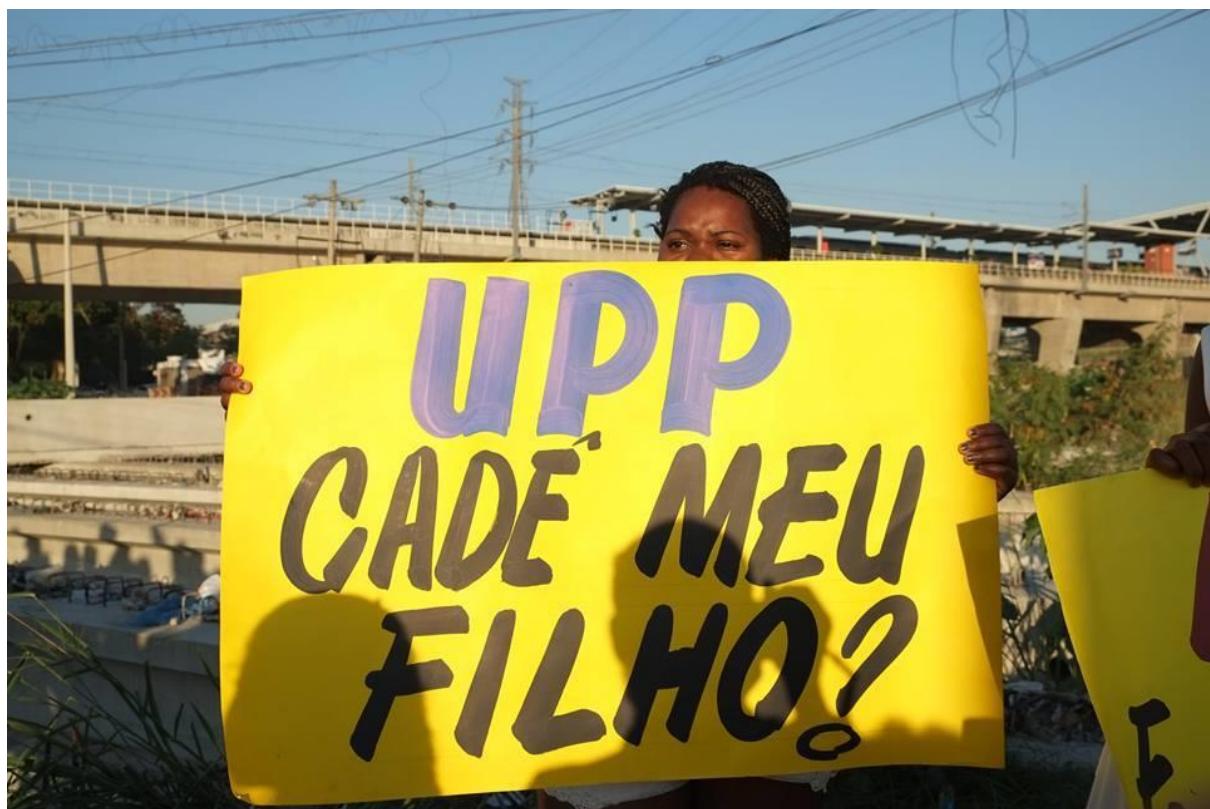


Figure 11.2: Rio 'Genocide...' placards ('UPP / Where is my son?') (Photo: Jornal A Nova Democracia)

11.1.1 Wider Flows into Streams of Contention

In September 2014, two weeks later, another protest event occurred. This event was a kind of localised version of the previous 'Genocide...' march, but with some specific differences. Held in in the Maré favelas on 6 September, this protest event was renamed 'March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas', adding to the previous title and theme, along with race, now also class, and the particular word favela. Logistically there were differences also. Differently from the previous Rio 'Genocide' march, which went through the periphery region nearby, this march was planned to go through the Maré favelas specifically. The main difference here was that unlike other favelas nearby that had been 'pacified' by UPP policing units, Maré was 'occupied' and 'pacified' by the army, or APF (Army Pacification Force).

Of all the favelas in Rio, Maré had this special emphasis among social movements over 2014. It was the only favela to be permanently occupied by the army as part of security measures for the World Cup and although this army pacification was only supposed to last for six months it ended up lasting longer, still being in place in September 2014 for example. This presence of the APF in Maré became the main focus of the protest event in Maré on 6 September 2014, differentiating it from the previous national 'Genocide...' protests.

However, what differentiated it from this national event connected it to other local events. The event on 6 September was also the most recent in a series of protests and related activities contesting the APF since its arrival in April 2014. In this sense this protest event formed a part of a specific sequence of collective claims making and contentious performances dating back to April, i.e. a specific *stream of contention* (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

11.2 Streams of Contention through Mobilizing Texts

This stream of contention can be seen to manifest through the mobilizing texts for the local protest event in Maré (on 6 September) with a narrowing down in focus from the former national and municipal events (on 22 August) – e.g. referring specifically to issues in Maré since the APF pacification.

‘Written a group of local residents’, the main text that mobilized the event was a Facebook event page, which consisted principally of a so called ‘about the event’ text and a digitally edited photograph.

11.2.1 Event Page Photographs: Recycling and Joins

This photograph (in Figure 11.3) was of a national flag, painted on and written on, during an ‘Anti-World Cup’ street decorating event in Maré four months earlier in June 2014 (as described in *Chapter 8*). Appearing in the event page, this was another example of the common campaigning and media-activist literacy practice of recycling of photographs from previous protest events resemiotized and recontextualized into the mobilizing texts of subsequent protest events (as described in *Chapter 10*).

In this case of the protest event on 6 September 2014, this recycling of content proved to be the first of several such textual joins (see Kell 2009, 2011, 2015) interlinking previous events, with present and upcoming ones, through a (re)circulating of forms and themes of texts (i.e. here, contesting the APF).

Figure 11.3: FB event page header and flier ('March against the genocide of black people and poor people from favelas / When? Saturday, 6/9, at 4pm, Where? Concentration in front of Maré Museum, a political-cultural action against violations in Maré / Music and poetry performances end the march')



11.2.2. About the Event Texts: Claims-Making and Localising

March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas!

There have been numerous violations of rights of the residents of the Favelas of Maré which have suffered because of the entrance of the army into the 16 Favelas.

Killings, abuse towards the motorbike-taxis and shopkeepers, stop and search directed principally towards black male youths.

Since the month of April, residents have suffered from the lack of the right to come and go. Parties that they used to have in the streets, the music and barbecues in the public squares, now can only be done with the authorization of the armed forces.

Helicopters circulate constantly and always at the time everybody wants to sleep.

Evictions have started to occur in one of Maré's favelas.

In April when the forces entered the 16 favelas, numerous promises were made to improve the area - regular collection of rubbish, security, lighting / electricity, schools, respect for the citizens of Maré - the day to day has shown us a different reality however (...)

[FB event page 'about the event' text for 6 September 2014]

Differently to the mobilising texts of the previous 'Anti-World Cup' protests (from June-July) and national-municipal 'Genocide...' protests (in August), the 'about the event' text for the protest due to occur on 6 September was specifically about Maré and specifically about life there after military occupation by the APF.

The text consisted of and functioned as a list of claims-as-denunciations primarily, i.e. listing specific examples of local practices and denouncing how these had been negatively impacted on by the APF, temporally demarcated by references to the 'entering' of the APF into Maré (in April 2014).

These spatially and temporally specific claims were followed with more general statements of criticism about the 'Brazilian state and government authorities' relating to favelas – as well as by an invitation for people to come (listing planned activities and logistics). However, it is in the anterior list of local claims against the APF and their particular temporal demarcation that the stream of contention was made most explicit.

This Facebook mobilizing text for 6 September protest event entextualized particular details of this stream of contention in Maré at a particular point in time, highlighting examples of events and processes informing of it.

The text served as a kind of report of the stream of contention, from its starting until the time of writing in late August.

Following from this, there would be direct connection between these claims made via this 'about the event' text and the literacy events and texts seen at the protest event (as described in 11.3).

11.2.3 Surrounding the About the Event Text: A New Theme in the Stream

Though there was no specific mention of it in the previous ‘about the event’ text for the protest on 6 September 2014, news had just emerged locally that a community museum cum community centre in Maré (i.e. founded by the same NGO that founded the Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper) had just received an eviction order referring to the warehouse space where it had been situated since 2006. The Facebook event page for the protest in Maré had been posted and started to circulate online from August 25 2014. One day later news of this threatened eviction started to circulate also.

The reason explained at the time by coordinators at NGO CEASM was that the owning Libra Navigations Company now sought use of the warehouse again – a space ceded on a 10 year lending agreement to the NGO in 2004, having been left disused for several years previously.

As more information arose, this issue of the museum ‘removal’ started to generate a lot of SNS activity - including online petitions, photographs from the museum, a Twitter campaign, and a series of campaign memes and hashtags, with ‘save the museum’ slogans and themes. This emerging campaigning and media-activism online about the museum would thereafter start to overlap and merge with online mobilization for the upcoming protest event on 6 September (the ‘March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas’), i.e. appearing through the same newsfeeds on Facebook, or with posts about one referring to, or with hyperlinks, to the other.

This merging of ‘Museum’ evictions themes with the ‘Genocide...’ march themes continued into the enacting of the march itself on September 6 - as described below through an overview of the protest event.

11.3 Streams of Contention through Protest Events

On the same day of the 'March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas' on September 6 2014, a public meeting was arranged by staff from Maré Museum and local social movements to organize and to develop campaigning to 'save the museum'. This public meeting was held in the museum's open air forecourt (seen later in Figure 11.11) coinciding and converging temporally and spatially with concentration activities for the march.

On 6 September, the meeting point and concentration for the 'March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas' was in the street outside Maré Museum from 4pm. The public meeting for the museum meanwhile started just prior to this and just inside of the front gates of the museum, meaning both gatherings occurred right next to each other. This proximity led to people moving between these two adjacent spaces of activity - one just inside (the public meeting) one just outside (the concentration) Maré Museum.

This physical crossing over of people, text-artefacts, and themes in discussion, from one to the other produced a point of convergence at the start of the protest event on 6 September between these two interlinking event-spaces (Kell, 2015).

One distinctive aspect of this convergence on 6 September was a particular accumulation and interconnecting of 'precipitative' and 'anticipatory' uses of texts at the site of the protest (see Scollon & Scollon 2004, p.27).

Precipitative actions are retrospective in that they 'arise from other actions and point back to them', such as 'in the form of things like accounts [e.g. texts]' (Jones 2008, p.250, 254).

Anticipatory actions in contrast ‘anticipate future actions’, such as, preparatory actions that are done as part of processes ‘making subsequent actions possible’ (Jones 2008, p.250, 254).

On 6 September, through the interlinking concentration and public meeting and the march that ensued, a particular precipitative aspect was made apparent through activities and texts that referred to, or related to, previous protests around the time - e.g. protests following the arrival of the APF in Maré in April 2014 (see *Chapter 8*), protests during the World Cup in June-July 2014 (see *Chapters 9-10*), and the national Genocide protests in August 2014 (as above in *Chapter 11*).

A particular anticipatory aspect was made apparent meanwhile in the mobilizing of support contesting the threatened museum eviction and in organizing of campaigning activities, as well as, most specifically, the planning of another demonstration due to be held one month later in October, as the culmination of the ‘save the museum’ campaign (see 11.6-8).

Accordingly, across these two overlapping event-spaces, and during the march following, representing and referencing of past, present, and emerging protest events and themes came to materialize and converge through the (re)making and (re)showing of text-artefacts. The content of these texts, as such, with their backwards and forwards linkages, became examples of the materialization of the stream of contention.

Figure 11.4: ‘GLO / Guaranteed law and order for whom?’, ‘Armed peace?’ - two slogans used since the entrance of the APF, previously seen on placards at protest events in April, June, July, and August 2014, appearing again here, on signage at the concentration of the protest event in September 2014

Figure 11.5: ‘Museum stays’ (Photo: Luis Baltar) the first appearance of this slogan on a protest sign referring to the eviction order. This same slogan and sign appear later in the mobilization and protest event ‘Demonstration in defence of Maré Museum...’ held on 18 October 18 2014 (seen in 11.7-11.8)



11.4 Scripting and Emplacing Protest

The protest event in Maré on 6 September followed the typical ordering of a 'concentration' at a meeting point, followed by a 'march', then 'dispersing' from an ending point (as discussed in *Chapters 9-10*). On this day, however, the particular locations chosen, and particular activities performed in these locations were linked more specifically than in many protests.

Firstly, the meeting point and concentration took place in front of Maré Museum threatened with eviction. Secondly, the march passed through the streets of Maré military occupied by the APF (as well as passing one particular APF stop and search point). Thirdly, the march ended in a public square where a popular music and cultural event used to occur before being prohibited since the arrival of the APF.

Evictions, stop and searches, and prohibitions, since APF pacification - each of these three issues had been referred to explicitly in the mobilizing texts for 'March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas' (see 11.2.2). Accordingly, the activities enacted at pre-planned (meeting, midway, and ending point) locations drew attention to and addressed each issue.

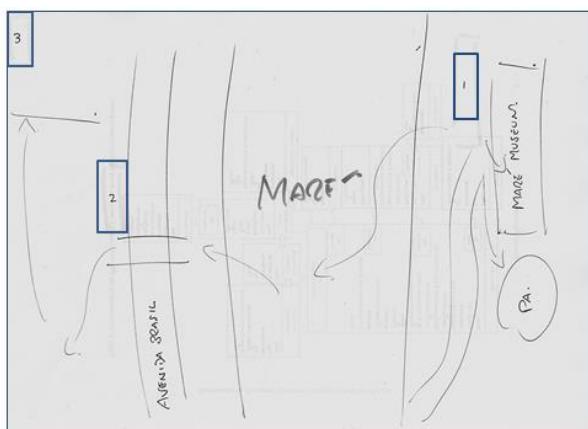


Figure 11.6: Basic Map of the Route

1. Meeting point at Maré Museum
2. March through Maré passing an APF stop and search mid-way
3. Ending point in a public square used for cultural-music events

Central to these activities was the deliberative emplacement of protest signs, i.e. 'placing a sign in a physical location to activate its meaning' (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p.210) - in this case, to highlight and to critically comment on APF related processes underway.

In such a way, linking back to the mobilizing texts, the route of the protest event with its pre-planned emplacements of protest texts and contentious performances within specific locations followed a kind of script. This 'script', or '...interior map of a particular production' (Schechner 2004, p.87) became another example of how texts served as joins, e.g. from the claims making of the mobilizing texts (11.2.2) to the emplacement of protest signs making visible these claims *in situ* – highlighting a specific meaning making trajectory from texts to activities (forming part of the stream of contention).

Added to this scripting was the social mediafication of the protest event (Mills, 2015) with 'literacy practices... increasingly hybridised and affiliated with digital technologies and social media platforms' (p.97) – as seen for example, in the connection between making and showing of protest signs with their documentation and dissemination as social media having become integral to the purposes of traditional demonstration literacies (such as placard and banner practices). On 6 September, this integration was made explicit in the combination of emplacing of signs in specific settings, so that signs and settings were filmed and photographed together. This involved the orientating of text-artefacts and their 'focussing effect' (Barton & Hamilton 2005, p.27) over the material conditions their messages of protest related, but also, simultaneously, towards cameras documenting, so that both settings and signs became framed together as visual media, i.e. as 'visibilized' evidence of protesters' claims (Cammaerts 2012, p.121). This media in process was destined for dissemination across SNS, thus forming continuations of the stream of contention online.



6 de setembro às 17:32

Agora no complexo Mare segunda macha contra o genocídio de negro.



[Curtir](#) [Compartilhar](#)

Figures 11.7: Meeting point and concentration pamphleteering in front of Maré Museum

[above] Protest banners emplaced in front of the museum [below] In a FB status update

'Now in the Maré complex, the second march against the genocide of black people...'

by a media-activist status updating and live streaming the protest event on a mobile phone



Figures 11.8: Midway stopping point during the march at an APF checkpoint stop and search [above] Banners and placards emplaced in front of an APF tank [below] 'Free Raphael Braga victim of state terrorism...' [banners left] 'For the End of UPP...' [banners middle] 'The favela won't shut up' [sign right] 'Hugo was killed by uniformed criminals, End racism, UPP = killers'



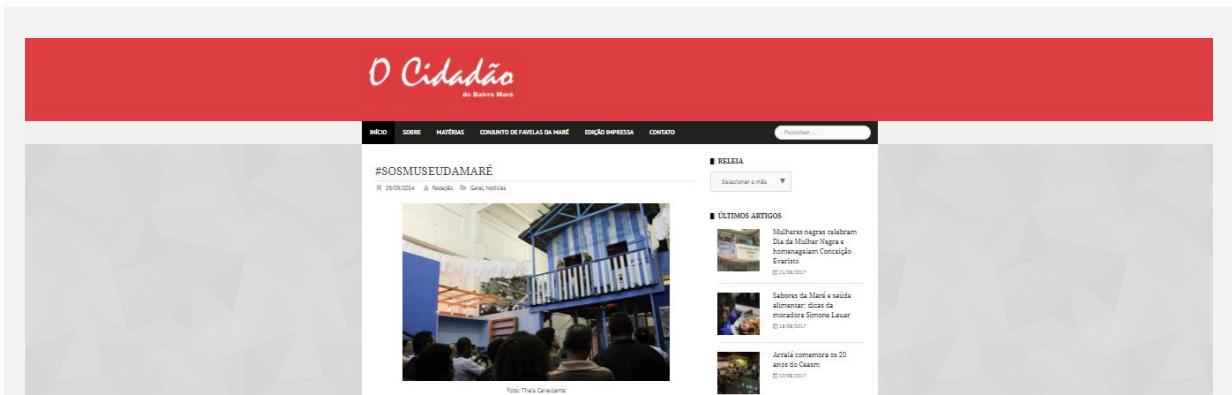
Figures 11.9: Ending point and dispersal of the march in a square where a music and cultural event had been prohibited since the arrival of the APF [above] Protest signs and social media production around closing speeches including readings of the genocide pamphlet by activists [below, see Figure 11.1] [placards below, left to right] 'Security for whom?', 'Armed peace?'

11.5 Post World Cup Flows (from September 2014 to October 2014)

As described previously in 11.2, a campaign started to be organized on 6 September 2014 to contest the eviction of Maré Museum, a heritage space and community centre project founded by a local NGO.

At that time, I wrote an article for the Citizen Neighbourhood Newspaper in Maré (i.e. the Citizen was founded by the same NGO that founded Maré Museum) so as to divulge what was happening as part of this campaign.

Recalled below, this article (originally written in Portuguese) summarises the main campaigning activities that took place – continuing from early September to late October of 2014.



The screenshot shows the homepage of the newspaper 'O Cidadão'. The header features the newspaper's name in a stylized font. Below the header, a red banner displays the text '#SOSMUSEUDAMARÉ'. The main content area shows a photograph of a group of people gathered in a blue-painted building, identified as the Maré Museum. The text below the photo reads 'Foto: Thaís Carvalho'. To the right of the main content, there is a sidebar with a 'RELEIA' section containing a dropdown menu and a 'ÚLTIMOS ARTIGOS' section listing three recent articles with their titles and publication dates.

#SOSMARÉMUSEUM

Maré Museum is a museological reference in Brazil and around the world. It was the first museum constructed inside a favela, with artefacts donated by the residents themselves. But this important institution is currently under threat of removal through a recent land repossession process, following the occupation by the army and real estate speculation. This space was empty and unused for a long time. Over a ten year period, local residents

constructed a community centre there - concentrating educational, cultural, and artistic activities. Maré Museum has become a valuable heritage site for local cultural memory since.

Between 23 and 27 September, the Museum organized one week of activities to resist this process including a reading circle, artistic presentations, guided visits of the collection, and social media interventions, all promoting the work of the museum and mobilizing people to support the cause.

On Saturday 27, these interventions culminated in a project called “weaving resistance”, involving visits from schools, universities, and other people, both from the community and beyond, who wrote messages of support and their memories of the Museum, on sheets of cloth. These will be joined together, forming one large sheet, an “affective banner”, to be presented in the streets during a demonstration on Avenida Brasil, on October 18.

All support is welcome at this time. To support, join the twitter campaign via #MARÉMUSEUM and attend the demonstration on October 18, which starts with a concentration from 1pm at the Museum, with the march afterwards heading down Avenida Brasil, closing off the road. There will be a protest sign workshop, live music, performances, interviews, filming, among other activities.

A petition is already circulating on the internet and will be circulating on the streets as well.

To sign, access one of the links below:

<http://www.peticaopublica.com.br/psign.aspx?pi=BR74313>

To know more about Maré Museum access the link:

www.museudamaré.org.br

By Jamie Duncan, October 2014



Figure 11.10: [in the header] Traditional wooden stilt houses inside Maré Museum (Photo: Thaís Calvalcante)

Figure 11.11: [above] Public meetings held for the Maré Museum campaign in September (Photo: Leon Diniz)

11.6 Resistance in Bases and Campaigns

Among social movements in Rio over 2013-2014, removals tended to be talked about from two main temporal perspectives relating to what I have referred to previously in terms of bases and campaigns (see *Chapter 5*).

Social movement bases are the particular ‘social background, organizational resources, and their cultural framework of contention and collective action’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.237).

Social movement campaigns are specific and sustained processes of mobilization and contestation, which emerge from and feed back into such bases (Tilly & Tarrow 2015, p.237).

Such a shift, from base to campaign, came to form part of the stream of contention in Maré.

The history of processes of removals from favelas (e.g. eviction, demolition, displacement) dates back at least to the early 20th century and the very emergences of favelas in name (see **Chapter 1**). Consequently, contesting such recurring issues has been central to the work of social movements from and supportive of favelas, forming an important part of their base (see Valladares 1978, 2005).

A new period of social movement campaigning against removals emerged in Rio from 2010. Though there had been related cases in the years before, this sustained campaigning followed a new mayor in 2008 and a new municipal programme of ‘favela reductions’ in 2009 connected to urban planning projects associated with hosting the mega-events in Rio (Azevedo & Falhauber 2015).

From 2010, new removals processes frequently followed pacification of favelas by UPP. In Maré, the first case of removals following the pacification of its favelas by the APF (i.e. in April 2014) occurred ten days after end of 2014 World Cup, on 22 July 2014, with 80 families evicted from a recent land occupation in one of the favelas in Maré named Salsa e Merengue (OC65, Rio on Watch 2014).

One month later in late August 2014, news of the threatened eviction of Maré Museum emerged and in response the first example of campaigning in Maré about removals locally following pacification. This was therefore the realization in Maré of what had happened in other favelas previously since 2010.

How did long term and recent histories of removals interlink? One way in which perspectives from the social movement base fed into campaigning to save Maré Museum

was through discourses of 'resistance' (as referred to in the Citizen article above). Maré Museum's collection was a curated history of the social movement base in Maré (e.g. being made up of mostly vernacular cultural artefacts donated by residents, but institutionally arranged by the Museum project and its founding NGO). Accordingly, the museum was divided into twelve thematic sections referred to as *Tempos* (times, eras) one of which was called *Tempos de Resistência* (Times of Resistance). It was here histories of protesting and campaigning were represented, via archives of texts, photographs, and related social movement paraphernalia.

This naming of this museum section highlighted importance of notions of resistance locally, as explained via a text mounted on the wall introducing this section inside the museum (in Figure 11.12).

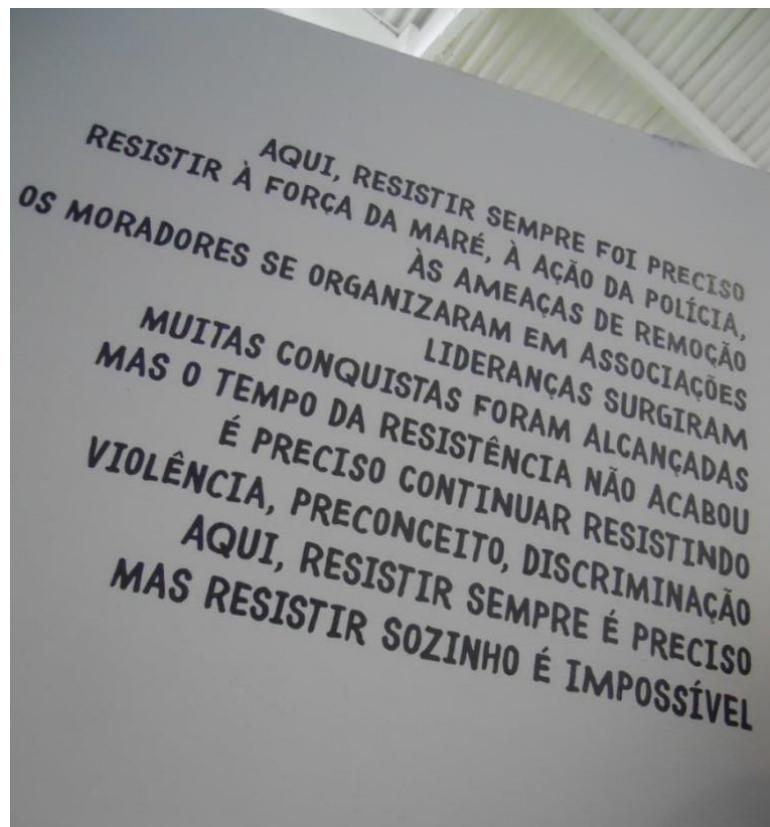


Figure 11.12: 'Times of resistance', museum section introduction

Here resistance was always necessary

to resist the force of the tide / the actions of the police

the threat of removal

residents organized into associations

leaders emerged / many conquests achieved

but the time of resistance has not ended

it is necessary to keep resisting

violence, prejudice, discrimination

here resistance was always necessary

but to resist alone is impossible

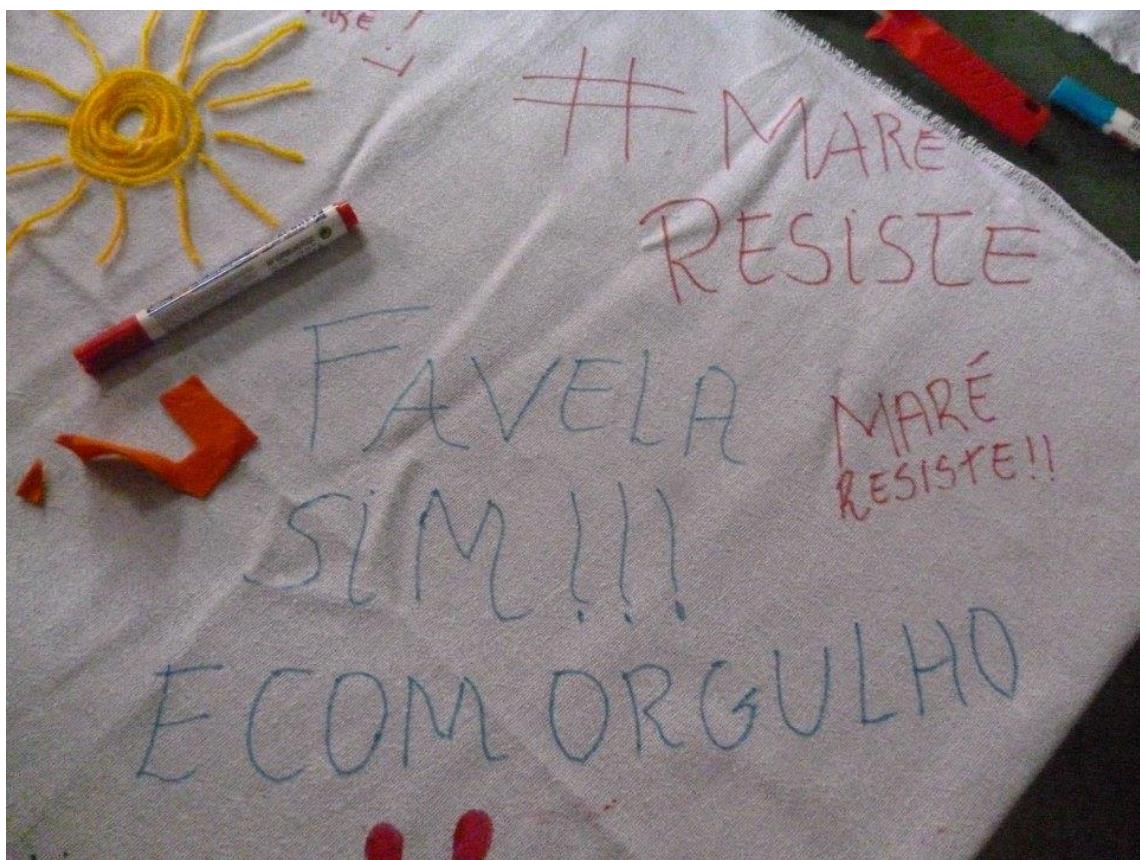
In similar senses, the term resistance recurred across texts and activities mobilizing support and participation in the current campaign against the threatened eviction of Maré Museum.

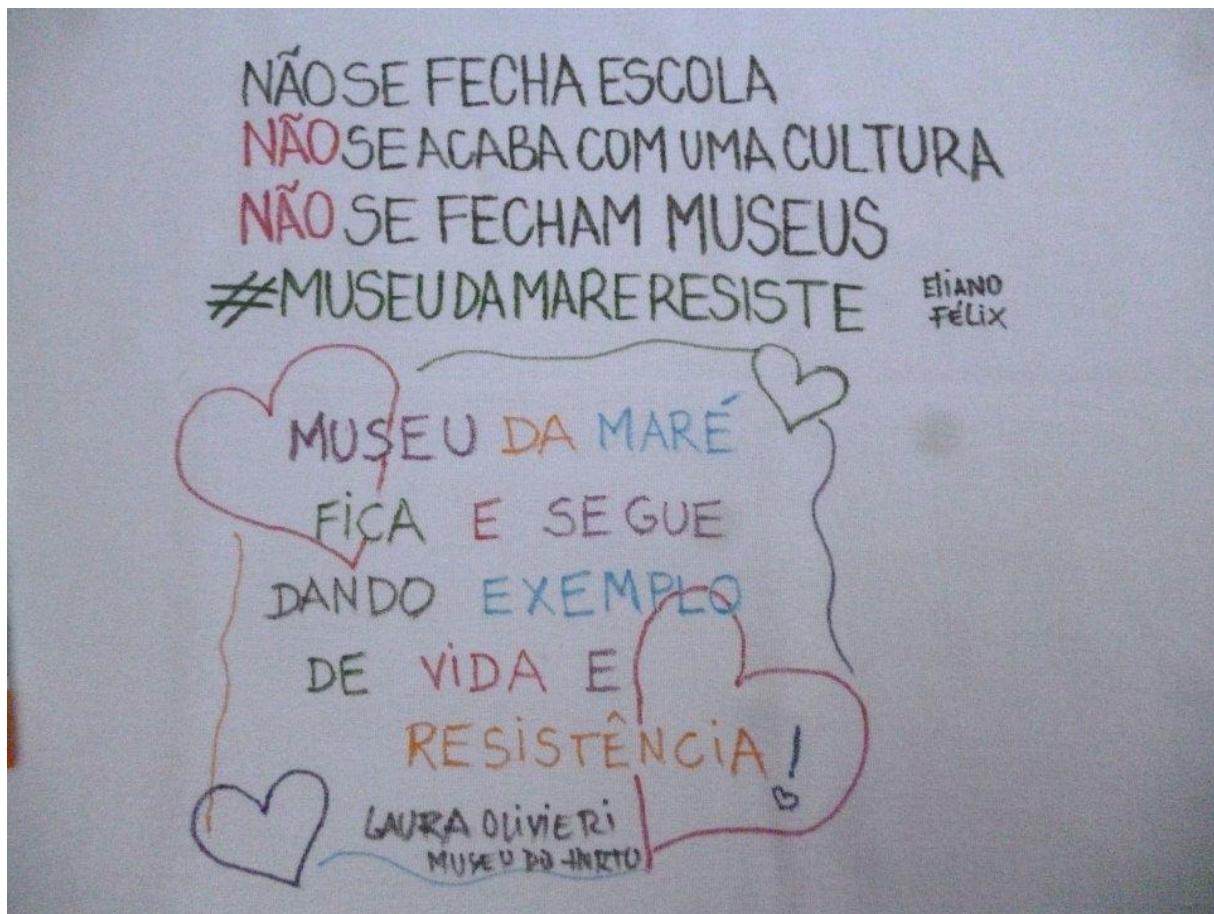
As referred to in the Citizen article above, for example, there was a week of workshop activities held in the museum from September 21-27 which culminated in the production of a banner made out of strips of cloth stitched together. This banner was painted on and written on by local residents, activists, and visitors, with messages of support for the museum. This activity was referred to as 'Weaving Resistance' (seen in Figures 11.13). Around the same time, status updates, tweets, and memes started to be circulated with the hashtag #marémuseumresists. Whilst on October 18, the demonstration and surrounding cultural event arranged in Maré was named the 'March of Resistance'. In such ways, this term was omnipresent across online and offline sites and the invoking of 'resistance' by local social movements and those in support around the city provided a general frame of reference of what was being done and what could be done based on previous histories of collective action.



Figures 11.13: Weaving resistance, fabric painting and writings

[below] 'Maré museum resists' [below] #Maré resists', 'Yes, favela!!! And with pride'





Figures 11.13: 'Don't close schools, Don't end culture, Don't close museums #Maré museum resists' / '...Maré Museum stays and continues setting an example of life and of resistance!'

11.6.1 Campaign to Protest Event

The 'Demonstration in Defence of Maré Museum' and 'March of Resistance' as referred to on fliers was a kind of image event (DeLuca, 1999), i.e. 'a staged protest designed for media dissemination' (Delicath & Deluca, 2003) with a strong cultural-artistic emphasis based on promoting the work of the museum as a heritage and community project. In such a way, this protest event would have a festival feel - with traditional dance, music, capoeira, and arts workshops, starting off around the museum forecourt, then marching along a main road in front of Maré's favelas.

The demonstration followed on from campaigning which had tried to engage support from institutions at local, national, and even global levels (e.g. museological, mediatic, political) trying to exert social and political influence over the repossession order put in motion. Accordingly, the cultural-artistic-educational emphasis of the protest event on 18 October fitted into this scheme.



Figures 11.14: Traditional music and banners on the march, 18 October 2014 (Photo: Marcelo Freixo)

However, alongside this dialogue with supporters at institutional and state levels, there were also more confrontational activities and texts apparent on the day, representing more specifically and more directly continuation of the stream of contention contesting the military occupation and pacification of Maré.

The stream was evidenced during the demonstration for the museum, for example, through protest signs and chants that explicitly contested the APF many of which projected the same messages and themes seen and heard at previous protests during the stream (*cf. 11.2-11.3*).

Beside such signs and chants there were other interventions which were confrontational and one in particular stood out – another kind of act of inscription, although in this case without any verbal content, as described below.

11.7 Streams of Contention and Performance

I had to leave Brazil a few days before the 'Demonstration in Defence of Maré Museum' on 18 October, so though I had participated in the campaigning activities building up to it I was not there in person on the day. For that reason, I do not describe this demonstration in its entirety.

However there was one particularly activity realized during the march that I was already familiar with, which I discuss below, through interview retellings and photographs of it (Figures 11.5). This intervention was a kind of 'performance' as this word is used in the visual arts, developed and enacted by an artist and an art teacher named Ítala (female, 36, introduced previously in *Chapter 3*). I was familiar with this performance because it had been done three times previously in other locations where I had participated,

having collaborated in 2014 with a local political arts movement that Ítala founded (see *Chapter 3*).

This specific enactment on 18 October had a special resonance for Ítala though, because of where it was done and for what purpose (as I will show below, drawing on interview data). Although Ítala was not a resident of Maré she had connections with the favela going back 15 years – living nearby, working in a local school, working in the NGO CEASM (i.e. founder of Maré Museum and the Citizen Newspaper) and participating in a local theatre project. Besides these general local connections, this specific enactment of the performance was distinctive for her also, however, because of how it took place during the APF military occupation of Maré, with soldiers manning the same streets as the demonstration. Maré was the only favela to be military occupied by the Army at that time and previous performances had been done in other locations. In this context of the APF, 'the City Marks', as the performance was called, came to form not only a part of the continuation of a series of performances, but also, featuring in the museum campaign and its demonstration, it formed part of the continuation of the stream of contention contesting this presence of the APF in Maré.

The City Marks (excerpts from interviews with Ítala Isis – my recording / translation)

On Saturday 18 October, I performed the City Marks in Maré during the protest in support of Maré Museum with two youths who live there named Matheus and Alexandre.

As the protest march was starting to set off from the museum we positioned ourselves a few metres in front of the crowd.

Each one of us dipped a white sheet into a bucket of guava red floor paint.

Before beginning, we stopped, shared a quick glance, looking at each other for a just few moments then started the beatings.

I was shocked by the strength that the two boys put into it, swirling the wet sheets above their heads then beating them down on the floor, then beating again, and again.

There was a certain silence around the demonstration, something between astonishment and fright. I looked over to Lourenço (one of the CEASM coordinators and organizers) to check to see if it was ok to carry on. He gave me a nod of approval, so we did.

Straight after this first time we moved off at the head off the march, leading the way, with the crowd following on behind. All three of us dragging our sheets along the streets left a trail of lines, marking the way which we had walked, as well as the route of the march, moving from Maré out onto the road in front of the favela. From time to time, at certain moments along the way, we stopped again to beat the sheets against the floor, marking specific sites en route, a bit like punctuation marks.

There was a kind of entrancing and purging sensation doing these beatings. As if each beating down shouted out to the world “nobody removes me from here!” In this same way we beat markings directly in front of military areas, where the APF were stationed, once again with the complicity of protesters closest nearby. Afterwards, I commented to one local activist near me that I really wanted to do the front of the local police station as well but I thought it risky. She just said: “Do it!”

So we did.

Figures 11.15 [below]

From ‘The city marks’ performance in Maré

(Photos: 1 and 4 by Marcelo Freixo, 2 and 3 by Luis Baltar)







Figure 11.16: Wall graffiti, 'Maré museum stays'

11.7.1 Becoming Verbal and Visual Motifs

During the campaign and protest event in Maré on 18 October, one main slogan was *O Museu Fica* (the Museum Stays). This had first appeared during the mobilization, on fliers, petitions, memes, and hashtags. On the day of the protest, it appeared again, painted as graffiti on the museum forecourt walls (Figure 11.16), then again, during the march itself, via demonstrators' signs and chants. Through the meeting of this widely disseminated slogan with the distinctive performance at the front of the protest march, another slogan came into being also – highlighting how protest slogans emerged through the interactions of protest events, and through the continuation of the stream of contention.

During the march, with the performance being enacted as part of it, demonstrators started to improvise whilst marching and chanting - combining 'the Museum Stays' slogan with the name of the performance 'the City Marks'. This interaction resulted in these two short phrases merging into one new protest chant which would recur thereafter: *A Maré Marca O Museu Fica!* (Maré Marks, the Museum Stays).

It was this that the crowd chanted as Ítala and the two youths stopped to carry out beatings or 'markings' at particular points along the route of the march.

One news report described these scenes in the following ways:

Activists in the crowd joined in chanting choruses of "Maré Marks, the Museum Stays!" whilst three performers - Ítala, Matheus, and Alexandre - beat white sheets soaked in water with red paint down onto the pavement and asphalt.

The violent rhythm of their gestures and the red which filled the pavement, whilst reminding of the traditional practices of washerwomen, referred to urban violence and the marks that the city leaves on inhabitants and inhabitants leave on the city...

ANF Favela News Agency, 18 October (ANF, 2014)

Differently to this however, my initial encounter with the 'Maré Marks, the Museum Stays!' was not being chanted in chorus by protesters on the streets - but rather, as written text appearing across the multiple status updates and hashtags which were being posted from the event as I followed online (both live and during hours and days afterwards).

Repeating slogans and repeating scenes (e.g. the beating of the sheets, the paint drenched sheets, the markings and line trails on the floor) became verbal and visual motifs realised and recombined through uploaders' selections and their social media labelling,

producing a patterning to the retelling of the event online and to the cultural memory of the demonstration.

One combination of these verbal and visual motifs, this time in a more deliberative design, appeared through a set of memes produced and circulated by Ítala herself in the days after the demonstration - so as 'to prolong the memory of the protest event' and 'to continue the campaign going', as she put it. Fixing the chants which had emerged during the march in script further, these memes were entitled by her also as 'Maré Marks, the Museum Stays'.



Figure 11.17: Meme, 'Maré marks, the museum stays'

Connecting scenes and words from the streets of Maré into meme making and social media, this shift from offline to online arts-activist practices and literacies was recollected by Ítala in the following ways.

The City Marks (excerpts from interviews with Ítala Isis – my recording / translation)

During the performance in Maré, many people were filming and taking photos of the demonstration.

Cameras seemed to be everywhere...

And as it goes, on the following day these recordings and images of the protest started to appear on the social networks. On seeing these, I thought about trying to continue the museum campaign in some way and prolonging the memory of the protest by doing something with these texts.

I took some of my favourite pictures and edited them together into a set of memes that I entitled 'Maré Marks, the Museum Stays'.

This was constructed completely from photos of the event posted onto Facebook and blogs which I edited through Photoshop a little to enhance the colour.

These images and the performance put across something of violence and the action itself was borne of anger.

When I first thought up and imagined the 'the City Marks' I was very angry. It is hard to say exactly what about. The rents were rising and I had been threatened with eviction myself. The city seemed each day more militarized. Political protests were being repressed with tear gas and rubber bullets. I am teacher and important protests in support of public education ended with teachers beaten by police truncheons.

But the performance did not happen because of all this exactly.

There is no one exact reason why...

11.7.2 Protest Events, Local Archives, and Ongoing Processes

In Portuguese, the verb *marcar* affords multiple senses of being ‘marked’ (e.g. inscribed on, memorable for, influenced by, etc.).

Emerging from a individual response to a wide range of issues in protest over 2013-2014, having been named and performed previously, the City Marks travelled to the Maré favelas in October 2014, aggregating local participation and becoming embedded in local processes – both those of the museum campaign and the stream of contention contesting the APF. Written about, visually recorded, and as a collective memory of people who were there, the 18 October demonstration and the City Marks featuring in it became part of the ongoing story of social movements in Maré.

The museum campaign proved a success. The lending agreement for its warehouse space came to an end, but this was extended for a 90 day period and thereafter renegotiated so that the museum was able to remain long term. This meant that the demonstration became celebrated and remembered as a victory for local causes, with images and artefacts from the day displayed permanently inside the museum.

However, the museum campaign, the City Marks, and the flow of activities and texts which had ensued, also formed part of a wider process which remained unfinished – i.e. events put in motion through the APF occupation and pacification of Maré from April 2014 onwards and the stream of contention contesting this APF presence locally since then.

Below, bringing this chapter to a close, I summarise how this stream came to an end, but also, how its flow of protest events and texts can be seen as forming a part of a longer term episode - or cycle of contention.

11.8 The Fading of the Stream (October 2014 to April 2015)

Towards the end of 2014 the APF was becoming increasingly contested. In place since April, it was only originally supposed to stay for six months, from before to after the World Cup, serving as part of security operations for this mega-event, with UPP Pacification Police Units planned to be installed permanently in the area after. However, by the end of 2014, having been present for almost a year and with still no definite departure date, tensions around the APF had accumulated.

In November 2014, a joint group of resident associations, local social movements, and NGOs presented in a public meeting with the national press a dossier with collected evidence against the APF. Its accusations included: 28 local resident homicides, hostile stop and searches, physical and verbal abuses, entering houses without a search warrant, loss of privacy, and the disruptions to services and attendance (O Dia 2014, EBC 2014, Redes 2014).

Three months later in February of 2015, another and the last of the organized protests against the APF was realised following the death of a local resident. This demonstration was mobilized by the same media activist collective (named Maré Vive) who had organized the first anti-APF protest one year before in April 2014. Differently from this first protest, and others since over 2014, however, this demonstration in February 2015 turned violent, with clashes between local youths and the APF which resulted in the usage of firearms and military apparatus stationed in the area. One month after this protest and therefore one year after the start of the military occupation, on 1 April 2015, the APF announced it was initiating its 'de-occupation' of Maré as of 30 June 2015 – with UPP due to take over. This was the end of the specific anti-APF stream of contention from April 2014 to April 2015.



Figure 11.18: Scenes from demonstration in Maré on 23 February 2015 (Photo: Naldinho Lourenço)

11.9 Summary

What was the stream of contention? Though there were wider social events and texts through which it manifested, from April 2014 to April 2015 five organized protest events occurred inside Maré which publicly contested the presence the APF. This sequence of protest events contesting the APF and related themes evidenced ongoing contention over one year – providing points of reference from which to follow the flows of interlinking meaning making trajectories and contentious politics that constituted the stream.

The sequence was as follows.

The first of these five protest events was a local demonstration after the arrival of the APF on 5 April 2014 named 'Maré Resist' (introduced in *Chapter 8*).

The second a so called 'Anti-World Cup Street Decorating' event held on 14 June 2014 (described in *Chapter 8*) directly linked to another series of protest events organized by social movements from favelas during the 2014 World Cup in June-July (see *Chapters 9-10*).

The third on 6 September 2014 was a local version in Maré of a national campaign entitled the 'March against the Genocide of Black People', renamed 'March against the Genocide of Black People and Poor People from Favelas' (referred to here in *Chapter 11*, from 11.1-11.5).

The fourth on 18 October 2014 was a demonstration against the threatened eviction of a community museum linked to the pacification process initiated in Maré through the APF occupation, called the 'Demonstration in Defence of Maré Museum: a March of Resistance' (referred to here in *Chapter 11*, from 11.6-11.8).

Whilst lastly the fifth at the start of 2015 on 23 February was another demonstration against the ongoing presence of the APF and allegations of violence and abuses of power committed since its arrival one year before, named a 'Protest for Life in the Maré Complex' (as above in 11.8).

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters
APF Protest (1 Maré)	April 2014	1	Pacification (APF)	8
2014 World Cup Protests (1 Maré, 1 City Centre, 1 South Zone, 1 North Zone)	June-July 2014	1 (3)	Mega-events, Removals Pacification (UPP, APF) Police Killing	8, 9, 10
Genocide Protests (1 Maré, 1 North Zone)	August-September 2014	1 (1)	Pacification (UPP, APF) Police Killing	11
Maré Museum Protest (1 Maré)	October 2014	1	Removals Pacification (APF)	11
APF Protest (1 Maré)	February 2015	1	Pacification (APF) Police Killing	11

Table 11.1: Protest events from 2014-2015 referred to from Chapters 8-11, 5 sequential and thematically linked examples in Maré as a stream of contention

These five protests formed part of a specific stream of contention (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015) where 'sequences of collective claims making' and the enacting of 'local repertoires of contentious performances' (p.136-137) occurred through a series of interconnecting events (see Table 11.1).

The stream was demarcated spatially by being in Maré and temporally by the arrival and departure of the APF from April 2014-2015, i.e. with the APF as its main object of contention. However protesting around the same time and in surrounding locations contesting related themes (e.g. mega-events, pacification, removals) also occurred simultaneously and overlapped. People from different favelas and movements attended each other's events and produced and circulated texts about them leading to an interlinking of wider themes into the specific stream of contention in Maré contesting the APF (e.g. 11.1-11.5). The vice versa also occurred with local criticisms of the APF appearing in wider protesting around Rio (e.g. in *Chapters 9-10*).

In such ways, the anti-APF stream of contention in Maré from 2014-2015 can be seen as forming part of wider social protest. Most specifically, it became another example of an extending list of incidents and issues relating to the hosting of mega-events in Rio, the implementation of pacification policing in favelas, and cases of removals (e.g. evictions and displacements). Relating to these three themes in protest in particular, the stream therefore formed part of a wider episode, or cycle of contention, from around 2006 onwards, where issues of mega-events, pacification, and removals started to become increasingly contested in Rio, as a set of interrelating themes in protest (as described in *Chapters 5-11*).

Ending this last of the data driven chapters, I overview how following the fading out of the stream of contention in Maré came the fading out of this wider cycle of contention in Rio.

11.10 Link (Chapters 5-11).

The stream of contention was delineated in terms of a series of five protest events occurring from the start to the end of the pacification process in the Maré favelas (i.e. covering a one year period, April 2014-2015). All of these events contested this pacification. Pacification here was distinct from the other examples in Rio because rather than being implemented by the Rio state military police and UPP it was led by the federal army (or APF) – nevertheless, in spite of this difference in implementation, the installation of permanent UPP Pacifying Policing Units in local favelas was the long term plan for public security in the area.

Direct links to the cycle of contention concerned therefore: firstly, how deployment of the APF was justified governmentally as a part of security operations for the 2014 World Cup; but also, secondly, following this, how pacification policing via installation of UPP units was supposed to take over from the APF permanently, with the Maré favelas following the 37 other favelas in Rio pacified by UPP previously since 2008. In Maré's case however, this would never actually happen.

From around 2015 onwards, accumulation of criticisms of UPP (e.g. in *Chapters 8-11*) overlapped with Brazil entering into an enveloping political and economic crisis. This ultimately led to funding for pacification, based on public-private partnerships, becoming drastically reduced (e.g. with UPP Maré never actually being installed).

In sum, a range of complicated factors resulted in the UPP project in Rio's favelas, both not expanding further and becoming presented increasingly with a lack of credibility across the public sphere. By 2015 although still functioning, UPP seemed like a political project on hold or coming to an end – rather than the flagship of a new public security regime as it had been presented at its inception.

In the case of Maré, social movement actors critical of UPP since its start (see *Chapter 7*) from 2015 onwards came to know that what had been expected would not eventualise. Outside of Maré criticisms of pacification policing continued where it was functioning, but without the sense of expansion linked to issues of removals and gentrification that there had been previously (i.e. because these had been linked to the economic boom prior to the economic and political crisis).

This meant that by 2015 one of the mega-events had now passed by (i.e. the World Cup) and also that the two central themes in protest of the cycle of contention diminished (i.e. pacification and removals).

In the period following, leading up to the other mega-event - the 2016 Rio Olympics - the economic recession deepened in Brazil and especially in the state of Rio de Janeiro; one of the largest corruption scandals in Brazilian history became exposed; and a highly controversial presidential impeachment and regime change also occurred (to name just a few of the main issues). In short, another, or other, cycles of contention emerged and gained prominence.

This meant that by the time of the 2016 Olympics taking place, though periphery protests took place, especially relating to evictions in favelas connected to holding this mega-event

(and therefore forming a part of the cycle of contention from 2006-2016), in general, these were diminished compared to those around the World Cup over the year from 2013-2014.

After the passing of the 2016 Olympics, and with expanding gentrification initiatives predicated on the expansion of UPP having stalled, the previous cycle of contention framed in terms of mega-events, pacification, and removals faded out more fully - transforming from an anticipatory trajectory to the personal memories of people involved and the cultural memory of social movements.

11.10.1 Protest Literacies

In *Chapters 5-11*, I charted the development of a cycle of contention in Rio from 2006-2016 focussing on protest events in one set of favelas named Maré.

In doing so, I focussed most specifically on *protest literacies* in and around such events - i.e. sets of literacy practices central to the mobilizing, performing, and mediatizing of protest events and related social movement practices.

In each chapter, I focussed on one example: campaigning literacies (*Chapter 5*), memorial literacies (*Chapter 6*), media-activist literacies (*Chapter 7*), arts-activist literacies (*Chapter 8*) and demonstration literacies (*Chapters 9-10*). Together these were the typical protest literacies. As seen throughout respective chapters, and also here in *Chapter 11*, all these examples interacted and interconnected in a mixture of typical and innovative ways of doing protesting.

Protest Literacies are defined and discussed further in *Chapter 12*.

CHAPTER 12 CONCLUSIONS

Findings and conclusions in this chapter respond to the four research questions in *Chapter 1*.

Empirical and theoretical contributions of the thesis are referred to via respective questions.

12.1 RQ1 Themes and Processes

RQ1: What were the main themes characterising protests occurring in a group of favelas in Rio de Janeiro over a one year period from 2013-2014? How did these local themes form part of wider social protest in Rio?

Over 2013-2014, there were two main periods of protests in the group of favelas I discussed (see *Chapters 5-11*). Represented and contested through these protests were two main sets of themes: firstly *military policing* and *police killings*; secondly *mega-events, pacification, and removals*.

The main link from the first to the second was *military policing* – i.e. connecting contestations of Rio State Military Police (PMERJ) generally and long term, with more specific and recent contestations of PMERJ Pacifying Policing Units (UPP) in Rio's favelas, and in the particular case of the Maré favelas a Federal Army Pacification Force (APF).

12.1.1 Protests and Themes Period 1: June 2013 to August 2013

As described in *Chapters 5* and *8*, the first period emerged from June 24 to July 2 2013, involving four protest events. These four protests concerned the 'Maré Chacina' – i.e. military policing operations resulting in the death of nine local youths. The principle theme in these protests was *military policing* and *police killings*.

Maré was not a pacified favela in 2013. So the Maré Chacina had no explicit link with UPP. However, one week after the last Maré Chacina protest, Amarildo, a resident in another favela was killed generating more protests, about killings in favelas again, but this time by UPP police. As shown in *Chapter 8*, the story of the Maré Chacina continued explicitly through protests for Amarildo, connecting the more general and longer term theme in protest of *military police* and *police killings*, with the newer and more specific theme of *pacification*.

Protest Event Links 2013

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters
Mass National Protests (1 Maré, Multiple Rio)	June 2013	1 (M)	Multiple	5, 8
Maré Chacina Protests (3 Maré, 1 City Centre)	June-July 2013	3 (1)	Military Policing Police Killing	5, 8
Amarildo Protests (0 Maré, 6 City Centre and South Zone)	July-August 2013	0 (6)	Pacification (UPP) Police Killing	8, 9

This overlapping and conjoining of protest events and their themes in protest was a highly characteristic feature of protesting done over 2013-2014, especially so by social movements from favelas (see RQ2 and RQ3 for explications of how).

Relating to such movements, there were three main themes in protest which recurred over 2013-2014. These were referred to in local terms as *mega-events*, *pacification*, and *removals*.

As charted in *Chapter 5-7*, *mega-events*, *pacification*, and *removals* as a specific set of themes in protest dated back firstly to around 2006-2007, then secondly to around 2008-

2009 (i.e. the start of preparations for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, simultaneously to the starting of UPP, and a new municipal programme of ‘favela reductions’).

The conjoining of these themes in protest from this point in time I defined in terms of a cycle of contention that would continue on for another ten years (see *Chapter 11*).

12.1.2 Protests and Themes Period 2: April 2014 to April 2015

In the example of the Maré favelas, it was five years later that these three themes *mega-events*, *pacification*, and *removals* became most prominent locally.

As summarised in *Chapter 11*, five protest events occurred in Maré from April 2014 to 2015. Differently to the clusters of protest events occurring in the days and weeks after incidents (e.g. the Maré Chacina and Amarildo) – these protest events occurred over a longer period of one year. This sustained period of thematically linked protest events I defined as a stream of contention.

Protest Event Links 2014

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters
APF Protest (1 Maré)	April 2014	1	Pacification (APF)	8
2014 World Cup Protests (1 Maré, 1 City Centre, 1 South Zone, 1 North Zone)	June-July 2014	1 (3)	Mega-events, Removals Pacification (UPP, APF) Police Killing	8, 9, 10
Genocide Protests (1 Maré, 1 North Zone)	August-September 2014	1 (1)	Pacification (UPP, APF) Police Killing	11
Maré Museum Protest (1 Maré)	October 2014	1	Removals Pacification (APF)	11
APF Protest (1 Maré)	February 2015	1	Pacification (APF) Police Killing	11

This stream of contention in Maré became a sequence of events through which the wider cycle of contention from 2006 manifested, i.e. with *mega-events*, *pacification*, and *removals* coming into prominence as themes in protest, at a local level.

The stream can be summarised as developing in response to one specific change – the enactment of a federal law to deploy the army to police the favelas of Maré (i.e. the APF), with this starting three months before the hosting of the 2014 World Cup, then ending one year later.

Maré was the only area of favelas in Rio to be pacified by the army during this period, making it a focus for social movements and media coverage. Consequently, the principle theme in protest across these five events in the Maré favelas from April 2014 to April 2015 became this APF *pacification* and its links with *mega-events*.

Two cases of *removals* occurred in Maré following the start of the APF and the end of the 2014 World Cup, i.e. explicitly introducing this theme into the stream of contention. Following one of these cases, *removals* became the main theme of one of the five organized protests events in the stream.

In sum, in the example of the Maré favelas, *pacification* by the APF was the main theme in protest in 2014, whilst *military policing* and *police killings* were in 2013. *Removals* was the main theme of only one of nine protest events in Maré over 2013-2014. The main link from the first to the second period of protests that I investigated (see above) was *military policing* – i.e. connecting contestations of Rio State Military Police generally, with more specific contestation of Pacifying Policing Units (UPP) in Rio's favelas, and the Federal Army Pacification Force (APF) in Maré.

12.1.3 Contributions to Understandings of Protest Movements

My thesis makes an empirical contribution to studies of this specific historical period in Rio through ethnographic documentations of this protesting in and around one set of favelas, both explaining how this was done (see RQs 2-4) and in response to what themes (e.g. here in RQ1). In doing so, I offer insights into how protest movements developed out of a particular historical context in response to local as well as global events – based on the perspectives of the local actors and groups who protested, i.e. the emic view.

Substantial journalistic and academic literature has been published about protests in Brazil since 2013. This has tended to focus on the mass protests in mid-2013 and the city centre, i.e. rather than what came before or what followed, such as smaller scale but longer term protest movements in the periphery linking into 2013-2014 (e.g. *Chapter 5-7*). My thesis addresses this gap.

One of the most important points that my thesis highlights here is how protest events in Maré were located in long term contentions generally and a cycle of contention more specifically developing from around 2006, i.e. emerging and existing well before 2013-2014. Protesting here was not 'new'.

It was for this reason that it was necessary for me to combine more traditional synchronic approaches towards ethnography with diachronic and processual perspectives, as discussed further via RQ2 and RQ3.

The empirical data demonstrate the continuation of long term and mid-term contestations of military policing and population displacements made by social movements from favelas,

linking these to current contestations of global mega-events whose legacies since the 1990s increasingly link to controversial governmental projects and neoliberalism.

Politically, therefore, my thesis contributes towards connecting the contestations of local social movements that I participated with outwards to wider spheres of solidarity globally - one specific area of cross-cultural interest, for example, being ongoing studies and activism around the impacts of global mega-events on local communities.

12.2 RQ2 Texts and Trajectories

RQ2: In what ways were protest events interlinked by texts and meaning making trajectories?

In RQ1 I focussed on the main themes of protest events and how these emerged and overlapped from event to event, forming part of wider processes and periods of contention.

Through all data driven chapters, one main way that I observed such processes was via texts featuring in them and trajectories of meaning making activities involving texts across events.

The roles of texts here were many but in relation to RQ2 can be summarised, firstly via examples of how protest events were 'joined' through uses of texts more generally, then secondly via more specific examples of 'trajectories' that interlinked events longer term.

12.2.1 Texts as Joins across Protest Events

I identified four main phases through which texts acted as joins in relation to protest events.

Protest-Scripting refers to how texts and their uses mediated and orientated participations at protest events and across sequences of events. For example, how through campaigning texts and mobilizing texts, social movement claims and themes in protest were articulated

in combination with call outs for people to participate at specific sites in specific ways (e.g. from performing of protesting repertoires to more particular interventions, see *Chapter 11*).

Site-Occupying concerns the multitude of ways in which text-artefacts (e.g. protest signs) and elements of texts (e.g. names, slogans) as part of protesting activities were reproduced at particular physical sites materially overlaying and resignifying these with the themes of the protest event. The affordances of text-artefacts to physically aggregate and populate event-spaces, coupled with the affordances of texts to represent past, present, and anticipated events, resulted in cross-referencing of protest events and the conjoining of themes (e.g. *Chapters 9-10*).

Event-reification refers to how protest events and their protest signs became produced into other texts and media - especially photographs, film clips, and social media. These documentations sustained a flow of content about thematically related protest events across local communicational environments and beyond (e.g. *Chapters 9-10*).

Media-recycling concerned how media produced from previous protest events became reutilized in productions of media in following events (especially so, mobilizing texts and campaigning texts). Flows of recurrent scenes and signs from previous events featuring in texts for anticipated events developed continuity across protest events (e.g. *Chapters 6-7, 8-9, 10 and 11*).

A net result of these examples was a kind of layering and looping in the textually mediated social environment of protest events and social movements, with recurring sets of texts and elements of texts, interlinking past and present forms and themes in protest, across events, clusters of events, streams of contention, and in specific examples, continuing, longer term.

12.2.2 Meaning Making Trajectories through Protest Events

Meaning making trajectories refers here to the recontextualizations and resemiotizations of specific texts across sequences of campaigning activities and protest events.

In *Chapter 11*, the stream of contention was one explicit example of such a trajectory therefore, with a flow of events, activities, and texts, emerging in contestation of the APF presence in Maré. Owing to the specificity of the main theme in protest, the temporal demarcation of this trajectory was clearly definable over a one year period.

However, I also referred to other meaning making trajectories which were both longer term and more open ended. Two significant examples of such trajectories I summarise here as *symbolization trajectories* and *memorialization trajectories*.

12.2.2.1 Symbolization Trajectories: Central to the activities of protests over 2013-2014 were what I defined as *symbols of protest* (see *Chapter 5*). During protests events these were encountered frequently via specific elements of texts (e.g. names, slogans, images) appearing across text-artefacts (e.g. placards, banners, clothes) and verbal performances (e.g. public speeches, chants, songs). Symbols of protest were specific social phenomena of importance represented by multiple cultural forms.

In *Chapter 5* I described one such example of a symbol in protest that demonstrated this social importance in the present (in 2013), a military police vehicle named the *Caveirão* (or 'Skull') and its usage since 2001.

This example of the *Caveirão* showed two different dynamics of recontextualization that accounted for the consolidation of symbols of protest: firstly the convergence and synergising of sets of texts at one point in time (i.e. via a specific period of campaigning);

then secondly, re-circulations and re-combinations of these texts as part of protests events years later (i.e. connecting and mediating protest events over time). Symbols of protest became markers of particular periods of protest and their respective themes. Consequently, the following of the trajectories of symbols of protest and the interconnection of such symbols from different periods became a way in which the emergence and the development of the cycle of contention could be traced and became apparent (as shown in *Chapters 5-7*).

Protest Event Links 2006-2013

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters
Caveirão Campaign and Demonstration (1 Centre)	2006	1	Use of the Caveirão Military Policing Police Killings	5

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters	Connecting Themes
Maré Chacina Protests (3 Maré, 1 Centre)	2013	3 (1)	Military Policing Police Killing	5, 8	Use of the Caveirão

12.2.2.2. *Memorialization Trajectories*: Memorialization trajectories were a specific sub-category of symbolization trajectories, e.g. relating to symbols of protest located in local communitarian and social movement practices of memorial and protest.

In *Chapters 5*, I defined how symbols of protest generally combined the functions of two other overlapping definitions of symbols: *condensation symbols* and *summary symbols* – however it was through examples of memorialization trajectories that these functions were demonstrated most fully (see *Chapters 6-7* and *8-9*).

Condensation symbols emphasise an accumulating and conjoining of formal and thematic elements over time (e.g. interconnecting individual cases with other related cases and wider

themes in protest). Summary symbols emphasise how once consolidated, symbols become regularly deployed to represent or stand in for broad social categories (e.g. practices, structures, systems, etc.).

In condensation and summary symbols, there was a shift from the representations of individual actors, events, and details, toward contesting of wider themes in protest and longer term socio-historical-political contexts in which these were embedded (as seen in *Chapters 5 and 9*).

Condensation symbols were frequently represented in texts through forms of adjacency: e.g. lists and intra-textual co-appearances with other similar individual cases and themes (see *Chapters 7-8*). Summary symbols meanwhile were perhaps most tellingly represented by visual portrait images where individual features were omitted, abstracted, or pluralised, to the extent that the entextualized person was identifiable only by generic social characteristics (e.g. race, gender, and class, such as in '100 Times Claudia' in *Chapter 8*).

However one of the most prominent examples of symbols of protest which I focussed on was presences and recurrences of people's names, i.e. what I referred to as *names as symbols of protest*. Regularly recalled across events, such names were those of people who had been killed in military policing operations. These names were one of the prominent features of one of the main themes in protest, hence the reason for this focus (see RQ1).

They were also prominent textual elements of memorialization trajectories connecting longer periods. Examples of names as symbols of protest were discussed in all of the data driven chapters, but their development as condensation symbols and summary symbols and their becoming as specific memorialization trajectories were described in most detail in *Chapters 6-7 and 8-9*.

In these chapters, the two most explicit examples of names as symbols of protest were Matheus in 2013 (i.e. 5 years later) and the Maré Chacina and Amarildo (1 year later). Following the specific naming of these events as being in memorial ('In Remembrance of') multiple examples of name texts featured in the mobilizing and performing of these events.

Protest Event Links 2008-2013

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters	Connecting Themes
Matheus Protests (3 Maré, 1 Centre)	December 2008	3 (1)	Police Killing	6, 7	Pacification starts in Rio

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters	Connecting Themes
Matheus Memorial (1 Maré)	December 2013	1	Police Killing	6, 7, 8	Pacification to start in Maré

Protest Event Links 2013-2014

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters
Maré Chacina Protests (3 Maré, 1 Centre)	June 2013	3 (1)	Military Policing Police Killing	5, 8, 9
Amarildo Protests (6 Centre, South Zone)	July 2013	0 (6)	Pacification (UPP) Police Killing	8, 9

Protest Events	Date	No.	Main Themes	Chapters	Connecting Themes
World Cup Protests (1 Maré, 1 Centre, 1 South 1 North Zone)	June-July 2014	1 (3)	Mega-events, Removals Pacification (UPP, APF) Police Killing	8, 9, 10	Maré Chacina Amarildo Memorial

Besides describing the presence of names as symbols of protest in and across protest events I also described how these developed through the wider communicative ecology surrounding local social movements: e.g. from traditional community media, social

movement media, and mainstream media; to early uses of the internet and social media; to the boom in SNS and viral dissemination of protesting texts (as seen in *Chapters 7 and 8*).

This last point links to questions about how the development of both memorialization trajectories and the wider cycle of contention were informed by communications changes (discussed below via RQ4).

12.2.3 Contributions to Theory

Relating to RQ2 and linking to RQ3, I make a theoretical contribution through the development of conceptual language and categories.

As summarised above, I define the generic notion of protest events in terms of four particular phases of textual genres and literacy practices (see RQ3). I develop the concept of symbols of protest based on condensation and summary symbols, and combine this with the concepts of text trajectories and meaning making trajectories from the New Literacy Studies, leading to the categorizations of symbolization and memorialization trajectories.

I also re-frame prior terms from Social Movement Studies (e.g. streams of contention and cycles of contention) in terms of text trajectories and meaning making trajectories interlinking SMS with the NLS. Together these concepts offer a mid-level operationalizable approach to studying empirical protest events and periods of protesting, combining processual diachronic views with situated synchronic events.

12.3 RQ3 Literacies and Practices

RQ3: What were the main literacies involved in protests?

The underlying theoretical and empirical focus of my thesis was on literacy practices. Themes in protest (RQ1) materialised in texts (RQ2) produced, circulated, and put to use, through sets of literacy practices, or literacies (RQ3).

I identified five literacies which featured recurrently in the producing and performing of protest events over 2013-2014. Each data driven chapter focussed on one of these five: e.g. *campaigning literacies (Chapter 5)*, *memorial literacies (Chapter 6)*, *media-activist literacies (Chapter 7)*, *arts-activist literacies (Chapter 8)*, and *demonstration literacies (Chapters 9-10)*.

Each of these examples also overlapped with the others however, as seen in *Chapters 5-10* and such combinations of these five literacies in the doing of protest events over 2013-2014 I referred to summarily as the period's *protest literacies* (e.g. *Chapter 11*).

12.3.1 Protest Literacies

12.3.1.1 Campaigning Literacies: These were sets of literacy practices regularly featuring in social movement campaigns.

Central to the campaign I discussed in *Chapter 5* was the production and circulation of a range of interrelating texts: e.g. public and press notices about the campaign theme by social movements and supporting institutions; research data and findings via press, academic, and human rights publications; community newspapers and medias in local registers; and specially made campaign leaflets, postcards, and petitions.

However, central to the actual launch of the campaign was a demonstration and protest march. Campaign texts and practices converged at this site therefore with the making and showing of protest signs (see below *Demonstration Literacies*).

Protest events such as demonstrations and marches have long formed part of the repertoire of social movement campaigns. I showed how campaigning texts anterior to protest events were recontextualized into, converged, and recombined, as part of demonstrating practices. I showed this connection from campaigns to protests both in pre Web 2.0 contexts (in 2006 in Rio, see *Chapter 5*) and later augmented by social media and SNS (in 2014, see *Chapters 8 and 11*). The latter is discussed further via RQ4.

12.3.1.2 Memorial Literacies: These were particular sets of literacy practices featuring in social movement practices of public remembrance of particular people and events. Examples concerned remembrances of police killings (cf. RQ1; see *Chapters 6-7, 8-9*).

Memorial literacies featured in organized events shortly after incidents combining familial and community mourning with social movement and protest practices. But thereafter they also recurred through ongoing protest events of 'remembrance', 'not forgetting', and 'denouncement', months and years later, especially marking anniversaries.

In such events particular literacy practices recurred, i.e. writing and displaying of names and short messages in public spaces, especially spaces connected in some way with respective cases (e.g. victims' places of death and homes, funerals and religious sites, town hall and political sites, or streets and buildings associated with culpable parties, see *Chapter 6-7 and 8-10*). This was most commonly done through simple placards and notes. There was a more distinctive example however whereby memorial practices and protest practices combined – e.g. the mounting of what I referred to as memorial assemblages (in *Chapter 6*).

As discussed in *Chapter 9*, there is a particular history of memorial literacies connecting from mothers' movements in favelas to wider examples in dictatorship era South America.

Over 2013-2014 however, such memorial literacies appeared through protest events and across the mediascape more frequently and at a wider scale of reference than ever before in Rio (see *Chapters 8-9*).

12.3.1.3 Media-activist Literacies: These were sets of literacy practices traditionally linked to social movement journalism but done mainly through social media over 2013-2014.

Through *Chapters 5-11*, I referred to a wide range of examples of traditional and more recent social movement media (e.g. newspapers, pamphleteering, websites, blogs, and SNS). The main example of media-activist literacies I described however concerned a favela based community media project named the Citizen. Adopting a diachronic perspective (in *Chapter 5-7*) I described a turn to publishing about human rights (from 2006), the first examples of reporting about police killings (from 2008), the first articles on protests about such killings (from 2008), the first examples of memorial content (from 2009), and the first examples of content mobilizing protest events (from 2010).

What these developments showed was how local community media literacies started to increasingly incorporate texts and practices about protest events and themes from around 2006 – i.e. in tandem with both the emergence of the cycle of contention from around 2006 (see RQ1) and increasing online communication by social movements from around 2006 (see RQ 4). By 2013-2014, these texts and practices had become consolidated as part of the community media literacies of the Citizen and over this one year, there was more content published about protests than in any year previously.

12.3.1.4 Arts-activist Literacies: These were particular sets of literacy practices produced by artists or referred to as art in protests and social movement media.

Over 2013-2014, recurrent examples included: graffiti and painting at protest sign workshops and concentrations, and performances of diverse types during demonstrations and marches (see *Chapter 8-10*). Such examples sometimes involved straightforwardly representational practices and writing (e.g. *Chapter 8*), but also more abstract and experimental forms of inscribing public spaces (as seen in *Chapter 11*).

In Brazil there is a distinctive history of arts-activist literacies, especially during a period of military rule from the 1960s-1980s. Influences from these literacy practices were strongly evident in 'Anti-World Cup' campaigning and protesting texts seen in Rio during 2013-2014 (as discussed in *Chapter 8*). One of the most distinctive and widely disseminated examples combined the mimicking of football paraphernalia with the names of favela resident victims of police violence added (as illustrated from *Chapters 8-10*).

Arts-activist literacies interacted with social media practices distinctively over 2013-2014. For arts collectives I participated with (e.g. the Invisible Cities Movement, see *Chapter 3*) posting of their artistic productions overlapped with daily commentary social media posting about political issues (one example of which was described in *Chapter 11*).

12.3.1.5 Demonstration Literacies: These were particular sets of literacy practices featuring in demonstrations and marches.

In *Chapters 9-10*, I described demonstrations and marches in terms of a literacy generating space, where local repertoires of protesting texts were brought together and made available for use in particular physical and social spaces.

Long term established traditions here included low-tech forms and uses of texts: e.g. making of protest placards from basic materials; displaying of texts in and carrying of texts

through specific locations; and verbal performances, such as speeches, chants, and songs, with overlapping themes.

Most distinctive about demonstration literacies in Rio over 2013-2014 was how protest events as more traditional literacy generating spaces interacted with protest events as mediated and hyper-mediated spaces – a point discussed further via RQ4.

12.3.2 Five Literacies in Protest as Protest Literacies

The previously described campaign literacies, memorial literacies, media-activist literacies, and arts-activist literacies, all converged through protest events. Or more precisely, particular texts and practices associated with each of these literacies converged through protest events.

Summarily, the term *protest literacies* refers therefore to a configuration of texts and practices made up of other literacies, central to which were campaigning, memorial, media-activism, arts-activism, but most centrally of all, demonstration literacies.

Demonstration literacies were the principle locus of protest literacies, i.e. what the other examples of literacies, mobilized, participated as part of, and mediated, in their respective ways.

For example, demonstrations traditionally formed part of campaigning repertoires, but campaigning texts also mobilized demonstrations and circulated through demonstrations. Media-activists mobilized demonstrations, as well as reporting on them and producing them into media, which was recycled in multiple ways in ensuing mobilizations and demonstrations. Art-activists did similar, producing campaigning and mobilizing materials

for demonstrations, and artistic productions from them, as well as performing artistic interventions directly in them.

Whilst these examples were relatively generic, the examples of memorial literacies that I described were traditionally more specific to protest events relating to social movements from favelas and the periphery of Rio. The recontextualization of such memorial literacies into the wider range and larger scale of protest events and social movement campaigning over 2013-2014 became one of the distinctive features of protesting during this period.

In sum, these five overlapping examples were the protest literacies I encountered most frequently being done and that characterised the representational practices of protests from or about favelas over 2013-2014 - these protest literacies recurrently produced the textually mediated social environment of protest events.

12.3.4 Contributions to Theory, Ethnographic Data, and Methodology

Through these responses relating to RQ3, I contribute both towards theory about literacies and empirical work on literacies.

Empirically, I extend the literacy practices lens to the field of protest and social movements that has not been extensively explored previously from this perspective but that is extremely relevant in a contemporary world marked by social conflict and protest. An NLS and practice focussed ethnography such as mine develops understandings of protest practices via attention to the literacy practices of local actors and to the perspectives of local activists. This adds and complements to what more sociological and political research on protests does. For example, it adds insights into the central role that literacy plays in protest; understandings of how texts in various material and online forms encapsulate the

core concerns of protests and disseminate these; and via its attention to different forms of literacy, and literacies, it adds to understandings of the range of means through which protest is voiced and communicated.

Theoretically, adding to the anterior concept of literacies, I introduce the categorization of *protest literacies*, defining five examples of literacies which these incorporate. In doing so, protest literacies provides a social ontology of the literacy practices of protest and highlights ways in which protests form a part of community activist practices and broader social movement practices.

This synchronic viewpoint on these interconnecting literacies and practices over 2013-2014 formed one aspect of the multi-aspectual ethnographic perspective that I emphasised methodologically (see *Chapter 3*).

From a diachronic viewpoint however, I also pointed out processual and temporal dynamics of protest literacies. For example I highlighted how the literacy practices of protest were not ongoing from day to day, but rather, how they tended to emerge in the production of clusters and streams of protest events responding to specific social changes, with intense convergences of semiotic and political resources for specific periods of time, before dissipating. These convergences (and their reproduction as media) were central to how symbols of protest took shape and started to become consolidated amongst social movements at particular points in time (see RQ2), but which were thereafter recontextualized through ensuing protesting.

In sum, studies of protest such as mine indicate the need to integrate both diachronic process focussed and synchronic practice based perspectives – as I have done throughout

RQs 1-3. In my study, this was because current events elicited particular past/present viewpoints and were better understood in terms of specific developmental trajectories, both from emic and etic points of view. In terms of such emic perspectives, central to protesting in the present was a referencing and representing of related protests and themes in protest from the past. Following this, researching and analysing in structural terms as well as in historical terms, I showed how emic aspects of protests in the present related to and interacted with wider social and political structures informing these.

Bringing together different theoretical perspectives (see *Chapter 2*), this integration of diachronic process focussed and synchronic practice based perspectives in contexts of protesting and in the field of literacy studies is my main methodological contribution.

12.4 Media and Technologies

RQ4 How did older and newer practices and technologies combine in protest events and their related literacies?

The two main ways that I addressed RQ4 related firstly to *the social mediafication of protest events* and secondly to *the social mediafication of media-activist literacies* associated with protests. The first I demonstrated synchronically through descriptions of protest events over 2013-2014 (see *Chapters 9-10*), the second diachronically through descriptions of the incorporation of social media practices as part of community media literacies from 2006 to 2013-2014 (see *Chapter 7*). I understood social mediafication here as a subcategory of mediatization (i.e. focussing on social media), concerning ways that new communications technologies through people's uptake of them can result in adaptations to communication practices and to wider social practices.

12.4.1 The Social Mediafication of Media-activist Literacies

From *Chapters 5-8*, I overviewed a series of changes in the communicative environment and how these informed social movement media generally and the community media of the Citizen specifically, i.e. from internet access in 2006 to online publishing (from 2009); the start of SNS usage (from 2012); and Facebook as the main hub of social movement communications in Rio over 2013-2014. There was a direct connection between these adoptions of new media technologies and their use in the developing cycle of contention from 2006-2016 (as described in *Chapters 7-9*).

The main way I illustrated a combining of older and newer practices and technologies here was via examples of new texts and practices. Three examples described in *Chapter 7* included: the first examples of *multiple texts* being written about cases of police killings; the first examples of *memorial texts* about these cases; and the first example of *mobilizing texts* for upcoming protest events. These were new in the sense that they had not appeared in the community publications of the Citizen previously. But the latter two (memorial, mobilizing) were also recombinations and recontextualizations into social media of anterior practices associated with memorial literacies and demonstration literacies respectively (see RQ3).

Multiple texts, memorial texts, and mobilizing texts all started to appear in the Citizen Online (see *Chapter 7*). Three new sets of affordances from social media drawn on here I referred to as: *autonomy*, *acceleration*, and *amplification*. For example: increased autonomy through digital publishing, facilitated accelerated publishing before, during, and after events, and also relatively unlimited publishing, which resulted in increased numbers

of texts and respective themes in protest, and thus an amplification of these across textually mediated online environments of social movements.

The Citizen's setting up later on of a Facebook 'community page' from 2012-2013 was one example of a widespread migration of anterior media-activist and social movement practices onto this SNS platform during this period. This migration coupled also with an expanding range of new SNS based actors appearing on the scene around this same time involving themselves with activism. These resulted in expanding online and offline networks of textual production, event production, and mutual support or criticism - including communication about themes in protest, and organization of, attendance at, and communication about protest events (e.g. realised through 'event pages', 'status updates', and other such means).

12.4.2 The Social Mediafication of Protest Events

In *Chapters 10-11*, I showed how central to the synergising of older and newer practices and technologies in protest events was the interconnection of physically 'showing' traditional protest texts such as placards and banners, with these and scenes around them 'being shown' in newly accelerated and amplified ways across SNS.

In relation to protest events as mediated spaces I focussed on two aspects: firstly their recent social mediafication, secondly the surrounding media opportunity structure (i.e. extensive national and global mass media and cultural industry coverage of protesting).

Social media and mass media interlinked here, with each drawing on the other.

It was during the mass protests in June 2013 that social media practices came to prominence as a feature of protest events in Brazil. This development involved a wide range

of influences, from recent increasing access to social media connected mobile phones, to new trends of vernacular and coordinated forms of citizen reporting gaining presence through SNS and then 'going viral' via protests in 2013 (see *Chapters 5 and 10*).

A result of these and other factors was that such social media production became integral to the physical space of protest events over 2013-2014, with an omnipresence of phones and cameras, either streaming or posting content live, or as was most commonly the case, photographing and filming content posted onto Facebook and other SNS hours and days after (see *Chapters 9-10*).

As I have described previously, the literacy practices and media practices of protest events revolved around a loop – the mobilizing, performing, and disseminating of protest events. Social media was integral to all of these and interlinked them, e.g. from Facebook 'event pages', to content (re)production across Facebook 'community pages' and 'personal profiles', to the recycling of such content in further protest events. The clusters and streams of protest events over 2013-2014 led to clusters and streams of social media content with respective themes in protest moving across the textually mediated online environments of social movements. As quantities of protests increased so did quantities of media. This looping and overlapping of events and texts and from participation to the interpellation of further participation became one way that *campaign virals* (i.e. media objects which multiplied and circulated on a large scale) started to develop into *viral campaigns* (i.e. wider sets of interrelating texts and activities).

In *Chapter 10*, I illustrated how such combinations of increasing amounts of protesters producing increasing amounts of social media content reconfigured power relations between protesters and policing – e.g. where what was new was this velocity and vastness

of SNS and social media virality with this presenting a new threat to policing of protests. In two examples referred to in *Chapter 10*, police exerted force over protesters through confiscations of traditional protest banners, but these banners were shown in hyper-mediated spaces.

12.4.3 Contributions to Understandings of Protest Media

Responses posed here to RQ4 connect to a wide range of empirical and theoretical work. One of the starting points of my thesis was the period of what is sometimes referred to as the 'new' protest movements from the late 2000s onwards, central to which were uses of Web 2.0 technologies: e.g. the Arab Spring in 2010 and the worldwide Occupy Movement from 2011. Journalistic and academic comment about all of these has often focused on the influence of new communications technologies.

Addressing a gap here, I focused on how the traditional literacy practices of protest events and social movements were intertwined with new social media technologies and practices, where uses of emerging communication technologies were integrated as part of previous practices, highlighting both continuities as well as changes. Positioned at this intersection, my thesis contributes towards both the NLS, with its increasingly digital focus, but also to other wider work on 'new' protest movements and their media practices.

More broadly, in these and the previously described ways from 12.1-12.4, founded on working closely with local people and communicating local perspectives, my ethnographic study of protest literacies contributes towards and interconnects research on literacy, media, social movements, and protest.

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