

People as a Problem

A discourse analysis of the *Favela* residents' portrayal in Rio de Janeiro's press

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Institute of Latin American studies
Bachelors degree 15 HE credits
Latin American studies
Bachelors degree in Latin American studies (180 credits)
Autumn term 2012
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Abstract

Brazil has, like many other Latin American countries in recent times experienced an increase in violence. In Rio de Janeiro, violence is often directly connected to the *Favelas*, due to the drug cartels establishments in these areas. Even though scholars argue that it is a minority of *Favela* residents that are involved in violent and criminal activity, popular discourse tends to generalize these neighborhoods and their residents in to symbols of criminality and social decay. Problems that affect the lives of the *Favelados* more than any other segment of society are seen as consequences of their own ignorance and proneness to everything illegal. Scholars however, argue that it is exactly these types of discourses that justify deep inequality and killings of innocent civilians in the *Favela*.

According to critical discourse analysis, media is an influential force in the creation and reproduction of both inequality and stereotypical prejudice in societies. It is sometimes peoples' only source of information about minorities in society. Thus, it has become important to analyze media discourse so that unequal power structures can be unveiled and prejudice can be dismantled.

Keywords

Rio de Janeiro, Favela, local press, critical discourse analysis

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem

Many Latin American countries have during the past decades experienced an increase in violence (Howard et al 2007:716). The expansion of youth gangs and drug cartels in many countries of the region, and the states policy to fight these groups with a strong fist, has created a situation bearing the characteristics of an un-proclaimed civil war, that has come to affect all social classes (ibid:719). This expansion of the problem of violence, and the notion of insecurity it brings, has resulted in an increase in talk about the matter. As a way of trying to grasp control over a seemingly out of control issue, people automatically try to pin down characteristics of the potential perpetrators. Already socially excluded people and minorities on the bottom of the social hierarchy are the ones that have to suffer the stigmatization of criminality as they are seen as more prone to assort to crime and violence due to their economical desperate and unjust living situations (Caldeira 2000:92). These people that are the most exposed and vulnerable to the effects of economic development become personified with the problems that social exclusion and economic inequality creates, such as crime and violence (Howard et al 2007:716). As these groups of people become criminalized, the question of solving these issues becomes not a question of solving the root causes such as the economic inequalities, but the government's ability to keep these social groups at bay (Caldeira 2000:90). An increase in violence and crime is therefore not perceived as a result of inequality in income and opportunity, but rather as the result of a weak state (ibid).

This aim of this research is to analyze how media discourses in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, contributes to the personification of the residents of the *Favelas* as violent and criminal. This paper will follow the lines of critical discourse analysis theories, which argue that media discourses justify unequal power relations in society and enforces inequality and the social exclusion of minorities (Van Dijk 1988:25). It will also be argued that it is this stereotypical view of the residents of the *Favela* as inheritably criminal and violent which lead to dehumanization of them and the justification of the killings of civilians in these neighborhoods (Caldeira 2000:20; Goldstein 2003:205; Perlman 2010:172).

1.2 Research objective and questions

The objective of this research is to analyze how the newspapers in Rio de Janeiro speak of the people living in the *Favela* and what the general discourses about the *Favela* and its residents are. This in order to achieve a better understanding of what image of the current societal problems the media discourses reflect. Following research questions will be asked;

- In what kind of way do media discourses in Rio de Janeiro influence the public image of *Favela* residents?
- What are the most prominent features associated with the *Favelas* and their residents?
- What social power structure and polarized identities can be identified in the media discourse, and how can they be explained?

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Introduction

In this study both primary and secondary sources have been used. Material that can be presented as a primary source is material which is not previously based on another source and to which the definition “raw material” can be applied (Booth et al. 2008:69). The primary sources in this research consist of newspaper articles from two newspapers based in Rio de Janeiro; *O Globo* and *O Dia*, they have been chosen in order to make an analysis of the discourse presented by the newspapers in regards to the people of the *Favelas* in the Rio de Janeiro area.

Secondary sources are material in which primary sources have been used in order to discuss and solve research problems (Booth et al. 2008:69). The secondary sources which have been selected in this essay are mostly based on ethnographic and anthropological research (as primary sources) where interviews and participatory methods have been carried out by the scholars in order to discuss and support their hypothesis in regards to the lives of the people living in the *Favela* in Rio de Janeiro. These sources have been chosen in order to develop a further understanding of the context in regards to the research problem.

1.3.2 Method

As primary method, critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been selected in order to analyze the discourses presented in newspaper articles. Within the field of CDA it is stressed that both discourse and the context must thoroughly be analyzed in order to fully understand the

relationship between the texts and the social and cultural processes (Jørgensen & Philips 2000:72), it is then that one can understand in which way discourses construct, reconstruct and mirror social processes and structures (ibid:68). The above mentioned has been taken into consideration in this research and therefore the analysis of the primary sources, the newspaper articles, has been made in connection with a thorough presentation of the current social context, to which the secondary sources, previous anthropological research, has been applied.

CDA was used as it differentiates itself from the other approaches within discourse analysis by being socially critical whereas other approaches might argue against it. When it comes to the explanation of the structures of power between groups in society, CDA is somewhat inspired by Marxist ideas. CDA argues here that discourses contribute to the creation of hierarchical power structures in society, for example between classes, and that this can be comprehended as an ideological effect, a view that discourse analysis scholars such as Foucault, Laclau and Mouffe oppose to (Jørgensen & Philips 2000:69). Users of CDA argue that the discourses within a society help to create identities and they can also help keeping the status quo by justifying current unequal power structures (Bergström & Boreus 2005:321). This research concerns the polarization in Rio de Janeiro's society as well as the immense inequality between social groups that exist there, the CDA has therefore been perceived as relevant and useful for this specific study. As Van Dijk has specialized in the field of news discourse and minority reporting, his specific methods have been selected.

1.3.3 Primary sources

Newspaper articles analyzed will be taken from the internet issues of *O Globo* and *O Dia*, they are the two largest Rio de Janeiro based newspapers in terms of circulations in thousands per day (Matos 2008:299). Brazilian media is characterized by its ownership concentration and newspapers being elite oriented (ibid:21). It has therefore been seen as relevant to use these specific newspapers as their elite orientation should be mirrored in the news discourses of the article. This has been considered interesting as it is argued within CDA that news discourses justify and reproduce hegemonic social structures and therefore represent elite ideology (Van Dijk 1988a:x). The articles chosen all concern the same topic, namely power outages in the *Favelas*, and protests against these carried out by neighborhood residents during the month of December 2012. As previously stated, news discourse is argued to reflect as well as reproduce unequal power structures in society. It has therefore been considered interesting to see how the residents of the *Favela* are portrayed in elite oriented news papers in regards to situations concerning their community rights.

1.3.4 Secondary sources

The empirical material that was used in order to provide a current day view of the situation of the people living in the *Favelas* of Rio de Janeiro have been ethnographic researches that have been carried out within the past decade. Several books were selected as it felt important to get the different perspectives on many scholars in regards to how the poorer classes in Rio de Janeiro are treated and what their biggest issues are. The books that were found for this specific research were; Alves, M.H et al. (2011) *Living in the crossfire: Favela residents, Drugdealers and police violence in Rio de Janeiro*, Perlman, J. (2010) *FAVELA: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*, Goldstein, D.M (2003) *Laughter out of place: Race, class, violence and sexuality in a Rio Shanty town*.

As CDA has been applied to the analysis of the newspaper articles later on in this paper, it is important to fully understand the social structures of the society in Rio de Janeiro. The analysis of the media discourse must be presented in relation with the current social context, in which these discourses are created.

When it comes to these secondary sources I have tried to look for books that have been written recently, as I want to make an analysis that is as current as possible in order to give an accurate picture of the reality today. However, when it comes to explaining historical background to certain issues or facts, as well as literature used in the theoretical parts, the age of the book has not been taken in to account. The historical background is only used as an explanation for events that led up to current day issues, therefore I do not find the age of the book relevant. When it comes to theories, I have chosen the original books if I have not found any update version of the theories by other scholars. Here, the age of the book has not been considered relevant if the theory still can be found applicable to modern day issues.

1.3.5 Theoretical concepts

The literature chosen for the theoretical framework is to a large extent social critical. CDA has not only be used as a method, but the developed theories by Van Dijk in regards to the correlation between hidden power structures in society, ideology and discourse, will also be applied. For this purpose I have used several books and articles written by the scholar.

One of the main theories used has been Liberation theory by Paulo Freire, developed in his book; (1970) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, because of his theories on social consciousness and oppressed peoples necessity to develop a critical way of thinking about the social structures in order improve their own situations. The ideas about internalization have also been developed,

which is something he and other scholars discuss and the way that social discourse is internalized by the poor and inhibits them (Freire 1970:35-48).

1.4 Definitions

Favela

The *Favelas* are neighborhoods formed by auto-constructed houses, also often referred to as informal housing (Perlman 2010:31). The connotations of this word do however vary just as much as the *Favelas* themselves do. Some of these auto-constructed houses can fall under the definitions shack and barracks, whilst others are built with sophisticated building material, such as bricks and cement (ibid). Some of them have access to urban services, such as sewages and electricity, whilst some do not (ibid). In this essay however, it is their auto-constructed characteristic which is seen as their common denominator.

Group identity

Group identity is something that CDA perceives as constructed by discourse, where people get defined by certain characteristics which they seemingly have in common, such as social status (Van Dijk 2000b:43). It is argued that these group identities organize people into polarized groups of “us” and “them” depending on what characteristics we are identified with (ibid). CDA also connects group identities to ideologies, and states that it is the ideology that determines which group we belong to (ibid:33).

Criminalization

The term criminalization entails turning something in to criminal. In this essay this definition is used in connection with the problem that being a resident of a *Favela* in popular discourse often implies being a criminal (Goldstein 2003:205). Drug cartels are usually established in the *Favelas*. The characteristics of these criminal groups have in popular discourse been allowed to stigmatize whole communities, even if this criminal faction only makes out a minority of the *Favela* residents.

Demonization

Scholars argue that poor people in excluded situations will be perceived as more likely to resort to crime as their mentality is seen as weaker in terms of resisting “evil” (Caldeira 2000:94). People who have ones resorted to criminal actions such as robbery or murder are

seen as chronically evil and cannot be rehabilitated, the only way to eliminate these evils from society is thus to kill these people (ibid:99).

Dehumanization

Freire (1970) defines dehumanization as an act where one person or group denies and suppresses the rights and aspirations of someone else or another group (Freire 1970:44). This in return turns the oppressed ones in to objects which only have the significance in society that the oppressors assign them. The oppressors are strongly prone to possessiveness and in order to be a human with rights you have to own, and the ones that do not own have themselves to blame as they are incompetent and lazy and thus, do not deserve rights (ibid:59).

1.5 Limitations

This research aims at analyzing the poor classes living in the *Favela* also often referred to as *Favelados* living in the area of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The paper analyzes the situation of this group as a whole and does therefore not take in to consideration the varieties of experiences that may exist within this group, or of other *Favelados* living in other parts of Brazil. Many scholars discuss the aspects of gender, race and age and the difference in status in regards to which *Favela* one resides in. These specific aspects will not be taken in to account. Some scholars also argue that social discourse in Brazil emphasizes class over race as a marker of identity (Matos 2012:151).

1.6 Disposition

In this chapter an introduction has been given to the case study and its research problem. The papers thematic and methodological structures have also been explained in order to give the reader a more holistic understanding of the paper. The following chapter presents the theoretical framework of this research, where the theories of critical discourse analysis as well as liberation theory are developed. These theories in return permeate the research and therefore it is important for the reader to attain a notion of their general arguments in order to further comprehend the statements made in the final conclusions. The context in which the research problem presents itself is described in chapter three. This research focuses on the importance of public and media discourses in terms of social polarization, and it is therefore

important to understand which contexts these discourses are created. In chapter four newspaper articles from the newspapers *O Globo* and *O dia* are analyzed. The articles presented concern protests against power outages in some *Favela* areas of Rio de Janeiro. This chapter will give the reader an example of how *Favela* residents are presented in the local press and what kind of discourses the journalists create when writing about issues that concern these residents directly. Finally in chapter five conclusions to the research questions are drawn whilst connecting them to the arguments that were presented previously throughout the paper.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 An introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As discussed earlier CDA varies itself from other approaches to discourse analysis because of its social critical approach. When it comes to social theories the CDA has to a greater degree been inspired by the critical theory of the Frankfurt school which incorporates a neo-Marxist interdisciplinary social theory (Bergström & Boreus 2005:321) that assumes a critical approach to the unequal power relations that are argued exist in capitalist societies.

CDA holds a socio-constructivist approach to discourse and argues that it is both constituent and constituted. The way something is spoken of is therefore seen as a force that shapes and re-shapes identities and the relation between them within a society. The general discourses in a society do however not only fill the function of creating and reshaping identities, it also mirrors the current social structures and processes of a society. The practice of discourse in a society is seen as an act of creating and justifying power relations between different groups of society, their position power wise depending on what identity has been created for them through the discourses that voice the existing ideologies. The relations and power structures that exist in a society are therefore within CDA seen as a result of the dominant ideology within a society (Jørgensen & Philips 2000:68-69).

The main idea of CDA is that through analyzing discourse scholars can create an awareness of the unequal and oppressive power structures that may exist in a society. The term unveil is

often used in regards to the identification of the oppressive relations (ibid:79), as discourse often generates ideas that justify the existence of the unequal structures and points the criticism in regards to the problems that these social structures create in other directions than at the actual dominant ideology. Fairclough argues that the ideologies only serve the ones that benefit from these oppressive power structures and that CDA must be used in order to create awareness in society so that the actual ideology will be questioned and altered in order to break unequal and unjust relations between segments of society (ibid). In regards to this media is interesting as it creates a platform for the discourse within society and it therefore reflects the existing social relations through text and speech. Writers of magazines will build their texts on general discourses in society (ibid:75), and these texts can therefore be seen as a reflection of the current social situation.

In this research the theories and methods of the scholar Van Dijk have been applied. He has specified his research on the discourses that exist in media and how they speak about social minorities. Van Dijk argues that media discourses will often reflect unjust power relations through the use of positive self-presenter and negative other-presentation (Van Dijk 1988:17), where identities with negative connotations will be created for the minorities connecting them to acts of violence and criminality and thus portraying them as a threat to society (ibid: 2000a:45). The negative identities given to the minorities are often written about in relation with an oppositional force with positive connotations; these identities are often represented by state officials such as policemen whose jobs it is to protect society (ibid 1988:17). Negative acts carried out by minorities will often be highlighted and magnified through the use of hyperbolic words and metaphors which are used to enhance these actions and add exhilaration to the story, thus making the story more newsworthy (ibid: 2000a:140). When it comes to state officials on the other hand their positive actions will be highlighted whereas their negative actions will be strategically justified as necessary, or toned down. Van Dijk argues that even in news reporting which concerns a minority group directly, their own statements will rarely be included, and thus these news fail to present their side of the story making the news reporting very one sided (ibid: 1984:18). In addition he states that news corporations are often run by white elite actors and the journalist are seldom of minority origin. Therefore, it is also important to assess the selection of news which news media finds interesting. It is not uncommon for media to report about disturbing occurrences involving minorities, but they do however, mostly fail to report about the events leading up to these same occurrences (ibid 2000a:155).

2.2 Liberation theory

The liberation theory was developed by Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire in the late 1960's. It thoroughly describes the unjust power relation between the oppressed working class and the oppressive elite in society. He argues that an ideology in society has been developed by the ones "that have" and that "to be" is to have and if you do not have, then you don't exist as a person (Freire 1970:58). As this way of life has been so engendered in society, also the ones that do not have strive towards becoming people that have. The oppressed people will also start to believe that they do not have because of the fact that they are incompetent and lazy something that their oppressors repeatedly will confirm (ibid:59). It is therefore stated that the oppressed internalize the discourse of the oppressors (ibid). In order to keep the oppressed docile, people will explain their situation as the will of God (ibid:61). The oppressor dehumanizes the oppressed by stripping their humanity away from them and turning them into things which can be owned, human is a definition that only apply to themselves. When referring to the oppressed they will use expressions such as "those people", "the envious masses" or "savages and "wicked" if they respond to the violence of the ones that oppresses them (ibid:56).

It is argued that the oppressed often will internalize the ideas of the oppressor and feel a vast attraction towards their way of life, something also referred to as the colonized mentality (ibid:62). It is therefore not unlikely that if the oppressed will receive an opportunity to earn a better position in society he too is likely to become an oppressor of his previous fellow men (ibid:48). Freire also argues that oppressed people that have to suppress their yearning of freedom and justice will often lash out at other people in their own situation as they have internalized the ideas of their oppressor and also see this "internalization" in others of the same situation, therefore they will see their oppressors in people that are imprisoned by the same conditions (ibid:62).

Freire describes the relation between oppressed and oppressor as a "dehumanization" of them both. As the oppressor strips the oppressed of their rights as human being he also deprives another person of their rights which makes him less human. The oppressors cannot free the oppressed of their situation, as the lifestyle of the oppressors, depend on this unequal relationship. The oppressed can however free themselves and the oppressor by realizing their oppressive situation and develop a critical manner of thinking in respect to it. When oppressed

people develop their critical thinking they can then take action to liberate themselves from the situation and dismantle the oppressive structure in society, and thereby also free the oppressors (ibid:4). He states that the oppressive elite in society has access to technology and institutions which they use for their purpose of maintaining the unjust power relations in society (ibid:60). These institutions then manages to enforce the justifications of unequal power structures and thus manages to submerge the consciousness of human beings (ibid:51), meaning that injustice and inequality becomes naturalized.

2.3 Summary

CDA argues that critical analysis of discourses in society as well as a thorough examination of the context in which they are created, helps unveil unjust power structures in society. Discourses often work as means to justify a dominant ideology in society, therefore discourses can work as tools with which one can take focus away from the actual source of the problem described as the ideology that only benefits the oppressive side of the power relation. Liberation theory explains the unjust and oppressive nature of what Freire (1970) calls the “possessive consciousness” where oppressors in society will use their access to institutions and technology in order to justify and maintain the oppressive order in society (ibid:60). The discourses in media can therefore be perceived as an elite tool that is used for the naturalization of social and economic inequality. CDA is applied in this case study for the purpose of unveiling the unequal power structures which media discourse both reflect and create through its’ use of discourses involving *Favela* residents. Liberation theory then further problematizes the situation of this oppressed segment in Rio de Janeiro by presenting theories that deepens the understanding of the nature of their oppressive situation.

3. Context

Favela is a term used as a general name for squatter settlements surrounding many larger cities in Brazil. The word itself has been said to originate the name of a skin irritating bush (Perlman 2010:40), which says a lot about how these settlements have been perceived by the country’s elite throughout history. According to scholars these auto-constructed suburbs have consistently been a thorn in the eye of the formal city as they have always been built outside

of state control (ibid:26). Being a resident of a *Favela* also often referred to as a *Favelado* implies a variety of differences in experience, many scholars argue that not all people living in the *Favela* are poor or involved in criminal activity, nor do all the *Favelas* suffer from the same structural and economic issues. The varieties are countless, but even though, media and news discourses tend to use the definition *Favela* as a generalized term where their past as illegal settlements are always implied. This chapter will give an account of the different social processes that Rio de Janeiro's *Favelas* have undergone historically, thereby describing the context in which these general discourses about the residents of the *Favelas* are created.

3.1 The *Favelas* – a result of social and political processes.

The *Favela*, and the exclusionary situation of its inhabitants, the *Favelados*, can to a great extent be explained as a result of a historical political exclusion of the poor classes, which has lasted throughout the periods of colonial, imperial, and republican rule (Holston 2008:39). A general notion existed in the country; that stems back to the colonization period of the country, which states that decision making is something better left to the educated and knowing elite (Levine 1997:13). This idea has led to a polarized view of society where some are seen as capable of a healthy political mobilization and some are not. In the case of the poor classes in Brazil, the rare cases when they have tried to mobilize for their own interests these attempts have been seen as insurgent and have therefore rapidly been dismissed (ibid). Instead, the higher educated classes have been seen as the natural leaders, this in return has many times resulted in decisions gaining the economic and social interests of the rich, whilst failing to adjust to the needs of the poor.

Between the years of 1890-1920 the population of Rio de Janeiro increased two fold. The landscape of the city had come to change as Rio de Janeiro transformed from being a worn down colonial city in to a worthy capital of Brazil (Retsö 2011:324). It was to become the city of people that enjoyed great economic power such as the landowners and then later the large industrialists (Perlman 2010:27). As the city grew so did also eventually its industries. Poorer segments of society, that ventured into the city in hopes of finding a better future for themselves could not find affordable housing. The first *Favela* in Rio de Janeiro was established already in 1889 on the hillside; *morro da providencia* (ibid:26), and auto-constructing own shacks have since then been the only option for people that have wanted to work in the city but don't have the economical means to live in it. These squatter settlements

surrounding Rio de Janeiro were already in the beginning constructed on locations that were in many cases not desirable as housing properties, such as hillsides or areas near water, which could flood easily (ibid:27). By choosing these unwanted areas to build the *Favelas* the people could stay out of the state's hair. The government did however start to see these settlements as a threat to the formal city in the 1920's, they were seen as a plague threatening the well-being of the city's two million "real citizens" (ibid). In 1937 the law of *código de obras* (building law) was established as way for the state to try to prevent the expansion of the *Favelas* (ibid). The law prohibited the augmentation of the *Favelas*, as well as the use of any persistent building material in their construction. Thus, the people living in the *Favelas* were not allowed to turn their shacks in to decent homes. The state wanted these settlements eradicated but failed to ever offer an alternative (ibid).

In the years after the second world war the *Favelas* would come to expand immensely, in spite of the building law (Perlman:27). Brazil started its industrialization period and implemented the Import substitution industrialization (ISI) model under the rule of Getulio Vargas (Cardoso & Faletto 1979:1). Dips in the world market created by events such as the first- and second world war as well as the depression of 1929, which had led to the country's agricultural crises, had made the Brazilian state realize that the country's economy could no longer depend on the export of certain agricultural products such as coffee (ibid:80). Nor did the country want to continue relying on the import of industrial goods from other countries. Brazil was to become self-sustainable and create a more stable economical market through industrialization and infrastructural development (ibid). During the regime of Vargas new labor laws were established that benefited the urban workers, the vast amount of poor rural workers on the countryside were however excluded from this legislation, which in return came to result in a mass migration into the larger cities in hopes of working under better labor conditions (Holston:104). The reign of Vargas ended in his suicide in 1954, but development continued and Brazil transformed itself from rural nation into an urban one during the 50's and the 60's (ibid). Even if labor legislations, instated during the rule of Vargas, would come to improve the situation for the urban workers, it did not improve their position in the social and political sphere. Labor factions were established but they were state regulated and strikes were prohibited (Retsö 2011:350). This in return meant that the urban workers were never really incorporated in to the social or political sphere, where the needs of them would have been taken in to consideration.

The city planners of Rio de Janeiro failed to develop the urban landscape in order to adapt to the newcomers from the countryside in the interior. Once again there were no proper housing solutions for the increased migration flux from the rural areas into the city (Perlman 2010: 51). There were some government initiatives to transfer parts of *Favela* populations in to proletarian or working class housing but these were often shut down by the public authorities. In result to this the pre-existing *Favelas* started to grow increasingly larger and expanded further up the hillsides or further out into the bays and new squatter settlements began to emerge further away from the center of the city, anywhere that a vacant piece of land could be found a new *Favela* was established (ibid:27). After the reign of Vargas, the rule of populist leaders was to last until 1964 when the military took over in a state coup. The country did not go back to democracy again until in 1985. The neoliberal policies which the country implemented during these years were going to affect the poor masses immensely, but also the rest of the population as drug gangs began to establish in the *Favela* and with them the increase of violence (ibid:180).

3.1.1 Neoliberalism and the urban population

In 1985 the Brazilian government came to implement the first neoliberal reforms in order to try to battle the country's high inflation which the Brazil had accrued during the periods of the ISI model (Filho 2010:15). The new neoliberal policies and the positive approach towards a more globalized world came to mean a greater weakening of the states' position. Many industries went from being under the state's ownership and regulation into being privatized. In 1992 during the presidency of *Collor* the national development model was replaced by the liberal one (ibid:16), which has come to mean a more liberal approach to world trade and a weakening of state control of borders (Pangalese 2008:120). Many of the state subsidies for smaller companies were withdrawn and invested in larger companies that could acquire a larger capital accumulation. These changes were justified by the fact that a larger economical income would improve the economy of the country as a whole, which was thought would eventually also find itself down to the poorer population through a trickledown effect (Cardoso & Faletto 1979:93). The neoliberal policies implemented did however in retro aspect not improve the situation of Rio de Janeiro's urban poor much (Perlman 2010:247). These policies ended up benefiting the larger international companies and the elite segment of the country. Economic policies such as the facilitation of labor migration came to benefit

middle class workers that could move their small companies to other countries such as the USA, which in return meant less working opportunities for the underclass people (ibid).

3.1.2 The advent of drug gangs

The weakening of the state was to impose even more serious problems for the urban population. The states loss of control over certain societal groups as well as over its territory has been seen as paving the way for the drug gangs that emerged in the 1980's (Pengalese 2008:120). It was in the same time period during the 1980's that Brazil re-established democracy that these groups started to take over the *Favelas* and they are therefore seen as a result of the policies implemented during that time (ibid). The flow of goods and capital to and from Brazil was to be made easier and state regulation was to become more relaxed, this in return contributed to the fact that also illegal products such as cocaine, became easier to transport (ibid:121). The advent of the drug trade in Brazil has been seen as strongly connected to the increase in violence in the country (ibid:128). Weapons had existed in the *Favelas* earlier as well, but then in forms of knives or broken beer bottles, however, when the drug gangs arrived the weaponry also became more sophisticated (Perlman 2010:180). Instead of knives, machine guns became commonplace as drug gangs had to protect their turfs from rivalry gangs and military police sent by the state to stop them (ibid). These shout outs have become very regular in the *Favelas*, and it is not uncommon for civilians to get caught in the crossfire (Alves 2011:39). This increase in violence has now become the reality for the people living in the urban areas of Rio de Janeiro.

3.2 Recent research

Even though the establishment of drug gangs in Rio de Janeiro's society has come to mean an increase in a variety of serious issues for the society as a whole, the residents of the *Favelas* are the ones mostly affected. Some scholars have referred to these criminal groups as an uprising force against the government and the social exclusion of *Favela* residents (Goldstein 2003:203). Many also argue that they do more for the development of the *Favelas* than the state, as well as provide some degree of security against police violence (ibid). Even in this case the experiences may differ greatly depending on which *Favela* one might refer to, but in

a majority of cases the consequences of the drug cartels establishment have been profoundly negative for the majority of *Favela* residents (ibid).

The typical stereotype image of the violent drug trafficker with a machine gun at hand, has due to these criminal groups establishment in the *Favelas*, come to be increasingly associated with this definition of these auto constructed areas. This in return has led to a creation of a generalized public image of these areas as a symbol of crime and disruption. This public image has consequently led to what scholars have come to define as the criminalization of poverty (Goldstein 2003:205; Perlman 2010:157), where having a poor economic situation and living in the *Favelas* will give you the social label of an untrustworthy criminal. Having a poor economic situation has become equivalent to devious and criminal behavior. This general perception will however not narrow this proneness to resorting to crime down to being a result of oppressive and unjust economic policies, instead it will point at culture and the lack of social and formal education as being the main issue, a social phenomenon also referred to as demonization (Caldeira 2000:92). These ideas have the tendencies to simplify the complicated issues which root causes can be traced to the historical oppression and exclusion of certain social groups. However, making people and their disruptive culture “the issue” will create an image of a problem that is much easily solvable; it will consequently also create a scape goat solution which will exculpate the rest of society from any blame (Huggings & Mesquita 1995:277).

This situation of social scapegoating becomes very clear in the cases of exaggerated police violence against civilians in the *Favela*. Many scholars argue that military police forces such as the military police (BOPE), the pacifying police unite (UPP) amongst other government officials act with impunity in the *Favela*. They will many times execute civilians as they make no distinction between them and criminal traffickers (Perlman 2010:181; Alves 2011:39). Killings are justified as necessary violence that is needed in order to fight drug trafficking, civilians killed are in the police reports referred to as criminals that have died in police confrontation, although in a majority of times this will not be the truth. Scholars argue that even if popular discourse will criminalize the *Favela* residents, it is but a mere fraction that is actually involved in criminal activities (Perlman 2010:166). Referring to these acts as violations of human rights will often be seen as a siding with the “criminals” and their interests (Goldstein 2003:205). Thus, in terms of rights *Favela* residents are perceived as criminals, and criminals in this social context have no rights (ibid:228). The justice system is

seen as bureaucratically-stagnant, corrupted and inefficient as it has not been able to, according to popular discourse, to suppress the increase of violence and the criminals which resort to criminal and violent acts (Huggins & Mesquita 1995: 273). Therefore, in popular discourse, killings of *Favela* residents is often, not only accepted, but also supported as a solution for decreasing criminality in society (Alves 2011:27). Popular discourse thus manages to dehumanize *Favela* residents, turning them from people with problems in to “the problem” which society needs to rid itself from (Perlman 2010:X).

3.3 Summary

The history of the *Favelas* and their residents is one marked by social and political exclusion. These groups consist of people which have had to struggle the most in order to conform to changes caused by policies taken in the name of development. They are also the ones whose interests have been taken in to the least consideration during the implementation of these same policies. Even though, democracy has been implemented, and the countrys’ politics have become more inclusionary since Lulas’ PT (workers’ party) came to power (Retsö 2011:420), problems with social exclusion and inequality still remain (Perlman 2010:48). As the circumstances change, so do also the discourses, poverty that previously has been equivalent to ignorance and simplicity has now become highly associated with crime and social decay (Caldeira 2000:32). The poor have become criminalized, whilst societys’ unjust inequality has become invisible (Perlman 2011:9).

4. *Favela* residents in the press – a discourse analysis

This chapter presents a critical discourse analysis of articles found in the internet issues of two local newspapers in Rio de Janeiro, *O dia* and *O globo*. These articles are analyzed both from a micro and macro perspective, meaning the analysis of both the grammatical structure of the words and sentences (syntax) as well as the overall meaning of the information which the

article presents (semantics), which in return gives a holistic picture of the meaning of the text that is presented.

Before each article there will be a short presentation of the journalist and of the articles contents and context. Four articles will be presented that report about the issues and protest related to a vast electricity outage in several *Favelas* in the Rio de Janeiro area during December 2012. The research time has been limited, due to this, paragraphs that have not been included in the analysis have instead been shortly summarized in order for the reader not to lose grasp of the context.

Every paragraph has been numbered in correspondence to the position that they had in the original article. All sentences have then been marked with a letter which represents its position within the paragraph. When a sentence has been commented on, the paragraph number and the sentence letter has been referred to in order for the reader to easily locate its position in the article. The articles have first been cited in their original version in Portuguese, thereafter a translation by the research author in to English follows. The numbers of the Portuguese paragraphs correspond to the English translated version of the same paragraph.

Police officials such as the; *policía militar* (military police), and the; *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* (pacifying police unit) have received shortenings of their names in the original articles; PM and UPP, the same has been done in the English translation, there referred to as; military police (MP) and pacifying police unit (PPU).

4.1 The articles

“ Falta de luz pode ter prejudicado visibilidade de policial baleado no Alemão”

“ The lack of light may have decreased visibility for police officer shot in *Alemão*”

These joint articles were written by Fábio Vasconsellos and Elenilce Bottari for the newspaper *O Globo*, and they were publicized on the 5th of December 2012. The article is written regarding the light outage in the *Alemão* suburbs and connects these events as a possible cause to a military police getting shot in the area.

In this headline the author of the article has done a relevance structuring (Van Dijk 1988a:16) placing the “lack of light” in the beginning and therefore highlighting the importance of the “the lack of light” as the possible reason as to why the police officer got shot in *Alemão*.

Sub-header: Policial foi atingido na cabeça durante tiroteio com bandidos na Fazendinha

Sub-header: Police officer was shot in the head during shout out with criminals in Fazendinha

In the sub-header the author relies on the knowledge of the newspapers reader. The context is implicit, here the word; criminals is associated with the area of *Fazendinha* located in *Alemão*, locally this area is known for its many *Favelas*. By using the word criminal in the sub-header in combination with the district *Fazendinha* it creates a negative notion of the area as well as of the *Favela*.

1. RIO – (a) A falta de luz na favela da Fazendinha no Complexo do Alemão pode ter prejudicado a visibilidade do cabo da Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP) do Complexo do Alemão Fábio Barbosa, de 26 anos, baleado na cabeça e em um dos pés no início da madrugada desta quarta-feira. (b) A afirmação foi feita pelo comandante da Coordenadoria de Polícia Pacificadora (CPP), coronel Rogério Seabra, que disse ainda que são constantes os problemas de falta de energia na região, uma das áreas que ainda enfrentam resistência por parte de traficantes, mesmo depois da ocupação do Alemão ter completado dois anos.

- 1 RIO –(a) The lack of light in the *Fazenda Favela* located in *Complexo do Alemão*, may have decreased visibility for the pacifying police unit (UPP) stationed there, 26 year old Fábio Barbosa was shot in the head and in the leg in the early morning of this Wednesday. (b) The confirmation was done by the commander Rogério Seabra coordinator of the pacifying police unit (CPP), who states that the lack of electricity in the area is still causing consistent problems; this area belongs to one of the ones that still experiences resistance from drug traffickers, even after the occupation of *Alemão* which was carried out two years ago.

In the first part of the sentence of the first paragraph; 1a, the author chooses to formulate the sentence so that the lack of the light in the *Fazenda Favela* is placed first and therefore becomes highlighted (Van Dijk 1988a:16). Note that the author also decides to use the actual definition *Favela* in the article, connecting the definition to the rest of the events presented in the article. The author then continues the sentence by stating that this outage “...may have decreased visibility for the pacifying police unit (UPP)...”. The fact that he writes “may” here

can be identified as a rhetorical tool that he uses in order to create an image of the articles objectivity (ibid 2000a:46). He does not wish to conclude that the light outage led to a decreased visibility but still wants to point out that this might have been the case. Later on in the article, the light outage that is in the last part of sentence; 1a, indirectly described as one of the causes that a police officer got shot in the head, is later described as being an effect of “illegal connections” carried out by the residents. Therefore using the word “may” here is actual a strategic move made by the author of this article in order to not concretely but indirectly blame the residents for the police man getting shot.

2. (a) — Eu estive no local de manhã cedo com os policiais. (b) Lá é uma localidade muito íngreme dentro do Areal onde, lamentavelmente, fomos surpreendidos a cerca de uma hora antes por uma falta de luz na comunidade.(c) Portanto, a comunidade ficou sem luz por cerca de uma hora e os policiais já estavam em patrulha cumprindo o planejamento prévio definido pelo comando da UPP justamente para aquela localidade onde tínhamos conhecimento prévio da presença de marginais armados. (d)Quando volta a luz e segue o patrulhamento, provavelmente pela ausência de luz, ficamos fragilizados com o reconhecimento de onde poderíamos estar. (e) Nesse momento o cabo Fabio foi alvejado covardemente, eu mesmo ajudei a recolher os estojos de pistola 9 milímetros no chão do beco onde ele foi baleado. (f) Esse material está sendo apresentado na delegacia — afirmou o Rogério Seabra.

2. (a) — I was at the scene during the early morning with the police officers. (b) There is a very steep location within the *Areal* where, unfortunately, we were surprised about an hour before by a lack of light in the community. (c) So, the community was left without light for about an hour and the police officers were already on patrol carrying out the already drafted plan by the UPP specifically for that area, since we had prior knowledge about armed marginals in the area. (d) When the light came back and we continued the patrol, probably due to the absence of light, we became fragile and less aware of where we were. (e) In that moment corporal Fabio was cowardly shot, I myself helped collect the cases from a 9 millimeter gun from the ground in the alley where he was shot. (f) That evidence is being presented at the police station, Rogério Seabra confirmed.

Paragraph 2; cites one of the police officers that had been at the scene when the other police officer got shot. As the journalist cites the police officer it seems like he is more comfortable using words such as marginal in sentence 2c, or that stating that “...corporal Fabio was cowardly shot...” in 2e. This can be seen as a so called apparent transfer (Van Dijk 2000a:41) where the author of the article does not have to stand for his choices of words as he is citing someone else. Here it becomes important to note the use of the word marginal in connection with being armed. Marginal is a word that is usually defined as for people excluded from society, depending on how the definition is used however, it can apply to the whole *Favela* and its residents, as they are auto-constructed areas built outside of the formal city. Due to the

words negative connotations in popular discourse, the word marginal has become a synonym to criminal (Perlman 2010:157). This kind of use of the word manages here to indirectly generalize the whole *Favela* population as criminals, as they are in many cases marginalized by society. This can be perceived as a way of wanting to enhance the generalized notion of the poor as “wicked”, something that Freire describes as common in unequal and oppressive societies (Freire 1970:56). This in return enhances the notion of the *Favelados* as a threat to the rest of society, and their identity as “a problem”. Note also that in sentence 2d the light outage is again described as a possible cause to the police officer shot, even though it seemingly happened after the light had already returned.

The subsequent third paragraph narrates the police statement of the occurrence as well as information about the victims’ journey to the hospital as well as his operation.

4. (a) Segundo a Rioluz, a falta de luz na comunidade tem sido provocada pelo número crescente de ligações clandestinas no novo sistema de iluminação implantado pela Light exatamente para legalizar o abastecimento de energia no local. (b) O excesso de gatos vem causando sobrecarga no sistema e provocando apagões. (c) A Light informou que interrupções de fornecimento de energia em áreas de risco ocorrem, sobretudo, por conta das ligações clandestinas e sobrecarga. (d) Segundo a empresa, no trecho da ocorrência, houve interrupção no fornecimento por cerca de 1 hora e meia, tempo necessário para que os técnicos pudessem trabalhar no restabelecimento do fornecimento de energia.

4. (a) According to *Rioluz*, the lack of light in the community has been provoked by the increasing number of illegal connections to the new light system that was specifically installed by the company Light in order to create a legal electricity supply in the area. (b) The excess of illegal connections to the system causes system overloads that lead to power outages. (c) *Light* states that interruption in the electricity usage in risky areas occur frequently and are usually caused by overloads and illegal connections. (d) According to the company, there was a one and a half hour electricity outage when the shout out happened, this time was necessary for the technicians in order to work on the re-establishment of the electricity usage.

In the first sentence of this paragraph, according to the author, the company *Rioluz* directly relates the power outage to the illegal connections to the system. Which they later on in sentence 4c describe as being a common occurrence in what they call “risky areas”, which is also used as another definition for the *Favelas*. Firstly, one can note here that the residents are blamed for the power outages as the article states that *Rioluz* has confirmed that the outages are an effect of illegal connections to the electrical system, which they then state are common in “risky areas”. Secondly, the word illegal is also used in order to describe the unauthorized connections to the electrical system, the act of carrying out these connections are associated to

all the people in the “risky areas”, thereby creating the image of these residents as criminals (Van Dijk: 2000b:137). It can therefore be concluded by this paragraph that the residents of the *Favelas* themselves are blamed for the light outages in these areas, which earlier was described as the probable cause of a police man getting shot, which therefore indirectly blames the residents for this event, instead of the actual perpetrators. By generalizing and also stating that the “illegal connections” are common in the “risky areas” all people in the *Favela* get stigmatized as perpetrators of illegal actions and therefore indirectly as criminals. The author then later on enhances this criminal and violent notion by listing recent violent events in this specific area. As argued earlier in the theoretical framework of this paper, liberation theory states that when oppressed segments of society do not have access to something that other groups in society have, then this gets narrowed down as a cause of their own ignorance which has placed them in that situation (Freire 1970:59). This can be seen in this article through the argument that power outages are caused by the Favela resident’s own so called “illegal connections”.

Paragraph 5; explains how the shot police officer was brought to the hospital in a sever state, and that he was admitted to the Military hospital where he was later operated.

6. (a) Na semana passada, o clima de insegurança voltou a assustar moradores dos complexos da Penha e do Alemão. (b) Somente na tarde do dia 28 de novembro, ocorreram três confrontos entre policiais e bandidos, além de boatos de ataques às sedes da Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP). (c) Lojas chegaram a ser fechadas, supostamente por ordem do tráfico, e ruas ficaram vazias na região. (d) A ocupação do Alemão por forças de segurança completou dois anos no mesmo dia.

6. (a) During last week, the insecure notion returned to scare residents living in the areas of *Penha* and *Alemão*. (b) Only during the evening of the 28th of November, there were as many as three confrontations between police and bandits, there were also rumors of attacks against the headquarters of the pacifying police unit (PPU). (c) Shops were closed, allegedly on the orders of traffickers, and the streets in the area remained empty. (d) The occupation of *Alemão* by security forces was carried out two years ago on that exact date.

Paragraph 7; explains that the situation in the area became increasingly tense one day before due to the killing of a suspect and an injured police officer. The PPU feared that there would be possible attacks in retaliation for the alleged suspect.

Paragraph 8; informs that though residents and some police confirmed that there were indeed some attacks on the UPP after the occurrence mentioned in paragraph 6, the UPP has dismissed this information.

Paragraph 9; states that even though the areas *Alemão* and *Penha* have been in the process of pacification during two years. It is also argued that the UPP has only managed to attain full control of the area in August this year in connection with the establishment of an eight team there.

Subheader :“Pacificação enfrenta resistência”

Subheader: “Pacification faces resistance”

In the headlines there is a clear will to create a polarization between good and evil. *Pacificação* (Pacification); is a word with a positive notion of peace and calm, that in this case is connected to the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP). There is however a resistance to this pacification that is not made clear in the headline, but the author assumes that the reader has enough knowledge about the situation of the *Favelas* so that they will know who or what groups this opposite force consists of. It can also be interpreted as the *Favelas* residents as an oppositional force to peace and calm, making them in favor of disruption and violence.

1. (a) Casos de violência em comunidades com Unidades de Política Pacificadora (UPP) têm ocorrido com certa frequência. (b) Em julho, a policial militar Fabiana Aparecida de Souza, de 30 anos, foi morta por um tiro de fuzil durante um ataque de 12 traficantes à sede da UPP na Favela Nova Brasília, no Complexo do Alemão. (c) No dia 16 do mesmo mês, uma troca de tiros entre bandidos e policiais da UPP da Fazendinha assustou moradores duas vezes em menos de 24 horas. (d) Os conflitos aconteceram poucos dias depois da saída do Exército e a implantação de quatro UPPs do Alemão.
1. (a) Cases of violence in communities with Pacifying Police Units (PPU) have occurred with some frequency. (b) In July, a military policewoman; Fabiana Aparecida de Souza, 30, was killed by a gunshot during an attack of 12 dealers to the headquarters of the PPU in the *Nova Brasília Favela*, located in *Complexo do Alemão*. (c) On the 16th of the same month, a shootout between robbers and police UPP *Fazendinha* frightened residents twice in less than 24 hours. (d) The conflict occurred just days after the departure of the Army and the deployment of four PPU from *Alemão*.

In the sentence; 1b the number twelve is used to describe the amount of attackers in order for readers to estimate the threat. This is a rhetoric number used in order to create credibility (Van Dijk 2000a:45) there are no reference to any sources that confirm this information. It should also be noted that even though the attacking dealers were stated to have been twelve there is no specific account for the number of police officers in the building at the time of the shoot outs. The way that the author of the article has described the situation makes it therefore look like a situation where there has only been the military police woman standing against the 12

drug dealers. Thus enhancing the image of the alone police woman as a victim and the brutality of the alleged drug dealers. In reality, however, it is more likely that there were in fact many more police officers at the scene at the time of the event.

2. (a) No Centro, em junho, uma menina de 10 anos foi baleada quando policiais da UPP Coroa/Fallet/Fogueteiro tentavam cumprir um mandado de prisão contra um traficante foragido da Justiça. Dois meses depois, outro PM foi morto numa área considerada pacificada. (b) O sargento Paulo Cesar de Lima Junior, do Batalhão de Choque (BPChq), morreu após ser baleado num confronto com bandidos traficantes do Morro da Coroa, no Catumbi. (c) Junior tinha sido deslocado para a favela para reforçar o policiamento na comunidade, depois que dois policiais da UPP da Coroa foram baleados numa troca de tiros com criminosos. (d) Também em setembro, outro PM foi morto, desta vez na Rocinha. Diego Bruno Barbosa Henriques, que trabalhava na UPP da Rocinha foi baleado por um rapaz de apenas 18 anos que teria envolvimento com o tráfico. (e) O mês de setembro registrou mais violência em área de UPP. (f) Um comerciante e um amigo dele foram mortos no Morro dos Macacos, em Vila Isabel, por ordem de traficantes. (g) Este mês, novamente na Rocinha, um homem de 41 anos foi morto, na localidade da Roupas Sujas.

2. (a) In the center, in June, a 10 year old girl was shot when UPP officers Crown / Fallet / Fogueteiro trying to fulfill an arrest warrant against a trafficker fugitive from justice. (b) Two months later, another PM was killed in an area considered pacified. Sergeant Paulo Cesar de Lima Junior, the Shock Battalion (BPChq), died after being shot in a confrontation with traffickers *Morro Crown* in *Catumbi*. (c) Junior had been moved to the favela to strengthen community policing, after two UPP officers of the Crown were shot in an exchange of gunfire with criminals. (d) Also in September, another PM was killed, this time in *Rocinha*. Diego Bruno Barbosa Henriques, who worked at UPP *Rocinha* was shot by a young man of only 18 who have involvement in trafficking. (e) The September reported more violence in area UPP. (f) A trader and his friend were killed in the *Morro dos Macacos* in Vila Isabel, in order of traffickers. (g) This month, again in *Rocinha*, a 41 year old man was killed in the neighborhood *Roupa Suja*.

In the first sentence of the paragraph the news reporter states that a ten year old girl was shot during an attempted arrest of a trafficker, the perpetrator of the act is however, not mentioned. However, that the trafficker was in fact a fugitive from justice is clearly specified. Would the suspect, or an accomplice of his, have been guilty of shooting the girl the newspapers would most likely have posted this as they will often create a negative image of minorities (Van Dijk). This could therefore be seen as syntactic down grading (Van Dijk 1988a:11), that in this case might serve for protecting the police against attaining a negative image, as the perpetrator of the act is not specified. In the rest of the cases where the victims have been either military police or civilians the perpetrators have been identified, and always as

traffickers 2b, 2c, 2d, 2f, accept in the last sentence 2e where no specification of the occurrence or perpetrator has been submitted.

Moradores de Manguinhos fazem protesto na Avenida Leopoldo Bulhões devido à falta de luz

Residents of *Manguinhos* protest in the street of *Avenida Leopoldo Bulhões* due to light outage

The following article was written by Sergio Ramalho for the newspaper *O Globo* and was publicized on the 27th of December 2012. It reports about protests carried out by local residents of the neighborhood *Manguinhos*, due to a light outage.

The headline is written so that the act of the protest is given the main focus. The demonstrators are the first subject which gives them an agent role in this act (Van Dijk 1988:11). This in return gives less meaning to the importance of the power outage, which the reporter has chosen to tone down, by doing two things: firstly placing the information after the active part of the sentence, and secondly by using the expression “light outage” which only implies a lack of light. Here the author uses a rhetoric understatement (ibid:16), would he have used the definition “power outage” instead, it would have implied a much more serious and broader issue than the simpler lack of light. As the power outage here is diminished into a simple lack of light, this implies the actions of the protesters as being irrational and radical.

“PMs contém manifestantes que chegaram a atear fogo a pedaços de madeira e pneus”

“Military police suppresses protestors that assort to lighting pieces of wood and tires on fire”

This sub header implies that the protestors were so out of order that they had to be suppressed by military police. Which projects a violent negative image of the protestors whilst giving a positive image of the military police, that manages to take control over the violent protestors (ibid:266). The author also chooses to not inform how the actions of the protestors were suppressed by the military police, but specifies the exact actions of the protestors by stating that they “assort to lighting pieces of wood and tires on fire”.

1. (a) RIO - Sem luz há horas, moradores de Manguinhos atearam fogo a pedaços de madeira e pneus espalhados na Avenida Leopoldo Bulhões para impedir a passagem de veículos.(b) A manifestação iniciada no fim das tarde desta quinta-feira assustou motoristas, alguns chegaram a voltar pela

contramão.(c) O protesto foi contido pela chegada de reforço do Batalhão de Choque (BPChoque), que liberou a via ao tráfego de veículos, por volta das 19h.

1. (a) RIO- Without light for hours, habitants of *Manguinhos* lit fire to wood pieces and tires that were lying around in the *Leopold Bulhões* street in order to prevent the passage of vehicles.(b) The manifestation that was initiated in the late evening of this Thursday scared drivers, some resorted to driving back in the wrong lane.(c) The protest was stopped upon the arrival of military police, the road was cleared for car traffic again at 19 o clock.

In the sentence 1a; "...in order to prevent the passage of vehicles" implies that the main objective of the protestors would indeed have been to hinder traffic circulation. The protestors are here portrayed as simple hooligans, without no other objective than to cause disturbance in the traffic, again giving them a negative image, whilst portraying the police positively, thus, using a contrastive rhetoric (Van Dijk 1988:266), which creates a polarized view of the negative demonstrators and the positive policemen.

This notion is further enhanced by the sentence stating that "The manifestation....scared drivers" and caused them to drive back in opposite lane, further exaggerating the situation. There is however no reference to the source of this information.

2. (a) Além das equipes do BPChoque, policiais da Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP) tentam conter os ânimos dos manifestantes, que lançaram pedras e paus sobre os policiais. (b) Bombas de gás lacrimogênio foram usadas para dispersar o grupo formado por cerca de cem pessoas.
2. (a) In addition to the BP Shock squad, police from the pacifying unit (PPU) tried to calm protestors down, the latter which were throwing stones and sticks at the police. (b) Tear gas bombs were used in order to scatter the group of close to a hundred people.

In this paragraph the author tries to enhance the severity of the situation and the necessity of the violence of the police in order to suppress the protestors. In the first sentence 2a "In addition to the BP Shock squad, police from the pacifying unit (PPU) tried to calm protestors down..." the author suggests that; it wasn't even enough with the BP Shock squad to suppress the violence of the protestors, the pacifying police unit was also needed. This in return projects a very violent and aggressive nature of the protestors. The sentence 2a continues "...the latter which were throwing stones and sticks at the police" specifying the violence act carried out by the protestors against the police. Here the author has done a so called relevance structuring (Van Dijk 1988:16) where the most important information is placed in the beginning of the paragraph in this case being the violent nature of the protestors.

The information placed in the end 2b is given less importance which specifies the nature of the police violence. In this sentence there is also a use of a so called rhetoric number (ibid:45) “...close to a hundred people” which often is stated as a way to signal credibility and signal the size of the threat, in this case being close to a hundred protestors, where it was taught necessary to use tear gas bombs in order to take control over the situation.

3. (a) A revolta com a falta de energia elétrica também provocou tumulto na noite desta quinta-feira no acesso ao Túnel Noel Rosa, em Vila Isabel, onde moradores da comunidade localizada próximo à galeria tentaram fechar a via. (b) A PM foi acionada e o tráfego foi liberado.
3. (a) The uprisings due to the electrical shortage also caused turmoil in the access of the *Noel Rosa* tunnel located in *Vila Isabel*, where community residents close to the gallery tried to shut the road down. (b) The PM was called onto the scene and the traffic was liberated.

Note that there in this article is almost no background information that explains what lead up to the protests, nor any comments from the people participating in these actions. The actions of the protestors are simply narrowed down to being a reaction to a “light outage”. CDA argues that in these types of news reporting, the source of the information that reporters build their stories from is never supplied by the minorities involved but in for example this case from the military police (Van Dijk:18).

“Moradores de Manguinhos fazem protesto contra falta de luz na Linha Amarela”
“Residents of *Manguinhos* protest against lack of light on the Yellow Line”

The following article was written by Sergio Ramalho for the newspaper *O Globo* on the 27:th of December 2012. It reports about the protest carried out by residents of *Manguinhos* due to an extensive electricity outage.

1. (a) Rio- Cerca de 20 moradores da Favela de Manguinhos fazem um protesto na Linha Amarela por causa da falta de luz. (b) Segundo eles a comunidade está há três dias sem energia elétrica e a Light não tomou providências. (c) Os manifestantes ocupam uma faixa da pista, sentido Centro, na altura da saída para a Avenida Brasil.(d) O protesto acontece de forma pacífica e a Polícia Militar acompanha a manifestação. (e) Segundo a Lamsa, que administra a Linha Amarela, há apenas uma retenção no local.
1. (a) Rio- About 20 residents of *Favela Manguinhos* protest on the Yellow Line because of the lack of light. (b) According to them, the community has been left three days without electricity and *Light* did not take any action. (c) Protesters occupy a train track, which is center bound, at the level of *Avenida*

Brazil. (d) The protest takes place peacefully and Military Police accompanies the demonstration. (e) According to *Lamsa*, that runs the Yellow Line, there is only one onsite retention.

In the first sentence of the paragraph there is a rhetoric number, used in order to create an image of the size of the threat that the protestors make out (Van Dijk 2000a:45) it is also used in order to achieve credibility for the information in the article. There is however, no statement or reference that establishes that there were indeed about twenty people from the *Manguinhos Favela* on the yellow line at the time of the event. The author also writes in the first sentence that the protest was carried out due to a lack of light, a syntactic downgrading (Van Dijk 1988a:11) in order to minimize the problem, as the protestors speak of a complete power outage in sentence 1b, which has a lot larger implications. In the beginning of sentence 1b, the author chooses to start the sentence with “According to them...” thereby creating a polarized identification of “us” and “them” (Van Dijk 2000a:37). There is also a contradiction in the text as the author writes in sentence 1d that the “The protest takes place peacefully...” only to then write that “...military police accompanies the demonstration”. There is a will to inform about the status of the situation but the journalist still wants to state that military police is needed, and also imply that protestors might make out a threat.

2. (a) A Light disse que está enviando uma equipe Rua Rosa da Fonseca para colocar um novo transformador, já que o antigo está queimado. (b) Segundo a concessionária, técnicos estiveram no Complexo de Manguinhos na quinta-feira e, de acordo com a companhia, 70% das ligações são clandestinas naquela área. (c) As irregularidades influenciam no fornecimento de energia e provoca interrupções no sistema.

2. (a) Light said that they are sending a team out on the street; *Rua Rosa da Fonseca* to install a new transformer, since the former is blown. (b) According to the dealership, the technicians were at the *Manguinhos Complex* on Thursday and, according to the company, 70% of the installations are illegal in that area. (c) The irregularities disturb the supply of energy and causes interruptions in the system.

This last paragraph of the article is seen as an attempt to create the image of the residents as the ones responsible for their own problem, in this case the electricity outage. This is done in the last part of sentence 2b, where it's stated that “...70% of the installations are illegal in that area.” 70 here becomes a rhetoric number (Van Dijk 2000a:45) used in order to create credibility. One must here note that the company *Light* has in this case of the power outage the largest responsibility as these residents are their clients. Nor is anything mentioned about the states responsibility in terms of their historic inability to provide a decent infrastructure to these neighborhoods in the first place. Thereby the author here can be seen here as having

created two polarized identities, one with a negative connotation and the other one with a positive one (ibid:37).

The residents are portrayed negatively through their acts of protest and also their “illegal connections” which indirectly portrays them as criminals. This statement also portrays their protests against the company Light is completely illegitimate as they themselves have caused these problems due to these so called “illegal connections” which becomes clear in sentence 2c.

The parts of this article that have been analyzed show a clear reflection of the suppression of *Favela* resident’s rights in Rio de Janeiro’s society. Liberation theory argues that in an oppressive society the rights of “the ones that do not have” are often suppressed and that having rights is something that is only reserved for the oppressors, “the ones that have” (Freire 1970:59). This is something that can be seen in the way in which the protests are presented in this article. The *Favela* resident’s claims against the company *Light* are indirectly portrayed as illegitimate, which then later on justifies the suppression of their protests by the military police.

“Moradores protestam contra a falta de energia na Zona Oeste”

“Residents in protest against power outage in the East Zone”

Marcello Victor wrote the following article for the newspaper *O Dia* which was published on the 28th of December 2012. The article recaptures the week’s events that are related to the power outages in many *Favela* areas in Rio de Janeiro.

In the headlines of this article it becomes clear that it is the action of protest which is highlighted. It is written as the main action to which “the residents” become the agents of (Van Dijk 2000a:40). The cause of the protest is stated, but it does however, not in the headline become clear what or who has caused this power outage. Therefore, it can be seen as mitigating the importance of both the power outage, as the word is placed in the end of the headline, as well as the responsibility, as the responsible is left out of the headline.

1. (a)Rio - Moradores de vários pontos do Rio continuam a protestar contra problemas no fornecimento de energia elétrica neste início de verão.(b) No fim da noite desta quinta-feira, na Estrada de Curicica, em Jacarepaguá, na Zona Oeste, um grupo ateou fogo em um matagal.(c)Policiais do 18º BPM (Jacarepaguá) foram acionados.(d)De acordo com a PM e a Light, a energia foi restabelecida pouco depois.

1. (a)Rio - Residents from several locations in Rio continue to protest against problems in the electricity supply which began now in the early summer.(b) In the late evening of Thursday, the Road *Curicica* in *Jacarepaguá* in the West Zone, a group set fire to a bush.(c) Police from the 18th BPM (*Jacarepaguá*) were called out. (d)According to the MP and Light, the electricity supply was restored shortly thereafter.

In the first sentence, 1a of, this paragraph a picture of the problem is created that manifests that the extent of the problem can be related to various restricted locations and not larger areas. This becomes even more clear in the original text in Portuguese as the word; *ponto* has been used which directly translated in English means; points. It can thus, through this use of the word *ponto* become evident that these people are residents of areas which are restricted from the rest of the community, in other words marginalized. In sentence 1b, the author continues the narration and informs that on Thursday night "...a group set fire to a bush". Then he states in following sentence 1c that the police had to be called out to the scene. The fact that the police and not fire fighters would be called out to the scene, makes it implicit that the group who set the bush on fire was seen as a larger threat, than the actual fire.

The paragraph is concluded with the sentence 1d, where both the PM and the company; *Light* confirm that the electricity supply was restored shortly after. Note the lack of resident confirmation in regards to this specific claim.

2. (a)No meio da madrugada desta sexta-feira, moradores do Conjunto Nova Sepetiba, na Avenida 4, em Sepetiba, também na Zona Oeste, colocaram fogo em lixo e pedaços de madeira insatisfeito com a interrupção no fornecimento de luz. (b) A situação foi controlada, mas segundo a PM, a energia ainda não retornou. (c) A Light informou que vai mandar equipes ao local para verificar a situação.
2. (a) In the middle of the night of Friday, residents of *Nova Sepetiba*, situated in the 4:th avenue, *Sepetiba*, also located in the West Zone, set fire to garbage and pieces of wood unhappy with the interruption in the supply of light. (b) The situation was controlled, but according to PM, the power has not returned. (c) Light informed that they would send teams to the site to check the situation.

In sentence; 2a, the author focuses a lot on the specification of locations which are then connected to the residents and their act of setting pieces of wood and garbage on fire. This can be perceived as location naming (Van Dijk 1984:60) which connects the described negative act and the perpetrators of the act to that specific area, thus creating a negative image of that entire neighborhood and its residents.

3. (a) Na quinta-feira, outras duas manifestações de protesto pelo mesmo problema, na Zona Norte, foram reprimidas pela PM. (b) Moradores do Morro dos Macacos, em Vila Isabel, tentaram fechar o acesso para o Túnel Noel Rosa.
3. (a) On Thursday, two other protests caused by the same problem, in the northern parts of the city, were suppressed by the MP. (b) Residents of *Morro dos Macacos* in *Vila Isabel*, tried to close access to the tunnel *Noel Rosa*.

In sentence 3a the author states that two other manifestations were carried out which were “...caused by the same problem...”, here the context and the reasons to the protesters frustration becomes even more mitigated as the problem doesn’t even get specified but only referred to as the cause being the same as in previously mentioned cases. It can here clearly be noted that the act, which is the protest, is thought to be more newsworthy than the actual events leading up to this apparent eruption of frustration. Therefore a more negative image of the protestors is created, as the events leading up to their actions becomes left out, thus making their behavior seem irrational and uncalled for.

4. (a) Em Manguinhos, também na Zona Norte, policiais do BPChoque tiveram que usar bombas de efeito moral para dispersar moradores que atearam fogo em pneus e pedaços de madeira na Rua Leopoldo Bulhões, também conhecida como Faixa de Gaza. (b) Ele chegaram a jogar pedras contra os PMs. (c) Assustados, motoristas voltaram de ré.
4. (a) In *Manguinhos*, also in the north, the BP Choque police had to use tear gas to disperse residents that set fire to tires and chunks of wood at *Rua Leopoldo Bulhões*, also known as the; Gaza Strip. (b) The residents resorted to throwing stones at the policemen. (c) Startled motorists turned back .

In sentence 4a, the author connects the neighborhood *Maranguinhos* to the previously mentioned; *Morro dos macacos* in paragraph 3, by informing that the both neighborhoods are located in the northern part of the city.

He also states that the police “...had to use tears gas to disperse residents...” stating that the police had no other choice, since the protestors were seemingly so out of control. In this sentence he also uses a hyperbolic metaphor (Van Dijk 1988:43) by stating that the area is “...also known as the Gaza Strip”, an area that has clear connotations to a problematic war zone. He then later states in sentence 4b that the residents resorted to throwing stones at the policemen, which due to the connections done in the previous sentence to the Gaza strip, attains the severity of an act of war. The author then further enhances the negative notion of the protestors as a threat to society in sentence 4c, where he argues that “Startled motorist turned back”.

It becomes clear that the author of this article wishes to recapture seemingly similar acts of protests, which he connects by referring to the causes of these protests as being the same, namely a power outage. He does however, not specify the events leading up to the protest nor do the protestors ever get to comment the events that directly affects them. Thus, concluding that this article is written in the same manner as prejudice news discourse tends to rapport

stories concerning minorities, namely fragmentarily (Van Dijk 1984:45), and without their side of the story (ibid:18) which would have provided a more holistic picture of the context.

Liberation theory explains that in the cases where oppressed segments of society will use violence, this violence will be portrayed as an irrational evil act, even in the cases where the oppressed will only respond to violence that wasn't initiated by them (Freire 1970:56). As argued earlier in the historical context, the military police have often used extensive violence against *Favela* residents; this is however not something that is brought up in these newspaper articles.

4.2 Summary

The articles presented in this chapter have shown several characteristics which Van Dijk explains as common in cases where minorities are mentioned in the news (Van Dijk 1984:9). What becomes important to point out in this case is foremost the lack of their own experiences and comments regarding events that concern them directly and in a negative manner. What also becomes obvious in these articles is the willingness of the reporters to constantly and strategically connect these areas to illegality, social decay and disruption.

5. The news discourse about the *Favela*

The objective of this research has been to analyze how newspapers in Rio de Janeiro speak of the people living in the *Favela* and what the general discourses regarding its residents reflect in terms of social power structures and their social status. This has been done in order to achieve a better understanding of what image of the current societal problems the media discourses reflect and what identities it creates.

Research questions asked have been the following; in what kind of way do media discourses in Rio de Janeiro influence the public image of *Favela* residents? What are the most prominent features associated with the *Favelas* and their residents? What social power structure and polarized identities can be identified in the media discourse, and how can they be explained?

5.1. The portrayal of *Favela* residents in the press

As witnessed earlier in the analysis chapter, news that involves the *Favela* communities or the residents of the *Favela* is often associated with social evils such as crime and violence. Van Dijk (1984) argues that this is usually the case when newspapers write about minorities, either they are associated with crime and conflict or as passive players in the acts of the authorities for or against them. Even, as in the case of the protest against the power outage, was it implied in the semantics of the news that the behavior of the residents was, irrational, exaggerated, and that their actions were violent and disturbing to the society. They were also themselves blamed for the power outages because of their own supposed “illegal connections” to the electrical system, and subsequently they were also indirectly blamed for the shooting of a police officer. Even in cases where normal residents of the *Favela* protest in order to demand their right to necessities such as electricity, are they in media portrayed as violent criminals that needed to be suppressed by the military police.

In the cases when media report about violent or criminal acts such as shoot outs or killings, the communities where they occur are often specified together with the definition; *Favela* or other synonyms such as *áreas de risco* (risk areas) or *morro* (hill). If a perpetrator is from a *Favela* this is also often specified, always connecting the definition of these areas to the negative acts, thereby stereotyping all the communities that fall under this definition. Negative words such as criminal in Portuguese; *bandido* is also often used without hesitation in articles that concern happenings in the *Favela*, possible suspects get rampantly condemned and labeled as criminals. This labeling is also often used when government officials such as the military police has killed a civilian during shoot outs in the *Favela*, the case just gets dismissed as the victim being a criminal, or confrontation with the police, which many times is not even the case (Perlman 2011:182).

Cases, such as the protest against a power outage, are informed about from a one angle perspective where the actual protest and its implications are valued as more interesting and newsworthy than the actual causes that led up to the protest (Van Dijk 2000a:140). News reporting becomes more of a question of what is entertaining than a clear and objective way of informing the public. The people that are represented the least in media are also the ones that are also the ones that experience the largest exclusion in society (ibid 1984:18), in cases like the protest, where the matter regards the people of the *Favelas* directly; there is not a

single comment directly from the protestors, or their point of view. Nor is their side of the story or the events leading up to the protest included in the context of the news report, which often is the case when news reporting concern minority (ibid).

5.3 The polarized identity discourse of "the good" and "the evil"

There is a noticeable polarization of identities (Van Dijk 2000a:37) presented in the articles, the state officials are often described in positive context whilst the residents of the *Favela* get associated with negative happenings and attributes. Negative situations involving government officials are toned down through the use of syntactic downgrading where, as an example; the agent of a negative act is purposely left out (ibid:11), or parts of the context have gotten cut out. In the cases where residents of the *Favela*, or the area, is being represented, clear or indirect linkage to criminality is made by the use of words such as; *illegal* (illegal) *bandido* (criminal), *marginal* (marginal). In the case of the word marginal it is also important to elucidate that marginality as a word previously has had no connotation to criminality has now in public discourse become a synonym (Perlman 2010:148). The news is supposed to be objective in its reporting, but it is through these polarizations of identities that the biasness of news discourse and the hierarchical power structures become visible.

5.4 Conclusions

In this case study the discourses about the *Favelas* and their residents, presented in articles from two of the most popular magazines in Brazil, have been analyzed. In these media discourses several uses of strategic text construction and relevance structuring of information have been identified. The discourses used in the texts of newspaper articles concerning residents of the *Favela* or occurrences in these areas have been argued as biased and purposely related to either; violent and criminal behavior, or to underdevelopment and poor infrastructure. Thereby, concluding that media discourses assist in creating a generalized and stereotypical identity of *Favela* residents as a representation of social evils which personifies them with these specific societal issues. These discourses are therefore, due to their judgmental and simplistic nature, interpreted as one of the main causes to the consistent dehumanization and criminalization of *Favela* residents in Rio de Janeiro. Stressed is also that social problems such as violence and criminality should not be seen as inheritable characteristics which *Favela* residents would somehow be more prone to, but rather as a direct

result of Brazil's history of exclusionary economic and social policies which have created an immense inequality in income and opportunity between social classes.

News discourse can be seen as a constitutive and constructive force that both mirror the public discourse about the *Favela* and also influences and persuades like-minded thinking through coherence strategies (Van Dijk 2000a:263). The media discourses are constructive in the way that they are in many cases the people's only source of information about the *Favela*, and its residents. People are also led to think that media reports objectively and truthfully (ibid). Therefore media discourse can be perceived as constructing prejudice in society as well as constituting already existing public prejudice about the *Favelas*.

In the articles that were analyzed in the previous chapter several cases of polarization of identities were found. When the articles mention the *Favelas* they often also mention an oppositional force consisting of government officials, such as military police, or large companies, such as the electrical company; *Light*, seen in the analyzed articles about the local demonstrations. The people of the *Favelas* get labeled with words of negative connotations, or get associated to negative activity, whilst government officials are portrayed much like the heroes that are there to protect the society against the menace. The acts of the *Favela* people get magnified whilst their side of the story, or the context which has led to certain acts, gets minimized. Whereas the acts of the military police against *Favela* residents in many cases, depending on the circumstances, get either glorified or justified. These have been perceived clear cases of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Van Dijk 1988:17), which manages to create a polarized view of the society where the *Favela* residents are personified with social evil which must be suppressed by the hard hand of justice.

In trying to understand this polarization in media discourse it is important to understand what it also reflects; which is the polarization of social classes in society. This in return requires an understanding of the historical relations and the social contexts in which they have been created. Brazil's socioeconomic sphere is characterized by immense inequality in both opportunity and income between the social classes (Holston 2008:16) and, as previously argued, the country has been marked by these characteristics since the colonization period. This can be explained by the fact that citizenship and the right to rights have firstly been created in the social sphere before ever becoming politicized (Goirand 2003:21). Since the right to citizenship has throughout Brazilian history been connected to economic power, elite

people are the only ones that have been seen as worthy of the rights that citizenship imply. Freire (1970) calls this “the possessive consciousness” where he argues that “being” has become a condition of having and people that “don’t have” are seen as not entitled their human rights which in return results in their dehumanization and a suppression of their rights (Freire 1970:58-59). What CDA refers to as unequal power structure between classes in society, liberation theory has named the relationship between oppressors and oppressed (ibid:44). This relationship is characterized by the oppressors’ exploitation of the oppressed as well as the suppression of the latter ones rights (ibid). Both CDA and liberation theory argue that elite sees the disadvantages in the oppressed attaining equal citizenship and rights, as this would signify an end to their lifestyle (Van Dijk 2000b:35; Freire 1970:52). The lifestyle of the elite is namely dependent on the oppression of others. An equal right to economic stability and opportunity in society for all would mean the disappearance of the influence and the power status that they perceive as their right. It would also mean the end of the privileges that this societal seat of power implies. In order to have a dominant position someone else must have a submissive position, and equality disrupts this hegemonic structure.

Media and news production have an ideological nature and plays the role of making sure that current unequal power structures are reproduced through the use of discourses (Van Dijk 2000a:155). It is therefore seen as an elite tool that is used in order to justify their influential position in society. The ideological aspects of news become visible in the selection of what is considered as more or less news worthy. Negative events such as wars and conflicts are seen as much more interesting and news worthy than the structural oppression of minorities or people in Third World countries (ibid). The news sources from which the news agencies attain their material, are also mostly power or elite institutions such as; the police, the government or large companies, which means that they cannot be considered as objective. News will hence represent the ideas and interest of the elite and therefore also their ideology which in return will justify their superiority (ibid).

It is through these elite controlled institutions, such as the media that the elite through discourses, manages to create a convincing image of the societal structures as just and justified. This is what liberation theory refers to as “the reality of oppression” which is stated manages to “submerge” the human consciousness (Freire 1970:51). This in return means that since a majority of the institutions that we receive our information from such as media, educational institutions etc. are elite controlled, they also control the information from which

we build our perceptions of the world. The image of the world created from the information that we receive further on inhibits our critical thinking making us believe, for instance that news reporting is objective and truthful, without second guessing or challenging the information which it presents.

5.4.1 Suggestions for further research

As this research has been restricted in terms of time and scope it has felt necessary to present some suggestions on further research. The decision taken by the author of this essay has been to focus on people from the same living conditions, namely auto-constructed areas also referred to as the *Favelas*, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and how they are portrayed in news articles in two local magazines. It was also important to analyze and problematize in which way they were portrayed in the presented articles and what effects media discourses can have in terms of the identity of these people.

It is suggested that the theories of discourse analysis and liberation theory be tested in a wider scope, by for example doing a comparison on the portrayal of the *Favela* citizens presented in this case study, or other minorities, with other higher social classes in similar news happenings. How are higher class citizens portrayed in violent situations and how do the media discourses in these cases differ themselves from the ones that speak about minorities caught in violent happenings? This comparison in hand should show clear differences in terms of how these groups are portrayed even if they find themselves under alike circumstances. Subsequently it would be interesting to investigate what the main differences are in these cases and what social issues they reflect. Could this knowledge in hand also be useful in terms of dismantling some of the popular prejudice that exists?

This case study has not taken race or ethnicity into consideration because of the previous argument that class is usually seen as a stronger marker of identity than race in the Brazilian society. This might however vary in different communities in and outside of Brazil and is therefore also encouraged to be tested.

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