

Activism mediatization in news reports G1 and Mídia Ninja

A midiatização do ativismo nas coberturas do G1 e do Mídia Ninja

La mediatización del activismo en las coberturas de G1 y Mídia Ninja

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Abstract *This work aims to compare the coverage held by the collective media Mídia Ninja and G1 news website of the eviction of properties at Favela do Metrô, in Rio de Janeiro. From the understanding that a process of mediatization of activism occurs in the actuation of Mídia Ninja, we discuss the relationship between this activity and the communication model which underlies the practices of mass media in front of the media opportunities adopted by the collective.*

Keywords: *Collective Media; Media Opportunities; Mediatization; G1; Mídia Ninja*

Resumo *Este trabalho compara as coberturas realizadas pelo coletivo midiático Mídia Ninja e pelo site de notícias G1 sobre a desocupação de imóveis na Favela do Metrô, no Rio de Janeiro. A partir do entendimento de que ocorre um processo de midiatização do ativismo na atuação do Mídia Ninja, discute-se a relação entre essa atuação e o modelo comunicacional que fundamenta as práticas da mídia de massa, diante das oportunidades de mídia adotadas pelo coletivo.*

Palavras-chave: *Coletivos Midiáticos; Oportunidades de Mídia; Midiatização; G1; Mídia Ninja*

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Resumen *Este trabajo compara la cobertura que se celebró por el colectivo de medios Mídia Ninja y el sitio web de noticias G1 del desalojo de propiedades en la Favela do Metrô, en Rio de Janeiro. A partir de la comprensión de que se produce un proceso de mediatización del activismo sobre el papel de Mídia Ninja, se analiza la relación entre esta actividad y el modelo de comunicación que subyace a las prácticas de los medios de comunicación, antes las oportunidades de los medios de los cuales hace uso el colectivo.*

Palabras-clave: *Colectivos de Medios; Oportunidades de los Medios; Mediatización; G1; Mídia Ninja*

Date of submission: 28/1/2014

Date of acceptance: 14/3/2014

Introduction

Since a long time voices of social movements and mobilisations have echoed in the means of communication, but the use of communication tools in activist practices does not only embrace the propagation of acts. During the protests against the G8, in 2005, Cammaerts (2013, p. 23) remembers the collectives formed by radical activists, who, tend “on the one hand, to monitor their representation by the media and to produce immediate refutations, and, on the other hand, to administer the journalists’ interest, serving as a gatekeeper and as an *abre-alas* [the first float of the samba school], a damper between the media and the movement”. Such collectives get close to the understanding about the expression *mediatic collectives* we use here and at the same time they distance themselves from it. The collectives Cammaerts cites appear from organised groups, initially around specific causes, which start monitoring their representations in the media and producing enunciated in defence of their causes and acts. The collectives, which have been potentialised in Brazil from June 2013 on, are framed here as mediatic, composed of individuals who, through the use of sites and social networks, platforms and digital communication devices produce and have circulate contents about protests and acts which derive from mobilisations that are organized within and without the digital networks and which act in a way independent from the mass media, they can participate or not in the organisation of acts and street protests. What makes these two types of collective come near is the activism in their actions that aim to achieve mediatic objectives. What distances them is that since 2005 the development of digital communication tools significantly increased and the appropriation of social network sites and mobile communication devices have mainly contributed to transformations in processes of production, circulation and consumption of mediatic contents in the context of the social movements and mobilisations on the web.

Constituted in March 2013, before the protests, which erupted in June, the mediatic collective *Mídia Ninja*² achieved expressive representativity from the collaborative coverage of the protests which was carried out through the publication of contents on social network sites such as Facebook and Twitter³. In August 2013, Pablo Capilé and Bruno Torturra, creators of *Mídia Ninja* participated in the programme *Roda Viva*, of TV Cultura⁴ [one of Brazil's most traditional live news-maker interview shows on TV Cultura [the State funded public TV station of São Paulo]. This participation generated demonstrations online against the initiative and in favour of it and texts and news which provoked the propagation of notes *Mídia Ninja* posted in response to the diverse accusations about the collective's practices and mainly of the net work *Fora do Eixo* [Outside the Axis: a network of cultural producers and artists from parts of Brazil outside Rio and São Paulo]. In response to a questionnaire which the author of this article addressed to *Mídia Ninja*, the collective affirms that it seeks to accomplish a work on the basis of the notion of independent media founded on collaboration, with the objective to provide space to multiple voices, in the attempt to differentiate itself from mass media⁵. Once the most significant moments of the days of June had passed, the collective continues producing and publishing content, in a collaborative way, which embraces not only street protests, but the coverage of events and topics related to diverse causes which compose the agenda of demonstrations that take place all over Brazil. Among the pieces of coverage carried out by *Mídia Ninja* there is the eviction of buildings which occurred between January 7th and 9th 2014, in the Favela do Metrô, at Mangueira, in Rio de Janeiro.

² *Mídia Ninja – Narrativas Independentes, Jornalismo e Ação* [Independent Narratives, Journalism and Action] (<https://www.facebook.com/midiaNINJA>) is an initiative of collaborative coverage of the network of cultural collectives *Fora do Eixo* (<http://foradoeixo.org.br>).

³ The collective's fan page on Facebook has more than 236,000 likes and the collective's profile on Twitter, more than 24,000 followers. Data of January 2014.

⁴ Available on <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vYgXth8QI8M>>. Accessed on 14/1/14.

⁵ The answers to the questionnaire are part of another article of this authorship, but we judged it convenient to cite this answer of the collective about their actuation with regard to mass media.

The study of this case aims to contribute to the research on the processes of production, circulation and consumption of mediatic contents on the web. The objective is to compare the pieces of coverage of this eviction carried out by the collective *Mídia Ninja* and by the news site G1⁶, pointing out approximations and distancing between both. On the basis of the understanding that there occurs a process of mediatisation of the activism in the actuation of the mediatic collective *Mídia Ninja*, we discuss the relationship between this actuation and the communicational model which underlies the practices of mass media, in front of the media opportunities the collective adopted.

Contextualising the media opportunities

In order to understand the present tendencies about the mediation of protests and about the activists' mediatic and communicational practices, Cammaerts (2013, p. 14) considers the concept of mediation important to understand the role of the media and of communication for the protests and activism. According to the author, the media and communication permit and limit activists and activism in the present mediatic context and they become instruments which are able to articulate collective identities, to disseminate structures of movements and mobilisations, to coordinate and even to constitute direct actions on their own. Gohn (2010) explains that the appropriation of different communication tools by social movements strengthens articulation possibilities and visibility strategies, thus reconfiguring forms of organisation and actions. According to Gohn (2004), the use of new practices by different movements justifies that there is a questioning of structures which passes by the proposition of new forms of organisation for the politic society, which guarantees their framing as innovators and indicators of social change.

⁶The collective's choice occurs because of its representativity, which is evaluated by the number of followers; G1's choice occurred through the survey which points out the portal *Globo.com* as the sixth most accessed site in Brazil (<http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/BR>). The choice of G1 is justified by the concentration of informative content which the news site has within the portal *Globo.com*.

In the same line, the actuation of mediatic collectives has been guided by attempts of communicational practices that are different from those which the mass media use, in the effort to reconfigure processes of production, circulation and consumption of contents on the basis of more collaborative and democratic practices. The potentialities which are provided by the online means serve to guarantee the spread (Jenkins, FORD & GREEN, 2013)⁷ of the contents which are produced by these collectives and the characteristic activism of the actions and street protests is incorporated into the communicational production strategies and in the circulation forms of the published messages.

These attempts are not recent and some of them end up reproducing distributive logics which are similar to those of mass media processes, thus hindering the configuration of communicational practices involved in the exploitation of the social functions of the media. By contesting Enzesberger and McLuhan about the existence of a structure technologically inherent in the means of communication, Baudrillard (1972) discussed on the social function of the means of communication and said that some groups of political militancy insisted on archaic communicational practices, as if they were resisting to possibilities of the electronic means of that time. Although they are far from giving up the opportunities of the media which exist today and are potentialised by digitalisation of processes, we note the force of a rooting of behaviours and logics. The reproduction of roles, some hierarchy mechanisms in the production and distribution of the information and the sometimes limited exploitation of dialogic opportunities act as mechanisms which end up limiting the exploitation of alternatives for the constitution and the consolidation of new communicational models. The further analysis intends to expose this argument.

If we recuperate activist practices involving the use of the media, it is possible to cite, for example, the notion of tactical media and *culture jam-*

⁷ The authors approach the concept of spread on the basis of the idea of transition between a model based on distribution and a hybrid emerging circulation model. The mixture of forces from above and from below determines the way in which the messages can be shared by different cultures through the forms which convey the way in which people interact between each other in the social movements which were sparked off in the last three years.

ming. Garcia and Lovink (1997) define tactical media by means of the use of media of the kind “do it yourself” by groups and individuals who feel oppressed by the dominant culture. As an example, Clinio (2013) cites actions of activists such as the vehiculation of radio programmes on low power transmitters, videos made with digital cameras and distributed on the internet and the actuation of free software programmers. The term “tactic” derives from the studies of Michel de Certeau (1994), who identifies daily practices as forms of use which are undertaken in the flight from passivity, having in view the end of the massification of behaviours. According to Certeau, the tactics do not comply with discipline mechanisms and they are used to change them. *Culture jamming* is a tactic which is applied with the objective to break or to subvert the mainstream mediatic culture. It can be considered as a set of practices of tactical use of the media and it is based on the mediatic sabotage (MEIKLE, 2002), sometimes incorporating the noise, which can provoke diverse interpretations. As examples of *culture jamming* there are the subversion of advertising contents, the creation of false news and the alteration of outdoors.

In the course of the years, these and other practices have been mixing themselves with other kinds of activist actions. In 1999, during the demonstrations which constituted the *Battle of Seattle*⁸, in the USA, the strengthening of the independent media was emphasised, which had already been incorporated before into the daily life of the activist groups and actions. Dissatisfied with the coverage of the protests, which was carried out by the mass media, anarchists and activists created the *Centro de Mídia Independente*⁹ [Independent Media Centre], through the project *Indymedia* which ended up spreading over diverse countries. The objective, similar to that of collectives which stand out today in the coverage of the protests in Brazil, was to carry out a collab-

⁸ In protest against the meeting of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in the city, about 100,000 demonstrators mobilised for some days, declaring themselves independent, not affiliated with a political party. The causes of the demonstrations were diverse, such as protests against the advance of the neo-liberal politics, against the environmental degradation, for the maintenance of the workers' rights, repudiation of global capitalism, among other questions.

⁹ Available on: <<http://www.indymedia.org/>>.

orative and alternative coverage, disconnected from the conventional media and vehiculated on the internet. Nevertheless at that time there was no mention of web 2.0 and mobile telephony was still beginning in various countries, so that a wireless connection through mobile devices had not yet been popularised. Even so, the first steps had been done towards the constitution of a communication model guided by the convergence of formats, by the spread of contents and by the collaboration in the production and circulation of processes. In 2001, with the World Trade Centre attacks and the consequential Iraq War, which broke out in 2003, again the independent media gains force and visibility through the *warblogs* (RECUERO, 2003), blogs of the authorship of journalists and citizens who narrated the events about the war, from local perspectives, which were disconnected from the distribution of news by the mass media.

On March 11th 2004, Madrid suffered a series of attacks on four trains of its railway net. The attacks were attributed to an Islamic cell. On July 7th 2005 it was London's turn. A series of explosions reached the system of public transport in the city. Islamic groups assumed the authorship of the attacks. Besides obvious similarities between the attacks, they emphasised the use of mobile phones to advert relatives of the victims and to record pictures and videos about the events. The records circulated on the internet and they were also used in TV news programmes to conceal the lack of records in the place of the facts. The use of these devices in a context of mobilisations on the web begins through the text messages, which broadened with time passing towards the publication of content on social network sites (MONTERDE & POSTILL, 2013). This same recording and coverage practice through mobile devices were recurrent in movements and street protests and it is being repeated in natural disasters, accidents and in diverse attacks.

From 2009 on, some mobilisations on the web begin to multiply themselves so that characteristics linked to the web category Gohn (2010) mentions, such as circulation, flux, swap, exchange of information, sharing, intensity, collaboration, innovations, diversity of articulation, decentralisation, greater agility, among others, insert themselves

into the acts and protests which occur in different countries such as, for example, the *Occupy Wall Street* (2010), in the United States and the *Arabic Spring* (2010), in the Middle East. Mobilisations like those began from small acts, which, organised from the digital communication networks, stimulated or not by the force of already consolidated social movements, gained the streets, increasing in proportion and significance in their countries and all over the world. The anterior events of appropriation of these technologies certainly contributed to the utilisation of digital devices and networks in the constitution of these mobilisations.

Although the examples we cited differ from each other through the contexts in which they occurred get close to each other with regard to the forms of adoption and appropriation of digital technologies for the organisation and communication of collective actions with activist objectives among other events involving people and varied causes. And more than this, besides the instrumentalisation of the technologies for the routine of the struggles, such uses and appropriations provoke transformations in the processes of production, circulation and consumption of contents about the mobilisations on the web (CASTELLS, 2012; MALINI & ANTOUN, 2013). Di Felice (2013) emphasises not only the incorporation of the internet into activist practices, but the way in which the web transformed activism and concepts such as participation, democratic space, collective identity and political strategy. The use of the internet went beyond the fact to give support to global and local causes, to serve as architecture for the diffusion of information, the collective promotion of ideas and channels of participation. Without disregarding limitations, the opportunities of the media broaden and the exploitation of these opportunities is able to reflect on the communicational structure of the mediatic field¹⁰ (BOURDIEU, 1983).

¹⁰ Bourdieu (1983), who works with the relationships between the fields of a society which is sectorised into specialised areas, in which the role of the mediatic field is to serve as a channel so that the other fields explicate their proceedings before society and acquire legitimacy this way.

Mediatisation of the opportunities

Having recourse to Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) in order to understand how social movements depend on the media, Cammaerts (2013, p. 15) cites three interrelated objectives: mobilisation with political support; increase in the legitimacy and validation of demands and permission so that the dimension of the conflict expands. What the author describes as a structure of media opportunity is the “extension which these movements can achieve and transmit their messages through the big media or not, their degree of cultural influence in the public sphere, which invokes questions of access to the media”. Although a mediatic collective does not completely configure itself as a social movement, it also constructs communicational processes around the objectives we mentioned. The difference is that this actuation occurs in a way which is disconnected from mass media, through diverse media by the means of which the production and circulation of content are based on collaborative processes.

Such processes reunite the approach of guide lines and a political actuation in the routine of production and circulation of the contents, considering the growth of the mobilisation around one or various causes. By analysing the 15M, web system of movements in Spain, Toret (2012) points out how the appropriation of different technological platforms and devices was decisive for the constitution of political actions, through a socio-technological process. Thus we also identify the quest of the increase in legitimacy, through the defence and consequently through the validation of demands and through the work which aims to stimulate the visibility of their contents, thus broadening the visibility of the conflicts and the causes they seek to expose in their publications. Toret’s (2012) concept of techno-politics supports this set of objectives which mixes communicational and political objectives in the daily life of communicational processes around causes and demands: the tactical and strategic use of technological devices (including social networks) for the organisation, communication and collective action¹¹. These objectives appear

¹¹ From the original: “el uso táctico y estratégico de dispositivos tecnológicos (incluyendo redes sociales) para la organización, comunicación y acción colectiva.”

now in the very self-description of these collectives, now in the contents of the publications and in the strategies and plans elaborated for the accomplishment of the daily communicational activities.

The media opportunities, which are available to the collectives, go beyond the mediatic field composed of television, of the newspapers and of the radios. The internet reconfigures the space of communicational flux through which all these objectives will be coveted and achieved, but it is relevant to point out that, however much this disconnection from the media is part of the objectives of a collective, sometimes, in the quest for information, these groups have recourse to mass media which reverberate determined discourses and even reproduce practices they refute. In some cases, they valorise the mention of their contents in mass media¹², although the main objective is not that the visibility they are seeking in the communicational actions be achieved through the mass media, but through the alternative channels, independent of the commercial interests and theoretically based on collaboration.

The structure of media opportunity to which Cammaerts (2013) refers is part of a bigger structure of mediation opportunity, composed of the structures of discursive opportunity and of opportunity on the web. Whereas the discursive opportunities refer to the construction of the discourse of the movement, the opportunities on the web refer to the planning of the mobilisations. Again the approach between the actuation of a social movement and that of a mediatic collective can be accomplished in order to work on the three opportunity structures: media, discourse and web. The media opportunities through which a mediatic collective passes broaden thanks to the internet and to the tools which are based on the web logic (CASTELLS, 2002)¹³. The discourse benefits from the spread (JENKINS, FORD & GREEN, 2013) and, aiming at the

¹² Collectives such as Mídia Ninja and RioNaRua [Rio in the street], that answered the questionnaire which was elaborated in the framework of this research and exploited in another text, affirmed that they valorised the exposition of their contents in the mass media, although they had affirmed that their actuations are thought to differentiate themselves from the actuation of the mass media.

¹³ Castells (2002) approaches the web logic on the basis of the development of the ICTs – Information and Communication Technologies, from the viewpoint of a reticular and horizontal structure, which characterises a new communicative and productive paradigm. The access to the networks and the exchange possibilities are determinant for the inclusion in what he calls network society.

circulation, it is elaborated on the basis of the content which was planned for the means through which it will circulate. This structure of mediation opportunity has been used by the mediatic collectives mainly from the use of sites of social networks, on which it is possible to establish a determined discourse, at the same time in which collective actions are also being organised, everything being stimulated by the collectivity that works in order to potentialise the visibility of the contents.

Nevertheless there is the reproduction of practices which come from the unilateral moulds of mass media, preventing the flux and the transformation of the communicational processes. Even before the constitution of the present scenario, Baudrillard (1972, p. 281) affirmed that the idea that there are media consumers, which is recurrent today, prevents the idea of exchange through the media: “the consumption of products and messages is the abstract social relation that they establish, the ban raised against all forms of response and reciprocity.” It is not uncommon to verify that, although the response and the reciprocity are still possible, they do not configure themselves minimally or fully in the relationship between producers and consumers of mediatic contents – be it in the mass media, be it in the communicational context the collectives establish.

The media opportunities which are available to the mediatic collectives are inserted in a space of fluxes (CASTELLS, 2002) through which contents circulate on the basis of communicational practices which valorise the technological element as an instrument capable of generating visibility for a set of information and causes. In this space there are not only vehicles of independent media, mediatic collectives and individuals that are able to create and to spread contents, but the mass media themselves. Through communication tools online which expand the spaces of content circulation, mass media mix with the alternative and independent channels which appear very often in the online environment. In this sense, the notion of mediatisation broadens, which can end up configuring itself on the basis of the digital technological uses and appropriations for communication.

The idea of mediatisation refers to media penetration in daily life aiming at the constitution of a mediatised social environment (ASSIS,

2006). In this sense, the omnipresence of a communication infrastructure permeates the activities of the mediatic collectives, which, through technology, broaden their opportunities of media, discourse and web. Ferreira (2012) considers mediatisation on the basis of the problematics of inter-mediatic circulation. The author considers the circulation in the context of the mediatic devices and approaches the alternation of position between content producers and content consumers in the context of the social networks. The author emphasises the role of digital technologies and does not deny possibilities of this alternation before the appearance of these technologies, but he recognises the acceleration of this process with the development of these technologies. Neto (2008) considers that mediatisation works with the fact that the media are no more only the instruments of a process of interaction between diverse fields. They transformed themselves into a more complex reality and constitute “a new framework, new forms of life and social interactions crossed by new modalities of the “work of meaning”. Besides the mutual affectation between the media, they influence other social practices and their functioning. The media lose the function of auxiliary and start to reference the way of being of society and of the processes of interaction between institutions and social actors.

The expansion of mediatisation would have the potential for putting producers and consumers into the same reality which is structured by fluxes, although in practice the parity in the functions is not completely accomplished. Interactivity, which deploys itself today in participation and sharing, has the potential of broadening the reach of these discourses and, at a certain level, these groups end up becoming dependent on the technological element for the reach of representativity and transformation of the social relationships around the information which circulates. It is a fact that the mediatic appropriation is recurrent in activism as an instrument of political action besides the mere organisational and strategic use. Even so the mediatisation of activism is being maximised on the basis of the development and of the uses of digital communication technologies.

Analyses of the pieces of coverage

On the basis of these theoretical foundations and argumentations, we discuss the analysis of the pieces of coverage of the eviction of buildings in the Favela do Metrô, at Mangueira, in Rio de Janeiro, carried out by G1¹⁴ and by Mídia Ninja¹⁵. On the basis of the observation of the publications, we compare the forms through which the facts were reported taking into consideration that G1 is characterised as a news site and Mídia Ninja as a mediatic collective. We sought to make the pieces of coverage close and distant in the attempt to identify features of the model of mass media in the collective's routine, in order to treat the possibility of mediatisation of the media opportunities.

■ About the eviction case

Even before the June protests¹⁶, the World Cup works and their impact were already the orders of the day of mobilisations in the streets. In 2011, for example, the *Grito dos Excluídos* [Cry of the Excluded] protested in diverse Brazilian cities, among other causes, against the expropriation of the areas for the World Cup¹⁷. With the proximity of the event, the number of events increases in which the expenses for the World Cup of 2014 and the expropriation of areas for the carrying out of the works for the competition constitute the background for protests and mobilisations¹⁸.

On January 7th 2014, residents of the Favela do Metrô, at the Mangueira, in Rio de Janeiro, gathered against the eviction and removal of houses

¹⁴ Available on: <<http://g1.com.br>>.

¹⁵ Available on: <<http://www.facebook.com/midiaNINJA>>.

¹⁶ In the demonstrations of June 2013, the Cup entered the list of the causes pointed out in the protests, in repudiation of the high expenses for big international sporting events. The Copa das Confederações [Confederations Cup], which took place in the middle of the acts, was the scenario of a series of facts such as the occupation in front of the Mané Garrincha Stadium, in Brasília and which resulted in a confrontation between demonstrators and the Batalhão de Choque [Riot Police]. In the State of Minas Gerais, the Tribunal de Justiça [State Court of Justice] emitted prohibition of interdiction of urban ways in all the cities of the State as long as the Confederations Cup would take place. On June 17th, about 12,000 people gathered in the centre of Belo Horizonte, in protest against the expenses for the 2013 Confederations Cup and for the 2014 World Cup.

¹⁷ Available on: <<http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso/noticia/2011/09/grito-dos-excluidos-em-mt-protesta-contra-desapropriacoes-para-copa.html>>. Access on 13/01/14.

¹⁸ About the economic impact of Brazil's Cup, Proni and Silva (2012) present and expanded analysis: <http://www.ludopedio.com.br/rc/upload/files/122700_TD211_Proni.pdf>.

in that place. In the morning of the 7th a group of residents block both senses of the Avenida Radial Oeste. At night, a new protest occurred and there was a confrontation between the residents and the Military Police, who used “bombs of moral effect” [a sort of grenade] in order to disperse the demonstrators. The Avenida Radial Oeste was blocked by the residents, who put up barricades with rubble and tyres which had been burnt before. The drivers, who passed in the place, deviated through the rua Radialista Waldir Amaral. The information which was vehiculated in the mass media report that the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro affirmed that they had initiated the eviction of the buildings in 2010 and that 362¹⁹ families, who lived in that region, had already been transferred to housing projects. The city hall affirmed that the eviction operation of the 7th occurred because the buildings would have been reoccupied by other people who were offered the municipal sheltering they did not accept. Some residents affirm that the occupants of the houses are slum residents to whom the City Hall had promised housing after the eviction, a promise which would not have been kept. On January 9th, the City Hall, after a meeting with the Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (OAB) [Brazilian Bar Association] and with the Defensoria Pública [Public Defence] decided to carry out the registration of the families who had been in the Favela do Metrô until the beginning of the demolition of the houses. The registered families shall receive social rent until they move to the buildings of the federal government’s programme Minha Casa, Minha Vida [My House, My Life: housing programme].

■ About the pieces of coverage

G1

On the basis of a search we did with the term “Mangueira”²⁰ on G1, we observed all the publications about that fact (table 1)²¹, on January

¹⁹ The G1 news about the topic now mentions the number of 362 families now of 662 families.

²⁰ The Favela do Metrô is located in the district of Mangueira. Therefore G1 as well as Mídia Ninja used “Mangueira” in their publications.

²¹ Table of the data available on: <<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/ccc?key=0AnAhKXRWHP8IdHZMVUVF-MXVCGUFpJbnpjM05MZmpsZFE&usp=sharing>>.

7th, 8th, 9th and 10th. The search provided seven articles in a text published on the site, in the regional section of Rio de Janeiro and three videos of reports which were vehiculated on the television news programme Bom Dia Rio [Good morning Rio, Jornal Hoje [Today's Journal] and RJTV – these reports appear separately and they are also inserted in some of the textual news. In the profile of G1²² on Twitter no tweet was published about the eviction. On the G1 fan page²³ on Facebook all the publications follow the same pattern, with a jpg picture with catchwords for articles on the site, without any available link – during the days we observed no mention was made of the eviction on the Facebook of the newspaper.

On January 7th G1 Rio de Janeiro published three articles which reported on the demonstrations at Mangueira: the first in the morning, when the residents prohibited Radial Oeste and the rua Francisco Xavier; the second which spoke about the occupation of the streets at night; and the third which recuperated the facts of the day and reported on the confrontation between residents and policemen in the protest which occurred at night. Whereas the news of the morning affirmed that the interdiction of the streets by the residents occurred because of the eviction, the second news, which had already been vehiculated at night, affirmed that the cause of the demonstration was a young man's death during a shooting which had occurred in the night of January 4th between policemen and demonstrators. In the third news, the protests were again attributed to the eviction of the buildings. The text still points out that about 600 families, who lived in that place, had already been removed and relocated through the Federal Government's programme *Minha Casa, Minha Vida*.

On January 8th a report of RJTV recuperated the facts by reporting on the protest and saying that it was due to the eviction of the buildings. In the same way a shorter report in the Jornal Hoje relates the protest. The report of RJTV mentions the number of 362 families who had already been relocated, different from the news vehiculated on the site on the

²² Available on: <<http://twitter.com/g1>>.

²³ Available on: <<http://www.facebook.com/g1>>.

day before. The report explains that, different from what had been understood before, the protest was not because of the young man's death on Saturday night. In the first textual news, with photographs and belonging to the same report of RJTV, the content emphasises the reinforcement of the police after the protests of January 7th, it recuperates the facts of the night before and cites 362 as the number of families who were relocated. The second textual news with photographs relates a new protest in the night of January 8th and uses various passages of other textual news in order to contextualise the facts.

Two textual news and photographs are published on January 9th. The first speaks about the decision the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro made in a meeting with the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) and with the Defensoria Pública [Public Defence] to register the families who were in the community of the Metrô until the beginning of the demolition of the houses so that they received social rent until they moved to the buildings of the Minha Casa, Minha Vida. A report of RJTV follows this news and recuperates the discussion between residents and City Hall, quoting the number of 662 families already relocated. The second textual piece of news brings photographs and the report that the residents of the slums had interdicted the Avenida Radial Oeste again in the night of January 9th in protest against the evictions. The events are recuperated in the news which cites again that 662 families are already living in houses of the Minha Casa Minha Vida.

On January 10th, another report on RJTV affirms that some pieces of furniture, which had been thrown on the edge of Radial Oeste, were still there and that the Military Police remained in the *favela*. Without account of the protests, the report recuperates the confrontations between residents and police which occurred on January 7th, 8th and 9th and also the interruption of the train lines due to the objects the slum residents had thrown there. The report affirms that 662 families had been relocated and that other people had invaded the place. It also mentions the registration of the families who were in the community until the beginning of the demolition of the houses.

Mídia Ninja

The analysis of the coverage done by Mídia Ninja was carried out through the observation of the publications on the *fan page* on Facebook²⁴ (table 2)²⁵ and on the profile on Twitter²⁶ (table 3)²⁷ From the 21 publications done by Mídia Ninja on Twitter, on January 7th, 8th and 9th 2014, about the eviction from buildings at the Favela do Metrô, there were 18 links for live transmission done by some ninja through Twitcasting. Besides these, another tweet also pointed out a link of live transmission, together with another link for a publication on Facebook. Another tweet pointed out a publication on Facebook which presented a link for a live transmission. The remaining tweet pointed out a publication on Facebook, in which there was a text with a photograph,

On Facebook 14 publications were collected which approached the issue of the eviction in the Favela do Metrô. 11 of these publications indicated links for live transmissions. From the two other publications, one contained text and link for a video with a testimonial of a female resident of the *favela* and another one contained text and link for a video made by the newspaper *A Nova Democracia*.

The publications of Mídia Ninja on Twitter only began at 2:40 p. m. of January 8th, whereas on Facebook the first publication on the *fan page* about the topic is from the early morning of January 8th, at about 0:00 a.m. The tweet which first appeared on the Mídia Ninja profile is for the publication on Facebook, which contains a text by Ivana Bentes about the phenomenon “Não vai ter Copa”²⁸ [There will be no Cup]. At the end of this text there is a note which explains that the child on the photograph of the publication is a she-resident of the *Favela do Metrô*, where the evictions had begun the night before. On Facebook,

²⁴ Available on: <<http://www.facebook.com/midiaNINJA>>.

²⁵ Table of the data available on: <<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/ccc?key=0AnAhKXRWHP8IdFpWZl8tLVlIRHVabnEtVWpDdE53Vnc&usp=sharing>>.

²⁶ Available on: <<https://twitter.com/MidiaNINJA>>.

²⁷ Table of the data available on: <<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/ccc?key=0AnAhKXRWHP8IdFhUNFZlZlWlHNkQwaUkyOTQ2LUd2elE&usp=sharing>>.

²⁸ The *hashtag* #naovaitercopa gained force on Twitter and on Facebook after the vehiculation of a picture on Dilma Rousseff's official profile with the hashtag #vaitercopa. Available on: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=607535742633354&set=a.351365628250368.87876.351338968253034&type=1&stream_ref=10>.

the first publication about the issue shortly explains that the residents had begun the protest against the eviction and that the military police were at that place. The link for the live transmission appeared at the end of the publication.

On the Twitter and on the Facebook of Mídia Ninja, the topic appeared frequently in the course of the days on which the protests occurred in the *favela*. The events are related in different formats and the contents the collective produced circulate on Facebook, Twitter and Twitcasting, without the commitment of establishing a regular periodicity and of following an editorial line which only involved the distribution of information about that which was happening in the *favela*. Besides the links with the live transmissions which are laden with the largest part of the informative tenor of the collective's publications, some few contents explain in a more structured and complete way what is going on in the *favela*. The predominance of the propagation of the live transmissions and the publication of different contents on each site by the collective generates the perception that Mídia Ninja does not care about organising a linear and uniform coverage on all the online spaces it utilises. In the same way in which Gohn (2010) mentions that the appropriation of different tools is able to strengthen articulation possibilities and visibility strategies of social movements, the circulation of the content of Mídia Ninja is done through diverse spaces not because of causality, but because of option and probably, because of a strategy in the sense of broadening the reach of the publications and of gaining more followers. The objective is to cover live and to show what is going on in the *favela*, without the concern about the contextualising of the facts and about the enumeration of data and sources which linearly connect the events – vide the propagation of another link of live transmission in some publications on Facebook.

The plurality of formats and approaches by means of which Mídia Ninja relates the facts can make the understanding of the situation more difficult to a reader with little adaptation to the collective's practices. On the other hand, at no moment of the coverage Mídia Ninja did, we perceive the confusion about the number of families the City Hall had

already relocated, whereas on G1 this number varies between 300 and 600 families, depending on the published news or report. In the case of Mídia Ninja this confusion did not happen to establish itself because these data are not even mentioned. This data also shows how the repetition of a piece of information is done in both cases. On G1 the reiteration of the information about the relocation of the families appears in almost all the publications, through the text or through the journalists' speech. Information which is repeated on Mídia Ninja also appears, but it is distributed over the diverse publications and related in the live transmissions done by different ninjas.

G1 presented a predominantly journalistic character in the coverage of the protests in the *favela*, lingering on the account of the facts (independent of the angle of approach and of the viewpoint) and shortening the way of contextualisation through the availability of links for the related news. Although these links seek to situate the reader about the events at Mangueira, little or almost nothing was mentioned in the news concerning the problems which were generated by the necessity of the eviction of areas for the carrying out of the World Cup works – in this sense, the contextualisation is limited. Mídia Ninja mixed journalistic techniques with activist practices in the daily data collecting and spreading of the information the collective elaborated in order to approach the major causes of the specific problem which occurred at Mangueira. The contextualisation, different from the way in which it was done by G1, did not recuperate links of the collective's anterior publications, but by means of texts, it sought to elucidate the causes of the protests against the eviction – the text by Ivana Bentes in a publication on the collective's *fan page* essentially discussed the problems the World Cup is causing to Brazil, and only at the end it identified the child of the picture as a she-resident of the *favela* which had been evicted recently.

The inter-related objectives on the basis of which social movements depend on the media (GAMSON & WOLFSFELD, 1993 *apud* CAMMAERTS, 2013) also appear in the daily life of the publications of Mídia Ninja, which calls on the followers to follow the live transmissions and to “put

the tag”, such as in publication on Twitter. The mobilisation of political support, the increase in legitimacy and validation of demands and the permission for the expansion of the conflict are depicted in the contents which, besides relating the facts live, call for the mobilisation around the acts. There is a stimulus to resist on the part of the residents of the *Favela do Metrô* through the use of the *hashtag* #resistemanguera, which signs a large part of the contents and sends the discussion by means of the networks. In this way, the opportunities of mediation used by Mídia Ninja through the sites of social networks serve as an alternative channel of approaching the facts. Whereas G1 excludes the spaces on which Mídia Ninja circulates, thus restricting its publications to the news site, there is a parallel construction of discourses which circulate on the internet, but from diverse mechanisms of circulation and distribution. G1 is not interested in the objectives aimed at by Mídia Ninj and although G1 is longing for the mobilisation of political support and the increase in legitimacy, this quest occurs through the commercial and financial relationships – theoretically outside the collective’s guide lines.

It is a fact that journalism in the moulds of mass media does not configure itself in the publications of Mídia Ninja and it is certainly not the collective’s objective. Nevertheless, some practices are reproduced in the collective’s daily life. Although collaboration guides the actions of the coverage of the facts, the distributive model of mass media still manifests itself considering the dialogic scarcity which is very often the characteristic of the routines of Mídia Ninja. If on the one hand the mediatization of the activist practices collaborates in broadening the visibility of the causes and in engaging in collective actions, on the other hand it reflects the dependence on the technological element for the collective’s communication. New social practices (NETO, 2008), which existed before the implementation of Mídia Ninja, are part of the collective’s coverage and the live transmission, which was done by multiple eyes, is that which has most differentiated the model which is still in construction of these groups of the model adopted by the mass media.

Final considerations

Some limitations of both pieces of coverage reflect premature features about the conception of a new model based on collective social practices. The hybrid and emerging model based on the spread Jenkins, Ford and Green (2013) pointed out does not fully configure itself in the collective's daily life, but it indicates features of practices which are able to reconfigure logics and behaviours. The mediatised social framework (ASSIS, 2006) in which G1 and Mídia Ninja are involved, in fact goes through transformations deriving from the development and the technological appropriation and this development also interferes in the appropriation and in the creation of new tools and formats which are part of the processes of production, circulation and content of mediatic contents.

Toret's notion of techno-politics (2012) permeates the collective's practices, which makes activist tactics and mediatic tactics converge in the attempt to transform the communication of movements and mobilisations into more democratic processes. The mediatisation of these processes comes sometimes from old practices which were initially refuted, but which are reproduced within a context in which the logic of the web and the collaboration which underlies the processes could be subverted.

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