News discourse and public contention: Representations of 'favela' within an online context

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In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power.

Michel Foucault, 1980
Abstract: This investigation is centered on the representations of the sociopolitical conflict between police and Rio de Janeiro’s favela communities within news discourse and online commentary on the Facebook fan page of one of Brazil’s leading newspapers, Jornal O Globo. This study combines a sociocognitive approach with a crucial intertextual focus as the multidisciplinary framework for critical analysis of news coverage and online reactions to a series of highly mediated events within the Cidade de Deus community, with the aim of uncovering the ideologies and sociopolitical structures supported by this discourse. The results show a strong ideological relationship between O Globo’s mediated discourse and the meta-representations within fan-page commentary. The analysis, however, also reveals a discordance amongst followers regarding O Globo’s depictions of the various actors and actions involved within the newsworthy events, which is fueled by neo-liberal and neo-racist ideologies favoring a more negative and criminalized representation of the favela.

Keywords: online discourse, ideology, news coverage, police violence, favelas, O Globo, meta-representation, Facebook, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), intertextuality

Resumen: La actual investigación está situada en las representaciones del conflicto sociopolítico entre la policía y las comunidades de las favelas de Río de Janeiro dentro del discurso periodístico y del comentario online en la fan page de Facebook de uno de los periódicos más destacados en Brasil, Jornal O Globo. Este estudio combina un enfoque sociocognitivo con un enfoque intertextual, como el marco multidisciplinar para el análisis crítico de la cobertura mediática y reacciones públicas online a una serie de eventos mediáticos dentro de la comunidad de Cidade de Deus, con el objetivo de destapar las ideologías y estructuras sociopolíticas apoyadas por este discurso. Los resultados muestran una relación ideológica fuerte entre el discurso mediático de O Globo y las meta-representaciones de los comentarios de la fan page. Sin embargo, el análisis también demuestra un desacuerdo entre seguidores respecto a las representaciones de O Globo de los diferentes actores involucrados y sus acciones en los sucesos relevantes, impulsadas por ideologías neo-liberales y neo-racistas que favorecen una representación más negativa y criminalizada de la favela.

Palabras clave: discurso online, ideología, cobertura mediática, violencia policial, favelas, O Globo, meta-representación, Facebook, Estudios Críticos del Discurso (ECD), intertextualidad
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News discourse and public contention: 
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1. Introduction

The internet has revolutionized news media, transforming the role of society from receivers to participators of public discourse (Aquino Bittencourt, 2014; Cabalin, 2014; Cárdenas, 2016; Castells, 2007; Montecino and Arancibia, 2013). Although Facebook is the leading social network for news sharing in many countries across the globe, this interactive platform holds particular importance in Brazil, with over 70 percent of the country’s urban population using the network for the spreading, receiving, and discussing of news stories.¹ The discourse and action promoted within this open, virtual space has attracted the attention of scholars who point to Facebook as an instrument used by social movements and other voices of dissidence to challenge the dominant social representations in news media (Aquino Bittencourt, 2014; Cabalin, 2014; Cárdenas, 2016). In this interactive network, the ‘symbolic power’ (Van Dijk, 2008b) of the news industry is weakened as the public becomes a crucial part of the process of production and circulation. When it comes to the sharing of crime news online, however, some scholars are less optimistic about whether this autonomy and power support depictions and perceptions of reality. According to Surette (2011), the extensive, mostly visual content available through the multimedia web has built a mediated, false image of crime and justice that has determining effects on policy decisions (p. 25).

The following investigation aims to address these questions of representation in both mass news discourse and online commentary from the Facebook fan page of one of Brazil’s leading newspapers, Jornal O Globo. Combining fundamental theories within the Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) literature, as developed by Teun van Dijk, with the

concept of *intertextuality* according to Norman Fairclough’s (1992, 2003) work within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study takes a multidisciplinary approach to examining the intrinsic connection between society, cognition, and discourse within the interactive, online community. My academic interest primarily lies with the exploration of the multiple ways in which realities are constructed and shared through contextually different forms of discourse and the ideological and sociopolitical implications of these representations.

This analysis centers on a highly mediated newsworthy event, situated within a long-standing, yet increasingly intensifying (Muggah, 2016), sociopolitical conflict between police and residents of Rio de Janeiro’s favela communities. As both consequence and cause of social inequalities, ‘institutionalization’ of police homicide within these poor, predominantly afro-descendent urban zones is rooted in socially shared beliefs that devalue and criminalize lives based on a complex intersection between social class, race, and physical space (Vargas, 2014). My research looking at the news depictions and online reactions to a series of specific events in which both police and favela residents lose their lives, thus questions how mediated representations of this sociopolitical conflict extend to the public sphere of discourse and understanding. What are the dominant constructions of this situation and the various subjects involved as depicted within *O Globo*’s Facebook fan page? How do ideology, (prior) discourses, and context determine the ways in which journalists and Facebook news followers interpret and respond to the violent reality within Rio’s poor, black urban territories? What can a multidisciplinary approach to addressing these questions reveal about the sociopolitical role of the prominent Brazilian newspaper and public opinion within this digital platform?

My examination of both news discourse and online commentary primarily intends to: (1) explore the mediated ‘reality’ of the sociopolitical conflict within the favelas and how this is simultaneously challenged and reinforced within a mediatized context; (2) analyze the various discourse strategies employed by news producers and Facebook followers and *how* these serve to ideologically position discourse users within their respective contexts; and (3) uncover the prevailing ideologies that guide the production of news discourse and online commentary and point to the sociopolitical structures they support. This analysis, however, also questions the role of interactive news sharing as predominantly serving to defy the dominant ideologies and social understandings of the observed sociopolitical conflict.
2. Sociopolitical context: Favela – a space of resistance

The socio-political conflict on which this investigation in centered, is part of a ‘socio-spatial’ history (Campos, 2011) of exclusion and oppression against the black Brazilian population, concentrated within Rio de Janeiro’s impoverished, urban communities or *favelas*. These informally constructed communities have symbolic and (in many cases) actual historic roots to the occupied ‘spaces of resistance’ called *quilombos*, inhabited by escaped Afro-Brazilian slaves (Campos, 2011, p. 51). Starting in the late 19th century, quilombos were replaced by the rise of favelas when freed black slaves moved to the peripheral zones in Rio de Janeiro and in Brazil’s other large cities in search of work during and following the emancipation period (Ibid, p. 51-62). According to Campos (2011), the ‘criminalization’ of the favela is part of this ‘transmutation’ of these communities from quilombos to favelas, which brought with it the continued stigma of illegality and public label as the “*classes perigosas*” (“dangerous classes”), with the black Brazilian as its fundamental feature of Otherness (p. 63-64).

Considered a ‘police issue’ rather than a ‘social issue’ (Campos, 2011, p. 66), favela communities are the target of systematic police violence and lethality supported by state policies and laws (Vargas, 2014). The legal backbone of this state abuse is primarily with the *Auto de Resistência* or Resistance Act (RA) (Vagas, 2014), routinely used by police to justify on-duty homicides as acts of ‘self-defense’ according to “the officers’ version of the facts” (Ibid, p. 278). Investigations from Human Rights Watch, however, have uncovered many cases of RAs in which the bodies of victims of police homicide revealed signs of torture and execution rather than resistance (Muggah, 2016; Vargas, p. 229). Vargas (2014) points to the abuse of RAs as a reflection of a ‘police culture’ in which criminal suspects are determined by “socially shared beliefs” that have become “institutionalized” (p. 280). Those who are most vulnerable to this violence are the many who lie within the intersection of race, class, and space defining the favelas (Vargas, 2014).

The Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) initiative, with installments within select favelas in Rio de Janeiro beginning in 2008, was introduced as a solution to the ‘violence’ threatening the security of the city and as preparation for the upcoming international mega-sports events hosted by the city. The geographical location of many favelas which are juxtaposed against middle and upper class parts of the city reinforce public attention on this issue and further motivate a ‘need’ to control these territories which jeopardize...
the image and economic success of Rio within the international community. Location makes the publically labeled ‘problema da favela’ (Leite, 2015) ‘visible’ to the rest of the city and thus an issue of relevance (Almendra, 2014).

Although the State promotion of the UPPs emphasizes a goal of establishing security and formalizing the favelas, the policies that have been implemented have focused on a neoliberal integration of the land rather than the social inclusion of the actual favela residents (Lunetta, 2015). The process of ‘pacification’ therefore promotes a ‘state-led gentrification’ (Lunetta, 2015)—locally referred to as the ‘remoção branca’—which forces the displacement of those whose families have occupied these territories for generations in order to make way for tourism, middle-class residents, and business investments (Almendra, 2014; Leite, 2015; Lunetta, 2015). The installation of the UPPs thus serves the purpose of appropriation and control of the favelas to satisfy the interests of the State and the economic elite rather than insuring the security and well-being of the favelas’ most vulnerable residents.

Apart from the expulsion of favela residents from their communities that ‘pacification’ policies promote, the militarization which forms an integral role within this process continues to support a ‘war’ against unwanted ‘criminals’, primarily characterized as young, black favela youth (Almendra, 2014). The alarming death rate as consequence of police action within the favelas has attracted the attention of human rights organizations at the international level (Muggah, 2016) as well as criticism from social movements at the national scale, which point to a genocide targeting the poor, black community (Vieira, 2014). The number of killings by on-duty police in Rio’s favelas from 2014 to 2016 suggests a rising trend of lethality, with hundreds of deaths each year (Muggah, 2016). Data also reveal how black citizens disproportionately represent the victims of police brutality within Rio’s favelas. Of the 1,275 registered police killings between 2010 and 2013, 79% of victims were black (“Rio Favela Facts,” 2016). The increasing rate of police homicides within the favelas in general (Muggah, 2016), and against afro-descendent Brazilians in particular (Vargas, 2014; “Rio Favela Facts,” 2016), thus suggests a (magnifying) prevalence of institutionally supported ideologies that devalue and ignore the lives of the many who inhabit these urban communities. Even with ‘pacification’, these communities remain stigmatized as ‘lugares outros’ (Leite, 2015) and continue to suffer State-inflicted violence. While those profiting from the State appropriation and militarization of the favelas praise the UPP initiative, “black genocide goes on” (Vargas, 2014, p 229).
3. *O Globo* Newspaper

Launched in 1925, *O Globo* Newspaper (*Jornal O Globo* in Portuguese) is one of the oldest and most important print news sources within Brazil’s powerful media conglomerate, Grupo Globo. Based in Rio de Janeiro, *O Globo* is Rio de Janeiro’s leading press and the second most circulated newspaper in Brazil, holding significant social and political influence through its dominance over the city’s mediated public discourse (Almendra, 2014, p. 65). As the most read newspaper amongst Rio’s middle-class population (Silva, 2010), demographic research reveals 78% of *O Globo*’s readers to be either middle or upper class Cariocans (Almendra, 2014, p. 72). Thus, apart from being owned by one of Brazil’s most prominent elite family, *O Globo* newspaper (with its ideological views and sociopolitical goals) is closely connected to Rio’s affluent (and most powerful) classes through its news coverage and editorials that control much of the information regularly provided to this public.

4. Favela crime and the sociopolitical role of ideological news: A review of the literature

The following sub-sections provide an overview of the literature examining the sociopolitical and ideological consequence of crime news in general and of Brazilian crime-news coverage in particular. The first section focuses on the connection between racism and the news while the second section considers the sociopolitical consequences of crime news through the fear it promotes. The second section of the literature review also places particular attention on the research analyzing mediation of the ‘pacification’ process within the favelas.

4.1 Crime news and racist ideologies

The mass news media industry has powerful influence over public opinion and action (Van Dijk, 2008b), yet there is a disconcerting distortion of the social reality perpetuated by crime news production (Bjornstrom et al., 2010; Chagnon, 2014; Dixon, 2017).
Studies conducted in Europe and North America have pointed to disproportionate associations of violence, drugs, and other individual crimes with racial (or ethnic) and/or class minorities in the news (Bjornstrom et al., 2010; Dixon, 2008; Surette, 2011; Van Dijk, 1991, 2000). Since public knowledge of crime is largely derived from these ‘mediated experiences’ (Surette, 2011), these representations predominantly determine negative perceptions of these groups and of the criminal reality (Dixon, 2008; Surette, 2011; Van Dijk, 1991, 2000, 2008b).

News on crime in Brazil also follows a largely similar trend in which news reports villainize afro-descendants from poor communities by consistently portraying them as perpetrators of violent crimes and drug trafficking (Baptista da Silva & Rosemberg, 2009; Conceição, 1999; Penglase, 2007; Vargas, 2010, 2014). Particularly pertinent to the Brazilian media context, however, is the absence of race or ‘cor’ (‘color’) in the spoken or written descriptions. Instead, visual images provide the semantic cues for placing news stories within their racialized context (Conceição, 1999; Penglase, 2007; Vargas, 2010, 2014). This avoidance of race in the lexicon of news stories describing criminals, which is contrary to the common patterns in racially bias news (Van Dijk, 1991), reflects what Vargas (2010) calls a ‘hyperconsciousness/negation’ of race. In Brazil, there is an over-awareness of the pertinence race has in social classification juxtaposed against the denial and silencing of this reality (Vargas, 2010).

According to Vargas (2010), the ‘hyperconsciousness/negation’ dialectic is both rooted in the ideology/myth of ‘racial democracy’ and is proof of its falsity. This ideology – which denies the existence of racism at the core of inequalities and celebrates racial mixture within the Brazilian society – was historically promoted as a symbol of national pride by the government and used by the white Brazilian elite as a strategic tool for maintaining the social order (Marx, 1998; Telles, 2002; Vargas, 2010). Although this myth has been debunked by scholars and leaders of black rights movements and is no longer nationally supported, analysis of media representations has shown the hegemonic

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6 This theory was coined by anthropologist Gilberto Freyre in 1930 using the Spanish connotation of “democracy” which refers to “fluid social relations” instead of “a type of political institution” (Telles, 2004: p. 33).

7 Unique historic circumstances such as equal amounts of white colonists and black slaves combined with the lack of segregation laws, allowed race to be a much more subjective concept than in the United States with the ‘one drop rule’. This racial mixture, however, was a eugenics strategy to “whiten” the population which was further advanced in 1890 with anti-black immigration laws up until the 1930s when the concept of ‘racial democracy’ was nationally adopted (see Telles, 2002; Marx, 1998).
prevalence of this ideology juxtaposed against a racial hierarchy in which whiteness dominates and blackness is marginalized (De la Presa, 2011; Vargas, 2010).

The promotion of these contradicting ideologies is achieved through what Penglase (2007) describes as a new form of racist discourse emerging within Brazilian crime news. Penglase (2007) uses the term ‘neo-racist discourse’ derived from Balibar’s (1991) theory of ‘neo-racism’, which suggests a shift in racist language and social representations. Neo-racist ideologies substitute ‘race’ for new symbols of social stigma in discourse that draw the attention away from the underlying, yet prevailing racist structures (Balibar, 1991; Penglase, 2007). In news discourse this sometimes subtle and implicit ‘new’ racism is manifested through a variety of linguistic strategies that support a positive ‘in-group’ (us) representation and a negative image of the ‘out-group’ (them), a system of (new) racist discourse commonly observed within news reports of immigration and cultural Others in Europe and North America (Van Dijk, 2000).

In Brazilian news media, the rising trend of news reports on drug trafficking and violence involving afro-descendent Brazilians within the favela communities has cultivated a synonymous link between ‘favela’, ‘criminality’, and ‘blackness’ (Penglase, 2007; Vargas, 2010, 2014). This symbolic interconnection thus “does the work of racism while appearing non-racist” (Penglase, 2007, p. 307) through the substitution of an explicit mentioning of race for the criminal stigmatization of a physical space with historically black roots.8 The systematic association of these communities with violence and especially drug trafficking in news discourse9 (Vaz et al., 2005) therefore supports an image of the favela as a ‘dangerous territory’ filled with black criminals who threaten public safety (Campos, 2011; Penglase, 2007; Vargas, 2014).

Apart from disproportionate criminalization, this portrayal ignores the socio-political reality in Brazil in which hundreds of favela dwellers are killed by police each year (Muggah, 2016). The image of the favela resident as suffering abuse or execution by police is not only severely under-represented within top news sources, when favela residents are reported as ‘victims’ they are also always linked to criminal actions (Vaz et al., 2005). Whether or not they are represented as perpetrators or victims, routine

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8 The favelas were informally built by the former black slaves who migrated to the urban areas in search of work, especially following Abolition (see Campos, 2011).
9 An extensive analysis of the representations of favelas in O Globo newspaper revealed that the word ‘drug trafficker’ (traficante) was routinely used to describe favela residents, even in reports unrelated to drug crimes (see Vaz et al., 2005).
placement of Afro-Brazilians in crime news transforms these citizens into “the image of crime itself” \(^\text{10}\) (Conceição, 1999, para. 16).

### 4.2 Crime news, fear, and the Brazilian media’s sociopolitical role

One of the major focuses of research on crime news centers on the notion of a ‘fear of crime’ promoted by the media’s inaccurate construction of the crime reality (Cavender, 2004; Chagnon, 2014; Greer and Reiner, 2015; Surette, 2007; Vaz et al., 2005). A fundamental factor in the establishment of ‘fear’ and its repercussions on public discourse and political action is the disproportionate level of *victimization* in the media which overrepresents the reality of violence and risk experienced by the public and reinforces the notion of crime as arbitrarily targeting innocent civilians who passively fall victim to criminal acts (Surette, 2007; Vaz et al., 2005). This fear of social violence cultivated by the news supports beliefs and attitudes on crime as an issue of individual deviance, independent of other more deeply rooted social problems, which requires stricter laws and punishment policies (Cavender, 2004; Chagnon, 2014; Surette, 2007).

The overrepresentation and framing of crime in the news therefore directs excessive public attention towards this issue, while other crucial social problems such as those connected to health and social welfare are consequentially belittled or ignored within the public agenda (Surette, 2007, p. 190).

Narratives of violence and crime in Rio de Janeiro emerged as a prominent theme in the news shortly following Brazil’s transition back to democracy in 1985 (Penglase, 2007), developing an image of the favela as the ‘enemy’ and ‘threat’ to the public order which continues to dominate contemporary news coverage on these criminalized zones (Leite, 2014; Vargas, 2014). Over the past decades the routine news reports of violent crimes against random victims and *balas perdidas* within the favelas (Penglase, 2007; Vaz et al. 2004) together with the geographical proximity of many of Rio’s poor communities to the city’s wealthier zones have created a fearful public of ‘virtual victims’ who blame the State for security failures (Vaz et al. 2004). According to Penglase (2007), the establishment of fear through a dichotomizing representation of ‘good’ vs. ‘bad’ has served to legitimize State violence targeting black favela youth and to demarcate clear boundaries of separation where “the possibility of transgression” was once celebrated by the myth of racial democracy (p. 322). Conflicts of urban violence and drug crimes have

\(^{10}\) Own translation from original: “a própria imagem do crime” (Conceição, 1999).
transformed “the city of the graceful navigation of contradictions” into “the city of the lost bullet” in which racially rooted social difference is marked by crime and violence through neo-racist news rhetoric (Penglase, 2007, p. 322). The promotion of ‘virtual victimization’ and a ‘fear of crime’ by major news outlets such as O Globo (Vaz et al., 2004) has thus played a fundamental role in the perpetuation of symbolic and physical oppression of a community portrayed as the ‘classes perigosas’ who threaten the well-being of ‘honest citizens’ (Mendonça, 2011; Penglase, 2007).

The crucial, didactic role of the media, particularly O Globo newspaper and TV Globo’s locally broadcast news (RJ TV), has also been identified by much of the scholarship addressing the news coverage of the ‘pacification’ initiative responding to Rio’s ‘security crisis’ (Almendra, 2014; Leite, 2014; Mendonça, 2011; Silva, 2010; Vargas, 2014). The arrival of the Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) project to strategically selected favelas in Rio de Janeiro, preceding the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Rio Olympics, brought with it the promotion of several contradictory, yet mutually dependent values and policies within the mediated public discourse surrounding this political move. While the news coverage on the process of ‘pacification’ within Rio de Janeiro’s favelas has preserved the ‘metáfora da guerra’ (‘metaphor of war’) (Leite, 2014), this ‘war’ is morally justified by values of ‘peace’ and ‘democracy’ emphasized within O Globo’s framing of the discourses and practices addressing the state-declared problem of the favela (Leite, 2014; Silva, 2010). Almendra (2014) points to the media’s representation of the process of ‘democratization’ within the favelas as centering the public attention on counterpoised concepts of peace and fear while leaving details on the conditions of the conflict and definition of citizenship at “the margins of the public debate” (p. 71). The paradoxical representation of war within narratives of peace and democracy in news coverage on pacification operations therefore functions to simultaneously support and disguise the socially shared (racist) attitudes and beliefs requiring clearly defined spatial and racial boundaries between us and them – the “worthy citizens” and the favelas – and fueling the advocacy for violent and oppressive state interventions (Vargas, 2014, p. 294).

Critical analyses of Globo media’s construction of the conflicts within the favelas and the sociopolitical consequences of pacification reveal an underlying portrait of State occupation of these territories as not simply a political goal of establishing security, but rather part of a deeper strategy to ‘civilize’ and ‘modernize’ these communities

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Grupo Globo’s print and television news representations of State management of the favelas through UPP presence promote a question of domination in a “social, political, and moral hierarchy”\textsuperscript{12} in which the poor must be “comandados” (Almendra, 2014, p. 78) and “blackness” must be “domesticate[d] and control[led]” (Vargas, 2014, p. 299). According to Almendra (2014), this hierarchy is maintained by discourses pointing to a need to restrain the violence which threatens public security while at the same time promoting a neoliberal ideology.

Within \textit{O Globo} newspaper’s narratives, the ‘arrival of democracy’ (Silva, 2010) to the favelas with the installment of the UPPs becomes synonymous with the promise of economic growth and opportunities that the ‘modernization’ of the favelas will bring (Almendra, 2014; Silva, 2010). As exemplified in the official slogan of one of the government-sponsored, public advertisements promoting the UPPs, stating “\textit{Com a paz o Rio todo cresce junto}”\textsuperscript{13} (Almendra, 2014, p. 80), the economic prosperity of the city is framed as contingent upon the concept of peace. The idea of ‘peace’ within this public advertisement together with that of ‘democracy’ in the discourse of major news providers such as \textit{O Globo}, however, contextually represent the establishment of public order through the ‘militarization’ of the favelas as the solution to the fear-provoking crime depicted within these communities (Almendra, 2014). The mediated discourses promising economic growth are thus intertwined with and dependent on the successful execution of militaristic policies which represent the installation of peace and control within the aspiring “\textit{cidade de negocios}” (“city of business”) (Almendra, 2014; Leite, 2015).

While the literature examining the news coverage of Brazilian crime and the sociopolitical situation within the favelas provides valuable critical analysis, it is focused on examining these representations within traditional forms of media such as print newspapers/magazines and television (Almendra, 2014; Leite, 2015; Mendonça, 2011; Penglase, 2007; Silva, 2010; Vargas, 2014; Vaz et al., 2004). The prominent research outlined in this review is also primarily limited to the academic fields of sociology and anthropology, thus failing to address the explicit connection between mediated discourse (with strategic macro/micro moves and structures), cognitive representations (\textit{mental models}, ideologies, and other social beliefs), and the sociopolitical reality. My research therefore aims to extend the current scope of the literature by providing an in-depth,

\textsuperscript{12} Own translation of original: “hierarquia social, política e moral” (Almendra, 2014, p. 78)
\textsuperscript{13} “With peace, all of Rio grows together” (own translation)
multidisciplinary critical discourse analysis of contemporary news stories on this topic as they appear on Facebook—the leading social network in Brazil. The location of my investigation within an interactive digital platform allows this study to also consider public reactions to news-story content and the ideologies and attitudes revealed within the dynamic exchange of discourse online.

5. Ideology, public discourse, and the digital era: A theoretical framework

In order to build upon the literature through a multidisciplinary, critical approach to analyzing ideologies and their sociopolitical implications through mediated representations and online commentary the following three theoretical questions must first be addressed: (1) What is ideology and how does it ‘function’ (is it identified) within (news) discourse? (2) What are the mechanisms behind the complex process of news production and reception? (3) How is this process affected by the digital revolution? The following three subsections provide the theoretical grounds for responding to each of these questions as well as the analytical instruments for critically examining the discourse structures within news reports and online commentary.

5.1 Ideology, power, and discourse

Ideology is a much-disputed concept with a multitude of definitions that are not always compatible (Eagleton, 1943/1991; Larrain, 1979/1986). According to Eagleton (1943/1991), while some notions of ideology overly confine this concept within the boundaries of false beliefs and domination, others risk overgeneralization of the term to the point in which ‘everything is ideological’ – stripping the concept of ideology from any useful meaning and distinction of its manifestation in society (p. 7-9). Providing a definition of ideology through a sociocognitive perspective, Van Dijk (1998) both challenges the strictly negative connotations of ideology and power as invariably used for oppressive and dominating purposes while also drawing a distinction between this concept and other often confused notions such as social knowledge, opinions, and practices.

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Like knowledge and other social representations such as attitudes and opinions, Van Dijk (1998, 2011) describes ideologies as *socially shared beliefs* that must be defined through an interconnected triangle of cognition, discourse, and society. Social representations, within this sociocognitive framework, are structures located and organized in the minds of social members, which are manifested and (re)produced through discourse and other social practices, and carry political, historical, and other social functions (Van Dijk, 1998, 2011). What distinguishes ideologies from other shared beliefs, however, is their strategic role in unifying and legitimating social groups in the struggle over power (Van Dijk, 1998, 2011). Although this definition of ideology recognizes its negative purpose in legitimizing the dominance of one social group over another (i.e. *power abuse*), it also acknowledges the possible positive function of ideology (and power) in resisting and challenging power abuse. A distinction is therefore made here between ‘dominant ideologies’ that serve elite interests and other forms of ideology which define (non-dominant) social groups (i.e. anti-racists) and may be used to fight against oppression (Van Dijk, 1998, 2011).

In order for (dominant) powers and their ideologies to gain legitimacy or wide acceptance, ideological beliefs may be ‘rationalized’, ‘naturalized’, and/or ‘universalized’ – strategic processes that allow ideological beliefs to take on a ‘common sense’ nature (Eagleton, 1943/1991). Unlike like commonly shared knowledge, however, complete naturalization and universalization of ideological beliefs are never fully achieved since ideologies are shared by groups rather than the whole epistemic community (Eagleton, 1943/1991; Van Dijk, 2014). According to Eagleton (1943/1991), there is always a minute element of ‘self-awareness’ of one’s ideological position which is a consequential factor of the existence of an invariable ideological ‘other’. This therefore supposes a necessary degree of contention at the universal level surrounding beliefs that remain ideological.

Discourse has been recognized as the crucial apparatus in the establishment and legitimation of social power (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1980; Van Dijk, 2008b). According to Foucault (1980), the constitution and solidification of power relations can only be achieved through “the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse” (p. 93). Drawing from this Foucauldian perspective, Fairclough (1992) describes the function of discourse as “reproducing” and “transforming society” (p. 65). It is through discourse that beliefs are shared and knowledge is acquired. In contemporary society, news media serves as a significant source of knowledge outside of personal
experiences (Van Dijk, 2014). Since the news “defines society by defining our conception of society” (Van Dijk, 2014, p.156), this medium is an attractive instrument for legitimatizing and maintaining power abuse. Through this form of public discourse, ideologies that determine social practices are often developed and reinforced in the interests of dominant powers such as the economic and political elite (Van Dijk, 1993, 2008b). However, just as discursive practices may serve to ‘naturalize’ and maintain dominant ideologies and belief systems, they may also act to disrupt the established structures of power and social representations (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1998, 2011).

5.1.1 Moves and structures in ideological discourse

Since not all discourse is invariably ideological (Eagleton, 1943/1991; Van Dijk, 1998, 2011), it is necessary to outline the ways in which ideologies may be identified and distinguished within discursive processes. Essential within the concept of discourse as a social practice in which ideologies may be sustained, reproduced and/or challenged is the understanding of ideology as a structure that exists beyond the boundaries of language (Eagleton, 1943/1991; Fairclough, 1992, 2003; Van Dijk, 1998, 2011). While Fairclough (1992, 2003) points to the many linguistic properties which project and sustain ideologies, he recognizes ideology as surpassing the texts in which it is embodied; ideology must be contextualized as part of the social event and communicative process. Critical discourse analysis thus aims to identify and deconstruct the often discretely embedded ideologies and the power they uphold through the examination of linguistic structures and semantic moves within their particular social and political contexts.

Since ideologies are shared by groups, polarized organization of *us* vs *them* is often established within ideological discourse through a variety of moves and structures that support a positive ‘in-group’ and negative ‘out-group’ depiction (Van Dijk, 1998, 2011). The manifestation of this polarization in discourse, however, often takes on a more sophisticated form which Van Dijk (1998, 2011) describes as an ‘ideological square’, shaped by the following ‘four principles’ (ibid, 2011, p. 44): (1) emphasize positive in-group information; (2) emphasize negative out-group information; (3) deemphasize negative in-group information; (4) deemphasize positive out-group information. These polarizing strategies of the ‘ideological square’ can be observed in the variety of structures and moves that create meaning at both the macro and micro levels of discourse (Van Dijk, 2011).
When it comes to news discourse, the many decisions behind production – from the deciding of which voices or information to include (or exclude) to the contextualization of these discourses and ‘facts’ – are all ideologically bound (Casado Velarde, 2008; Fairclough, 2003; Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993). Starting at the macro-structural level of news discourse, Van Dijk (1988) points to the significance of the Headline and other schematic elements of news reports in constructing mental representations or models of the world. While the Headline serves as the most easily remembered ‘subjective definition’ of the event and frequently reveals the ideological emphasis of the report (Van Dijk, 1989, 1991), other elements of schemata such as the overall organization of topics within the body of the report (Lead, Main Event, Background, and Verbal Reactions, etc.) also determine the ideological focus by giving more or less importance to certain information.

At the local level of discourse, the use of numbers to represent ‘facts’ and provide details, also called the ‘number game’ (Van Dijk, 2011), together with discourse representation (Fairclough, 2003) are two crucial strategies in news reports as they not only support the ideological position of the reporter, but also enhance the appearance of a supposed ‘objectivity’ and ‘truthfulness’. While both fundamental strategies of newstelling serve as persuasive tools for achieving credibility (Van Dijk, 2011), the referencing of external voices in the form of direct, indirect, or narrative discourse representation (Fairclough, 2003) crucially develops and strengthens the alleged authenticity and overall authority of the information given (Casado Velarde, 2008). Through the quoting of authorities and eyewitnesses, the journalist disguises herself as merely a “faithful transmitter of reality”15 (Casado Velarde, 2008, p. 81), while simultaneously granting more ‘truth’ to some voices over others through discursive strategies that distance and align the reporter to that which is reported (Casado Velarde, 2008; Fairclough, 2003).

Beyond the ways in which external/prior voices are explicitly interwoven within (news) texts, Fairclough’s (1992) theory of intertextuality considers the multitude of voices and fragments of prior discourses which are excluded or left implicit as also crucial to the ideological position supported by the global text. An intertextual analysis of discourse therefore recognizes those non-attributed (or non-attributable) texts that may be presupposed, negated, or ironically refuted (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003)

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15 My own translation from original text: “fiel transmisor de la realidad” (Casado Velarde, 2008: 81)
highlights the particular significance and argumentative value of presuppositions (or assumptions), which implicitly incorporate (dominant) ideological beliefs as common knowledge that the speaker shares with the interlocutor (i.e. ‘common ground’) (p. 55). This form of intertextuality thus ignores possible contention with the presupposed text and does ‘ideological work’ by naturalizing and universalizing meanings in accordance with the dominant ideology (Fairclough, 2003, p. 58).

The strategies outlined above form a part of the process of recontextualization or the process in which texts and their representations are appropriated and transformed (Fairclough, 2003). Since news texts are essentially recontextualized discourse or ‘discourse over discourse’ (Casado Velarde, 2008), the many structures and moves observed within this discourse genre are part of an intertextual process of mediation in which events are represented through an ideologically subjective lens. While the literature in this section provides the theory for identifying the manifestations of ideology within discourse, in order to demonstrate the cognitive processes that determine these discursive strategies and their function within a sociopolitical context, the concept of recontextualization connected to interpretation and production of discourse must be examined through a contextually relevant, sociocognitive framework.

5.2 Processes of news production and reception

Theoretical scholarship examining crime-news and the driving forces behind the news making process reveal three dominant models for explaining production decisions (Chagnon, 2014; Greer and Reiner, 2015). While the classic approach points to hegemonic control over news media by the powerful elite who use this medium to promote and maintain the dominant ideologies (Gitlin, 1980, Hall, 1978), this is contrasted by a perspective which claims that news production is largely driven by professional values and/or market-driven pressures (Chagnon, 2014; Greer and Reiner, 2015, Surette, 2011). Much contemporary literature examining (crime) news production, however, acknowledges the need for an inclusive approach to understanding this process (Bednark & Caple, 2017; Chagnon, 2014; Greer and Reiner, 2015; Van Dijk, 1988).

Extending the line of ‘hybridized’ crime-news literature, Chagnon (2014) suggests conceptualizing crime-news production as a complex ‘resonance machine’ in which professional ideologies of law enforcement and journalism as well as a ‘grand-order’ ideology connected to neoliberal values circularly feed into one another (p. 119-
Even with the consideration of professional values, Chagnon’s (2014) work reveals how nationalistic/capitalistic hegemony perpetuates fear-heavy crime coverage that inaccurately represents the social reality through negative depictions of social minorities. Pertinent within this crime-news reproduction ‘machine’, however, is the recognition of the neoliberal, individualistic focus on the causes of crime and the ‘militaristic logic’ on how crime should be dealt with as not simply top-down impositions of the elites (Chagnon, 2014). While the elite may be the source of these social beliefs, the ways in which both journalists and police officers understand, think about, and report crime also emanates from the dominant discourses and ideologies propagated by the broader society (Chagnon, 2014, p. 117).

Although large-scale empirical studies examining all of the procedures of news production in general and of news discourse itself reveals how this powerful industry largely supports the ideological interests of the powerful white elite (Van Dijk, 1991, 1993), these findings also acknowledge the multitude of factors beyond top-down, elite control that affect the complex newsmaking process. Van Dijk’s (1989, 1991, 1993) multidisciplinary work provides this extensive data through a theoretical framework that examines the crucial sociocognitive interface mediating the ways in which people think and talk within a socially constructed reality. In news production, both (dominant) ideologies and other social representations as well as personal knowledge and opinions influence how journalists interpret and choose to depict newsworthy events (Van Dijk, 1989, 1991, 1993).

A key concept within this sociocognitive approach to news production is the function of context models as the crucial interface mediating the strategic comprehension and exchange of discourse (Van Dijk 2008a, 2009, 2014). According to this theory, context models are a special type of mental model that connect the constantly updating episodic memory with the social dimensions of the communicative situation, while also serving as the interface between discourse and macro sociocognitive structures such as common knowledge and ideologies (Van Dijk, 2008a, 2009). An essential feature of the context model in the production of news discourse is the k-device, which strategically allows journalists to (re)interpret newsworthy events, calculating what old and new knowledge to include or exclude and how to do so based on the ‘common ground’ assumed between news producers and their public (Van Dijk, 2014). This k-device is thus the mechanism behind the evaluative process that allows discourse producers to decide what information (or knowledge) can be left implicit or presupposed (Van Dijk, 2014),
which closely links this device with not only universal knowledge but also the ideological beliefs that may expand and blur the boundaries of presupposed ‘common ground’.

Since audiences are also ‘social members’ with shared ‘social memories’ as well as personal experiences shaping their knowledge and beliefs, the way they process (news) discourse must also be explained with these sociocognitive dimensions (Van Dijk, 1989, 2014). Readers’ subjective interpretation of news texts are determined by personal experiences and prior readings (or viewings) of the event (event models) together with context model that allow newsreaders to process and update their semantic representations of the event (Van Dijk, 2008a, 2009). A sociocognitive understanding of news reception therefore recognizes the public as active receivers and producers of discourse who engage in unique, complex interpretations of news events.

Fairclough (1992) also points to “the multiple dimensions of social life” that play into and affect the dynamic interpretation of texts\(^{16}\) (p. 136). Since all individuals are ‘social subjects’ with unique experiences allowing them to effectively construct coherent understandings of (mediated) texts that weave together a series of external, prior discourses and assumptions (Fairclough, 1992), the intertextual nature of the process of production and interpretation of (news) discourse not only considers the ‘manifest’ factors of intertextuality located within the text. The multitude of prior texts which shape the memory, knowledge, and value system of the interpreter are also a crucial part of the interpretation process (Fairclough, 1992, 2003).

5.3 News within a digital context: power and public discourse 2.0

The idea of power as “a productive network which runs through the whole social body” (Foucault, 1989, p. 119) holds particular significance within the contemporary context of public discourse, with the internet revolutionizing whose voices are made visible within the public space. The mass media, politicians and other elites, as the traditional holders of ‘symbolic power’ (Van Dijk, 2008b), no longer singularly control the massive spreading of knowledge, opinion, and other social beliefs in a modern society in which a virtual public actively selects, shares, and responds to the powerful discourses circulating the internet. In today’s digital society, the interpretations and reactions of the public have become part of the news communication event through cybernewspapers, blogs, and social networks. These interactive platforms have thus contributed to the

\(^{16}\) Fairclough uses the term ‘text’ to refer to “language in use” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3).
transformation of the strictly one-way or ‘vertical’ process of the media industry into one that is increasingly interactive and ‘horizontal’ (Castells, 2007), as audiences become active members in the reproduction, spread, and overall power over public discourse.

While some scholars question the proclaimed ability of new technologies to democratize and weaken traditional structures of power (Buckingham & Rodriguez, 2013; Carpentier & Cammaerts, 2006), much of the literature focuses on the revolutionizing role of the interactive online environment which has transformed the rules and boundaries of the public sphere (Arancibia & Montecino, 2013; Aquino Bittencourt, 2014; Cárdenas, 2016; Castells, 2007). The emergence of blogs that promote commentary and discussion over topics and events presented in editorials and news articles, according to Arancibia & Montecino (2013), is one powerful example of the promotion of the democratic experience online. Through these interactive platforms, the voices of common citizens who challenge the hegemonic media messages are made visible within an online space that encourages public debate; in the blogosphere elite public discourse is thus transformed into ‘civic discourse’ (Arancibia & Montecino, 2013, p. 10).

Social media platforms such as Facebook promote a similar interactive environment to that of news blogs through the creation of (news-media) fan pages that are open to the public and cultivate commentary and discussion in reaction to posted news reports. In this dynamic, communicative space the mediation of news discourse becomes mediatized, as new media technologies redefine the system of news delivery and consumption and deconstruct the traditional ‘one-way flow’ (Aquino Bittencourt, 2014; Cárdenas, 2016; Pardo Abril, 2007). With news production and reception revolutionized, the reconstruction of mediated discourse in online commentary reflects the sociocognitive process of meta-representation in which new representations are formed over mediated representations, accounting for the appropriation and transformation of meaning in the interactive, online space (Cárdenas, 2016; Pardo Abril, 2007).

As a discursive expression of subjective interpretation, the recontextualization and resignification (Cárdenas, 2016) of news representations through online commentary must therefore be examined within a multidisciplinary, sociocognitive framework that considers the crucial role of mental models as part of an intertextual process determining the creation of new meaning. Since intertextuality supposes “that any text is a link in a chain of texts reacting to, drawing on, and transforming other texts” (Fairclough and Wodak, 2011, p. 361), processes of meta-representation in the Facebook fan-page are inherently intertextual as followers rely upon the unique collection of prior experiences.
and discourses (stored as mental models) in the reconstruction of mediated representations. Context models – providing the crucial interface between event models and social beliefs, on the one hand, and the discourse that is socially situated within a particular communicative context, on the other (Van Dijk, 2008) – are thus the crucial link within this intertextual connection between discourse varieties or ‘genre chains’ (Fairclough, 2003) in mediatized communication.

While the news media industry continues to hold undeniable ‘symbolic power’ (Van Dijk, 2008b), new media technologies have clearly transformed the traditional one-way delivery of news into a dynamic, participative process in which multiple voices and texts become a visual part of the interactive news-sharing event. A critical analysis of online news representations of the sociopolitical conflict between police and favela residents should therefore consider the discourse produced by both journalists and fan page followers as part of the active construction of ideologies, attitudes, and other social beliefs connect to the sociopolitical conflict confronted within this investigation.

6. Research Questions

With the sociopolitical research problem and theoretical literature outlined above, I present the following principle research question (P.Q.) which drives this investigation:

P.Q. What are the ideological and sociopolitical structures and practices supported by mediated representations and interactive public commentary on O Globo’s Facebook fan page?

Within the structure of my analysis, P.Q. is divided into two specific research questions (S.Q.) which individually address each form of discourse analyzed within O Globo’s Facebook fan page (news posts and full stories vs. fan-page commentary):

S.Q.1 What ideology-supporting discursive strategies are used to represent the various actors and actions within the news posts and full stories shared through O Globo’s Facebook fan page, and what are the sociopolitical implications of these mediated representations?

S.Q.2 How do news followers interpret, re-contextualize, and re-represent the various actors, actions, and situations within the interactive process of news production-reception on O Globo’s Facebook fan page, and what ideologies and
sociopolitical structures are supported by this intertextual meta-process of re-representation?

7. Methodology

7.1 Corpus Selection

The analytical focus of this investigation will center on the (textual) news discourse and public reactions to a recent conflict between police and residents in the Cidade de Deus (CDD) community. The geographical location of the CDD, as one of Rio’s largest poor communities comprised of several favelas that neighbor more affluent neighborhoods and World Cup and Olympic locations in the South Zone, together with its sociopolitical situation as the second favela territory to receive UPP occupation, makes news coverage of conflicts within this community particularly pertinent to this study.

The highly mediated incident examined in this investigation began with the death of four police officers on November 19, 2016 and the discovery of seven bodies of residents from the community the following day. Findings and updates around this newsworthy event made several days of top local and national news headlines in Brazil. My analysis will examine all of the news posts directly reporting updates on this incident (constituting an eight-day period) as they appear on the Facebook fan page of O Globo newspaper, a Rio de Janeiro based news source that is Brazil’s second most circulated newspaper both in print and online according to data from the Instituto Verificador de Comunicação (IVC).17

As one of Brazil’s leading newspapers, O Globo forms an important part of the powerful media conglomerate Grupo Globo. Globo’s website,18 which offers all of its print and broadcast news and other media online, is currently the fourth most visited website in Brazil following Google, Youtube, and Facebook.19 Although Globo provides an interactive space for commentary on the content from its various news providers, the significantly high use of Facebook for receiving, exchanging and discussing news stories in Brazil20 makes this social network the most relevant choice from which to draw my

17 http://www.anj.org.br/maiores-jornais-do-brasil/
18 http://www.globo.com/
online corpus. On Facebook, *O Globo*’s official fan page is also among the most visited in Brazil with over five million official followers (5,122,244 to date).

Within the delineated timeframe (19/11/2016-26/11/2016), a total of 18 news posts (NPs) on *O Globo*’s Facebook fan page with links to the original print story on *O Globo*’s webpage were identified. Table 1 contains a list of each NP headline in order of publication and the number of comments received. These 18 NPs as they appear on *O Globo*’s fan page, two selected full textual news stories (NS1 & NS2), and a reduced sample of fan page commentary (45 comments in total) of the most commented post (with NP5 receiving 1,208 comments) serve as the corpus sample for this investigation. The news posts chosen for full-story analysis were determined by the quantity of comments received (NP1 & NP2), and the 45 comments were selected based on Facebook’s automatic categorization of the ‘top comments’, with relevance decided by the volume of sub-comments and ‘likes’ generated. As all of the original texts are in Portuguese, the essential pieces of texts that are directly incorporated into the analysis will include in-text and footnote translations with the original texts.

Table 1: News Posts (NP) on CDD conflict (Nov. 19-26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP#</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Num. of Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP1</td>
<td>19/11/2016</td>
<td><strong>Helicóptero da PM cai na Cidade de Deus e mata quatro pessoas</strong></td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MP [Military Police] helicopter falls in Cidade de Deus and kills four people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP2</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td><strong>Vídeos mostram imagens de helicóptero da PM caindo</strong></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Videos show images of PM helicopter falling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP3</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td><strong>Operação na Cidade de Deus será ‘por tempo indeterminado’, diz secretário de Segurança</strong></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Operation in Cidade de Deus will be ‘for an indeterminate time’, says the secretary of Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Direct link to *O Globo*’s fan page: https://www.facebook.com/jornaloglobo/
22 The most followed Facebook news pages are Globo’s multimedia news portal G1 (8,942,959 followers to date) and the conglomerate’s primetime TV news provider Jornal Nacional (8,024,166 followers to date). However, *Jornal O Globo* was chosen for its primary format as print news, which better serves the textual rather than audio-visual focus of this analysis.
23 Direct links to full articles on *O Globo*’s webpage: http://glo.bo/2gvusUq; http://glo.bo/2gxPLEH
24 The reduced corpus sample for full news story and commentary analysis was required due to length and time constraints. It should also be noted that although selected comments are only directly connected to one of the fully analyzed reports, my exploration of the commentary responding to the other fully analyzed news story as well as other news posts revealed a similar trend in content to the comment sample chosen for analysis.
25 Although *O Globo*’s Facebook fan-page comments with information about their authors are openly visible to the general public, this study establishes ethical guidelines that maintains author anonymity of the 45 comments available within the appendix and those which are presented within the analysis in order to avoid potential harm (Bolander & Locher, 2014).
26 All translations are my own.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td>Estaçao de BRT sofre vandalismo após confrontos na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP5</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td>Moradores da Cidade de Deus encontram sete corpos de jovens desaparecidos</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP6</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td>Policiais mortos na Cidade de Deus Serão enterrados neste domingo</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP7</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td>Perfil em rede social de PM morto na Cidade de Deus é desativado</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP8</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td>Pezão decreta luto oficial de três dias pela morte de policiais na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP9</td>
<td>20/11/2016</td>
<td>Governo oferece Força Nacional para ajudar na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP10</td>
<td>21/11/2016</td>
<td>Sete mortos na Cidade de Deus são identificados pela polícia</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP11</td>
<td>21/11/2016</td>
<td>Gerente do tráfico é preso na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP12</td>
<td>21/11/2016</td>
<td>Parentes dizem que mortos na Cidade de Deus foram torturados</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP13</td>
<td>21/11/2016</td>
<td>Cinco dos sete mortos na Cidade de Deus já tinha passagem pelo sistema penitenciário</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP14</td>
<td>23/11/2016</td>
<td>Defensoria vai à Justiça a impedir revista coletiva na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP15</td>
<td>23/11/2016</td>
<td>Polícia realiza uma grande operação na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP16</td>
<td>23/11/2016</td>
<td>Moradores reclamam de abuso policial na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP17</td>
<td>25/11/2016</td>
<td>Fusis de traficante são encontrados em casa na Cidade de Deus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP18</td>
<td>26/11/2016</td>
<td>Corpos de mortos na Cidade de Deus não tinham marcas de faca, diz polícia</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globo.com">O Globo</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*45 analyzed comments extracted from this body of commentary

The format of each Facebook NP includes a comment from O Globo (signed as #JornalOGlobo), the link to the original news story on O Globo’s news site, and a photo (also hyperlinked to the full story) with the report’s headline, followed by the public commentary. While O Globo’s news reports are predominantly textual rather than audio/visual, the multimedia nature of the online format has transformed the strictly textual approach of news telling to one that employs the frequent use of images and videos.
complementing stories. However, due to length and time constraints, this study will focus on the online discourse at the textual level.

7.2 Methods of Analysis

The polemic nature of the sociopolitical conflict on which this investigation centers and its connection to deeply rooted (racial) inequalities that have been sustained by the dominant ideologies (Vargas, 2014) requires a dynamic, analytical approach for recognizing the discursive strategies which may reinforce and/or challenge the social representations around this issue. My analytical framework for examining O Globo’s news reports fundamentally combines Teun van Dijk’s theory of discourse, cognition, and society as an interconnected triangle crucially determining the way in which meanings and social realities are constructed with Norman Fairclough’s theory of *intertextuality*, which understands mediated (and mediatized) discourses as intertextually drawing upon multiple genres and external discourses in their construction.

As my theoretical framework recognizes the vital role of context in the production and interpretation of discourse, the contributions of Arancibia & Montecino (2013), and Cárdenas (2016) in their research on commentary responding to news discourse online will serve as valuable references in the organization of my analysis of public reactions within the Facebook fan page. My examination of *meta-representation* as part of a complex inter-discursive system, combines Cárdenas’ (2016) research on the appropriation of news reports on Facebook (fundamentally grounded in the sociocognitive work of Teun Van Dijk) with Fairclough’s (1992, 2003) theory of intertextuality, allowing my research to uniquely focus on the mediatized meta-process in commentary as part of a discursive ‘chain’ in which prior texts are reconfigured in the construction of new representations.

Critical analysis of both news discourse and online commentary will be organized around the variety of strategies which form an ‘ideological square’ (Van Dijk, 1998) promoting positive in-group and negative out-group representations, and the overall criminalization of the favelas.27 At the macro-structural level, news headlines and subheadlines will be examined in the 18 NPs as well as other categories of news schemata.

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27 While this study aims to uncover the most relevant features of both news discourse and commentary, due to length and time constraints not all ideological moves and structures that can be found in the corpus of news and commentary are addressed within the analysis.
(Van Dijk, 1988, 1991) in the 2 fully analyzed news stories (NS1 & NS2). Analysis at the local level of news discourse will focus on the ideological role of overcompleteness and the ‘number game’ (Van Dijk, 2011) as well as intertextuality through discourse representation (Fairclough, 1992, 2003), (multimedia) eyewitness sources, and more implicit intertextual structures such as negation and presuppositions (Ibid). This exploration of O Globo’s coverage of newsworthy events within the CDD will serve to critically uncover the sociopolitical interests supported by the various ideological representations in the news posts and full stories.

The ways in which followers negotiate and reconstruct representations in news reports according to their subjective readings/interpretations exemplifies a form of communication with distinctive discursive structures from those observed in (online) news texts. Selected categories outlined in Van Dijk’s (2011) discussion of common ideological strategies within discourse that will be examined in commentary include: ‘interaction and context’, (us vs. them) categorization, lexicalization, disclaimers, examples (mental models), and rhetorical moves such as irony and metaphor. Analysis of these (persuasive) ideological categories in fan-page commentary will draw from the work of Cárdenas (2016) and Fairclough (1992, 2003) in considering how they are situated within an intertextually rich process of meta-representation. These strategies used by commenters to align/disalign with news texts and the various actors involved in the sociopolitical conflict will serve as a window into the some of the major attitudes, opinions and ideologies of O Globo’s fan page followers and their role within the process of news production and reception in this digital space.

My qualitative analysis is divided into three chapters. The first and second chapter provide an examination of O Globo’s news coverage on the CDD incidents and their related updates. While the first chapter of analysis looks at the headlines/subheadlines of the 18 news posts as they appear on O Globo’s Facebook fan page, the second section examines mediation within the two selected full news stories. These chapters consider the macro and micro discursive structures and moves specified above as well as the sociocognitive and sociopolitical implications of the strategic coverage. In the third chapter, the exploration of representations of the conflict within O Globo’s Facebook fan page will shift over to the multiple ways in which news followers interpret, appropriate, and recontextualize the mediated representations through their own mental construction of the greater sociopolitical conflict. While the categories of news discourse analysis are arranged with distinctly labeled sections (i.e. Intertextuality, Overcompleteness), the
analysis of commentary is organized according to their pragmatic and semantic function serving to criticize *O Globo* and (re)define the various actor and actions represented within the polarized sociopolitical conflict. Conclusions reflecting on the general attitudes, ideologies, and other social beliefs supported through news discourse and fan page commentary and what analytical findings suggest about the social and political structures maintained by this discourse will be discussed at the end.

8. Defining the situation: Analysis of *O Globo*’s fan page news posts

The collection of 18 news posts (NP) which textually include the official headline of the full news report as well as a subheadline in the form of a comment signed by *O Globo*, together portray a complete story of the incidents within the CDD, beginning with the crash of a police-operated helicopter on November 19, 2016. The following critical analysis of the complete ensemble of NPs considers the ways in which newsworthy events are selected, defined, organized, and strategically presented through a variety of moves and structures and how these decisions establish and reinforce the polarized image of *us vs. them*. Since the Headline (and Subheadline) functions at the macro-level of meaning by providing a definition of the main topic according to what the journalist deems most appropriate/interesting for readers (Van Dijk, 1988), an examination of the way in which information is presented also provides insight into the assumptions *O Globo* fan page makes of its followers (their knowledge, attitudes, ideologies etc.). This chapter is divided into three sub-sections. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 outline the various ideological moves and discourse structures that promote an ‘ideological square’ with a clearly identified ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’, while section 6.3 provides a brief discussion of the ideological and sociopolitical implications of the way information is strategically selected and presented within the 18 NPs.

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28 This methodological distinction between the two sections is due to the significant differences between these discourse genres, with each comment displaying a variety of strategies that must be examine together in order to reveal followers’ ideological positioning and effectively exemplify the process of meta-representation.
8.1 Polarizing strategies in headlines/subheadlines part 1: A portrait of the ‘in-group’

Intertextuality

One of the most ubiquitous strategies in the collection of headlines/subheadlines is the use of outside voices to present ‘facts’ and opinions that support ideologically polarizing depictions while maintaining an aura of objectivity in the news posts. In 12 out of the 18 NPs, external voices were incorporated as either direct, indirect, or narrative forms of discourse representation, with a total of 18 cases of referenced voices. The various examples of discourse representation in the collection of headlines/subheadlines serve three primary functions: (1) to highlight reliability of information (i.e. “Segundo a PM, ‘Lelei’ estava com grande quantidade de drogas”29 [NP11]); (2) to reveal a conclusion or official decision (i.e. “Governo oferece Força Nacional para ajudar na Cidade de Deus”30 [NP9]); and (3) to emphasize the emotional feature of the event (i.e. “Como vou falar isso para minha filha? Foi uma covardia, afirmou a viúva de um deles”31 [NP12]). The outside voices chosen for each of these three purposes clearly demonstrate the acknowledged value assigned to some voices over others and thus their strategic incorporation into the news text. Voices of authorities are used in 13 in out of the 18 instances of discourse representation, eleven of which serve either to reinforce credibility or to tell of decisions and results. The two examples in which either the voice of a political elite or a member of the police add to the emotional content of the report, are among a series of posts supporting the positive representation of the police who died in the crash (see Figure 1).

29 “According to Military Police, ‘Lelei’ had a large quantity of drugs”; example of indirect discourse representation in NP11.
30 “Government offers National Force to help in Cidade de Deus”; example of narrative discourse representation in NP9.
31 “How will I tell my daughter about this? It was a cowardly act”; example of direct discourse representation in NP12.
The Facebook quote of the deceased police officer in NP7 holds particular ideological weight within the sample. The metaphorical, polarizing description of the socio-political conflict as a “fight” from which “we will one day collect the fruit” (“Um dia colheremos os frutos de tanta luta!”) is ironically juxtaposed against the concepts of justice (“por um país mais justo”), peace (PAZ!), and a metaphorical plea to continue towards the “light” (Siga na direção da Luz irmão!). In this quote, ideologies of democracy and peace are thus depicted as compatible with, and even supported by, the police actions within the favelas. Although clearly punctuated boundaries mark a separation between the opinion expressed within this direct quote and the voice of the journalist, the selection of this quote and its positioning or intertextual framing (Fairclough, 2003) within the center of three news posts supporting positive ‘in-group’ representations suggests its strategic rather than objective inclusion. Reinforcing this ideological message, are two succeeding news posts that contain voices of government authority supporting the position of the police—both emotionally and in the form of action (NP8 & NP9).

Apart from being framed within a series of ideologically supporting news posts, the national government’s decision to potentially send the National Force to take action within CDD (NP9) is described using the verbs ‘offer’ (oferece) and ‘help’ (ajuda), which presuppose a positive value of this national move with harmful consequences for the many who dwell within the CDD community. The use of verbs that carry a value
assumption[^32] (Fairclough, 2003), such as those exemplified within NP9 as well as other presuppositions that support a positive image of police actions in CDD, are consistently used within the sample of headlines/subheadline.

Figure 2: Extracted headlines/subheadlines extracted from *O Globo* NP1, NP3, NP14

![NP1](image1.png) ![NP14](image2.png) ![NP3](image3.png)

Figure 2 includes three additional examples of presuppositions serving to positively emphasize ‘in-group’ actions. In NP1 the purpose of the helicopter in the police operation is described with a positive value assumption through the verb ‘support’ (*apoia*), whereas in NP14 the action to prohibit a current authorization (*revista colectiva*) allowing police to enter CDD homes without a warrant is assigned the verb ‘impede’/‘hinder’ (*impedir*). This verb carries a negative value assumption concerning the actions of revoking the permission, which presupposes that the *revista colectiva* is a desired or necessary action. Similarly, the use of the word ‘measure’ (*medida*) in NP3 presupposes that there is currently a problem in the CDD requiring an operation that will continue for an ‘indeterminate time’. This *propositional assumption* (Fairclough, 2003) thus implicitly endorses the police operation as a ‘logical’ response to a ‘problematic’ situation.

**Overcompleteness and the ‘number game’**

After having established the need for police force in the previous examples of presuppositions, *O Globo* includes a post with extra details on the magnitude of operation which is successfully being ‘carried out’ (*policia realiza […]*) (NP15). The description of the operation, emphasized by details highlighting the number of police cars within the

[^32]: Fairclough (2003) uses assumption to refer to presupposition.
community ("nearly one hundred"), accentuates the gravity of the ‘problem’ in the favela consequentially ‘requiring’ militaristic occupation from police in a polarized depiction in which the police are the effective apparatus for controlling the ‘deviant’ community. The use of the ‘number game’ as well as other strategies of overcompleteness to add a polarizing emphasis on the ‘heroic’ function of the police can be prominently identified within the collection of headlines/subheadlines.

While no information about the burial of the seven CDD residents is given in the news posts, O Globo dedicates one of the posts to announcing the collective funeral of the four police officers, specifying the day and location of the public ceremony (see NP6 in Figure 1). The update on the deactivated status of the Facebook profile of one of the police officers who died in the helicopter crash immediately following this announcement in NP7 (analyzed above) further accentuates the value assigned to the lives of the police officers in contrast to the exclusion of similar details on the seven CDD residents. The subheadline of NP7 includes the police officer’s age and years of service (“Rogério Costa, de 36 anos, 17 deles servindo à PM”), numerical facts that positively emphasize the dedication of this man’s life to serving as a police officer after the emotional quote extracted from his Facebook page. Finally, the positive image of the police officers as part of the ‘in-group’ within the ‘ideological square’ (through overcompleteness and the ‘number game’) is observed on the same day as the prior two posts with the Governor’s announcement of three days of ‘official mourning’ (“Pezao decreta luto oficial de três dias pela morte de policiais” [NP8]). This strategic inclusion of extra information once again supports the heroic portrait of the police officers and the ‘martyrdom’ status of the four who were killed while on duty in the CDD.

8.2 Polarizing strategies in headlines/subheadlines part 2: A portrait of the ‘out-group’

Intertextuality

Although voices of authority with emotional messages were drawn upon for positive in-group emphasis in section 6.1, an examination of the singular case in which the emotional opinion of a CDD resident is shared within a headline/subheadline unveils a very different image and function of discourse representation. The discourse of the widow in the news post (NP12) (see Figure 3) uses a rhetorical question to imply that the murdering of her husband was a horrendous act that she will have a hard time explaining
to the daughter that this man left behind. This quote, together with the indirect voice of family members accusing of torture, increases the emotional value of the event by putting into question the morality of the action and actor(s) causing the death of these seven young men. Unlike the previously analyzed examples of direct discourse representation of the police officer and other authority figures, however, NP12 does not create a strictly positive image of the seven CDD victims and their families; it simply provides potential reason to pity these favela residents if the claimed acts of torture are revealed to be true.

The framing of the quote in NP12 within the series of news posts in Figure 4 above strategically adds to its lack of positive representation. Rather than being preceded or followed by other headlines supporting a positive image of the favela and the seven who were murdered, this post (NP12) falls in between the news of a drug lord being arrested within the community (NP11) and the post emphasizing the criminality of the CDD victims (NP13) (see Figure 3). Similar to the previous example, however, the emotionally charged message in post (NP12) upholds a democratic ideology in which the act of torture violates the value of ‘human rights’. The accusation of this human rights violation, however, is refuted in the last news post on the incidents in the CDD (NP18). The negation in this post (não tinham)³³ contains the echoes of the accusations of CDD residents in NP12, which are ‘proven’ by police to be false. A full reading of the story connected to this post reveals the emphasis on CDD residents’ ‘false claims’ of torture. The report provides an extended version of the quote from NP12, in which the woman

³³ “did not have” (NP 18)
claims that her husband’s body contained various knife wounds – a statement that is discredited by the voice of the police.

The polarizing quality of NP12 which serves to absolve police from accusations of torture while simultaneously adding to the negative image of favela residents as ‘untrustworthy’, also strategically takes the attention away from whether or not signs of torture were identified in the autopsies. The adverb ‘only’ (só) in the statement affirming the presence of gun wounds serves to both deny the presence of knife wounds while also presupposing the normality of the presence of gun wounds on the bodies – ignoring whether or not these gun wounds might evidence execution or torture.

Presuppositions are also made in NP14 in regards to the conditions of the authorized ‘collective search’ (revista colectiva). While section 6.1 uncovers how a value assumption in the Headline adds positive emphasis on the function of the authorization, here the focus lies with the subheadline of the NP14 which contains presuppositions of the CDD as a criminalized space. The excerpt from the full news report by Anclemo Gois explains that the ‘collective search’ allows police to “search and make arrests” (“revistar e fazer apreensões”) without requiring “a specific warrant for each residence” (“um mandado específico para cada residência”). Two critical observations can be made in this example. First, the connector “and” presupposes that arrests will be made – a presupposition containing another assumption that reasons for these arrests (criminality) will be found. Second, the emphasis made using the words ‘specific’ and ‘each’ presupposes that warrants would be required for many – or rather all – CDD homes which justifies the need for having a universal authorization in order search any home without a warrant.

**Overcompleteness and the ‘number game’**

Although overcompleteness and the ‘number game’ served to positively emphasize and support information related to the police officers in section 6.1, the use of numbers and extra detail to highlight information connected to CDD residents paints a very different image. As demonstrated in NP11 and NP13 (see Figure 3) as well as in NP4 (outlined below), added details and quantities in the headline/subheadline sample strategically functions within an ideological square that promotes a heroic ‘in-group’ image as well as a contrasted criminalized depiction of the ‘out-group’. Rather than providing personal details that might serve to humanize the youths found dead in the CDD community, extra information about the criminal record of these individuals is
highlighted as the main topic of an update surrounding the recent incidents. In NP13, five out of the seven CDD victims are accused of having a criminal record ("Cinco dos sete mortos na Cidade de Deus já tinha passagem pelo sistema penitenciário"34). The attention given to the five residents with a criminal history rather than the innocence of the two individuals who had not “passed through the penal system”, clearly exemplifies the unobjective negative focus on these individuals serving to ‘justify’ and mitigate the gravity of their deaths. The Subheadline of NP13 reinforces the defacing emphasis with extra detail on the criminal status of one of the victims, once again using the number strategy to highlight the extensive timeframe as a fugitive (“Um deles estava foragido desde maio de 2015” 35).

Criminal and violent acts perpetrated by CDD residents are also the focus of NP4 with precise numbers used to describe extra information such as the estimated cost of damage from ‘vandalism’ in the metro station near CDD, serving to emphasize both negativity and significance of the reported event (“Prejuízo calculado é de, no mínimo, R$ 10 mil” 36). The attention given to the Yellow Line metro station, which connects CDD to the rest of the city, can also be observed within post 2, in which its proximity to the helicopter crash is emphasized. In both of the posts (NP2 & NP4) the conflicts in the CDD community pose a threat to the ‘well-being’ of this metro line – a focus that emphasizes the danger and negative consequences of conflicts as crossing the boundaries of the favela and into the surrounding communities.

8.3 Brief discussion of ideological and sociopolitical implications in News Posts

The analysis of news-post headlines/subheadlines reveals an undeniable dichotomy of ‘the good’ vs. ‘the bad’ (police vs. the CDD) established by the various discursive strategies. The CDD community is depicted as criminal, violent, and untrustworthy while the police are the heroes who risk their lives in the fight against crime and for the ultimate goal of ‘peace’. While this polarization clearly defines the ideological ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’, contradicting ideological values and actions are also supported through the moves and structures analyzed above. The value of peace is clearly promoted within the strategically placed quote from the Facebook profile of one of the

34 “Five of the seven killed in Cidade de Deus had already passed through the penal system” (NP13)
35 “One of them was a fugitive since May of 2015” (NP13)
36 “Damage calculated is at least R$ 10 thousand” (NP4)
deceased police officers (NP7). This concept of peace, however, is interlaced with the endorsement of militarization policies, which are presupposed as logical and necessary in order to control the crime that threatens police management of the CDD and the safety of public spaces beyond this territory.

The value of democracy upholding ‘human rights’ is also sustained within the collection of news posts. This democracy, however, is conditional and inconsistent with the policies that are implicitly supported in O Globo’s coverage. Although torture is condemned, the limits of this reproach ends where criminality begins. The seven deaths within the CDD are argumentatively justified through the emphasis on their criminal history and the discrediting of CDD residents’ claims that the victims were stabbed and tortured. The focus on how these individuals were killed, however, ignores the possibility of execution and leaves police involvement in the murders implicit – thus allowing the institutionalized homicide maintained by Resistance Acts (RAs) to go unchallenged.

Although racial factors are not included in the textual discourse of the NPs, it is necessary to consider how the mediation of this conflict makes race an inherent feature defining the ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ through visual representation. The images within the posts centered in between the headlines/subheadlines pertaining to the stories of the seven CDD youths all clearly depict a community of primarily afro-descendance. This ‘blackness’ is contrasted by the images of the family of police officers and the photo of one of the police officers killed, who are all white Brazilians. The visual features of O Globo’s news posts therefore place the newsworthy events within their racialized context, emphasizing the link between depictions of criminality, the favela, and ‘blackness’.
9. Conflict in the favela: An analysis of two full news stories

An examination of the full news stories of the NPs (NP1 & NP5) that received by far the most public attention within O Globo’s fan page reveals some of the discursive strategies that were observed in the previous chapter as well as some significant differences. This chapter of analysis is divided into three overarching sections. The first section will examine the full news report announcing the helicopter crash in the CDD and the consequential death of the four police officers (NS1), while the second section will turn to the news report on the death of the seven CDD youths posted a day later (NS2). As in the previous chapter, each of these subsections highlights the ideological discourse structures and moves, while the last section summarizes the major ideological and sociopolitical implications of the analytical findings.
9.1 Death in the CDD part 1: police officers

Schemata

The crash of a helicopter carrying four police officers during operations in the CDD on November 19, 2016, made headlines in Rio and throughout Brazil. The Headline of the newsworthy event as it appears on O Globo’s website in the image below (Figure 4) clearly defines the main action (helicopter falls and kills), the location (CDD), and those who were killed (four police officers). One of these elements, however, does not match the corresponding news post analyzed in the previous chapter. The adjustment to the Headline, replacing a vague actor description in the news post to one that is much more explicit (‘people’ vs. ‘police officers’), is a noteworthy difference which will receive further attention in the subsequent analysis of NS2 and commentary.

Figure 4: Headline and accompanying image of NS1 on O Globo’s webpage

The most striking feature of the topical organization of this news story is the way in which History, one type of Background information providing similar cases from the past (Van Dijk, 1991), is weaved into the telling of events (see Table 2). Two distinct historical backgrounds are presented in this report. In the first paragraph, after the helicopter is presented as possibly brought down by “banditos” according to information shared through social network, readers are introduced to a similar case of a police-operated helicopter crash during a conflict between favelas in 2009. This History (1) is
repeated and elaborated on in the last paragraph in which details are given regarding the cause of the 2009 crash ("intenso tiroteio entre quadrilhas"
\(^{37}\)) and the number of police who were killed/injured. The strategic inclusion of this information in the first and last paragraphs emphasizes its importance and argumentative purpose in the identification of the cause of the helicopter crash in the CDD, as it cannot be confirmed by the authorial voices (Verbal Reaction 1). Rather than acknowledging the possibility of mechanical error as the cause of the crash (as later evidence reveals), the perpetrators of the accident are assumed to be the CDD residents involved in the shoot-out with police, as History exemplifies this ‘logical’ conclusion.

In the fourth and eighth paragraph, a more recent History is used for emphasis on one feature of the Main Event (4): the closure of the major transitways near the community. The mental model of conflicts earlier in the month that provoked the shutdown of the Yellow Line and one of the main roads is reminded in the introduction of this topic ("Pela segunda vez no mês[…]
\(^{38}\) [para. 4]) and further described in more detail in the second-to-last paragraph. Emphasis with a similar past case thus defines this feature of the Main Event (4) as a common rather than isolated problem affecting the transit of people and goods to and from the CDD and the surrounding areas. As the subsequent analysis reveals in more detail, the Verbal Reactions (3-4) preceding this History (3) also highlight the consequential reach of conflicts in the CDD, with danger and fear surpassing the boundaries of the community.

### Table 2: Schematic news categories of NS1 (“Hard News” signed by O Globo)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HELICÓPTERO DA PM CAI NA CIDADE DE DEUS E MATA QUATRO POLICIAIS</td>
<td>Headline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeronave apoia… Jacarepaguá</td>
<td>Subheadline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No início da noite… morreram (para. 1)</td>
<td>Lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Após um dia de terror… morreram (para. 1)</td>
<td>Main Event 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durante o dia, confrontos… policiais (para. 1)</td>
<td>Main Event 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O último caso semelhante… facções (para. 1)</td>
<td>History 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As mortes dos PMs… divulgadas (para. 2)</td>
<td>Verbal Reaction 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>À noite, a população… Cidade de Deus (para. 2)</td>
<td>Main Event 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo após a queda… prédio” (para. 3)</td>
<td>Verbal Reaction 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esse foi o desfecho… sexta-feira (para. 4)</td>
<td>Main Event 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pela segunda vez no mês (para. 4)</td>
<td>History 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>À tarde, segundo a assessoria… área (para. 5)</td>
<td>Main Event 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A estudante de jornalismo… viagem (para. 6)</td>
<td>Verbal Reaction 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O funcionário público… guerra (para. 7)</td>
<td>History 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Além das duas interdições… motoristas (para. 8)</td>
<td>Verbal Reactions 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Em outubro de 2009… feridos (para. 9)</td>
<td>History 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{37}\) “intense shooting between gangs” (para. 9)

\(^{38}\) “For the second time this month […]” (para. 4)
Contrasting with the findings in the collection of news-post headlines/subheadlines, non-auctor voices outnumber the voices of authority represented in the body of NS1, with the selection of civilian eyewitnesses as a prominent feature of this report. As exemplified within paragraph 3, special attention is given to voices that highlight the fear experienced by the individuals who witness the various Main Events depicted in the news story:

(Para. 3) Logo após a queda do helicóptero, moradores relatavam, apavorados, pelo Twitter, que tinham testemunhado a queda da aeronave. “Acabei de ver o helicóptero caindo. Meu Deus, estou perplexa! Que medo”, disse uma internauta. Outra afirmou ter visto da janela de casa: “Mano, deu pra ver o helicóptero caindo daqui do prédio”.

While the example above uses two distinct cybervoices belonging to CDD residents to emphasize the fearful impact of watching the helicopter crash, witnesses from outside the community are also quoted as hearing the shootout preceding the crash:

(Para. 6) — Viramos e retornamos até que o trânsito ficou parado. Eu via helicópteros sobrevoando e viaturas da polícia seguindo em direção à Barra. Apesar da distância, dava para ouvir muitos tiros. As pessoas saíram do carro e ficaram encostadas nas muretas. Espero não passar por isso de novo — disse, contando que, só cerca de 40 minutos depois, pôde seguir viagem.

(Para. 7) O funcionário público Constantino Assonitis mora no Pechincha, bairro vizinho à Cidade de Deus, e também ouviu o costumeiro barulho de tiros: — Isso deixou de ser tiroteio há muito tempo, é guerra.

These examples of direct discourse representation illustrate the victimization promoted within O Globo’s depiction of conflicts as touching the lives and daily experiences of common citizens. The student quoted in paragraph 6 highlights the danger and fear suffered by those stopped on the road during the shoot-out. Paragraph 7 also features the voice of a non-CDD resident who testifies to the routine hearing of gunshots coming from his neighboring community, using the word “guerra” to define what this conflict has become. These two direct references thus emphasize the reach of conflicts within the CDD as extending to the surrounding areas and bringing the common (“costumeiro”) experience of danger and ‘war’ to the wider Cariocan community.
Overcompleteness and ‘the number game’

Extra details and the ‘number game’ in NS1 primarily serve to emphasize the gravity and repetition of conflicts involving police, militia, and “traficantes” within the CDD. These conflicts are connected to three distinct timeframes in which events are repeated. As the analysis of schemata uncovered, extra details on a conflict years before with a similar outcome (helicopter crash) are given twice within this news story. Also referenced to twice is the mental model of similar conflicts earlier within the month that also resulted in the temporary closing of the major transitways near the CDD. Finally, emphasis on the routine nature of violent confrontations between “traficantes” and police and the consequential repercussions on the Yellow Line and major roadways is achieved through the repeated specification that the events (shoot-out + transitway closure) happened twice within the same day (paragraphs 1 and 5). The details within the mental model of the Main Event and of that which similarly occurred earlier in the month include the specific amount of time that transit was stopped during each of the conflicts (paragraphs 4-6, 8).

Overcompleteness of information through the unnecessary repetition of specific incidents, timeframes, and quantities analyzed above stresses the frequency and extent of negative consequences of confrontations while also highlighting “traficantes” as those who provoke the shootouts. Details therefore complete the mental models of who provokes these events and how they do so (the road was violently blocked by “traficantes” with burning tires and garbage bins [para. 4] and shootouts are initiated by “criminosos” who attack police [para. 8]) – emphasizing the ‘common’ criminality and violence within the favela.

9.2 Death in the CDD part 2: favela youths

Schemata

A day after the highly mediated helicopter crash, headlines of seven youths found dead in the brush near the favela Karatê in the CDD circulated through online social networks and news blogs. The Headline of the news story on O Globo’s webpage announcing the discovery of the bodies of seven CDD youths, however, reports this

39 “drug traffickers”
incident with a vague description that is inconsistent with the Headline that appears within its corresponding Facebook NP5. There is no mention of the number of dead bodies found and there is an ambiguous description of the victims, with “sete corpos de jovens desaparecidos”\textsuperscript{40} [5] reduced to “corpos desaparecidos”\textsuperscript{41}. The changes made in the Headlines of NS1 and NS2 therefore have opposite functions – while the former makes descriptions more explicit, the latter eliminates the quantity and approximate age of those who were killed in the CDD. Since the Headline (re)defines the way in which news events are predominantly remembered, with less attention given to those killed in the favela, the overall importance of these deaths is also reduced within the vague mental model created.

Figure 5: Headline and accompanying image of NS2 on O Globo’s webpage

In addition to the vague Headline description analyzed above, an examination of the schematic structure of NS2 reveals how the organization of topics within the body of the news report orients positive and/or negative attention towards the various subjects and their actions. Although the Main Event motivating the creation of this news report is the finding of the seven bodies in the CDD, prominent attention is given to previous events

\textsuperscript{40} “seven bodies of missing youths” (NP5)
\textsuperscript{41} “missing bodies” (NP5)
whose inclusion strategically reinforce the positive *us* and negative *them* dichotomy identified within the previous analysis.

While the Headline/Subheadline, and Lead focus on the seven youths found dead within the CDD, the first paragraph ends with a reminder of the helicopter crash (Previous Event 1). Since this mental model had been repeatedly reinforced within the four posts preceding this story, its inclusion is more emphatic than informative and works to contextualize the death of the seven in the CDD in a polarized framework in which death is not only suffered by *them* in these conflicts. The organization of schemata also protects the ‘good’ image of the police while emphasizing the ‘bad’ actions of *those* in the favela with the repetition of police operations as successfully making arrests for possession of drugs and arms within the CDD included both towards the beginning (Previous Event 2) and towards end of the report (Previous Event 7). This polarization is also strengthen by the comment (Verbal Reaction 2) from Michel Temer who reflects on the deaths of the four officers and highlights the police’s heroic commitment to fighting crime after Previous Event 2, and by the mental model of the vandalism in the metro station reminded in the last paragraph (Previous Event 10). The organization of news schemata thus strategically promotes positive representations of the police officers and, conversely, the negative depictions of CDD residents in a news report that announces the death of seven youths from this community – revealing a presupposed criminalization of these individuals and the consequential devaluing of their lives. In the following analysis a more in-depth, local-level examination of the Verbal Reactions and Previous Events will further exemplify the construction of this implicit, ideological argument.

Table 3: Schematic news categories of NS2
(“News Report” signed by Pablo Jacob / Lucas Altino)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MORADORES DA CIDADE DE DEUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENCONTRAM CORPOS DESAPARECIDOS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELES FORAM COLOCADOS... KARATÊ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moradores da Cidade de Deus...local (para. 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na ocasião, um helicóptero... Carvalho (para.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Não se sabe ainda... despencar (para.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O secretário de Segurança... resposta (para. 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Após o acidente... drogas (para. 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Em sua conta... Twitter (para. 3-4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neste domingo, comboios... Karatê (para. 5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Foram cem pessoas...22 anos (para. 6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mãe de Marlon César...desumanismo (para. 7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moradores também...aeronave (para. 8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eles eram envolvidos...vingança (para. 9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Em entrevista à...gente (para. 10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headline</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subheadline 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lead/Main Event 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Previous Event 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Circumstances 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal Reaction 1</td>
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<td>Previous Event 2</td>
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<td>Verbal Reaction 2</td>
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<td>Main Event 3</td>
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<td>Verbal Reaction 3</td>
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<td>Verbal Reaction 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Main Event 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal Reaction 5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal Reaction 6</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Intertextuality

Similar to that which was seen in NS1, a large portion of the report is guided by the directly and indirectly quoted opinions of residents within the community that serve as the ‘eyewitnesses’ of the situation. On top of the graphically disturbing image accompanying the Headline of this news story, a sensationalist representation of fear and violence within the favela is promoted through various multimedia sources. The inclusion of a radio interview with a member of the community and the direct discourse representation of a desperate mother in a video circulated online negatively depict the role of the police as the potential perpetrators of violent and/or murderous acts (see paragraphs 10-12). The veracity of these sources, however, are put into question in paragraph 14, which metaphorically highlights the “onda de pânico entre moradores” following the helicopter crash that led to a series of ‘false claims’ on the internet regarding “novos ataques ou mortes”.

The following two examples of discourse representation also reveal a scene of ‘terror’ described by residents who say police “invaded the favela after the helicopter crash”:

(para. 8) Moradores também acompanharam o início da perícia a cargo da Divisão de Homicídios, que investigará as mortes. Alguns acusavam policiais que invadiram a favela após a queda da aeronave.

(para. 9) — Eles eram envolvidos (com o tráfico), mas se renderam. Isso é execução, não? — questionava um parente de Leonardo Camilo, de 29 anos, também

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42 “wave of panic amongst residents” (para. 14)
43 “new attacks or deaths” (para. 14)
encontrado morto. — Depois que o helicóptero caiu foi um terror. Eles entraram e deram muito tiro. Foi vingança.

Although these two paragraphs seem to support the position of CDD residents, several subtle elements in the textual incorporation of this information have semantic consequences on the situation models and the alignment of the journalist with the external voices. First, the specification with the word ‘some’ (“Alguns”) in the indirect discourse representation of paragraph 8 weakens the strength of the reported ‘accusation’ by implying that not all of the favela residents who wish to investigate the death of the seven victims support the position accusing the police of homicide. Second, the strategic selection of the direct quote in paragraph 9 highlights the criminal history of the seven CDD victims with the inclusion of the reporter’s voice explicitly stating the involvement in ‘drug trafficking’, which is left implicit in the original text. Third, the ending of the direct quote with the concept of police “vingança” (“vengeance”), following the mental model of the helicopter crash, reinforces the polarization between the police and favela residents by implying provocation: *the police murdered the seven young men as payback for the four police officers killed in the crash.* The implied correlation, therefore, also suggests that the crash was not simply an accident due to technical problems.

This causation theory is also reinforced in another direct quote from a CDD resident in paragraph 17:

(para. 17)[…] Houve uma sequência de tiros muito grande na tentativa de abater o helicóptero — afirmou Vivi.44

In this piece of direct discourse representation, the assumption that the gunshots were aimed at *trying “to bring down the helicopter”* is strengthened by the fact that it comes from a direct eyewitness who is part of the community (an accusation against the ‘out-group’ from own of its own members). The representing verb or *verba dicendi* (Casado Velardi, 2008) selected to describe the speech act also carries the ideological subjectivity of the news writer. The speech action ‘affirm’ (“*afirmou*”) presupposes the truthfulness of what is said and thus aligns the voice of the journalist with that which is reported. The establishment of the cause of the helicopter crash within this paragraph (17) is also strategically placed within the sequence of topics. Immediately following this quote, is

44 “There was a heavy sequence of shooting in the attempt to bring down the helicopter — affirmed Vivi” (para. 17)
information of a police operation that will indeterminately take place within the community is reported (para. 18-23).

In contrast to the depiction of ‘questionably reliable’ sources accusing police of violent and murderous actions within the CDD, the selection and strategic incorporation of a direct quote from a prestigious, elite source confirms the role of the police as the ‘heroes’ in the story. In this direct discourse representation extracted from the Michel Temer’s Twitter account, the Acting President of Brazil expresses his condolences and support for the police force:

(Para. 4) "Lamentável a morte dos 4 PMs que cumpriam o seu dever durante operação no Rio de Janeiro. A minha solidariedade aos familiares e amigos. Reitero minha confiança e apoio ao trabalho das forças policiais, sempre comprometidas no combate ao crime", escreveu Temer, em seu perfil no Twitter.

The inclusion of the elite voice of the president emphasizes the value placed on the lives of the four police officers (“Lamentável a morte dos 4 PMs”\(^{45}\)). The president’s statement, which also contains positive value assumptions in the words ‘fulfilled’ and ‘duty’ and the assertion that the police are “sempre comprometidas no combate ao crime”\(^{46}\), strengthens the heroic image of the police and the action they perform.

**Overcompleteness and the ‘number game’**

As mentioned in the analysis of schemata, the final paragraphs of the news story are dedicated to reiterating previous events surrounding police operations with the strategic inclusion of information that is irrelevant to the Main Event of this news report (death of the seven youths). The events represented in paragraphs 18-23 combine negative details that confirm the criminal status of the CDD community and form a clear ideological square in which the ‘in-group’ (police officers) must fight against the criminals in the favela (‘out-group’) who threaten the peace and social order (“bandidos atirarem contra policiais da UPP”\(^{47}\) [para. 22]; “foram apreendidos fuzis e drogas”\(^{48}\) (para. 24); “vandalismo […] pelo menos R$ 37 mil”\(^{49}\) [para. 27]). Once again, emphasis with numbers is used to highlight the attacks on the metro station. Apart from the R$37 thousand estimation on the cost of damage to the metro station, extra details are given on

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\(^{45}\) The portuguese word ‘lamentável’, used to describe the death of the four officers, encompasses feelings of tragedy, sorrow, and misfortune.

\(^{46}\) “always committed to fighting crime” (para. 4)

\(^{47}\) “bandits fired at the UPP police” (para. 22)

\(^{48}\) “automatic weapons and drugs were apprehended” (para. 24)

\(^{49}\) “vandalism […] at least R$ 37 thousand” (para. 27)
specific elements of the station that were destroyed, including the quantity of broken panes and TV monitors (“teve oito vidros quebrados, além de quatro monitores de TV, perfis metálicos e bancos amassados e geladeira de refrigerante derrubada”\textsuperscript{50} [para. 23]). The overcompleteness of information on vandalism in the metro station and other details on police operations, including descriptions of “bandidos” attacking the UPPs and the finding of drugs and automatic weapons, place the ending focus of the ‘problem’ on the violence and criminality perpetrated by those within the favela and away from the institutionalized violence maintained by police actions. As the final features of the news story following the eyewitness report of the crash (para. 17), these ideologically polarizing paragraphs strengthen the implicit causation argument pointing to “traficantes” as those responsible for the death of the four police officers and draw the attention away from the murder of the seven CDD youths.

9.3 Brief discussion of ideological and sociopolitical implications of NS1 and NS2

Although NS1 and NS2 are motivated by two separate incidents (helicopter crash with four police deaths/ the finding of seven dead CDD youths), the two stories focus on similar themes and promote parallel arguments. In both reports, victimization is cultivated through the strategically selected voices of citizens who describe the fear and terror experienced in the CDD and the surrounding zones. Within the scene of violence highlighted in both stories, the significant attention given to “traficantes” and “criminais” as those who provoke the shoot-outs with police and the consequential closure of the metro station and other major transitways serves to clearly identify CDD ‘criminals’ as the problem and the elimination of these ‘criminals’ as the solution. The attention given to the closure of and damage to the Yellow Line metro station emphasizes the impact of conflicts, which extend beyond the boundaries of the CDD community, making the ‘problem’ relevant to the city’s greater population. The extended reach and gravity of incidents are also supported by the causation argument developed in both stories pointing to “traficantes” as having caused the helicopter crash. Thus, although the ‘mega-operation’ following the death of the four police officers violates the basic rights of CDD residents (as examined in the analysis of news posts), here it is legitimized by the

\textsuperscript{50} “there were eight panes broken, on top of the four TV monitors, smashed metal profiles and benches, and a refrigerator knocked over” (para. 23)
emphasis on the metro station damage, the implicit argument on the cause of the crash, and the repetition of details regarding arrests and the finding of drugs and weapons in the collective search.

While NS1 establishes polarity between CDD “traficantes” as the terror-spreading villains and the police as the heroes who lose their lives in the ‘war’ against these ‘criminals’, the discovery of seven dead youths whose bodies (according to family members) showed signs of execution and torture complicates this clear definition of ‘good’ and ‘bad’. A critical analysis of NS2, however, reveals the multiple ways in which an argument sustaining the good/bad dichotomy is achieved. Through discourse representation, presuppositions, and overly described/ repeated mental models, violent and criminal actions of residents in the CDD are emphasized and the innocence of the seven CDD youths is questioned. On the other hand, the heroic status of police and their dedication to fighting crime is preserved through emphasis on their positive actions and both the implicit and explicit invalidation of voices claiming otherwise.

10. Recontextualizing the situation: Interpretation and meta-representation

News Post 5 with its corresponding full report (NS2) provoked thousands of comments, sub-comments, Facebook ‘likes’, and shares within this digital platform. An examination of the top 45 most relevant comments, however, reveals an overall discontent with O Globo’s representation of the various actors and actions in the news report. The following analysis provides an in-depth look at followers’ interpretations of and attitudes towards the mediated representations and the multiple ways in which they express their opinions and ideological understandings of the incidents within the CDD and the larger sociopolitical situation within the favelas. This chapter of analysis considers how the mediatization of news discourse through O Globo’s Facebook fan page incorporates newsreaders – with their criticisms and personal representations of the events and the various subjects involved – into the (meta)process of news production. The examination of commentary will explore the diverse ways that followers reconstruct and reinforce the ideologically polarized mediated conflict as they interact with and draw upon prior discourses in the dynamic communicative event on O Globo’s fan page.

51 Determined by factors such quantity of sub-comments received automatically calculated and organized on the Facebook page.
10.1 Discontent in the fan page: Public criticism 2.0

Even though a critical discourse analysis of the selected news story reveals a stronger alignment of the journalist with the opinions and ideologies supporting the police officers and their actions within the CDD, many of the followers criticize *O Globo*’s ‘overly-favorable’ depiction of the CDD residents and undervaluation of the police officers (i.e. “*O Globo mais uma vez defendendo bandidos*”\(^{52}\) [C9]; “*Vocês deveriam dar a mesma ênfase para as mortes de policiais* [...] *Só importa pra vocês a morte de bandidos? Jornalismo barato e parcial* [...]”\(^{53}\) [C25]). As highlighted in these two examples (C9 & C25), followers directly express their discontent with *O Globo* within a greater contextual framework that includes the mental models of previous news stories (“*mais uma vez*”), utilizes rhetoric (“*Só importa* [...]?”) and modality (“*Vocês deveriam*”) to contrast ‘what is’ with ‘what should be’ *O Globo*’s focus, and negatively labels producers (“*barato e parcial*”). As also exemplified within C6 and C19, criticisms in fan-page commentary take on an interactive and intertextual nature with commenters directly addressing *O Globo* using an impersonal pronoun “*vocês*” (“you”) and asking rhetorical questions, while drawing on (O Globo’s) prior discourses in the formulation and expression of attitudes and opinions.

(C6)  
Agora são jovens que estavam desaparecidos? Mídia lixo, eles morreram por causa de bala perdida, quando estavam vindo da igreja ou quando estavam num futebol inocente entre amigos, não é mesmo? Essa vai ser possivelmente a história que a mídia contará.

Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 190  
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:19

(C19)  
Notícia Hipócrita…. fale dos nossos heróis combatentes em serviço o que as suas familia estão sentindo…. mães e filhos passando pela dor da falta dos entes queridos…. JORNALISTA E EDITOR que vivem de sensacionalismo das vítimas da sociedade… *vcs deveriam de fechar as portas*…. possuímos outros canais de informações mais reluzentes com a realidade carioca…

Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 17  
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:32 · Editado

In C6 and C19, the clear dissatisfaction with *O Globo*’s depictions of police is once again achieved through despective lexicon and rhetorical strategies. Comment 19 specifically accuses NP5/NS1 of being “*Hipócrita*” (hypocritical) and ‘sensationalist’ (“*vivem de sensacionalismo*”), while C6 attacks the media company more generally

\(^{52}\) “*O Globo once again defending bandits*” (C9)  
\(^{53}\) “*You should give the same emphasis for the death of police* […] *You only care about dead bandits? Cheap, biased journalism*” (C24)
Apart from the previously mentioned pattern of modality (“vcs deveriam” [C19]) and rhetorical questions (“Agora são jovens […]?” [C6]), these comments also show the use of irony (“estavam vindo da igreja […]?” [C6]) as a strategy to challenge news producers and the news content they produce. As analysis of the next two comments further exemplify, however, the oppositional interpretations and ideological disalignment that these followers demonstrate in their commentary serve to reinforce rather than challenge the structures of power supported by news posts and fully analyzed stories.

(C2) Quando um PM morre, eu só ouço o silêncio. O silêncio do Estado, o silêncio do ministério público, o silêncio dos direitos humanos. Nenhuma palavra ecoa: nem de conforto, nem de indignação. Nem o jornal nacional da TV globo dá o destaque merecido ao caso!!! Mas quando é para atacar a polícia tem um programa do fantástico inteiro para denegrir a polícia!!! Que país difícil!!!
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 1.754 · 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:15

(C29) Notícia Completamente tendenciosa... Quando noticiaram o acidente com o helicóptero, não disseram que os mortos eram policiais nem demonstraram tamanha importância... sinceramente, a inversão de valores que vcs (Globo) promovem é simplesmente ridícula e desumana...
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 7 · 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:32

In the first example above (C2), the follower extends his criticism of O Globo to Grupo Globo’s major primetime news program, Jornal Nacional, and TV newsmagazine, Fantástico: O Show da Vida, once again drawing on mental models of prior news texts to illustrate the insufficient attention towards the suffering of police. Comment 29 also highlights this interpreted ‘imbalance’ of O Globo’s depictions as an “inversão de valores” (“inversion of values”) that depreciates the lives of police with a reference to NP1. In this comment (C29), the follower criticizes the lack of explicit specification of police officers as the four victims of the helicopter crash (a common criticism also found in the exploration of NP1 commentary). While this remains true in the (unmodifiable) headline that appears as a screenshot on O Globo’s fan page, analysis of NS1 revealed explicit inclusion of this information in the (adjusted) headline on the webpage, suggesting the potential power of commentary in their ability to not only publically challenge news discourse, but also (re)shape production decisions.

54 “Now they’re youths […]?” (C6)
55 “Were they coming home from church […]?” (C6)
10.2 Explicit polarization in commentary: (Re)defining ‘us’ and ‘them’

The commentary provoked by NP5 demonstrates a number of ways in which followers discursively reconstruct the polarized representations of police and favela residents. However, rather than dismounting the ideological good/bad dichotomy supported by NPs and full stories, followers’ meta-representations blatantly reveal attitudes and ideologies that villainize favela communities and criticize representations that do not sufficiently delineate the negative distinction between these territories and the rest of society.

Although the focus of commentary lies with (re)defining the ‘out-group’ – with the death of the seven CDD youths as the Main Event of NP5 – many comments also represent the police and their place within the dichotomy. The explicit identification of police as part of the ‘in-group’ is epitomized within C19 above through the possessive pronoun “nossos” (“our”) together with the positive lexicon “heróis” (“heroes”). This description not only explicitly identifies police as belonging to the ideological group in which this follower includes himself; it also implicitly reflects the existence of an ‘out-group’ requiring a ‘hero’ to fight against.

This polarization is emphasized in other comments that more directly point to both sides of the good/bad dichotomy, such as that which is seen in C3: “#EuEscolhoSalvarAPolicia #BandidoBomÉBandidoMorto” (C3). The use of hashtags represented in this example is a unique characteristic of social networks and a common polyphonic strategy in fan page commentary, which serves to voice followers’ social beliefs through statements that are hyperlinked to the multitude of other synchronous ideological voicings of the hashtagged phrase within the virtual community. This hashtag example (C3) reveals the popular phrase within the Facebook community responding to news reports on deaths within the favelas. This phrase (#BandidoBomÉBandidoMorto), which directly demonstrates an ideological belief that justifies and praises the killing of ‘criminals’, thus suggests public support for State-inflicted death within the favelas with the Resistance Acts (RAs) as the legal foundation for routine killings by on-duty police.

In the following four comments, attitudes towards mediated representations of both police and the seven CDD youths and the reconstruction of these representations

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56 “#IChooseToSaveThePolice #GoodBanditIsDeadBandit” (C3)

57 My exploration of commentary responding to other news posts on O Globo’s fan page as well as other Facebook fan pages of top news outlets such as Jornal Nacional, found the despective hashtag #BandidoBomÉBandidoMorto to be one of the most commonly used hashtagged phrases among followers.
according to followers’ subjective interpretation and ideological positioning are exemplified through a number of other semantic strategies that typify the discursive nature of fan-page commentary:

(C16) Tadinhos né, a única perda que tivemos foram a vida dos policiais, essa família merece nosso luto, as outras que velão marginais não tenho pena!
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 34
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:22

(C17) Eram inocentes? Estavam fazendo o quê e aonde? Sinceramente estou chorando sim, a morte dos bravos policiais trabalhadores que morreram! Quanto a esses aí sinto muito!
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 26
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:28

(C26) Alô direitos humanos vão la na casa dos quatros policiais mortos fazer uma visita prestar solidariedade aos familiares e dos outros que morreram esse ano tambem freixo visita la bota a cara na tv e sai em defesa desses policias que morrem todo dia quero ver se vai
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 11
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:24

(C44) São pobres coitados vítimas da sociedade. Os culpados por isso foram os 4 que morreram na queda do helicóptero ontem.
Enquanto pensarmos assim serem obrigados a nos escondemos dessa violência que domina a cidade.
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 4
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 16:09

The first comment above (C16) once again demonstrates the common use of pronouns to identify an ‘in-group’ (“tivemos”/ “nosso”58) as well members of the ‘out-group’ (“as outras”59) who are derogatively described as “velão [sic] marginais” (“marginal villains”). Within this selection of comments, a number of rhetorical moves are also employed in the recontextualization of prior discourses, which these followers interpret as wrongfully supporting the victims from the favela. In both C16 and C44, commenters utilize irony and exaggeration in order to criticize the thoughts and feelings they interpret as being promoted within news texts (“Tadinhos né”60 [C16]; “São pobres coitados vítimas da sociedade […]”61 [C44]). Mediated discourses are also represented in C17 and C26 through rhetorical questions and metaphor used to challenge the voices that suggest the innocence of the seven CDD youths’ and the violation of human rights with their death (“Eram inocentes? […]”62 [C17]; “Alô direitos humanos […]”63 [C26]. In each of these examples, the rhetorical moves are contrasted with the commenters’ directly stated

58 “we had”/ “our” (C16)
59 “the others” (C16)
60 “Poor things, right?” (C16)
61 “They are poor, unfortunate victims of society […]” (C44)
62 “They were innocent? […]” (C17)
63 “Hello human rights […]” (C26)
feelings (“não tenho pena!”64 [C16]; “Quanto a esses aí sinto muito!”65 [C17]), desires (“quero ver se vai” [C26]), and opinions (“Enquanto pensarmos assim serem obrigados a […]”66 [C44]) regarding the representations of both favela residents and police. These comments thus exhibit ideological attitudes regarding who deserves to live or die and whom the rest of society should defend, with followers denouncing what they perceive to be the media’s lack of attention on police as victims and an overrepresentation of the suffering and ‘innocence’ of those within the favelas.

In the specific criticism towards the representations of the seven CDD youths in NS2, irony was found to be the most abundant rhetorical tool that followers used to underscore an interpreted exaggeration of ‘innocence’ in the news text while simultaneously negating such ‘innocence’ (i.e. “Tudo inocente. Estavam na igreja rezando ou na escola estudando?”67 [C1]; “Acho que eram indios xamã... "desapareceram" na mata enquando caçavam (...)”68 [C30]; “[…]”).69 Irony and other forms of rhetoric, however, also semantically emphasize the criminalization of the greater favela community and not just the victims of police violence within many of the examined Facebook comments (i.e. “[...]Por que seus filhos e amigos são criminosos mas são ‘muito gente boa’?”70 [C34]; “Essas pessoas não são mães... São chocadeira de bandidos! Daqui a pouco vão fazer um movimento para ganhar dinheiro do estado. ‘Mães da CDD’”71 [C7]). In these examples, family and friends of victims and those who defend the CDD youths are morally questioned and degraded through metaphor, irony, and rhetorical questions expressing the negative beliefs of followers. Apart from the dehumanizing metaphor used to describe the mothers of the CDD youths, C7 also ironically recontextualizes the protests of the grieving mothers in the CDD by combining these voices with those of the São Paulo based social movement, Mães de Maio. The ridiculing of mothers’ protests within the context of nation-wide movements against institutionalized genocide connects this follower’s degrading attitude towards those within the CDD to a greater ideology that views the routine victims of State violence

64 “I have no pity!” (C16)
65 “When it comes to them, I do feel so sorry!” (C17)
66 “As long as we think like this, we’ll be forced to […]” (C44)
67 “All innocent, Were they at church praying or at school studying?” (C1)
68 “I think they were Indian shamans... 'they disappeared' in the boscage while they were hunting (...)” (C31)
69 As identified in 12 of the 45 comments (see also C5, C6, C7, C9, C10, C14, C16, C20, C21, C22)
70 “Why are your children and friends criminals but are ‘very good people’?” (C34)
71 “these people are not mothers... They’re brooders of bandits! Soon they’ll start a movement in order to get money from the State. ‘Mothers of the CDD’” (C7)
(predominantly poor, black youths) as undeserving of life and those who protest as simply part of a scheme to get money from the State. This commenter’s calculation (through the 
\textit{k-device}) of the ‘common ground’ (ideologies and knowledge) with the other news followers regarding social movements such as Mães de Maio and the contextually appropriate discursive formulation of these social representations was revealed to be successful, with C7 appearing as the 7th most ‘liked’/responded to comment out of 1,206 total comments on NP5.

As exemplified in C34 and C23, the criminalization of those within (and outside of) the favela community who oppose institutionalized violence is also demonstrated in assertions that explicitly condemn referenced voices (\textit{\textquotedblleft Whoever defends bandits is a bandit too, […]\textquotedblright} [C34]; \textit{\textquotedblleft Those people who today cry for their family are colluding with crime\textquotedblright} [C23]). These comments (C7, C23, & C34) exemplify a common belief among followers of a ‘criminal ideology’ upheld by the favela communities and fueled by those who challenge police violence and the routine execution within these territories. Comment 39 further illustrates this belief with the inclusion of a passage that contains the indirectly referenced voice of a father who found his son’s dead body the day after the helicopter crash:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(C39)} "Leonardo da Silva Martins, pai de um dos jovens, disse que encontrou o corpo do filho deitado de bruços, em uma posição clara de que foi executado." Agora pai de bandido virou criminalista? É mesmo????
\end{quote}

VTNC Globo. 
Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 6
· 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:33

In this example (C39) the commenter expresses an ideological belief of the ‘out-group’ as \textit{\textquoteleft criminalista\textquoteright} which he emphasizes as ‘common knowledge’ through irony (“É mesmo????” \textquoteleft 74\textquoteright).

Comments C7, C23, C34, and C39 also exemplify how the fan page comment is part of an intertextually rich discursive ‘chain’ in which followers appropriate and reformulate prior discourses in order to create new representations. Commenters’ assertions, rhetorical questions, and ironic representations of the newsworthy event in C7, C23, and C34 voice the echoes of news texts and other discourses, while C39 contains a direct representation of mediated discourse. Unlike more formally written genres like

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textquoteleft Whoever defends bandits is a bandit too, […]\textquoteleft} [C34]
\item \textit{\textquoteleft Those people who today cry for their family are colluding with crime\textquoteleft} [C23]
\item \textit{\textquoteleft Really????\textquoteleft} [39]
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}
news texts, however, much of the intertextuality within commentary is implicit and unattributed. In the case of the uncited passage in C39, one would assume that the represented text was extracted from the news report that this comment is responding to (NS2). A close reading of NS2, however, reveals that if this passage was a part of the original news story, it appears to be modified within the updated version currently available on O Globo’s website. Once again suggesting a possible link between news-story modifications and commentary.

While there are multiple other examples in which commenters appropriate text from NS2 in order to reconstruct and ‘translate’ the texts according their social beliefs (i.e. “Se a "noticia" é: "jovens desaparecidos", tenha certeza que eram bandidos, vagabundos da pior espécie”75 [C3]), commenters also draw upon external sources such as videos in their construction and expression of opinions and beliefs:

(C28) Assisti um vídeo onde MORADORES hostilizavam e humilhavam um policial que tentava sobreviver a uma intensa troca de tiros. Agora vem fazer cena, exigir respeito e chorar na frente da câmera fotográfica... Não tenho mais paciência.

(C30) Pergunta que não quer calar: pq esses jovens honestos estavam na mata? O que foram fazer lá? Não deviam estar em casa? Tipo aqueles que vi em um video que aparece centenas de jovens no meio do tiroteio correndo e achando graça da situação! Kd as famílias dos policiais? Vamos divulgar a dor deles também! Eles morreram em trabalho. Me poupem a tanta hipocrisia....

These comments are among other examples (see also C8, C13) that use videos as eyewitnesses of ‘truth’ supporting a negative image of the favela in order to belittle the death of the CDD youths and the suffering of their family and friends. Comment 27 demonstrates how a subjective interpretation of O Globo’s mediated representation of family and friends of CDD youths as overly emotional is combined with a mental model of a video in which favela residents harass police officers in the formulation of the commenter’s negative representation of the ‘out-group’. Comment 30 (as well as C8) also negatively depicts favela youth as undeserving of mediated attention on their death, evidencing a video in which youths ‘playfully’ run through a shootout in support of these follower’s understanding of event model of the seven CDD youths found dead.

75 “If the ‘news’ is: ‘missing youth’, be assured that they were bandits, vagabonds of the worst kind” (C3)
Although the meta-representation observed within the commentary predominantly reflects social representations that blatantly devalue the lives within the favela communities, not all (re)interpretations follow this pattern:

(C17) pronto, agora vão falar que é culpa da polícia pra reverter a situação. bom, se realmente são inocentes, a polícia tem que pagar, ou seja lá quem fez isso. assim como vão ter que pagar pela morte dos policiais..... acredito sim que na favela tem muita gente do bem, trabalhadores honestos, guerreiros e com o coração enorme, assim como no asfalto tem muita gente ruim e do bem tb... não tem essa de favela e asfalto, e sim gente boa, gente do bem... independente de profissão, classe social... esse preconceito não pode existir, mas tem sim que ir em luta de justiça, de paz, de mais amor.

Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 21 · 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:24 · Editado

(C23) Esses rapazes eram bandidos? Pq na matéria não fala nada sobre envolvimento e tals, se forem bandidos eu não ligo, mas se forem inocentes é muito triste assim como a morte dos policiais!

Na guerra do morro, infelizmente acaba sobrando pra quem não tem na haver, bala perdida não tem endereço!

Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 7 · 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 15:29

Several dominant themes are constructed within these examples. First, the value assigned to the lives of the CDD youths is intrinsically dependent on the (uncertain) validity of previous claims of their ‘innocence’, which are implicitly referenced by the “if” (se) in both of these examples (“se realmente são inocentes, a polícia tem que pagar”76 (C17); “se forem inocentes é muito triste” 77 [C23]). Second, ideological values of equality, justice and peace are found within the discourse, yet these values are placed within a context of ‘war’ in which ‘innocent’ people are unfortunately lost in the fight against those who are guilty. Thus, even though these comments criticize and question the clarity/veracity of O Globo’s news discourse, their ideological position similarly reflects that which was emphasized in the news story, with the value of life determined on the basis of guilt or innocence in the ‘fight for peace’.

Finally, as the following examples illustrate, while some comments acknowledge that the favela ‘may’ have ‘good’ people who fall victim to the violence within the community, this recognition is almost always followed by a clarifying “but” which intertextually challenges the voices that support this affirmation:

(C5) AH sim tudo gente inocente.. Estavam voltando da Escola bíblica dominical, todos filhos exemplares trabalhadores... De repente, as pessoas do mal pegaram eles e praticaram este ato terrível... Vamos acordar gente. É tudo bandido. Pode até ser que alguém inocente, honesto e justo seja atingido pela desgraça, mas isto é muito difícil. Vamos esperar o resultado disto.

Me gusta · Responder · Compartir · 227 · 20 de noviembre de 2016 a las 16:04 · Editado

76 “If they were innocent, it’s really sad” (C24).
77 “If they really are innocent, the police will have to pay” (C17)
A major feature of followers’ concept of ‘good’ expressed within comments above is the **working status** of those within the favela communities, as highlighted in the ironic representation of voices claiming the CDD youths innocence in C5 (todos filhos exemplares trabajadores)**78** [C5]) and the assertions in C32 and C38 that contrasts “gente de bem” (“good people”) with “vagabundos” (“vagabonds”). This neo-liberal attitude, which correlates the concept of ‘good’ with the ‘honest working citizen’, is emphasized in other examples such as C17 (“favela tem muita gente do bem, trabalhadores honestos”**79**), as well as C37 in which a follower who says he grew up in a favela claims that ‘good’ favela residents are those who only leave home for work (“o morador DE BEM se tranca em casa […] do trabalho pra casa”**80**). This last comment (C37) combines experience models with an ideology that defines what it means to be ‘good’, which includes ‘fearing’ and distancing oneself from the ‘out-group’ described as those who form a part of the social community in the favela beyond the boundaries of work and the home, thereby implying criminality and danger amongst the wider favela community.

With ‘good’ defined as the ‘honest worker’, the stereotypes *bandido* and *vagabundo* in the examples above as well as the classic *malandro*81 stereotype in C43 define the ‘bad’ Others who followers view as draining the social economy:

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**78** “[…] all exemplary, hard-working sons” (C5)

**79** “the favela has many good people, honest workers” (C37)

**80** “the GOOD resident locks himself in his home […] from work to home” (C37)

**81** This term embodies the typical racialized stereotype of the black, street-wise favela crook dressed in an all-white suit and a top hat.
Comment 40 and C43 contain a variety of rhetorical moves and derogatory lexicon with ideologically charged beliefs concerning the sociopolitical cause and consequence of conflicts related to drug crime and violence within the favela. Comment 40 defines the out-group as “desvirtuados, meliantes” (“distorted, delinquents”), in which all those who support drug crime are included, while C43 more specifically targets the favela as the ‘out-group’ by pointing to a community which supports “verdadeiros monstros” (“actual monsters”) and challenges those who speak of victims within the community (Coitados!? [...] Chega de vitimizar malandro”82). The term “malandro” – linking characteristics of race, territory, and the illegal economy – in C43 carries implicit racist connotations within this context that synonymously interchanges this word with “monstros”.

In both examples, metaphorical representations are used to define the solution to what these commenters identify as an economically costly problem (“A vida é uma matemática! […] Esses temos que exterminar”83 [C40]; “[…] eclode uma guerra civil e o morro vem abaixo”84 [C43]). These metaphorically represented conclusions of the need to “exterminate [criminals]” and “bring down” the favela clearly uphold violent actions of the ‘in-group’ that aim to destroy an ‘out-group’ under a neo-liberal, racist ideology. Example C43 epitomizes an ideological conceptualization of the sociopolitical conflict within Rio’s favelas as a “civil war” between two social groups who are metaphorically understood through physical/spatial boundaries (“o morro” vs. “o asfalto”85). This ideological categorization of ‘the good’ and ‘the bad’ distinguishes the formal city (“o asfalto”), which is characterized by ‘honest’ working citizens and an implicit ‘whiteness’, from “o morro”, in which ‘criminality’, ‘blackness’, and ‘favela’ are viewed as one and the same.

82 “Poor things?! […] Stop victimizing malandro” (C43)
83 “Life is a mathematics problem! […] These we have to exterminate” (C40)
84 “A civil war will emerge and the hill will come down” (C43)
85 “the hill” vs. “the asphalt” (C43)
11. Conclusions

Critical examination of crime-news coverage and commentary on O Globo’s Facebook fan page provides a window into the dominant understandings of the violent sociopolitical situation within Rio’s favelas. The multidisciplinary nature of this study, which considers discourse as the crucial instrument in the formation and legitimation of power, demonstrates the diverse ways in which ideological beliefs and policies are upheld in the interactive and intertextual (meta)process of news sharing and public opinion online. Several significant findings were uncovered within this investigation at both the semantic and pragmatic levels of analysis revealing the ideological representations of the actors and actions involved in the conflicts within the favela communities and how these are communicated and interpreted within the contextually specific communicative settings.

Analysis of O Globo’s news posts and full news stories on the helicopter crash killing four police officers, followed by the subsequent murder of seven youths from a CDD favela community, demonstrates the various strategies that function within an ‘ideological square’ in order to establish a good/bad dichotomy categorizing the actors and actions in news stories. Within the polarized mediated representations, the police are depicted as the ‘heroes’ within a ‘war’ against the ‘criminals’ within the favela who threaten the well-being of ‘good’ citizens and the public spaces surrounding the criminalized favela territories. The good/bad dichotomy established through O Globo’s news coverage is one that is spatialized, with the promotion of fear linked to transgressions and danger crossing the limits of the favela, as well as implicitly racialized, with ‘criminality’ and ‘favela’ substituting an assumed ‘blackness’. Examination of news posts and full stories also shows how the good/bad dichotomy is supported by the focus on the violent and criminal actions of the ‘out-group’, while the attention on institutionalized violence is largely deemphasized and militarization policies that violate basic democratic rights within the CDD are legitimized.

The analysis of the commentary on O Globo’s fan page demonstrates how the critical interpretation of news followers within the mediatized virtual space does not invariably serve to challenge the dominant ideology within the process of meta-representation. Commentary also categorizes police as heroes and victims who are part of the ‘in-group’, while ‘criminals’ in particular and favela communities in general form the ‘out-group’ described as upholding a ‘criminal ideology’. While some comments support concepts of
‘peace’ and ‘justice’, these ideological values are intertwined within the metaphorical context of ‘war’ in which the execution of ‘criminals’ within the favela is praised. Analysis of commentary also demonstrates how neo-racist ideologies are crucially connected to neo-liberal attitudes that categorize ‘good’ and ‘bad’ on the basis of ‘honest work’: those who do not contribute to the formal economy are part of a greater ‘problem’ that not only concerns issues of security, but also the well-being of the economic status of the greater Cariocan and Brazilian society. These social beliefs about the favela that interconnects concepts of race, territory, and the legal economy are explicitly expressed through stereotypical labels such as vagabundo and malandro, which are used to lexicalize favela residents (in commentary).

While representations within commentary reinforce the polarization within news discourse, analysis reveals a strong discontent amongst followers regarding news depictions of the various actors and actions involved within the newsworthy events, with followers criticizing O Globo for not sufficiently promoting the positive image of police and the criminal status of the seven CDD youths. Thus, although scholars have pointed to the revolutionizing role of the internet as a tool for challenging structures of power (Cárdenas, 2016; Castells, 2007), this research uncovers a darker side to this redistribution of public discourse, with context determining how compatible ideological beliefs and opinions may be inharmoniously communicated. This analysis highlights not only the major linguistic differences between how ideology is expressed within the discourse of journalists vs. news followers on O Globo’s Facebook fan page, it also reveals a disalignment between the context models that guide news production and those which interpret these mediated representations. The criticism within the unfiltered commentary reveals how most followers took their own subjective understandings of the favelas to be common truths rather than ideological representations, thus promoting unfavorable interpretations of the less explicitly polarized news representations.

Findings also show how representations in news discourse and fan-page commentary are part of an inter-discursive, sociocognitive process of recontextualization. The formulation of criticism and (new) representations within the fan-page draws upon numerous external voices and prior discourses. Analysis of commentary reveals that public opinion, knowledge, and other shared beliefs of the sociopolitical conflict within the favelas are largely influenced by mental models of mediated depictions from a variety of sources, including defaming videos that circulate the web. Newswriting decisions, in turn, may also be influenced by public reactions within the interactive Facebook fan page.
In the case of the two highly commented news stories fully analyzed in this study (NS1 & NS2), differences between the headlines, as they appear within the news posts and full news stories, were identified as reflecting the critical demands of followers (calling for more emphasis on police officers and criticizing the headline description of “missing youths”). Other references to NS2 in commentary, which no longer match the updated news story on O Globo’s webpage, suggest that the modifications that were made to NS2 only several hours after the massive influx of criticism received on its Facebook fan page may have been motivated by this commentary. This particularly intriguing case suggests that these online spaces have transformed the newswriting process to one that is flexible to recalculating the ideological online climate and adapting messages within the contextual limits of newstelling in order to better satisfy their online followers.

This limited study inspires numerous questions regarding the process of news production and reception within the online context and how these discourses may directly influence public policy. With interactive platforms for news sharing such as O Globo’s Facebook fan-page, critical discourse analysis should no longer be limited to examining news texts. The increasingly growing online community of followers and their potential control over the dominant discourses which hold ‘symbolic power’ within society complicates the study of public discourse. Examining the online representations of the favelas within O Globo’s news discourse and online commentary unveils a disconcerting promotion of oppressive ideologies and the sociopolitical structures they uphold which deserves further scholarly attention. This study, however, does shine light on the powerful potential of social networks allowing individual voices to be heard. Perhaps an extended version of this study might also reveal voices of resistance and public debate within this interactive, wide-reaching Facebook fan page.

86 NS2 was created at 15:11, November 20, 2016 and modified at 21:29 on the same day. Most of the comments examined in this study were made within the hour after its posting.
12. Bibliography


13. Appendix

News Posts from Jornal O Globo’s official Facebook fan page Nov. 19, 2016- Nov. 21, 2016 (https://www.facebook.com/jornaloglobo/)

[1] Helicóptero da PM cai na Cidade de Deus e mata **quatro** pessoas


[2] Vídeos mostram imagens de helicóptero da PM caindo


[3] Operação na Cidade de Deus será 'por tempo indeterminado', diz secretário de Segurança


[4] Estaçao de BRT sofre vandalismo após confrontos na Cidade de Deus


[6] Policiais mortos na Cidade de Deus serão enterrados neste domingo


[7] Perfil em rede social de PM morto na Cidade de Deus é desativado

'Saiba que todo seu esforço por um país mais justo não foi em vão! Um dia colheremos os frutos de tanta luta! Siga na direção da Luz irmão! PAZ!', dizia um comentário no perfil de Rogério Costa, de 36 anos, 17 deles servindo à PM. http://glo.bo/2gyaok5 #JornalOGlobo 20/11/2016

[8] Pezao decreta luto oficial de três dias pela morte de policiais na Cidade de Deus


[10] Sete mortos na Cidade de Deus são identificados pela polícia

Corpos foram encontrado por moradores numa mata da comunidade. http://glo.bo/2geexpu #JornalOGlobo
Gerente do tráfego é preso na Cidade de Deus

Segundo a PM, 'Lelei' estava com grande quantidade de drogas.

Parentes dizem que mortos na Cidade de Deus foram torturados

'Como vou falar isso para minha filha? Foi uma covardia', afirmou a viúva de um deles.

Cinco dos sete mortos na Cidade de Deus já tinha passagem pelo sistema penitenciário

Um deles estava foragido desde maio de 2015.
http://glo.bo/2geYesE #JornalOGlobo 21/11/2016

Defensoria vai à Justiça a impedir revista coletiva na Cidade de Deus

Ancelmo Gois: A revista coletiva autoriza a polícia a revistar e fazer apreensões sem a necessidade de um mandado específico para cada residência.

Polícia realiza uma grande operação na Cidade de Deus

Cerca de cem carros do órgão entraram na comunidade.
http://glo.bo/2gJRS8r #JornalOGlobo 23/11/2016

Moradores reclamam de abuso policial na Cidade de Deus

Morador filmou possível tentativa de arrombamento de uma das casas.
Veja o vídeo: http://glo.bo/2g4Zs9c #JornalOGlobo 23/11/2016

Fuzis de traficante são encontrados em casa na Cidade de Deus

Armas foram apreendidas durante ação na comunidade.

Corpos de mortos na Cidade de Deus não tinham marcas de faca, diz polícia

Segundo laudo preliminar do IML, só havia perfurações de balas nos 7 mortos encontrados na Cidade de Deus.
http://glo.bo/2gv3tEL #JornalOGlobo 26/11/2016

Fully Analyzed News Story 1 (NS1): http://glo.bo/2gvusUq

Helicóptero da PM cai na Cidade de Deus e mata quatro policiais

Aeronave apoiava operações contra o tráfico em favelas de Jacarepaguá.
por O Globo


(1) RIO - No início da noite deste sábado, após um dia de terror na Linha Amarela, um helicóptero do Grupamento Aeromóvel (GAM) da Polícia Militar caiu — ou foi derrubado —, por volta das 19h30m, na Avenida Ayrton Senna, em Jacarepaguá, no acesso à via expressa. Quatro policiais militares que estavam na aeronave morreram. Durante o dia, confrontos entre traficantes e milicianos que disputam o controle da região já tinham provocado a interdição da via duas vezes.
As primeiras informações que chegaram e foram replicadas pelas redes sociais eram sobre um possível ataque de bandidos ao helicóptero usado no apoio às operações policiais. O último caso semelhante ocorreu no Engenho Novo, em 2009, durante uma guerra entre facções.

(2) As mortes dos PMs foram confirmadas pelo coronel Sérgio Schalione, comandante do 31ºBPM (Barra). As causas da queda não foram divulgadas. À noite, a população era orientada a não sair às ruas porque outros tiroteios aconteciam no Alemão e no Complexo do Lins. *Policiais do Bope e do Batalhão de Choque se preparavam para invadir a Cidade de Deus.*

(3) Logo após a queda do helicóptero, moradores relatavam, apavorados, pelo Twitter, que tinham testemunhado a queda da aeronave. “Acabei de ver o helicóptero caindo. Meu Deus, estou perplexa! Que medo”, disse uma internauta. Outra afirmou ter visto da janela de casa: “Mano, deu pra ver o helicóptero caindo daqui do prédio”.

(4) Esse foi o desfecho de um dia marcado por medo na Linha Amarela. Pela *segunda vez no mês*, a via foi interditada, por volta das 10h, devido a confrontos envolvendo tráfico, milícia e policiais. O trânsito foi interrompido por cerca de meia hora. Segundo policiais da Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP) da Cidade de Deus, confrontos entre traficantes e milicianos da Gardênia Azul já tinham mobilizado a polícia na sexta-feira.

(5) À tarde, segundo a assessoria de imprensa da UPP, *traficantes* da Cidade de Deus bloquearam a Avenida Edgard Werneck, uma das principais vias do bairro, com pneus, lixeiras e fogo. Quando os policiais chegaram, por volta das 16h, foram recebidos com tiros e reagiram. *Mais uma vez, a Linha Amarela foi fechada por cerca de 40 minutos*. Os suspeitos resistiram até a chegada de um reforço com blindado do 14º BPM (Bangu). Helicópteros passaram a sobrevoar a área.

(6) A estudante de jornalismo Beatriz Gentil seguia de manhã do Méier para a Barra da Tijuca e, quando atravessou o último túnel da Linha Amarela, sua mãe parou o carro porque motoristas da frente faziam sinal para voltar.
— Viramos e retornamos até que o trânsito ficou parado. Eu via helicópteros sobrevoando e viaturas da polícia seguindo em direção à Barra. Apesar da distância, dava para ouvir muitos tiros. As pessoas saíram do carro e ficaram encostadas nas muretas. Espero não passar por isso de novo — disse, contando que, só cerca de 40 minutos depois, pôde seguir viagem.

(7) O funcionário público Constantino Assonitis mora no Pechincha, bairro vizinho à Cidade de Deus, e também ouviu o costumeiro barulho de tiros:
— Isso deixou de ser tiroteio há muito tempo, é guerra.

(8) Além das duas interdições deste sábado, no dia 2 outro tiroteio fechou a via expressa. Conforme O GLOBO mostrou, policiais da UPP da Cidade de Deus estavam em patrulhamento na Edgard Werneck quando deram ordem para um
motociclista parar, mas ele fugiu para a favela. Os policiais perseguiram o suspeito, mas foram atacados a tiros por criminosos da Cidade de Deus. O trânsito nas vias precisou ser interrompido por 30 minutos para garantir a segurança dos motoristas.

(9) Em outubro de 2009, um intenso tiroteio entre quadrilhas do Morro dos Macacos, em Vila Isabel, e São João, no Engenho Novo, que causou a queda de um helicóptero. Dois policiais morreram e quatro ficaram feridos.

Fully Analyzed News Story 2 (NS2): http://glo.bo/2gxPLEH:

Moradores da Cidade de Deus encontram corpos desaparecidos

Eles foram colocados pelos pais em uma praça próxima ao condomínio Itamar Franco, na comunidade do Karatê

Por Pablo Jacob / Lucas Altino

20/11/2016 12:00 / Atualizado 20/11/2016 21:29

(1) RIO — Moradores da Cidade de Deus retiraram da mata sete corpos de jovens da comunidade, na manhã deste domingo. Eles foram colocados pelos pais em uma praça próxima ao condomínio Itamar Franco, na localidade do Karatê. Famílias começaram a denunciar o sumiço das pessoas no sábado após ação da polícia militar no local. Na ocasião, um helicóptero caiu, resultando na morte de quatro PMs: o major Rogério Melo Costa, o terceiro-sargento Rogério Félix Rainha; o capitão William de Freitas Schorcht e o subtenente Camilo Barbosa de Carvalho.

(2) Não se sabe ainda se os crimes ocorreram antes ou depois de a aeronave despencar. O secretário de Segurança, Roberto Sá, garantiu que os homicídios já estão sendo investigados:
— Essas mortes não vão ficar sem resposta.

(3) Após o acidente, o Bope iniciou uma operação na comunidade. Até o momento, foram detidas três pessoas e houve apreensão de armas e drogas. Em sua conta no Twitter, o presidente Michel Temer lamentou, a morte dos policiais.

(4) "Lamentável a morte dos 4 PMs que cumpriam o seu dever durante operação no Rio de Janeiro. A minha solidariedade aos familiares e amigos. Reitero minha confiança e apoio ao trabalho das forças policiais, sempre comprometidas no combate ao crime", escreveu Temer, em seu perfil no Twitter.

(5) Neste domingo, comboios militares cercaram a área, bloqueando acessos e revistando carros e os poucos moradores que se arriscaram a deixar a Cidade de Deus. Do lado de fora, eram raros os que passavam pela Estrada Marechal Miguel Salazar Mendes de Moraes, fechada nos dois sentidos. Já nos fundos da favela — junto ao valão que um dia foi o Rio Arroio Fundo — moradores brigavam com policiais pelo direito de entrar na mata do Karatê para procurar seus filhos. Só conseguiram por volta de 9h30m, quando repórteres chegaram ao local. Aos poucos, grupos foram voltando com os corpos dos sete homens jovens, com sinais de tiros e facadas, que foram enfileirados e cobertos por lençóis na principal praça do Karatê.

(7) A mãe de Marlon César, de 23 anos, contou que muitos moradores foram surpreendidos com confrontos.

(8) Moradores também acompanharam o início da perícia a cargo da Divisão de Homicídios, que investigará as mortes. Alguns acusavam policiais que invadiram a favela após a queda da aeronave.

(9) Eles eram envolvidos (com o tráfico), mas se renderam. Isso é execução, não? — questionava um parente de Leonardo Camilo, de 29 anos, também encontrado morto. — Depois que o helicóptero caiu foi um terror. Eles entraram e deram muito tiro. Foi vingança.

(10) Em entrevista à "Rádio CBN", Raíssa da Silva Monteiro, de 20 anos, também afirmou que seu irmão desapareceu na noite de sábado:
— Ele ligou pra minha mãe às 18h35m e disse que não conseguia falar. Não consigo mais notícia, a gente quer entrar no mato, mas os policiais estão dando tiro para cima da gente.

(11) O morador Thiago Oliveira acompanhou a busca pelos corpos. Ele é amigo de um dos pais das vítimas.
— Os corpos estão com ferimentos de facas, como se tivessem sido torturados. Parece que encapuzaram as vítimas e começaram a atirar. É ódio gerado por ódio, uma crueldade — afirma Thiago, que também diz que circula a informação na comunidade sobre a morte de uma criança de quatro anos, por bala perdida.

(12) Antes dos corpos serem encontrados, um vídeo divulgado nas redes sociais mostrava uma mãe, desesperada, tentando achar o filho. A polícia estava impedindo o acesso de pessoas à mata, onde as vítimas foram encontradas.
— Vou procurar meu filho agora! Meu filho está dentro do mato, morto! O sangue é meu! Eu sou mãe! — gritava.

(13) Em nota, a Polícia Civil informou que um procedimento foi instaurado na Delegacia de Homicídios para apurar as mortes das sete pessoas. Segundo o comunicado, "segue em andamento um amplo trabalho de investigação visando apurar detalhadamente as circunstâncias do ocorrido".

(14) Neste sábado, a queda de um helicóptero da Polícia Militar que participava de uma operação na Cidade de Deus, Zona Oeste do Rio de Janeiro, provocou a morte de quatro policiais e iniciou uma onda de pânico entre moradores. Logo após a tragédia, começaram a circular pela internet informações alarmantes - grande parte delas inverídicas - sobre novos ataques ou mortes.

(15) O clima na Cidade de Deus segue tenso após os tiroteios e operações policiais que culminaram com a queda de um helicóptero da Polícia Militar, com quatro militares mortos.

(16) A moradora Vivi Salles iria realizar um sarau comemorativo de cinco anos do Poesia de Esquina, movimento criado por ela para reunir poetas da Cidade de Deus, ontem, mas teve que cancelar o evento, por causa dos confrontos
entre criminosos e policiais na região. A poetiza, que tem 26 anos, disse que nunca havia presenciado tanto tiroteio durante o dia.

— Normalmente era só de madrugada, agora passou a ficar normal ouvir tiros durante as manhãs. Ontem, eu achava que a situação ia se estabilizar depois do meio-dia. Mas o tiroteio voltou com tudo à tarde e perdurou até as 22h. Outro evento cultural além do meu também teve que ser cancelado. Houve uma sequência de tiros muito grande na tentativa de abater o helicóptero — afirmou Vivi.

**OPERAÇÃO POR TEMPO INDETERMINADO**

Desde ontem, policiais de vários Batalhões realizam uma operação pente-fino na comunidade. Por determinação da cúpula da segurança, a operação que começou na manhã de sábado, após bandidos atirarem contra policiais da UPP, continuará por tempo indeterminado.

O clima da comunidade é de apreensão. Pouco movimento nas ruas. O serviço de mototáxi foi suspenso por determinação policial. Todos os carros que entram ou deixam a Cidade de Deus passam por rigorosa revista. Participam das operações policiais do Choque, do Bope, de Operações com Cães, os batalhões de Jacarepaguá e da Barra, além de policiais de várias UPPs.

Na manhã deste domingo, pelo menos três pessoas foram detidas durante a operação da Polícia Militar na Cidade de Deus. Na ação, foram apreendidos fuzis e drogas. Os policiais ocupam a comunidade à procura de bandidos que entraram em confronto com agentes no sábado. Em seu perfil no Facebook, a Polícia Militar prestou uma homenagem aos PMs mortos, publicando uma mensagem de luto.

A operação policial interdita ruas no entorno da comunidade. Segundo o Centro de operações da prefeitura, a Estrada Marechal Miguel Salazar Mendes de Moraes está fechada em ambos os sentidos, entre as ruas Antonieta Campos da Paz e a Edgard Werneck.

Já a Rua Edgard Werneck também está interditada em ambos os sentidos, entre a Estrada Marechal Miguel Salazar Mendes de Moraes e a Rua Suzano. As estradas dos Bandeirantes, do Gabinal e a Linha Amarela são opções para os motoristas. A UPA do local também está fechada e o atendimento está sendo feito no Lourenço Jorge.

Ainda como consequência do confronto, a estação Divina Providência, do BRT Transcarioca (Barra da Tijuca-Aeroporto Tom Jobim), foi alvo de atos de vandalismo neste sábado. A estação, próxima à Cidade de Deus, teve oito vidros quebrados, além de quatro monitores de TV, perfis metálicos e bancos amassados e geladeira de refrigerante derrubada. O Consórcio BRT estimou o prejuízo material em pelo menos R$ 37 mil.

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*O Globo* Facebook fan page comment selection from NP5: [https://www.facebook.com/jornaloglobo/posts/1445249148848093](https://www.facebook.com/jornaloglobo/posts/1445249148848093)

1. Tudo inocente. Estavam na igreja rezando ou na escola estudando?
2. Quando um PM morre, eu só ouço o silêncio. O silêncio do Estado, o silêncio do ministério público, o silêncio dos direitos humanos. Nenhuma palavra ecoa: nem de conforto, nem de indignação. Nem o jornal nacional da TV Globo dá o destaque merecido ao caso!!! Mas quando é para atacar a polícia tem um programa do fantástico inteiro para denegrir a polícia!!! Que país difícil!!!

3. Se a "notícia" é: "jovens desaparecidos", tenha certeza que eram bandidos, vagabundos da pior espécie! Globo, jornalismo porco!

#EuEscolhoSalvarAPolicia #BandidoBomÉBandidoMorto

4. Pelos comentários, vejo que finalmente estamos acordando pra realidade.

Talvez ainda haja tempo para mudar. Infelizmente, nosso estado e país, está cada vez mais complicado de viver em paz.

Mais ainda há esperanças.

5. AH sim tudo gente inocente.. Estavam voltando da Escola bíblica dominical, todos filhos exemplares trabalhadores... De repente, as pessoas do mal pegaram eles e praticaram este ato terrível... Vamos acordar gente. É tudo bandido. Pode até ser que alguém inocente, honesto e justo seja atingido pela desgraça, mas isto é muito difícil. Vamos esperar o resultado disto.

6. Agora são jovens que estavam desaparecidos? Mídia lixo, eles morreram por causa de bala perdida, quando estavam vindo da igreja ou quando estavam num futebol inocente entre amigos, não é mesmo? Essa vai ser possivelmente a história que a mídia contará.

7. Tavam na igreja rezando... 7 é pouco... Essas pessoas não são mães... São chocadeira de bandidos! Daqui a pouco vão fazer um movimento para ganhar dinheiro do estado. "Mães da CDD"

8. Eu vi um vídeo nesse minuto, que no meio do tiroteio alguns moradores, homens, estava na rua rindo dos polícias e do tiroteio. Vai ver foi bala perdida ué


Eles deviam estar lá na mata rezando.

O Globo quer ver fazer homenagem aos policiais que morreram por causa desses bandidos.

10. Provavelmente jovens inocentes e estudantes que foram atingidos pela polícia!!!

Fala sério!!!!

Eu quero saber foi que matou os policiais!!!

Chega de viver nessa sociedade hipócrita!!

11. Ja ja os pais desses "inocentes" estarão em algum programa de tv falando dos filhos trabalhadores, porq no Brasil bandido e defendendo na tv. Ja os policiais q morreram ninguém fala.

12. Engraçado, e as mães dos policiais mortos ontem na queda do helicóptero, elas não têm direito de pedir justiça pela mortes dos seus filhos, que inclusive estavam trabalhando !?????

13. Nos vídeos que a própria imprensa repassou nas mídias... foram vistos vários jovens... com "rojões" e pedras nas mãos... nos momentos que estavam rolando as trocas de tiros... agora faço a pergunta, onde
estavam as mães e os pais da molecada que estavam achando que a troca de tiro era brincadeira..... as mortes devem ser investigadas..... mas temos que analisar cada situação de cada morto e da família ...

14. Tentando entender se estavam fazendo oração na Mata! [].. Moro nas imediações e diversas pessoas no meu condomínio já foram assaltadas inclusive eu. Que todos eles morram!!

15. Sobre a violência que assola a CDD (Cidade de Deus): Pela enésima vez repito, a guerra as drogas mata muito mais do que as drogas! Legalizar a produção, o comércio e o consumo de todas as drogas é o caminho para poupar vidas! Quatro policiais e seis jovens podiam estar voltando sãos e salvos para seus familiares se não insistíssemos nessa trágica política de segurança que há muito já não funciona! Paz na CDD!

16. Tadinhos né, a única perda que tivemos foram a vida dos policiais, essa família merece nosso luto, as outras que velam marginais não tenho pena!

17. Eram inocentes? Estavam fazendo o quê e aonde? Sinceramente estou chorando sim, a morte dos bravos policiais trabalhadores que morreram! Quanto a esses aí sinto muito!

18. pronto, agora vão falar que é culpa da polícia pra reverter a situação, bom, se realmente são inocentes, a polícia tem que pagar, ou seja lá quem fez isso. assim como vão ter que pagar pela morte dos policiais..... acredito sim que na favela tem muita gente do bem, trabalhadores honestos, guerreiros e com o coração enorme, assim como no asfalto tem muita gente ruim e do bem tb... não tem essa de favela e asfalto, e sim gente boa, gente do bem... independente de profissão, classe social... esse preconceito não pode existir, mas tem sim que ir em luta de justiça, de paz, de mais amor.

19. Notícias Hipócrita... fale dos nossos heróis combatentes em serviço o que as suas família estão sentindo....mães e filhos passando pela dor da falta dos entes queridos....JORNALISTA E EDITOR que vivem de sensacionalismo das vítimas da sociedade.... vcs deveriam de fechar as portas.....possuímos outros canais de informações mais reluzentes com a realidade carioca.....


21. Jovens? Eu vi um monte comemorando a queda do helicóptero! Todos inocentes, coitadinhos ... há uma guerra civil não declarada no Rio ou vcs não sabem disso?

22. Tudo anjo, tudo santo.

23. Esquecem que policiais foram executados fazendo seu trabalho, esquecem que eles tmb tem família e que estão trabalhando a nosso favor. Pessoas do bem não trocam tiros com a polícia e tmb não mata policiais!!! Essas pessoas que hj choram pelos seus familiares são coniventes com o crime. Não que tds sejam bandidos claro mais isso é consequência dos atos feitos por marginais. Toda ação tem uma reação.

24. Esses rapazes eram bandidos? Pq na matéria não fala nada sobre envolvimento e tals, se forem bandidos eu não ligo, mas se forem inocentes é muito triste assim como a morte dos policiais!
Na guerra do morro, infelizmente acaba sobrando pra quem não tem na haver, bala perdida não tem endereço!

25. Vocês deveriam dar a mesma ênfase para as mortes de policiais que acontecem todos os dias. Ou a revolta de vocês é seletiva? Só importa pra vcs a morte de bandidos? Jornalismo barato e parcial da nisso. Quando vcs vão acordar e perceber que a sociedade já tá cansada dessa mídia e importância nojenta que vcs dão a quem não merece? Eu no lugar de vcs me envergonharia de pertencer ao jornalismo mais podre que existe.

26. Alô direitos humanos vão la na casa dos quatros policiais mortos fazer uma visita prestar solidariedade aos familiares e dos outros que morreram esse ano também freixo visita la bota a cara na tv e sai em defesa desses policiais que morrem todo dia quero ver se vai.

27. Pior é ler a matéria e ver que a individual( poetisa) entrevistada cobra explicações da polícia para tal intervenção... Oi? Querida, onde tem bandido, vagabundo, a polícia tem q atuar, essa é a explicação, ta bom pra você bonita... Ah fala sério, por isso vivemos nesse inferno...

28. Assisti um vídeo onde MORADORES hostilizavam e humilhavam um policial que tentava sobreviver a uma intensa troca de tiros. Agora vem fazer cena, exigir respeito e chorar na frente da câmera fotográfica... Não tenho mais paciência.

29. Notícia Completamente tendenciosa... Quando noticiaram o acidente com o helicóptero, não disseram que os mortos eram policiais nem demonstraram tamanha importância... sinceramente, a inversão de valores que vcs (Globo) promovem é simplesmente ridícula e desumana...

30. Pergunta que não quer calar: pq esses jovens honestos estavam na mata? O que foram fazer lá? Não deviam estar em casa? Tipo aqueles que vi em um vídeo que aparece centenas de jovens no meio do tiroteio correndo e achando graça da situação! Kd as famílias dos policiais? Vamos divulgar a dor deles também! Eles morreram em trabalho. Me poupem a tanta hipocrisia... 

31. Acho que eram índios xamãs... "desapareceram" na mata enquanto caçavam, confraternizavam ou faziam algum ritual religioso para os deuses. Coitados desses inocentes "jovens desaparecidos" na mata.

32. #Globodelixo #sociedadedelixo
Essa merda teve mais repercussão do que o helicóptero derrubado pelos vagabundos dessa comunidade!
Claro que em comunidade existe gente de bem e trabalhadora.
Mais gente de bem e que sabe que está tendo uma operação ou qualquer outra coisa não fica na rua ou então logo se esconde em algum lugar para se proteger!
Essa notícia e para retorcer as coisas que estão acontecendo, para virar o jogo é colocar a culpa tudo na polícia.

33. E aí ... o Globo não vai mencionar no helicóptero abatido não. ...Só dos inocentes que foram encontrados na Mata .....bem se não deve se não correria para a Mata e sim para suas casas ..... Porque fugiram para o Mato??????

34. Repudio pessoas que gostam de maquiar a própria realidade😔. A polícia trabalha e se expõe para proteger as pessoas de bem e honestas.
recebendo para isso um salário incerto no momento. Recebem tiros dos vagabundos, morrem, têm suas famílias destruídas e deveriam fazer o que??? Ah... Quem defende bandido é bandido também. Os culpados dessas guerras são os vagabundos e deveriam ser cobrados pela população moradora das comunidades que se dizem honestas. Se são honestas por que acobertam o crime? Por que seus filhos e amigos são criminosos mas são "muito gente boa"? Para quem??? Certo é certo e errado é errado e não tentem tapar o sol com peneira.

35. Só um recado pra essa tal Vivi Sales que diz que a polícia tem que informar sobre as operações: Vai tomar no cu, vai se foder. Desculpem as palavras de baixo calão, mas a revolta é grande demais.

36. Vamos lá Globo! Vamos ao raciocínio:
Todo mundo sabe que o mundo artístico é o segmento dos maiores consumidores de drogas no RJ. A pergunta? Seria interesse das pessoas que trabalham na Globo acabar o tráfico de drogas? Reflexão aqui...

37. Fui criado na favela e digo pra vcs...o morador DE BEM se tranca em casa, não aceita o tráfico, fica na dele, do trabalho pra casa, do lazer pra casa...QUEM APOIA traficante e torce contra a polícia é do tráfico, direta ou indiretamente, seja fornecedor ou usuário...

38. Em comunidade tem gente de bem,obvio.Mas tem muito vagabundo.Bora ver qual era a desses jovens ai.Cadê que alguém fala dos 4 militares mortos na queda do helicóptero?????

39. "Leonardo da Silva Martins, pai de um dos jovens, disse que encontrou o corpo do filho deitado de bruços, em uma posição clara de que foi executado."
Agora pai de bandido virou criminalista? É mesmo???? VTNC Globo.

40. A vida é uma matemática! Quanto a sociedade gasta formando seus policiais? Quanto às famílias gastam tentando fazer seus filhos homens de bem? Enquanto outros a sociedade também gasta, porém a família, os consumidores de droga continuam a patrocinar o tráfico e levando jovens ao crime. Em uns foram investido muito dinheiro, em outros, um pouco menos, mas todos fizeram as suas escolhas. Eu matematicamente escolho preservar o investimento maior do que o menor. Protejo os homens da lei. Os desvirtuados, meliantes? Esses temos que exterminar imediatamente, antes que eles continuem nos causando prejuízo econômico.

41. "Eu sou mãe!" Mãe não, progenitora, se fosse mãe não estaria "buscando" corpo! Estava era fazendo graça! Palhaçada, quatro pais de família morreram na guerra deles, porra de estado filho da puta, cerquem as favelas e deixem que se matem!


Chega de vitimizar malandro. Nessas comunidades habitam verdadeiros monstros, gente sem escrúpulos e a maioria da comunidade apóia esse comportamento. Defende, e ainda coloca combustível! Uma vergonha... Uma hora ou outra eclode uma guerra civil e o morro vem abaixo, assim como a podridão política também vai ralar a cara no asfalto. Porque os justos tem um limite para a paciência. Quanto dinheiro público não é destinado pra combater gente que só atrapalha a nação, pra combater bandidinho de merda, que tira a paz alheia. Sei que cada qual cava sua cova. Vale pra mim, vale pra todos. Cada um constrói seu próprio fim. Tendo ciência disso ou não. A humanidade pode ser injusta, mas a lei do universo é igual pra todos.

44. São pobres coitados vítimas da sociedade. Os culpados por isso foram os 4 que morreram na queda do helicóptero ontem. Enquanto pensarmos assim serem obrigados a nos escondemos dessa violência que domina a cidade.

45. Como sempre a imprensa já notícia e da mais valor a ignorancia dakeles q pressionam dizendo q eram inocentes em horas erradas, levando erroneamente a cindenaçao a akeles q dao suas vdas em troca da sociedade# Sou mais policia do q traficantes