

Media Depictions of Violence during Mega-Events in Rio de Janeiro: A Comparative Textual Analysis of News Outlets and Sensationalistic Reports

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Abstract

This paper examines how and why media depictions of communal violence occurring in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil during recent mega-events differ between local community media, non-local domestic media, and non-Brazilian media. The paper examines violence accompanying recent mass protests, as well as gang violence and reported cases of police brutalities. The sample includes incidents reported as having occurred prior, during and immediately after the 2013 Confederation Cup and 2014 World Cup held in the city. In addition, the sample also covers current preparations for the 2016 Olympic Games. Media data consist of local sources from within the city's *favelas* including *Rio on Watch*, *Jornal A Nova Democracia*, and *Redes da Maré*; national sources include articles published by *O Globo*, *O Dia* and *Jornal do Brasil*. International media data focus on coverage by *CNN*, *BBC*, and *FOX News*. Based on comparative textual analysis through coding in NVivo, the paper demonstrates that the intensity of the depiction of violence, as reported in these different media, increases as the geographic scale of the news source increases. Local news sources portray violence in the context of these mega-events in a more measured light than both national and international media. The paper thus demonstrates that proximity of the media source to violence matters for the latter's depiction, and supports current research showing the effects of variable depictions of violence and how mass media's exaggeration plays a significant role in generalizing beliefs about who is creating violence and what violence is occurring in specific areas. This has important implications for local residents and media sources in regards to their role in the upcoming 2016 Olympics.

Keywords: Violence, Media, Brazil

1. Introduction

This paper questions how and why media depictions of communal violence occurring in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil during recent mega-events differ between local community/nano-media, non-local domestic media, and non-Brazilian media. The paper examines violence accompanying recent mass protests, as well as gang violence and reported cases of police brutalities. To answer how these depictions of violence differ, the following questions must be addressed: what are the actual measured rates of violence in Brazil and specifically what are the measured violence rates in Rio de Janeiro? In comparison to these violence rates, how is violence depicted through media and how does this depiction allow for the exaggeration, stereotyping and the 'sensationalization' of violence? Additionally, what perspectives exist as to who is seen as the commonly perceived actors of violence and who are the victims affected by violence specifically in Rio de Janeiro? What levels of media agree with these views and how does a certain source's agenda further create sensationalizing media accounts?

Following these questions, the section on methods and methodology constructs the study to analyze media reports on an international, domestic and local level and answer how the lens of violence happening in Rio de Janeiro differ

through these various sources. A comparative textual analysis examines articles including local sources from within the city's *favelas* including *Rio on Watch*, *Jornal A Nova Democracia*, and *Redes da Maré*; national sources including articles by *O Globo*, *O Dia* and *Jornal do Brasil*, and international media through *CNN*, *BBC*, and *FOX News*. Analysis further explores if depictions of violence differ and represent through more sensationalized accounts depending on the distance of coverage or level of media source. The paper demonstrates that the intensity of the depiction of violence as reported in these different media increases as the geographic scale of the news source increases. Local news sources portray violence in the context of these mega-events in a more measured light than both national and international media. This study thus demonstrates that proximity of the media source to violence matters for the latter's depiction, and supports current research showing the effects of variable depictions of violence and how mass media's exaggeration plays a significant role in generalizing beliefs about who is creating violence and what violence is occurring in specific areas. This has important implications for groups that are being stereotyped, especially with another upcoming mega-event and more international attention in Rio during the 2016 Olympics.

2. Rates of Violence in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro

As of 2013, Brazil was named the 'seventh most violent nation' in the world.¹ This rating was given through comparison of homicide rates per country. *Mapa da Violencia 2014*, or *Map of Violence 2014*, a study used to measure the change and patterns in various cities for homicide rates through police reports over the past 30 years in Brazil, shows that the number of homicides increased from 13,910 deaths in 1980 to 56,337 deaths in 2012.² Waisenfiz claims that these numbers are still 'uncertain' because the actual number of registered homicides may be 10-25% higher, but deaths in cities such as Rio de Janeiro are often classified, not recorded and 'unexplained'.³ Rio de Janeiro, however, showed unique results being one of the only large cities in Brazil to reduce its homicide rate during this period. When looking at these numbers on a smaller more recent scale, Rio de Janeiro had an estimated 8,321 homicides in 2002 and 4,589 in 2012;⁴ nearly cutting their homicide rate in half over 10 years.

Many will argue that the existing source of this violence or high level of homicide is coming from within the *favelas*. *Favelas* are informal housing structures that were self-constructed by residents as early as the 1890's. *Favelas* were established and developed with no outside or governmental regulation by individual residents and are continuously evolving based on access to resources, knowledge and culture. Because of their structure and lack of government service and governance by the state, many *favelas* are home territory and unofficially governed by drug trafficking organizations such as *Comando Vermelho (CV)*, *Terezeiro Comando Puro (TCP)*, and *Amigos dos Amigos (ADA)*.⁵

In 2008 the Secretary of Security in Rio de Janeiro, Jose Mariano Beltrame introduced the *Pacifying Police Unit* in attempt to reduce violence. Many scholars argue that while progress in reducing homicide rates started with the pacification of the *favelas* since 2008 through the *Pacifying Police Unit (UPP)*,⁶ communal violence has not actually been reduced due to the increase in police brutality and lack of accountability in these recorded numbers.⁷ Pacification, or a police take-over to gain government control of the *favelas*, was seen as an urgent security objective for Rio as the perspective of hosting mega-events such as the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games became clearer. Since 2008, roughly 40 *favelas* have been pacified, with a focus being on *favelas* located close to high real-estate boom areas, the *Maracanã Stadium*, used for the World Cup, and the *Olympic City*.⁸ The program is praised for lowering crime and homicide rates and allowing infrastructure to enter the communities along with social programs, and criticized for bringing more violence and police brutality along with human rights violations,⁹ lacking social projects and failing on the promises of the original proposal.¹⁰

Extreme violence is blamed on high impunity levels, corruption and institutional deficiencies that perpetuate and encourage the culture of violence. While some scholars as well as media, politicians and popular belief link high levels of violence and homicide rates to drug trafficking and organized crime in the *favelas*,¹¹ other studies argue that along with Rio's geographic layout, demographics and social developments such as changes in income equality, economic distribution, political and social resources, and high school dropout rates, intersecting with poverty and the population increase also are contributing factors that perpetuate violence begetting violence in Rio.¹²

3. Discourse on "Sensationalization" of Violent Actors and Neighborhoods in Rio

Along with varying causes for the high level of violence, specific groups of people such as *favela* residents and neighborhoods are consistently criminalized and stereotyped as violent.¹³ This section will cover how such stereotypes created and what are the dangers in these stereotypes? What issues arise when lower class and minority residents are

linked to violence? What role identity plays in how one perceives violence? How does the image of disorder create a sense of danger and violence? And how and why do media sources continue to perpetuate stereotypes of violence?

Two images are generally depicted when first thinking of Rio de Janeiro: either gorgeous beaches, mountains and Carnival, or the favelas full of violent drug lords such as in the film *City of God*. This second image is problematic in its exaggeration and decontextualization of types of violence that are happening, where and by whom.¹⁴ This ignorance creates stereotypes that “depict favelas as zones of ‘war’, where the rights of the residents can be systematically disrespected,”¹⁵ and turn the favelas into stigmatized no-go areas where residents are seen as ‘undesirables.’¹⁶ A perception that is historically constituted and enforced by society. These stereotypes of Rio’s favelas held by residents in affluent areas, government and media accounts are similar to Daniel Goldstein’s book where residents of Cochabamba, a ‘marginal’ neighborhood on the urban periphery, are labeled as criminals and seen by upper and middle class citizens as “backward, aggressive, and primitive or uncivilized in nature, qualities that their geographical position on the urban periphery supposedly reflects” and the neighborhood as a ‘no-go zone’ of violence and crime.¹⁷

Research supports the argument people categorized as middle and upper class socioeconomically and many institutions such as large media networks, also link blacks and minorities to images of violence, disorder and crime.¹⁸ Upper class residents and institutions often assume that favela residents have ‘predictable’ criminal behaviors, are accomplices of drug traffickers and perpetrators of violence; youth are stigmatized as identity-less, marginal, ‘menor’ and ‘favelado’ or from the favela.¹⁹ Even if all levels of society are affected by such violence, the way the poor versus upper and middle classes experience the severity of violence differs. Besides statistical analysis on homicide rates and media reports misrepresenting incidences of violence, little is known about the actual nature of violence and about how the poor actually perceive violence, fear and insecurity.²⁰ These perceptions stress the importance of also looking at depictions from local level/ nano-media sources.

Identity plays a significant role in how one perceives violence. The way one perceives violence can then create stereotypes regarding who is an actor of violence. In a world of strangers, people automatically divide and classify based on signs of disorder, skin color and preconceived reputations continue the stigmatization of the ‘other’.²¹ In addition, Giddens argues identities matter in the way that you identify who one trusts versus distrusts, both in facework, trust in persons, and faceless, trust in systems.²² Differences in identity positions, such as race, gender and age, as well as structures of power also greatly influence how people experience violence.²³ In stereotypical media accounts, the media is creating a face of marginalized people and lower income neighborhoods as violent then causing distrust in the neighborhood and residents, creating the idea of ‘us versus them’. This common stereotype linking poverty levels with violence “dangerously suggests that all poor people are violent”.²⁴

Robert Sampson’s book on Chicago also discusses the creation of stereotypes through the Broken Window Theory, which explains that when people see signs of social disorder, such as trash on the streets, graffiti and broken windows they assume that these areas are linked to crime and violence.²⁵ While signs of disorder are not automatic indicators that violence exists, neighborhoods perceived as having signs of disorder are “especially prone to developing reputations as ‘bad’ and best avoided”.²⁶ As a result of stigmatized perceptions, a self-fulfilling prophecy reinforces the later disorder, creating concentrated poverty and a vicious poverty trap. The poor are then again criminalized and linked to violence, neighborhoods are labeled as violent, broken window policing is sent in to “attempt to sooth the savage beast”²⁷ and media continues the dangerous cycle of encouraging stereotypes. Sampson states that communities can break out of these stigmatizing perceptions through collective efficacy and organization, perhaps found in community level local media coverage that can later be transferred to mass media. Multiple scholars suggest that to counter widespread criminalization and stereotyping of the poor, perceptions of violence must focus at the community level rather than the elite perspective.²⁸ The idea of nano-media, or local community level sources allows community perspectives to be represented in what massive media sources often ignore or misrepresent. They are generally formed out of nonprofit motives to create community platforms. This can be extremely effective in showing local perspectives of what is imitating violence and what solutions the government should be looking for.²⁹

These images of violence, criminalization of ‘undesirable’ favela residents and creation of stereotypes that marginal neighborhoods are violent no-go areas are re-created and perpetuated by sensationalizing media accounts. The media, looking to report on sensational stories and images³⁰ often has a biased agenda and selectivity in event reporting to create an exciting or mythical story that gains a large audience through the creation of heroes, victims and aggressors.³¹ Both selection bias, picking ‘newsworthy events’, and description bias or the incorrect, incompletely reported, omissions and distortions in media accounts shape public opinion and perception.³²

4. Methods and Methodology

Although homicide rates were at much higher levels 10 year ago in Rio de Janeiro, international and domestic media started to pay closer attention more recently. Since Brazil received the bid to host the 2014 World Cup followed by the bid to host the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, there was a large international focus on Brazil, especially in terms of security. During the time period prior, during and immediately after mega-events in Rio de Janeiro such as the 2013 Confederation Cup and 2014 World Cup, the city received high levels of media attention focusing on security and ‘extreme’ violence in protests, the pacification of the favelas and police brutality. Since the pacification program began in 2008, international news coverage began about Brazil’s attempt to improve security before hosting mega-events. In June 2013, international coverage increased when Brazil faced mass protests against the Confederation Cup and against government corruption. Closer to the World Cup, Brazil again was in the spotlight for numerous cases of police brutality and security concerns leading up to month-long event. This time period, from April 2013 to September 2014, is significant to analyze how the international, domestic and local or nano-media, sources are depicting levels of violence and if certain sources are sensationalizing and stereotyping violence.

The sources chosen to analyze provide a variety of different perspectives from different agendas. International media includes coverage by *CNN*, *BBC*, and *FOX News*. These three sources were the most active international outlets during this time period in reporting on events and issues leading up to the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. *CNN* traditionally is thought to have a liberal bias in their reporting and has been known to push ‘human interest’ stories to influence public opinion on foreign issues. *CNN International* is the leading international news outlet in terms of viewer/reader reach. *BBC* has been criticized for having impartiality and objectivity in their publications, yet is known as the world’s oldest national broadcasting station. *Fox News* is American based and traditionally thought to have a more conservative bias in their reporting. Due to the previous established biases of these networks, it is assumed that *CNN* and *BBC* would have more measured lights of violence happening in Brazil compared to *Fox News* accounts. Domestic sources include *O Globo*, *O Dia* and *Jornal do Brasil*, which have historically varying perspectives on reporting on issues of criminality and violence. *O Globo* is the largest and most influential news source in Brazil, following what is considered a more conservative political orientation. *Jornal do Brasil* is the third oldest newspaper in Brazil, and is considered to have a slightly left orientation compared to their rival *O Globo*. *O Dia* is mostly focused on Rio de Janeiro; in the 1990’s, *O Dia* focused on policing and violence however later reformed their reporting in an attempt to gain more traditional readers following *O Globo* and *Jornal do Brasil*. Media data for local sources from within the city’s favelas include *Rio on Watch*, *Jornal A Nova Democracia*, and *Redes da Maré*, some of which focus on reports throughout the city and others more specifically on certain communities. *Rio on Watch* is a non-profit organization that supports views of community leaders and residents in the favelas that are often ignored or misrepresented in mass media, reports are both in English and Portuguese. *Jornal A Nova Democracia* is also a non-profit organization that works to provide articles supporting the need for democracy. Their mission is to alter one-sided images from national and international media by providing a more in-depth perspective on issues of justice especially in cases of violence. *Redes da Maré*, is also a local non-profit organization working specifically in the community Maré, a complex of 16 different favelas with areas controlled by two gang-factions, a militia group while under military occupation.

Each news source has 40 articles for a total of 360 articles pertaining to violence. While domestic outlets generally had more than 40 articles reporting on violence, both local and international media rarely had more than 40 articles published in this period focusing on this subject. Domestic articles were chosen to represent all aspects of reporting including events that were also reported by international as well as local media but also events not covered by the other sources. On each website, articles were found by searching from April 2013 to September 2014 for keywords “violence” and/or “security”. After a quick review of the article to understand if it was reporting on a security concern during this period in Rio de Janeiro, articles were uploaded to NVivo. Articles were selected to match major events related to security concerns throughout the period including violence related to police brutality and military occupation, gang violence and mass protests. Articles were chosen to be representative of all angles of how violence is reported prior to the World Cup. By looking at international, domestic and local sources, articles will show perspectives of how foreigners, domestic political officials, law enforcement, business and tourism spheres, and residents of Rio de Janeiro both from wealthier communities and the favelas are portraying, experiencing, and responding to concerns of violence and security.

Since articles were published in both English and Portuguese, articles from these sources were analyzed through a comparative textual analysis through coding and matching of words with equal translations in English and Portuguese in QSR’s NVivo software. Through the ‘Word Frequency’ option, the 30 most frequently occurring terms were identified and separated by source and the overall level of coverage locally, domestic or internationally. This analysis

captured the variation in language use that lead to sensationalizing of violence and stereotyping of actors. Terms described actors, victims, causes and associations of violence. Analyzing terms through the number of appearances, a Word Cloud and Cluster Analysis-Horizontal Dendrogram were most effective to show similarities in the context that words were used. If two words were used frequently throughout a grouping of articles to describe a specific actor or event, they would be grouped or linked in the same bracket and color group in the Cluster Analysis-Horizontal Dendrogram. Additionally this graphic specifically demonstrates the context in which the most frequently words were used to compared to other frequently occurring words. These groupings are interesting to follow the context in which words were used per source. The summary tables below show top findings and word links found in this study.

5. Data Analysis

Table 1. Summary of comparison of word choice/links in media news article analysis

| | Local | Domestic | International |
|-----------|---|---|--|
| Residents | Community Maré | Criminals Rocinha | Violence Death Crime |
| Security | Rights Networks (NGO's) | Forces Tourists | Olympics Forcing |
| Protests | Repression Violence | Confront Government Military/Police Injuries | Demonstrators Tear Gas Government Fares |
| Favela | Community Pacification Military Drug | Criminal Shooting Alemão | Slum Drug Gang |

Table 2. Most frequently occurring words in news articles per level of analysis

| Local | | Domestic | | International | |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| Top 4 Words | # of Occurrences | Top 3 Words | # of Occurrences | Top 3 Words | # of Occurrences |
| Police | 1269 | Police | 613 | Protests | 1041 |
| Favela | 508 | Security | 291 | Policing | 807 |
| Maré | 385 | Violence | 265 | Favela | 259 |
| Residents | 289 | Residents | ? | Residents | ? |

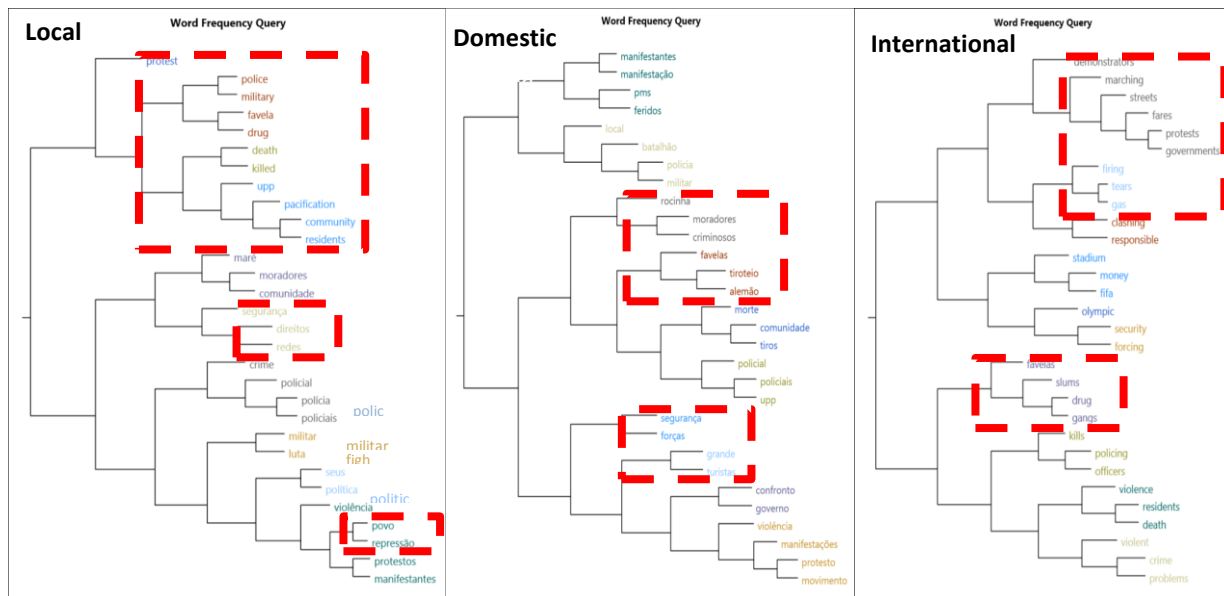


Figure 1. Cluster-analysis horizontal dendrograms (word links) per level of analysis

Figure shows most frequently used words per level of media and links between words as well as color groupings represent in what context words were used with each other. Groupings of words highlighted inside dashed-boxes represent key word groupings shown in Table 1 and analysis areas in this paper.

The data will be presented in three different sections of analysis. The first section analyzes news articles from local/nano-level media news articles such as *Rio on Watch*, *Jornal A Nova Democracia*, and *Redes da Maré*. The second section analyzes news articles from domestic Brazilian sources including *O Globo*, *O Dia* and *Jornal do Brasil*. The third section analyzes articles from international sources including *CNN*, *BBC* and *Fox News*. Table 1. represents a summary of ways that specific frequently appearing words were linked with other words throughout the news article (linked by Cluster-Analysis Horizontal Dendrograms in NVivo). This table gives an overall summary on differing depictions regarding terms that appeared frequently when describing violence in Rio de Janeiro from different levels of news media sources. Table 2 represents the most frequently occurring terms from each news source level.

5.1. Local/Nano-Media

Local media sources covered a more specific view on issues of violence and the perspectives of residents and the community as a whole regarding what should be done to combat violence. Although sources did talk about large scale protests in 2013, the main focus was violence related to police brutality in the implementation of the UPP as the number one issue that needs to be addressed. Local media sources unanimously agreed that the government's UPP program is not completely effective and therefore needs to be changed. There is a stark contrast between local sources and the domestic and international sources regarding perspectives of drug trafficking. While domestic and international sources see drug-gangs as the cause of violence, local sources state that while they do not want drug trafficking within their communities, having drug traffickers control the community is often seen as the lesser of two evils compared to the new violence brought along with the pacifying policing program. This argument that the militarization of the police is the greater of two evils is supported by multiple case studies in Rio de Janeiro.^{33, 34}

Local sources also highlight community efforts and planning against violence and even against dangerous stereotyping by large scale media. In Table 2, 'residents' as the fourth most frequent term in local media is significant because its only appears as a frequently used term in local media, not domestic nor international media. The term 'residents' did not make it into the top six most frequent words for domestic and international media inferring that neither domestic nor international media are paying close attention or providing the perspective of those they claim are perpetuators of violence. Additionally, in Table 1 and Figure 1, the link between 'residents' and 'community' is

significant because local news media are emphasizing community organizing efforts from residents to create solutions against violence; whereas domestic and international media did not express efforts from a community side but rather finger pointed towards residents as violent actors. Local media sources were the only level that fully represented Sampson's earlier stated theory that in order to break out of these stigmatizing perceptions, communities must use collective efficacy and organization. In Table 1 and Figure 1, another interesting link is the combination of 'security' with 'rights'. Neither international nor domestic sources expressed security as a right for all citizens. Additionally, the term 'rights' did not appear as a high frequency term in Domestic or International sources. Earlier literature also supports the danger in depicting favelas as war zones because the rights of residents can be systematically disrespected; local sources are representing a perspective that the right to security does matter is currently being disrespected yet can be improved through the action of favela residents. The term 'repression' also appears linked with 'violence' which was not used in other sources to explain how favela residents feel about police violence in protests.

Rio on Watch, a non-profit organization, supports views of community leaders and residents in the favelas that are often ignored or misrepresented in mass media. Their articles that focused on residents suggestions for community engagement and improvement against violence as opposed to solely violent actions. The most frequently used terms were 'police' (including UPP), used 701 times, 'favela', 322 occurrences, 'residents', 248 occurrences, and 'community', 203 occurrences. Words to describe protests in specific communities for the first time appeared with a positive connotation through the use of terms 'peaceful' and 'organized'. UPP, military and police in general are linked to 'violence', 'deaths', 'criminals' and 'kills' instead of these terms being associated to the favela as a whole or to its residents. *Rio on Watch* addressed issues of institutionalized racism which explained links between terms 'black', 'life', 'society', and 'institutions'. *Rio on Watch* through their mission and also analysis of their articles shows how they specifically works to address the issue in creation of what former literature described as the stigmatization of the 'other' through the idea of 'us versus them'.

Jornal A Nova Democracia, also a non-profit organization, works to provide articles supporting the need for democracy. Their mission is to alter one-sided images from national and international media by providing a more in-depth perspective on issues of justice especially in cases of violence. The most frequently used terms were 'protestos' (protests), 118 occurrences, 'polícia'(police), 113 occurrences, 'povo' (people), 110 occurrences, 'direitos' (rights), 81 occurrences. As stated previously, terms such as people and rights did not appear in the analysis of domestic and international sources. Word use also created links between terms such as 'familia' (family) and 'rights'. 'Povo' (people) is linked to 'protests' 'repression' 'monopoly' and 'imprensa' (press). *Jornal A Nova Democracia* through its articles challenges the depictions and false images by mass media.

Redes da Maré reports specifically in the community Maré, where a military occupation months before the World Cup was intended to switch to UPP Control. Instead, the military had a strong presence in the community over a year after their entrance. The articles from *Redes da Maré* present resident perspectives on issues with the military occupation. The most frequently used terms were 'Maré' 282 occurrences, 'polícia'(police including UPP), 334 occurrences, 'moradores'(residents), 202 occurrences, and 'direitos' (rights), 89 occurrences. Terms such 'security' and 'rights' were linked implying that security should be a right for all. There are links between 'favela' 'escola' (schools) and 'ações' (actions) in reference to articles stating that action and change can be coming from the favelas, from schools and from youth. Additionally, 'violence', 'crime' and 'death' were linked with the UPP and military occupation. *Redes da Maré* highlights how community organizers are following Sampson's suggestion to break stigmatizing perceptions through collective efficacy and representing community level perceptions.

5.2. Domestic Media

Domestic media sources looked at violence as a security issue that needs to be improved, both in the sense of protests being violent and violence coming from the favelas. It is interesting to note how different sources here represented the government's or citizen's response, for example *O Globo* generally had a strong agenda coming from the government whereas *O Dia* and *Jornal do Brasil* looked more into multiple perspectives. Protests were also widely reported and showed what change was happening as a result of protests. Unlike local sources, the articles did not address residents as to their perspective on violence or actions to organize against violence but instead used the term 'residents' in a negative light by criminalizing residents. In Table 1 and Figure 1 domestic articles linked the term 'residents' when it was used with the terms 'criminals' and the specific favela 'Rocinha'. Additionally, 'favela' was linked with 'criminal', 'shooting', and 'Alemão' further creating and perpetuating the perception of favela as a 'no-go war zone'. The term 'security' was also linked with 'forces' and 'tourists' implying that new security efforts and forces were brought about solely for the purpose of the World Cup and Olympics. Additionally, 'protests' were linked with 'confront', 'military police' and 'government' to show what protesters were protesting against. Domestic media is further encouraging what earlier literature described as the creation of stereotypes of favelas as no-go areas with

residents who have ‘predictable’ criminal behaviors as perpetrators of violence. The representation of ‘us versus them’ in domestic media accounts of violence further supports earlier literature that stated that links of poverty to violence dangerously suggests that all poor people are violent.

O Globo provided reports on both protests and violence from drug trafficking and shootings in the favelas. Their perspective was influenced and reflected the government’s agenda in using militarized police forces in both ‘controlling’ protests and bringing security to the favelas. The most frequently used terms were ‘polícia’(police), 233 occurrences, ‘moradores’ (resident), 134 occurrences, and ‘segurança’ (security), 107 occurrences and ‘protesto’ (protest), 97 occurrences. Terms such as ‘residents’ and ‘criminals’ were linked in specific communities like Maré. We also see connections between ‘militar’ (military) and ‘tiroteio’, ‘tiros’ (shootings) as well as ‘comunidade’ (community) with ‘morte’ (death). These links support the idea that media is creating ‘no-go zones’ of ‘spectacular violence’ and shows the government’s proposal as the solution to combat violence, not an instigator.

O Dia focused largely on issues of police brutality both in the protests and within the favelas. The most frequently used terms were ‘polícia’(police), 95 occurrences, and ‘protesto’ (protest), 82 occurrences, ‘segurança’ (security), 75 occurrences, and ‘favela’, 65 occurrences. Terms are not connecting residents as criminals in *O Dia*’s articles but are showing strong links between ‘police’, ‘violence’, ‘military’, ‘shootings’, and ‘protest’. Additionally, *O Dia*’s articles allowed word links to link UPP with the favelas as a large security and service program; in the UPP’s original goals for implementation, the increase of security was proposed to come along with other social services such as education and health programs that have yet to happen in many communities. *O Dia* also looked at and ties Alerj with violent protests which, were protests against the UPP program. *O Dia* was the only domestic source that showed community organizing efforts as positive work towards change supporting Sampson’s statement of what must be done to break dangerous stereotyping of the poor and perceptions of violence from the community level.

O Jornal do Brasil focused largely on response of the government to security issues and the violence within the favelas. The most frequently used terms were ‘polícia’(police), 234 occurrences, ‘segurança’ (security), 109 occurrences, and ‘violencia’ (violence), also 109 occurrences. Analysis created two separated categories when looking at linked terms, one focused more on the government’s plan as a solution to prepare for mega-events and the safety of tourists with military and police and to deal with security issues such as petty crime and robberies (roubos) and protests. The first section focuses on the favelas, and like *O Globo*, links violence to the favela population through the connection of terms like ‘community’, ‘residents’, ‘shots’, ‘UPP’, ‘battles’ and ‘death’.

5.3. International Media

International Media sources focused on police reaction to large scale protests in June of 2013 and throughout 2014 with the reaction of police to control protesters with rubber bullets and tear gas. The articles also covered issues of military occupation and pacification of the favelas to reduce violence and the issue of police brutality in these forces. Police violence was an overarching theme in both protests and the pacification of the favelas. Overall, these sources represented the government’s accounts of why the militarization of police in the protests and pacification was necessary. The sources did not take into account, however, local resident perspectives creating an image described in earlier literature as ‘us versus them’. The articles represented from an outside perspective the idea protesters and favela residents are in need of militarized policing to keep them under control due to their violent nature and as literature described before their ‘predictable criminal behaviors’. In Table 1 and Figure 1 unlike local sources, the articles did not address residents as to their perspective on violence or actions to organize against violence but instead used the term ‘residents’ in a negative light by linking the term, when it was used, to ‘violence’, ‘death’, and ‘crime’. The term ‘favela’ was used often in context with other terms such as ‘slum’, ‘drug’ and ‘gang’, ‘police’ and ‘killing’ also representing what earlier described literature described as dangerous when favelas are described as a no-go war zone with residents who are all associated to drug trafficking. Additionally, ‘security’ was directly linked to ‘Olympics’ implying that security was only for the mega-events. Protesting and demonstrations were linked to words like high government spending on mega-events and the reaction of security forces with rubber bullets and tear gas.

CNN overall focused on violence during the 2013 protests and the government’s response. There was not as large of a focus on drug trafficking but some on the pacification and police brutality in the favelas and what pacification and favela ‘violence’ meant for tourists. The most frequently used terms were ‘protests’, 667 occurrences, ‘policing’, 292 occurrences, and ‘government’ 171 occurrences. Word choice analysis shows a large focus on protests and their causes including political corruption, rise in bus fares, and money spent on mega-events. *CNN*’s articles included both terms such as ‘forcing’ and ‘peacefully’ in the top 30 frequencies so there was recognition that protests weren’t completely violent but met with violent policing.

BBC’s articles focused mostly on the 2013 protests and other protests throughout the year leading up to the World Cup as well as violent police response. During the end of 2013 and beginning of 2014 the focus also included the

pacification of the favelas to reduce gang issues. The most frequently used terms were 'policing', 279 occurrences, 'protest', 195 occurrences, and 'favela' 133 occurrences. Word choice analysis shows a focus on the protests as a security issue for the government in the planning of mega-events and violent reaction of police through tear gas. There was a small focus on favela pacification and issues of 'crime' and 'security' in regards to the upcoming Olympics.

FOX News' articles had a much higher focus on issues of security than other international sources leading up to the World Cup. They looked at combating drug related crime and violence in the favelas through the pacification program, but did not include a local resident's perspective. *FOX News* focused on the large scale protests more in terms of what they meant for security in the World Cup. The most frequently used terms were 'policing', 236 occurrences, 'protests', 179 occurrences, and 'demonstrators', 83 occurrences and 'violence', 70 occurrences. Word choice analysis shows an emphasis on 'security' in the 'favelas' and their association with 'violence', 'crime', 'police' 'killings', security issues and the necessity to improve these issues because of mega-events. Additionally, Fox News tied the violent protests and government force to FIFA's World Cup, over-exaggerating situations of violence and danger during mega-events.

6. Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that the intensity of the depiction of violence as reported in these different media does increase as the geographic scale of the news source increases. Local news sources portray violence in the context of these mega-events in a more measured light than both national and international media. This analysis also supports current research showing the effects of variable depictions of violence and how mass media's exaggeration plays a role in generalizing beliefs about who is creating violence and what violence is occurring in specific areas. International and Domestic sources exaggerated views of violence of both protesters and favela residents and supported what literature described as dangerous when favela residents are represented as criminals, irrational, undesirables, identity-less and naturally violent. Favelas through International and Domestic media supported literature that stated favelas are normally misrepresented as 'no-go war zones' prone to violence because of drug trafficking. Both international and domestic sources support the government's current efforts with policing yet also characterized the police themselves as violent. Local sources however showed that although violence exists, the current program with militarized policing efforts is not currently effective in reducing violence, but increasing it in some regions. Local sources show communities standing for the right to security and using community organizing as a way to express their discontent with current government services. Local sources were also the only sources to use the term 'residents' in a positive light showing how residents are organizing themselves instead of criminalizing those who live in favelas like in many domestic and international articles. Local sources work to address the issue in creation of what former literature described as the stigmatization of the 'other' through the idea of 'us versus them' by doing exactly what Sampson's theory suggested to break out of these stigmatizing perceptions, through collective efficacy and organization and showing local perspectives of violence from the community level instead of elite perspective.

These findings have important implications for local residents and media sources in regards to their role in the upcoming 2016 Olympics. Since there is already discontent with this next upcoming mega-event, protests are expected again and security is a larger issue for this larger scaled event. International and domestic media will again be highly active in reporting the event. Local residents should be concerned with how mass media reports on violence and the use of perpetuating stereotypes and 'sensationalization' of violence. Local media sources should continue efforts report local perspectives of violence and continue with suggestions and dialogue in how to improve the current militarized policing program because international, domestic and local media all see as the militarized police as violent in their actions towards protesters and in actions to improve security through pacification.

If local, domestic and international media do not collaborate, the vicious cycle of exaggerated reporting on violence could continue. As sources continue to report, exaggerate and decontextualize communal violence that is occurring, it further justifies the use of militarized policing. As the police become increasingly militarized, it further increases the number of protests happening against police brutality and gang violence against police entering gang 'turf'. As these instances of violence between protests, gang violence and police brutality continue the media will only further report on these instances. If they continue to report with exaggerated de-contextualized ways the vicious cycle will continue to repeat. Sampson's Broken Window Theory showed how stigmatizing perceptions can create a self-fulfilling prophecy to reinforce disorder, creating a concentrated poverty and vicious poverty trap. If domestic and international media continue to report in this light, this vicious cycle continues. The opportunity now exists for local, domestic and international media to communicate and work together to produce higher quality and more accurate reports in the upcoming event.

This research could expand through following how media continues to report through the upcoming 2016 Olympics. Additionally other international, domestic, and local media sources could be analyzed to give a wider perspective on

different sources. Interviews with journalists from these different sources on their tactics regarding how and where they go to find information to report on violence could add new perspectives on the use of secondary or primary sources, if local media sources are utilized when larger source levels are reporting, and whose perspective is represented when reporting on security and violence.

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