◆ **15**

**The Travelling Texts of Local Content:
Following Content Creation, Communication and
Dissemination via Internet Platforms in a
Brazilian Favela**

Tori Holmes

Introduction

Internet access has been on the rise in Brazilian favelas (shantytowns) in recent years, reflecting increases in the country as a whole, and particularly in urban areas.[1] Given the bias in the representation of favelas in the Brazilian mainstream media, which tends to portray these neighborhoods primarily in terms of violence and neglects other dimensions of everyday life such as culture, sport and the economy (Ramos and Paiva 77), my research has examined how some favela residents in Rio de Janeiro are making use of the Internet to publish and disseminate their own representations and narratives about their local areas. I approach these representations and narratives (in the form of texts, videos and images) as "local content," defined by Ballantyne as "the expression of the locally owned and adapted knowledge of a community—where the community is defined by its location, culture, language, or area of interest" (2). Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and social movements in Rio de Janeiro have been active over the last decade in working against the media bias to offer more realistic and diverse representations of favelas, using Web sites as one channel for dissemination and networking and stimulating "new forms of production, creation, language and mobilization" by some favela residents (Gomes da Cunha). However, my focus has been on the activities and initiatives of ordinary people, largely outside of the scope of such projects (although some connections may exist), using Internet platforms (such as blogs, social network sites and Twitter) for the publication and sharing of user-generated content, as well as email and print formats.[2] Although the content I have looked at (which often makes textual and visual references to a specific favela) can be

understood through Hess's notion of "territorial embeddedness" (177–78), its publication on the Internet means it can potentially be accessed and republished by both local and non-local audiences. It is in this context that I wish to examine the mobility of local content and the implications for its embeddedness.

In this essay, I will consider how a text, posted on a blog by a resident of the Maré favela in northern Rio de Janeiro, travelled beyond its original context through its reposting and republication on other blogs and sites by its author and other Internet users, as well as its circulation and dissemination using different platforms and methods, including in print. Its mobility as a travelling text resulted from a combination of the intentionality and efforts of its author, who explicitly sought to give it non-local visibility, and the actions of other Internet users, including friends of the author who mobilized in support of its dissemination. The text in question, entitled *Terra Boa* (Good Land), was a personal response to a conflict which took place in Maré during 2009 and lasted almost six months; it began when a group of drug traffickers from one part of the favela invaded an area occupied by a rival faction, and resulted in deaths and injuries as well as severe disruption to the everyday life of local residents. The text is written in the first person, and is framed by affirmations of its author's roots in the favela. It touches on his personal experience of the conflict—not seeing his family for a period, keeping in touch with the latest news on his mobile phone, the death of people he knew—as well as broader aspects of life as a favela resident. It also incorporates wide-ranging references, including to the drug traffickers, the police, and the media, as well as federal government poverty-alleviation programs and the Rio de Janeiro state government's policy of occupying and "pacifying" selected favelas, after expelling local drug traffickers, which began in late 2008. As I will show in my analysis, the blog post is rich in its use of language, and this is one of the ways its author seeks to communicate his belonging and embeddedness in the favela he writes about. Originally published under a pseudonym on a group blog maintained by the author with some friends, the text was also reposted (or linked) on at least ten other blogs or Web sites, circulated by email, and linked on Twitter and from posts in the forums of Orkut communities, including communities with a place-based focus.[3] It also appeared in print in two zines as well as later in a book.[4] In the process of this mobility, some aspects of the text underwent changes or were omitted, such as its title or the way its authorship was attributed. Small changes were also made to the body of the text in some cases, as will be discussed in more detail further on.

Although *Terra Boa* focuses on violence, it does so from a different perspective and in a different way to the mainstream media, providing an alternative, more complex narrative based in the experiences and perspective of someone living in an area affected by violence. Through its publication and circulation on the Internet, the text thus adds (literally) to the complex "web of representations" that surround favelas (Jaguaribe and Hetherington 155).[5] It also reflects the emergence of new

"sujeitos do discurso" (subjects of discourse) from the Brazilian urban peripheries, whose cultural production is more visible partly as a result of increased access to information and communication technologies, and who produce a discourse on racism, police violence and poverty to rival that of academics and the media (Bentes 55).[6] However, it should be pointed out that not all new subjects of discourse from favelas are as high-profile as the celebrities and personalities (such as filmmakers, actors, and musicians) which some favela-based projects cultivate and present to the media to counter negative stereotypes of favela residents (Ramos 241).

Locality, Embeddedness, Mobility, Authorship

Given my interest in the locality of Internet content, I will consider how the embeddedness and authorship of this text were influenced by its mobility and the transformations it underwent as a result. I suggest that the locality and embeddedness of a text may be affected by its reposting, whether the blogs or sites where it appears have an explicitly place-based focus, or rather relate to particular interest groups or forms of affiliation that transcend place, thereby evidencing other types of locality which are produced on and through the Internet (Ito; Hine; Hammersley and Atkinson). Ken Maclean has discussed "how digital objects [. . .] are affected by the spaces through which they move" (866), and makes three key points about reposting which are of relevance to the discussion here.[7] He first suggests that the availability of a digital object in a different interpretive context from its original location increases the likelihood of it taking on unintended meanings. His second suggestion is that the non-random and strategic nature of reposting means that digital objects build up "biographies" as they travel.[8] Finally, he proposes that reposting leads to the emergence of "interpretive communities" to debate digital objects' authenticity and the significance of their paths. That said, it is my contention that a travelling text may also remain strongly embedded in a particular context, whether place-based or otherwise, through the author's choice of language, regardless of what happens to its framing, structure and, to a certain extent, content—and regardless of where it is published. Nonetheless, there may still be a "desituating" effect when individual blog entries are "plucked out of their original context and exposed to radically different forums" (Viégas).[9] In particular, this can affect the authorship of blog entries, as attribution and information about when or where a text was originally published, or even its title, may be lost or redacted as a result of such mobility, as was the case in some instances of the text discussed in this article. As Castells reminds us, "any post in the Internet, regardless of the intention of its author, becomes a bottle drifting in the ocean of global communication, a message susceptible of being received and reprocessed in unexpected ways" (247). To capture the different ways this post was reprocessed, I also approach it as an example of a

"fluid text" (Bryant), in which material changes to the text provide a window into writing and editorial practices.

Unlike spoken communication, which is largely ephemeral and local, "texts are mobile, and so available outside the immediate circumstances in which they are produced" (Hine 50). Indeed, this is a characteristic of any text (Barber 22–29), although textual mobility beyond the local may increase with globalization (Blommaert 23–24) and particularly with the Internet. The contemporary "networked media" context in which such mobility takes place is discussed by danah boyd [sic], who proposes four key characteristics of the environment in which ordinary people now consume and produce content on the Internet.[10] These are: persistence (content is automatically recorded and archived), replicability (content can be copied and reproduced), scaleability (content has a high potential level of visibility), and searchability (content can be found via search engines) (27). In relation to scaleability, boyd emphasizes that it "is about the *possibility* of tremendous visibility, not the guarantee of it" (31), linking this assertion to Chris Anderson's idea of the "long tail" (qtd. in boyd 31), whereby a large number of Internet content creators gain only small-scale, localized visibility. She also draws attention to the role of sociopolitical factors as well as the intentionality of the collective (rather than the individual content creator) in determining what content is scaled and given greater visibility (32–33). However, the way that scaleability is intertwined with and codepend on the persistence, replicability and searchability of networked media also contributes to the potential visibility of content (26). In fact, I understand potential global visibility for local content as fundamentally implying *non-local* visibility for local content, and although the emphasis here is on the local as primarily place-based, this argument could also be applied to non-place-based localities constructed and experienced via the Internet.

It is thus the characteristics of the Internet and associated user practices that give a text such as *Terra Boa* its mobility and visibility. These same characteristics, in turn, inspire or awaken the desire to follow a text's trajectory as well as offer content creators and researchers some tools that can be used for this purpose. However, Blommaert has suggested that despite their increased mobility, local (or grassroots) texts do not travel well, arguing that such "texts are often only *locally* meaningful and valuable. As soon as they move to other geographical and/or social spaces, they lose 'voice'" (7). Whilst this somewhat pessimistic conclusion may reflect the fact that Blommaert studied handwritten texts rather than Internet content (whose authors may more consciously negotiate the potential of translocal visibility, often implicit from the moment of publication), his words provide a useful reminder that despite the increased availability of user-generated content on the Internet, including local content, there can be complex issues involved in broadening the visibility and accessibility of local issues and concerns in this way. This is particularly the case when the content in question is published by individuals rather than collective

projects or initiatives backed by institutions. The work of Blommaert and Maclean forms the foundation of my emerging conceptual framework for approaching travelling texts, and I will return to the implications of their thinking later in the article.

Following a Travelling Text: A Note on My Approach

My approach to *Terra Boa* is informed by two methodological concepts, which I have modified and adapted to the context of my research: the "literacy event" and the "communicative ecology." The term "literacy event" is employed in literacy studies to refer to "observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them"; such episodes, or events, often center on written texts (Barton and Hamilton 7). Inspired by it, I have developed the idea of the "content event" as a way to connect local content texts and the practices involved in their production, publication and dissemination across different platforms. Similarly, rather than focusing on "the complete picture of communication and information flows in a locale," as in the original formulation of the communicative ecology (Slater et al. 54), my approach explores the communication and information flows associated with a particular local content text, which unfold both on Internet platforms and through other means of communication. It includes attention to the technological, social and discursive layers of this ecology as proposed by Foth and Hearn. There are also some similarities to the "circuito-blogue" (blog-circuit) approach employed by Braga in her study of a Brazilian motherhood blog and the full range of media used and referenced by its participants (Braga 47)—a broader "circuito comunicativo" (communicative circuit) which included other blogs, Orkut, Fotolog, chat, face-to-face meet-ups, phone calls and a closed discussion list as well as spin-offs in print and on television (Braga 102).[11]

With this in mind, I attempt to combine an analysis of the text of *Terra Boa* itself, as a representation of aspects of favela life by a resident, with an examination of its visual and textual framing in the different places it was published, as well as a discussion of the practices involved in its publication and dissemination on the Internet by its author and, indirectly, others who became involved in this content event. I followed the text as it travelled between different sites on the Internet. I also established contact with the author, who I will refer to here by his first initial, J., and discussed the text, and related issues, with him in interviews held both online and face-to-face. It is worth clarifying, however, that it was not possible for me literally to follow the text everywhere that it travelled. First, it would be challenging to track its every "movement"—like any reader, I have my own trajectory in this event, with my own starting (and finishing) point, and aspects of the event remained invisible to me. My analysis is thus inevitably partial. Second, I was only able to access some aspects of the event via the

author's account, and the material he made available to me, in retrospect. This particularly applies to the offline and interpersonal dissemination and discussion of the text.

The Content Event—An Overview

The day before J. wrote the text, he had been unable to get home from his workplace outside of the favela due to gunfire, despite waiting and trying until the small hours of the morning. He wrote the text as a way of getting things off his chest (a "desabafo"), revolted by what he saw as a lack of interest from the mainstream media in what was going on in his area. He did not originally write the text for publication on the Internet, but circulated it by email to some of his friends, including a discussion list linked to one of the many different collectives and groups he participates in. Those who read the text encouraged him to share it more widely, and having distanced himself from the text a little, he also saw its potential, so he decided to post it on the blog he maintained with friends mainly from the suburbs of Rio.[12] There, it was read by many people—he cited a figure of two thousand hits in a single day. As a result of the interest, he continued to disseminate the text via different networks or groups to which he had a connection, publishing it on four other sites, and at the same time, his friends also distributed the text via their networks. As this account implies, J. had good access to the Internet, the experience and skills to use it creatively, and is also what one could call "well-networked" through his different personal and professional activities. Aside from the collective mobilization mentioned above, his text was also linked and reposted on at least six other sites. J. also reported that after he posted the link to the text on his Twitter account, it was "retweeted" (or forwarded on) by some of those following his activity on the platform.[13]

Less than two full days after its publication, the post (in its original publication site on the group blog) had already received twelve comments, including two by the original author, and overall it received over thirty comments and three trackbacks.[14] In other words, it was a text which prompted engagement and response by readers; this response also included its reposting on other sites (where it received additional comments). In fact, the trackbacks on the original blog post represent only part of the sites where the text was later reposted—and so this was not a reliable means of locating instances of the text and needed to be augmented by using a search engine.[15] As mentioned above, the text was also disseminated and linked using social network sites, and additionally published in two printed zines linked to the cultural scene in and around Rio de Janeiro. Some copies of one of the zines were in turn taken and distributed locally in the favela by the author. More than a year after its original appearance on the Internet, the text was also included in a book linked to a film about favelas (the text's author had participated in the film's production and his text had also previously been published on the

film's blog). Hine has suggested that researchers should pay attention to "the transformations which Internet content goes through as it passes from online to offline contexts" (155), and this can be considered another dimension of how a text may travel, with implications for its meaning and reach. However, we should not overlook the fact that there is also often an earlier flow or movement in the opposite direction, from an offline situation or event to its representation in Internet content, as can clearly be seen in the case study being presented here. In other words, content such as the text being discussed here is not "just" content, and the event did not begin with the publication of the text on the Internet. The text is a representation of lived experience, which is in itself relevant to the analysis of the content and the event surrounding it.

Place and Embedding in the Text

Place is emphasized from the outset in this text as it appeared in its original form on the group blog, both visually and textually. It is referenced in the title, *Terra Boa*, in the large color photograph of part of the favela (taken by a local photographer) which precedes the body of the post, and in the opening sentences which affirm belonging and rootedness: "Eu sou da Maré. Nascido na Maré" (I'm from Maré. I was born in Maré).[16] While Cecchetto and Farias emphasize that one's place of residence operates as a powerful means of social classification in Rio de Janeiro (228), this text begins with the "afirmação territorial" (territorial affirmation) which has been identified as a characteristic of projects run by young people from Brazilian favelas and urban peripheries since the 1990s (Ramos 242) and is also present, for example, in the lyrics of funk music which often refer to specific favelas and locations within them (Carvalho Lopes 379).[17] The name of the local area is referenced several other times in the text, and its final line includes an even more "hyperlocal" mention of one of the individual favelas which make up the overall area, "E ó, avisa pra geral: aqui é o cria do Pinheiro!" (And hey, tell everyone: it's the Pinheiro native here!).[18] The narrative is therefore strongly territorially embedded from the outset, through the author's choice of words and imagery. It is also framed by assertions of its authenticity, via the presentation of his credentials for writing about the place in question and the referencing of different contexts of geographical locality. While territorial embeddedness can be understood as "the extent to which an actor is 'anchored' in particular territories or places" (Hess 177), I suggest that the territorial embeddedness of local content, through its textual and visual anchoring in place, constitutes an often self-conscious expression of the territorial embeddedness of its creator.

The author of this text also refers to himself using a broader place-based metaphor in the opening paragraph ("Sou ponto turístico" [I'm a tourist attraction]), to describe the curiosity that is awakened when he tells people where he is from, thereby alluding to the sensationalist or

inadequate nature of existing information available to non-residents about these neighborhoods, both generic (favelas in general) and specific (the favela he comes from).[19] The same theme of tourism recurs, in a more literal way, when the author includes a quote from the female commander in charge of the community police force in the Santa Marta favela, located in the Rio neighborhood of Botafogo. Santa Marta was the first site for the implementation of the Rio state government's UPP (Unidade de Policiamento Pacificadora) policy, begun at the end of 2008:[20]

> 'Eles (moradores) olhavam assustados para aquelas pessoas, que nunca estiveram ali, mas logo entenderam que estavam ali para conhecer o êxito do projeto que pacificou uma comunidade que era dominada pela violência do tráfico. Foi mais uma demonstração de atenção. Ficaram felizes, já que não são mais tratados como bichos ou pessoas à margem da sociedade,' explica a capitã Pricilla de Oliveira, comandante da Companhia de Policiamento Comunitário do Santa Marta.

> ('They [the residents] looked anxiously at those people, who had never been there before, but they soon understood that they were there to see the achievements of the project which pacified a community previously dominated by the violence of the drugs trade. It was yet another sign of attention. They were pleased, since they are no longer treated as animals or people on the margins of society,' explains Captain Pricilla de Oliveira, commander of the Santa Marta Community Police Force.)

Although the source of the quote is not provided within the text (and no hyperlink is given), it was possible to establish (via a search engine) that it came from an article on Globo TV's G1 news portal, which reported how foreign and Brazilian upper middle-class tourists had begun to visit Santa Marta since the establishment of the UPP ("Favela de Botafogo"). This use of intertextuality—the incorporation of existing sources and their re-signification in new contexts—is significant because it represents one way that the author draws critical attention to how favelas and their residents are often viewed by policymakers, law-enforcers and the media in Rio de Janeiro, and non-residents in general, given the somewhat patronizing tone of the declaration, in which the police commander speaks for local residents.[21] In its next sentence, his own text also presents direct critique of the UPP approach, pointing to the fall-out in other unoccupied areas of the city: "Mal sabem eles que os traficantes dessas regiões ocupadas não foram arrebatados por Deus. Estão fortalecendo outras favelas e tocando o terror em outros pontos da cidade" (Little do they know that the traffickers from the occupied regions have not been carried off by God. They are strengthening the ranks in other favelas and terrorizing other areas of the city.)

The author of the text also emphasizes his own humanity and refers, by name, to local residents who suffered as a result of the violent conflict in his favela: "Eu tenho pés, pernas, braços, peito e coração. E ainda tenho que sorrir quando enfrento a multidão. Também sinto saudades, tais como da Joana que morreu após um tiro matar sua única filha chamada Esperança" (I have feet, legs, arms, a chest and a heart. And on top of that I have to smile when I face the crowds. I also miss people, like Joana who died after a bullet killed her only daughter whose name was Esperança [Hope]).

However, the text's references to place go beyond this particular favela and other favelas in Rio de Janeiro, making global connections. Toward the end of his text, he refers to the difficulties faced by favela residents in developing any kind of protest in a situation of conflict such as the one taking place in his neighborhood. He likens this to other well-known situations of conflict and repression from recent history: *"E o povo grita, suplica, tenta se organizar. A repressão bate na porta. Mas prometemos que não vamos recuar. Resistiremos. Tipo Romênia. Tipo Colômbia. E que caiam por terra todos os dominadores deste tempo! Por um complexo da Maré livre!"* (And the people shout, beg, try to get organized. Repression knocks at the door. But we promise that we won't give in. We will resist. Like in Romania. Like in Colombia. Down with all the dominators of our time! For a free Maré!)

Whilst the connection between the author's favela and Romania and Colombia is not made explicit in the text, fieldwork provided one clue regarding the inclusion of Romania in the text. The author mentioned a documentary that he had been involved in showing through his work in audiovisual capacity-building, which presented video footage filmed by ordinary people during the Romanian revolution.

Overall, however, the main focus of the text remains on the local context where the conflict unfolded, in a specific Rio de Janeiro favela. As this section has shown, the blog post incorporated different cues that its author really came from the place he was writing about. However, despite its territorial affirmation, and references to local people, the overview provided also illustrates how these local references in the text were interspersed with others which transcended the local dimension of the conflict being represented, such as mention of state government policy, the media, and the invocation of popular resistance in other countries. In this way, the author seeks to place a localized conflict into a wider context.

Language and Audiences, Intentionality

The choice of vocabulary and the style of language used in the text also served to embed it in place. In this case, the embedding was not necessarily in a specific locality or territory, but certainly in the favela, understood also as a particular sociocultural context. As Bosco has shown in his work on the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, place,

understood as "open, emotional and networked" may be more important for embeddedness (in social networks) than locality (359). However, it is worth bearing in mind, following Ito and others (Hine; Hammersley and Atkinson; Gordon) that in the context of the Internet and digital communication technologies, locality is also being reconfigured in a similar way to Bosco's "networked sense of place."

J. explained to me that he wanted to ensure that he wrote his text in a way that made it clear he was from the favela, and fluent in the relevant discourses, so that people reading the text in the favela would identify with it. This conscious embedding can be seen, for example, in the use of colloquial terms such as those in the phrase "E ó, avisa pra geral: aqui é o cria do Pinheiro!" mentioned above. Another example is the sentence "Então deixa os hômi entrar, pacificar, esculachar e depois virar heróri?!" (So let the men come in, pacify, demoralize and then become heroes?!), where "hômi," referring to the police, stands in for "homens," and "heróri" for "heróis." In fact, this use of vocabulary directed toward a particular audience is not unique to this particular text about a conflict in his own neighborhood. Reflecting more generally about the content he publishes on the Internet, which focuses on different themes reflecting his wide-ranging interests (such as environmental issues, cinema, favelas more broadly), he described how he sometimes chose to direct or target texts to a specific audience (for example, friends or work colleagues) through the use of terms that would only be familiar to them, telling me: "às vezes eu coloco uma palavra ali, que só os meus amigos vão entender" (Interview, February 2010) (sometimes I include a word there, that only my friends will understand). Whilst the posts would be available on the Internet to whoever chose to read them, they were also strongly localized (whether to a particular place, or to a particular interest group) through the choice of language, as well as the use of different platforms or media for publicizing the posts to particular groups of readers.

Another aspect of the way the language is embedded in a particular context in *Terra Boa* lies in its use of onomatopoeia. The text includes a passage imitating the sound of gunfire, which appears at two different points. The first passage is as follows:

Fundo do poço. Quase morro. Comercial.
Tum-tum-tum! Pá! Pum! Pá! Pum! Bláaaa! Bláaaa!

(Rock bottom. I almost die. Ad break.
Tum-tum-tum! Pá! Pum! Pá! Pum! Bláaaa! Bláaaa!)

Closer to the end of the text, the second line cited above, representing the sound of gunfire, is repeated on its own. J. explained to me that he used the term "comercial" to refer to how shooting punctuated life in the favela, as if it were a television ad break, after which regular programming and the normal routine was resumed. Onomatopoeia is thus used as a device to structure the text and

emphasize the regularity of gunfire in the favela during the conflict, thereby immersing the reader in the environment being portrayed and creating immediacy. However, there is an additional connection to the use of words mimicking the sound of gunshots in favela slang.

The relationship between language and social and spatial distinctions in Rio de Janeiro has been studied by Roth-Gordon, who draws attention to the existence of slang terms "that locate [the speaker] in a particular social space and affirm his loyalty to the favela." These may include both "very local, in-group forms" and better known slang terms (62). Although the use of particular terms may be viewed as a potential trigger for discrimination, Roth-Gordon suggests that there are situations in which they are employed to show belonging and, following the terms of the argument being put forward here, (territorial) embeddedness.

Roth-Gordon looks at a particular area of onomatopoeic slang, what she refers to as "sound words," borrowing a term from Tannen (qtd. in Roth-Gordon 62). She analyses the use of a particular sound word from her fieldwork data, "*bum*," which she notes is similar to the sound of a gunshot. Having first considered the use of this word by favela residents, often for emphasis, she also explores the reaction of middle-class Rio residents to a recording in which the term is used frequently. As she notes, in the understanding of the latter group, "people who speak with gunshots (*bum*!) are made to represent people who use guns. The term helps construct the scene of a hypothetical crime, in which victim and criminal, citizen and marginal, are linguistically connected" (64). Roth-Gordon's work thus helps to shed light on the issues around the use and reception of favela slang by different actors and the connections to (self-)representation of favela residents. As suggested above, the author of this text makes use of slang in certain sections of his text as a way of affirming his origins in the favela, and of connecting with a particular audience.

Nonetheless, the author of *Terra Boa* was also aware that his use of favela slang might mean that some parts of the text would be harder to understand for people who were not familiar with this (often oral) language, and that this might mean that the overwhelming impression left by the text was one of violence:[22]

> É porque, por exemplo, quem não conhece a linguagem da favela, tem algumas questões ali, que o cara não vai entender muito bem, e aí pode levar até para a esfera da poesia. Mas na verdade eu tô falando com a linguagem da favela né. E aí o cara que leu na favela, que conhece a linguagem, ele já vai entender de uma forma diferente, ele já vai se identificar mais com o texto. Agora uma pessoa que está distante dessa realidade, pode ler o texto com muita poesia, né, como se fosse, como se tivesse floreando a realidade. Mas na verdade eu tô . . . eu tô falando como . . . é a linguagem da favela, né, o dia-a-dia, o vocabulário, né. E eu acho que essa é a diferença. E também por questões culturais, né. Por exemplo, um

cara que . . . imagina um nordestino, do sertão lá, que leu o texto, por exemplo. Ele pegou aquilo ali com uma outra propriedade, né, que a vivência dele, ele pode ter feito um diabo do Rio de Janeiro, assim, uma guerra né. Imagina, um cara lá do Maranhão, Rondônia lendo esse texto. Ele deve ter pirado. Deve ter achado que o Rio de Janeiro é violentíssimo. Não sei, visões, né, cada um vai ter a sua. (Interview, February 2010)

(Because, for example, someone who isn't familiar with the language of the favela, there are some questions there, that the guy won't understand very well, and he might even interpret it as poetry. But actually I'm using the language of the favela, you know. And so the guy in the favela who read the text, who knows the language, he's going to understand it in a different way, he's going to identify more with the text. Now, a person who is distant from that reality, might read the text as very poetic, you know, as if it were, as if I was embellishing reality. But really I'm . . . I'm saying . . . it's the language of the favela, you know, everyday vocabulary. And I think that's the difference. And also for cultural reasons, you know. For example, a guy who . . . imagine someone from the Northeast, from the sertão there, who read the text, for example. He approached the text with a different character, you know, based on his experience, he might have had an incredible impression of Rio de Janeiro, with, you know, a war. Imagine, a guy from up there in Maranhão, Rondônia, reading this text. He must have gone crazy. He must have thought Rio de Janeiro is a really violent place. I don't know . . . everybody will have their own interpretation.)

In this way, as suggested by Blommaert, the text's embeddedness (through language) in a particular local context can mean that it may indeed lose voice when it travels to other geographical or social spaces via the Internet or when it is available to readers embedded in other geographical or social spaces. For example, J. felt that some readers of his text had focused on its aesthetic aspects (its form), whereas for him it was the message that was most important (its content):

muita gente fala da poesia
que o texto traz
não quiz [sic] fazer poesia
quiz falar da minha vida
quiz falar do sofrimento que é viver a margem
e ser ignorado pelos que me chamam de massa.
(Online Interview, November 2009)

(a lot of people talk about the poetry
in the text
I didn't mean to write poetry
I wanted to talk about my life

I wanted to talk about the suffering of living on the margins
and being ignored by those who call me one of the masses.)

Indeed, it was this urgent message that inspired the writing and wide dissemination of the text. Alternatively, however, rather than a loss of voice, the text's appearance in different interpretive contexts (and its subsequent interpretation as poetic by non-local readers) could be considered an unintended meaning. According to Maclean (866), this is one of the possible consequences of a text (or to use his terminology, digital object)—being reposted and thus becoming available in an interpretive context that is different from its original one. An unintended meaning may also result in part from the possibility of blog readers accessing the text via what Himmer describes as infinite and dynamic entry points, determined not by the original author or text (indeed, these are often entirely beyond the author's control or constraint) but rather by the engagement of other readers with the text. However, J. also felt that his text's capacity to provoke reflection had made it accessible to a range of readers. As he put it, "E o texto, ele é muito reflexivo, né. É uma porrada, eu acho assim, puf! Ele te faz pensar. Eu acho que isso vale para todos, independente da onde leu" (Interview, February 2010) (And the text, it's really reflexive, you know. It's a punch in the face, I think, puf! It makes you think. I think that goes for everyone, regardless of where they read the text).

Indeed, the fact that the text travelled as it did, and was reposted and republished on a variety of blogs (where it also attracted comments) and sites, as well as in print publications, shows that it was compelling for a range of readers and implies that it did maintain its voice and relevance even outside of its local context. However, its mobility also led to variations in how its authorship was attributed, its title, and small changes within the body of the text. It is my contention that the twin dimensions of the text's relationship with and origins in both the favela and the Internet can also be observed in how its authorship was or was not attributed across different instances of publication.

The original posting of the text (on a group blog) was made under a pseudonym, following that particular blog's conventions. However, in some of the other places where it was then reposted, including by J. himself, his full name was supplied as a by-line at the beginning or end of the text. Authorship was also potentially implied by the profiles used to publish or link to the text on collaborative sites or platforms, which require users to open an account under their name or a nickname of their choice and sometimes to upload a photograph. However, in three instances where the text was reposted by people other than its original author, including on the Web site of a politician with a particular interest in human rights and social movements and a portal about favelas, the text was published without any markers of authorship or provenance— no link was provided to the original text, no details were provided about the author (the politician's Web site specifically stated the text was by an anonymous author), and the original title of the text was amended, so

that it became "A voz de um morador da Maré" (The voice of a Maré resident). This perhaps reflected a decision by those involved in reposting to protect the identity of the text's author, or else just the fact that the text reached some of them without any information about its author or its source.[23] Nonetheless, the decision to repost the text without a named author also implies that it was considered to be powerful even without this information—the insistence in the amended title that the narrative came from a local resident also emphasises its territorial embeddedness.

In fact, J. told me that he had not originally intended his name to be associated with the text but that when this happened, he did not do anything to stop it:

> Eu não queria ter assinado o texto
> eu queria que fosse a voz da favela
> acabou que o texto tomou vida sozinho
> e as coisas foram acontecendo
> e eu também deixei rolar
> eu acho maneirão Autor desconhecido . . .
> (Online Interview, November 2009)

> (I didn't want to sign the text
> I wanted it to be the voice of the favela
> but in the end the text took on a life of its own
> and things just happened
> and I also went with the flow
> I think unknown Author is very cool . . .)

He also offered an explanation of how the variations in authorship attribution came about:

> Porque Internet . . . o texto está lá, não tem assinatura, né, quando você lança, eu não assino . . . eu lanço lá, aí as pessoas vão copiando, aí esse texto chega no teu email às vezes colado no corpo do email, aí vira autor desconhecido, né. Já vem uma galera encaminhando para um para outro . . . Aí o texto toma outra . . . aí já vira autor desconhecido e aí . . . se for para ser autor desconhecido, por aí mesmo. (Interview, February 2010)

> (Because on the Internet . . . the text is there, it isn't signed, you know, when you publish the text, I don't sign it . . . I publish it and then people start copying, and then this text might reach your email sometimes just copied into the body of the message, and then it becomes unknown author, doesn't it. There is a whole crowd of people forwarding on to one person, to another person. . . . And so the text takes on another . . . then it becomes unknown author and then . . . if it's got to be unknown author, that's the way it is.)

He also noted that although the Internet itself offered some ways for authors to try and follow their texts, such as link counters, it is hard to keep track when users do not provide a link back to the original instance of publication, for whatever reason: "às vezes não te linkam e aí você se perde, não tem jeito" (sometimes they don't link to you and then you get lost, there's nothing you can do about it) (Interview, February 2010). Despite expressing some concern about how to follow and measure the reach of Internet content, and maintain the connection between authors and their work, he also suggested that his text had been published on the Internet for the very purpose of being read widely, and that this meant that it became part of a collective repository, available for appropriation:

Se alguém pegasse o texto e dissesse que era dele, também eu não . . . é de todo mundo. O texto não é . . . não é eu. Acho que [. . .] as pessoas têm que se apropriar também né, do que já foi produzido. Porque existem muitas coisas produzidas que são esquecidas, né. Aí a gente sempre querendo inventar coisa nova, quando na verdade pode se reciclar texto, pode se reciclar imagem. (Interview, February 2010)

(If someone took the text and said it was his, I wouldn't . . . it belongs to everyone. The text isn't . . . isn't me. I think that [. . .] people have to appropriate as well, appropriate what's already been produced. Because there are many things out there that have already been produced that get forgotten, aren't there. And here we are, always wanting to invent new things, when actually you can recycle texts, you can recycle images.)

As Moody has argued, on blogs "authorship is recognized as communal, meaning as plural, and text as dispersed and mobile" (106). Nonetheless, although attitudes and practices related to authorship may be changing, there are tensions and challenges associated with this fluidity and with the distributed and unpredictable nature of communication on the Internet. Scholars working on Twitter, for example, have drawn attention to how "referents are often lost as messages spread and the messages themselves often shift" (boyd, Golder, and Lotan 2), with implications for "authorship, attribution and communicative fidelity" (1). The author of this text expressed a similar concern about the Internet, noting that "as pessoas perdem referências, quem é o autor daquela obra" (Interview, February 2010) (people lose track, of who is the author of that work).

Authorship on blogs is also affected by the possibility for readers (and authors themselves) to comment on content. The author of this text used the comment facility on the group blog where he initially published his text to keep his narrative up to date and to follow the latest developments in the conflict, as well as to link his text to broader contexts. In particular, he linked and commented on mainstream media coverage. The conflict went on (or even after the period of this specific

conflict, life went on and other related incidents took place), the media coverage went on, and so did his text, which continued to be written not just by the author himself, but also by the readers who added comments, resulting in a collaborative and open-ended text.[24] Such fluidity can be seen as a feature of blog postings (Himmer; Moody).

Nonetheless, given that the text travelled around different Internet sites and other forms of publication, it is worth considering whether its authorship—understood here as the "rooting" or "embeddedness" of the narrative—was strengthened or destabilized as a result. To the extent that the author's credentials (for example, his assertion of the fact that he came from Maré) were embedded within the text itself (rather than being dependent on attribution), and this section of the text did not undergo alterations, the authorship remained strong. If such clues enable readers to make assumptions or draw conclusions about the authorship of a text, this practice can be seen to reflect Himmer's observation about authorship in blogs:

> Unlike a novel in which the author's interpretations are viewed through the lens of a character, or traditional journalism in which the author is purposely made invisible, writing on a weblog can only ever be read through the filter of the reader's prior knowledge of the author. As one day's posts build on points raised or refuted in a previous day's, readers must actively engage the process of "discovering" the author, and of parsing from fragment after fragment who is speaking to them, and why, and from where whether geographically, mentally, politically, or otherwise. (n.p.)

In other words, authorship on a blog is constructed gradually through what the author reveals about themselves over time in the content, and also about their embeddedness in different contexts, place-based or otherwise. Viégas suggests that the same is true for group blogs with multiple authors, since it is usually possible to see which author was responsible for which posts. However, what happens to this situated authorship when a text is detached from the original site of its publication or published on multiple sites?

In the case of this text, its framing and contextualization was fluid and some of the ancillary text or non-textual elements, such as the title or accompanying photograph, by-line (even to the original pseudonym used, rather than to the author's real name), and information about where (and when) it was originally posted, were altered or omitted. Its authorship was therefore destabilized or displaced to a certain extent by its mobility. However, this fluidity also reflects the possibility, afforded by the Internet, of reaching many different users and audiences via multiple channels and platforms. The unpredictability of this process inevitably results in content being framed in multiple ways. The author of this text was certainly aware of the potential for scaleability when he published his text on the Internet, and sought to take advantage of it; at the same time as it confounded his attempts to keep track of the text: "na

Internet milhões de pessoas podem te ler simultaneamente. Isso num clique. Cliquei o link. A possibilidade que ela te dá é muito maior . . . mas você também saber o alcance é difícil, né" (Interview, February 2010) (on the Internet millions of people can read what you've written simultaneously. In just one click. I clicked the link. It gives you many more possibilities . . . but it's hard for you to know the reach, isn't it). Despite his attempts to localize the narrative through place-based references and colloquial language, he was also aware that once disseminated, the text would reach a range of audiences, and that this process was unpredictable. The following section will discuss issues relating to the translocal circulation of local content on the Internet, as suggested by this text and its trajectory.

Network Locality

This text, or the event involving this text, shows how local content often travels far beyond the local on the Internet, even as it maintains strong markers of its locality. Writing about "mobile texts" in the age of globalization, Blommaert has noted that "[a] description of texts these days must . . . necessarily have two sides: one, a description of the *local* economies in which they are produced, and two, analyses of what happens to them when they become *translocal* documents" (8). Although his comments are very useful when considering the issues around a local narrative (which is amplified and distributed widely on the Internet), it is nonetheless hard to see, in a globalized and intertextual context, how one can isolate a purely local economy of textual production. In relation to favelas, Jaguaribe and Hetherington remind us that they have been exoticized for foreigners and commodified as spectacle by the Brazilian media, and that "in this flow, the favela dwellers themselves produce their own repertoires of representation, which are often influenced by global images as well as by local identities" (156).

    Returning to the Internet, then, one could argue that a text becomes potentially translocal as soon as it is published there, if not even before. This reconfigured relationship between the local and the global, which is characteristic of new media technologies, is exemplified in the concept of "network locality." For Gordon,

> network locality is descriptive of a changing media landscape, where the relationships between user and information, body and space, local and global are shifting to accommodate emerging patterns of media consumption. [. . .] The tools are themselves just a medium to address much wider cultural changes around what it means to occupy space, to be with others, and to be local in a world where everything from the spectacular to the mundane has global reach. (n.p.)

Indeed, Gordon emphasizes that without the local documentation and information contributed by millions of users, the Internet would not have its global reach. As it is, he notes, the Internet is characterized by "an unprecedented interlinking of local spaces." The text being discussed here can certainly be described as a representation of spectacular aspects (at least to outsiders, or as represented by the mainstream media) of a particular local setting, and this is likely why it prompted engagement and response by Internet users, and indeed, why the author wrote and disseminated it in the first place. For the author, the various contacts and ideas set in process by the publication of the text showed that there was a demand for content about favelas: "as pessoas tão querendo saber o que tá acontecendo nas comunidades e não sabem" (people want to know what is going on in the communities and they don't know).[25]

On the Internet, therefore, "local" content becomes potentially accessible to anyone, and subject to differently located interpretations. There may be ways of targeting the dissemination of a particular piece of content to specific audiences who could be considered local to it in some way (not necessarily geographically) and connected in affective or thematic network localities that are enabled by particular technological platforms or tools. However, the Internet also offers the means to amplify a local message even if, as discussed above, its trajectory may be difficult to monitor and follow once it has been published. In the case of the text under discussion here, there was a concerted effort on the part of the author, and those involved in the group blog where he originally published the text, to disseminate it and to encourage others to become involved in doing so:

> No mundo digital tem que saber direcionar a informação, se não ela se perde. Acho que foi isso que fiz. Mandei pra quem me interessava que lesse o que eu tava dizendo. Na verdade, foi um grande desabafo e eu queria que as pessoas que estivessem ao meu alcance pudessem reproduzir o meu discurso para o o máximo de pessoas. Foi por ai que pensei . . . (Personal Communication, October 2009)

> (In the digital world you have to know how to direct information, otherwise it gets lost. I think that's what I did. I sent the text to the people I wanted to read what I was saying. In truth it was a big outburst and I wanted the people I could reach to reproduce my discourse to as many people as possible. That's more or less what I was thinking . . .)

At the same time, there was a tension between the success of this effort and the desire to know who was reading the text on the part of the original author. A detailed study of the different ways the text under consideration here was received by all the different audiences who accessed it through different sites or media is well beyond the scope of my research, which focuses on the practices involved in creating and

disseminating content. However, it is of course true that some of the text's readers became co-authors and co-creators of the content when they participated in commenting, disseminating, and re-publishing the text. The focus here thus remains on analyzing the different ways the text was framed in the different sites where it was published, by the original author or by others, to see how its contextualization on different sites and other features (such as the title used) may have affected its meaning.

Visual and Textual Framing and Reframing: A Fluid, Travelling Text

I will now turn to a brief discussion of how this text was visually and textually framed in the different places where it was published, and the implications of its embeddedness and authorship. I will also consider small variations in the body of the text, which were the result of delayed proofreading, the mobility of the text at different stages in the content event, and minor editing undertaken by those who reposted the text. In this respect, it is my contention that this text can be understood as an example of a fluid text. A fluid text, according to John Bryant, is "any written work that exists in multiple material versions due to revisions (authorial, editorial, cultural) upon which we may construct an interpretation" ("Witness and Access" 17). Whilst Bryant's theory has been developed in relation to literary works in print, its emphasis on how multiple actors engage with and materially shape a text in the writing and publication process is certainly relevant to the type of blog post under consideration here. As the discussion so far has revealed, this content event involved the original author, other participants in the group blog where it was already published, Internet content creators who reposted the text on their own blog or site, those who commented on the post in its different incarnations, the editors of the print publications which republished the text, as well as those who disseminated or linked to the text in other ways.

As already mentioned, *Terra Boa* was preceded by a large photograph of the favela in its original appearance. The immediate impact of the post was therefore visual, particularly since the blog's own header also took up a considerable part of the screen. In fact, this header itself changed four times during the period I was following this text, meaning that even in its original location, the visual framing of the text was different at different points in the event. Later, after the blog in question moved to its own domain, the text was reposted by its author on the new version of the site, which had a more static design and header. A different photograph of the favela was used to illustrate the post this time. There was therefore much that was fluid about the visual framing of this text even just on the different incarnations of the blog where it was originally posted.

In the reposted versions of the text on other sites, the original photograph was included with the text when reposted by the original author (although its size varied), but in other versions the text either appeared with no photograph at all or, in one case, was accompanied by a different photograph of the local area which was sourced via Google by those responsible for the reposting.[26] Alternatively, in one of the zines where the text was reposted, the large color photograph of the favela in the original blog post became a black and white background image for the text, but the layout of the text across a double page spread meant that only parts of the photograph were visible. Rather than the image of the favela dominating the initial impression of the text, as in its original appearance on the Web, in the print version the favela formed a partially obscured backdrop to the text.

The first sign of fluidity in the body of the text, aside from the variations in framing or visual aspects of the text mentioned above, is that two slightly different versions of the text appeared even on the original blog where it was published. The first version contained a few small spelling or grammatical mistakes which were corrected within a couple of days of the text first being published. This can be explained by the blog's internal procedures for proof-reading. In theory, as the author explained to me, once he had posted a text on the blog, he would then contact one of his colleagues (if online) to ask him to read the text before undertaking its dissemination using other platforms. However, my data suggests that in the case of this particular text, several small edits were made to the text even after the dissemination had begun, perhaps due to the urgency of the text and the situation it portrayed. I will focus on one of these edits here for illustration. In the first screenshot I made of the text, the final line read "E ó, avisa pra geral aqui é o cria do Pinheiro!" (A general warning here is the child of Pinheiro!) In the next screenshot, which I took three days later to capture comments posted in the meantime, the final line read "E ó, avisa pra geral: aqui é o cria do Pinheiro!" (A general warning: here is the child of Pinheiro!) The only difference in this sentence is that a colon has been added, but even this tiny detail enables a more detailed reading of reposting practices.

When examining the reposted versions of the text, it is possible to observe that in three instances, it was the unedited version of the text, without the colon in the final sentence, which was reproduced. This implies that the original, un-proofread version of the text began to "travel" before the amendments were made to the version on the original blog. One of these travelling versions, published on a blog for a film the author participated in making, then underwent some independent editing when it was included in a book (to accompany the film) published almost a year later. In this version, the final sentence became "E ó, avisa pra geral, aqui é o cria do Pinheiro!," with the addition of a comma instead of a colon. This print version of the text also includes other small changes. For example, quotation marks have been placed around the phrase "prontos para morrer" in the first paragraph, where they were not

present in the original or proofread versions of the text.[27] In the sentence about tourists visiting Santa Marta, just before the quotation from Captain Pricilla, the words "no bolso" have been removed from one sentence, so the latter half now reads "e os moradores começam a sentir o efeito da ocupação militar" (and the residents begin to feel the effects of the military occupation) instead of "começam a sentir o efeito da ocupação militar no bolso" (begin to feel the financial effects of the military occupation). Most markedly, the word "heróri," mentioned in an earlier section of this article, has been rendered as simply "herói." In one other reposted version of the text on a blog, these slang or colloquial terms also received similar treatment. Whilst the bloggers in question could not recall having made changes to the text, a close analysis shows that somewhere in the travelling and reposting process, a couple of words have been rendered in italics which did not appear that way in the original text: "midiahipocrisia" and "hômi."[28] In this version, as in the book version discussed above, "heróri" has also become simply "herói." In this way, some of the more inventive and colloquial aspects of the text were neutralized when other content creators became involved. Finally, when the blog where the text was originally published was taken down for a while (before resurfacing on its own domain), this text was reposted there by its author in its original, unedited version, almost as if the whole content event might begin again, except of course the timing was different and the urgency had passed. Whilst the alterations outlined above are quite small, they are nonetheless significant. Crucially, as Bryant reminds us, they provide a window on the practices of those involved in this content event: "I prefer to call these apparent instabilities and indeterminacies *textual fluidities* because the surviving variant texts, when taken together, give us a vivid material impression of the *flow* of creativity, both authorial and editorial, that constitutes the cultural phenomenon of writing" (*The Fluid Text* 6).

Conclusion

Returning to the work of Ken Maclean, who writes that "spaces of circulation are not empty" and that they do not "passively transmit what passes through them" (867), I suggest that this event points to the fact that it is not just the production of content, per se, that is central in thinking through the implications of residents's narratives about the favela which are published on the Internet.[29] As Maclean argues, "the socio-cultural and technological practices that make different forms [of] circulation possible actively produce meaning as well, though we are rarely cognizant of how this occurs." In this way, therefore, the nature and extent of the circulation of these favela narratives, whether directed or more organic, is also significant and has an effect on meaning—this relates also to points made by Himmer about the infinite potentiality and openendedness of blogs, specifically, as a cybertextual form. In other words, one cannot approach texts published on blogs without

considering the endless, unpredictable and uncontrollable ways such texts can be expanded (both by their original author and by their readers) via a "circuito-blogue," some of which is directly linked to the blog and some of which is unpredictable and difficult to monitor and trace. Nonetheless, the possibility of texts travelling far on the Internet and via other channels seems to be an opportunity and a conceptual challenge (for both blog authors and researchers), one which is perhaps not limited to the particular circumstances of the event under consideration here.

However, the event does show that the Internet can offer the space for favela residents in Rio de Janeiro to put forward their own representations of the favela and for these to travel fairly widely, intentionally or unintentionally, even if they may undergo some transformations in the process. The approach taken in *Terra Boa* resonates with the observation made by Gomes da Cunha, that "by invading the virtual sphere of the Internet, favela communities and their mediators produce a kind of exhumation of ghosts present in the popular and violent imaginary of the city, or reinterpret and recycle its leftovers, fragments, and whatever else can still be reinterpreted" (n.p.). An event, such as the one discussed in this article, sheds light on emerging practices of representation among favela residents using the Internet, as well as on practices of Internet content creation and dissemination in Brazilian digital culture more broadly.

Notes

1. For more detail on these developments, see my paper "Reading the Digital Culture of Brazilians through Local Content Texts and Practices" (<http://lasp.einaudi.cornell.edu/hybrid_holmes>).
2. The most popular social network site in Brazil is Orkut (<www.orkut.com>). User statistics fluctuate, but Recuero notes that the proportion of Brazilian users on Orkut has previously been as high as seventy-five percent (168). Since 2008, Facebook and the microblogging platform Twitter have also become increasingly popular in the country, although they are still far from competing with Orkut. Fragoso notes that the "intensity of the appropriation of the Internet by Brazilian users . . . has been exceptionally high" (255–56), an observation which applies particularly to Orkut and social network sites. Global surveys of Internet use—often carried out by the private sector with an interest in consumer behaviour—tend to highlight Brazilians who access the Internet on a regular or daily basis as particularly prolific users of such sites, with Brazil usually appearing toward the top of country rankings. For example, according to the Nielsen market research company, eighty-six percent of Brazilian Internet users accessed social network sites in April 2010, a higher proportion than in any other country (IDG Now!).
3. "Communities" on Orkut are thematically or geographically oriented groups which users can join. They usually include a forum where members can post messages.
4. One of these zines was produced by a cineclub which put on a film showing inspired by the themes of the post.
5. There is no hint in Jaguaribe and Hetherington's text that their use of the word "web" referred to the Internet, although this might have been the case.

6. This and all translations to English in this article are mine.

7. Maclean examines digital archives relating to a conflict about territorial boundaries between Vietnam and China and how Vietnamese Internet users were involved in debating and exchanging information about the issue, while the government made efforts to suppress this.

8. Here Maclean draws on Igor Kopytoff's work on the cultural biography of things.

9. Viégas develops this concept drawing on the work of Grudin.

10. While boyd's work is U.S.-focused, these general characteristics are more widely applicable, particularly as they focus on the technical or structural features of networked publics.

11. Fotolog is a photoblogging site that has been particularly popular in Brazil.

12. In Rio de Janeiro, a suburb is generally understood as an area lying to the north (and west) of the city center on the commuter train line, in which most residents are from lower social classes. Suburbs are considered to be poorly served by public services and increasingly associated with insecurity and danger, in contrast to their previous image (up to the 1970s) as sleepy urban areas (Cecchetto and Farias). There are many favelas in the suburban area of the city. However, it is worth pointing out that if suburbs, like favelas, are becoming stigmatized, they are also a site of cultural production and identity.

13. For an overview of retweeting practices on the Twitter platform, see boyd, Golder, and Lotan, who argue that retweeting "can be understood both as a form of information diffusion and as a means of participating in a diffuse conversation. Spreading tweets is not simply to get messages out to new audiences, but also to validate and engage with others" (1).

14. Although I will mention the comments on this text in a general way in my analysis, I will not cite or analyze them in detail because I did not secure consent for their inclusion in this research from the people who posted them. Two of the trackbacks were from blogs where the original author reposted the text. Trackback is a function in the blogging platform used (Wordpress), which provides an automatic notification when another blog on the same platform links to the text.

15. As Maclean reminds us, "search engines remain indispensable for identifying and retrieving information from multiple archives, even though the algorithms they use continue to locate only a highly partial representation of what is actually available online at any given moment" (871).

16. Information about the photograph provided by the author of the text. No caption or credit was supplied for the image. Note also that this first sentence of the text, with an exclamation mark added, became the title of the text when reposted on the blog of a film J. worked on, as well as in its subsequent publication in a book linked to the film.

17. Funk is a musical practice produced and consumed principally by young people from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro (Carvalho Lopes 370), "uma *performance* híbrida resultante de um intenso processo de apropriação, transformação e nacionalização da cultura *hip-hop*" (372) (a hybrid *performance* resulting from an intense process of appropriation, transformation and nationalization of *hip hop* culture).

18. "Cria" is a Brazilian term for someone who is born in or comes from a certain place.

19. There is a burgeoning literature on favela tourism and associated representation of favelas (e.g. Jaguaribe and Hetherington; Freire-Medeiros; Williams), which is indeed a reality in several favelas in Rio de Janeiro, but not the area where this author lives. The tone is ironic here, since tourist perspectives and representations tend to exoticize favelas and their residents.

20. According to the English version of the official *UPP Repórter* Web site, Pacifier Police Units (UPPs in the Brazilian acronym) are "a new model of

Public Security and policing that intends to bring police and population closer together, as well as to strengthen social policies inside communities. By reestablishing control over areas that for decades were occupied by traffic and, recently, also by militias, the UPPs bring peace to communities" ("UPP's Concept"). It should be noted that this remains a pilot scheme, and one subject to ongoing criticism and critique by favela leaders, academics and NGOs.

21. Allen argues that "intertextuality reminds us that all texts are potentially plural, reversible, open to the reader's own presuppositions, lacking in clear and defined boundaries, and always involved in the expression or repression of the dialogic 'voices' which exist within society" (29). For Carrington, blogs "use high levels of explicit intertextuality, enabled by the technology, to construct dynamic and non-linear ensembles that draw on a pastiche of other sites and texts" (10).

22. Despite the conscious embedding of the narrative in place via the use of such slang, it should be noted that the text is by no means written entirely in this style. On the contrary, it includes, for example, both technical language about the weaponry and equipment used in police incursions into the favela and more lyrical and metaphorical reference to the police. It also employs terminology from documentary filmmaking to draw attention to practices of representation.

23. In one of the two zine versions of the text, the author's name is supplied but there is no reference to the fact that the text has previously been published on the Internet and where (its "biography," as mentioned above), although the author thought this was probably an oversight rather than a conscious choice.

24. Of course, it is likely only to have been a very small proportion of readers who actually published a comment on their text (this can be inferred from the impressive figure of two thousand hits in a single day provided by the author, compared to the total number of comments).

25. The term *comunidade* is often used to refer to favelas in Rio de Janeiro.

26. Personal communication with one of the bloggers responsible for this instance of reposting, June 2010. The text reached them by email.

27. The full sentence is *"Embora alguns deles tenham armas calibre 88 prontos pra morrer e estejam participando de uma guerra que já dura dois meses"* (Although some of them have calibre 88 weapons ready to die and are taking part in a war that has already been going on for two months).

28. Personal communication, June 2010. The word "midiahipocrisia" appears in a sentence commenting on mainstream media coverage of the conflict.

29. Here Maclean draws on Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma's idea of "cultures of circulation" as a feature of globalization (867).

Works Cited

Allen, Graham. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

Ballantyne, Peter. *Collecting and Propagating Local Development Content: Synthesis and Conclusions*. International Institute for Communication and Development, 2002. Print.

Barber, Karin. *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics: Oral and Written Culture in Africa and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.

Barton, David, and Mary Hamilton. *Local Literacies: Reading and Writing in One Community*. London: Routledge, 1998. Print.

Bentes, Ivana. "Redes Colaborativas e Precariado Produtivo." *Periferia* 1.1 (2007): 53–61. Web. 13 February 2007.
<www.febf.uerj.br/periferia/V1N1/apresenta.html>.

Blommaert, Jan. *Grassroots Literacy: Writing, Identity and Voice in Central Africa*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008. Print.

Bosco, Fernando J. "The Madres de Plaza de Mayo and Three Decades of Human Rights's Activism: Embeddedness, Emotions, and Social Movements." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96.2 (2006): 342–65. Print.

boyd, danah. "Taken Out of Context: American Teen Sociality in Networked Publics." PhD Thesis. University of California, Berkeley, 2008. Print.

boyd, danah, Scott Golder, and Gilad Lotan. "Tweet, Tweet, Retweet: Conversational Aspects of Retweeting on Twitter." *43rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*. Los Alamitos, CA, USA: IEEE Computer Society, 2010. 1–10. Print.

Braga, Adriana. *Personas Materno-Eletrônicas: Feminilidade e Interação no Blog Mothern*. Porto Alegre: Editora Sulina, 2008. Print.

Bryant, John. *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. Print.

____. "Witness and Access: The Uses of the Fluid Text." *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* 2.1 (2007): 16–42. Print.

Carrington, Victoria. "From Blog to Bebo and Beyond: Text, Risk, Participation." *Journal of Research in Reading* 32.1 (2009): 6–21. Print.

Carvalho Lopes, Adriana. "A Favela Tem Nome Próprio: A (Re)significação do Local na Linguagem do Funk Carioca." *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* 9.2 (2009): 369–90. Print.

Castells, Manuel. "Communication, Power and Counter-Power in the Network Society." *International Journal of Communication* 1 (2007): 238–66. Web. 3 November 2010. <ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/view/46>.

Cecchetto, Fátima and Patrícia Farias. "'Tu Mora Onde?' Território e Produção de Subjetividade no Espaço Urbano Carioca." *Cidade: Olhares e Trajetórias*. Ed. Sandra de Sá Carneiro and Maria Josefina Gabriel Sant'anna. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond, 2009. Print.

"Favela de Botafogo Vira Atração para Turistas Estrangeiros." *G1: O portal de notícias da Globo*. 20 May 2009. Web. 20 October 2010. <g1.globo.com/Noticias/Rio/0,,MUL1160207-5606,00-FAVELA+DE+BOTAFOGO+VIRA+ATRACAO+PARA+TURISTAS+ESTRANGEIROS.html>.

Foth, Marcus and Greg Hearn. "Networked Individualism of Urban Residents: Discovering the Communicative Ecology in Inner-City Apartment Buildings." *Information, Communication and Society* 10.5 (2007): 749–72. Print.

Fragoso, Suely. "WTF a Crazy Brazilian Invasion." *Proceedings of CATaC 2006-Fifth International Conference on Cultural Attitudes Toward Technology and Communication*. Ed. Charles Ess, Fay Sudweeks, and Herbert Hrachovec. Murdoch, Australia: Murdoch University, 2006. 255–74. Print.

Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. "The Favela and its Touristic Transits." *Geoforum* 40.4 (2009): 580–88. Print.

Gomes da Cunha, Olivia Maria. "Images of Favelas: Displacing (and Recycling) the Sites of Invisibility." *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*. 2007. Web. 15 November 2008. <www.drclas.harvard.edu/revista/articles/view/949>.

Gordon, Eric. "Toward a Theory of Network Locality. *First Monday* 13.10. 2008. Web. 17 August 2009. <www.uic.edu/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/viewArticle/2157/2035>.

Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007. Print.

Hess, Martin. "'Spatial Relationships'? Toward a Reconceptualization of Embeddedness." *Progress in Human Geography* 28.2 (2004): 165–186. Print.

Himmer, Steve. "The Labyrinth Unbound: Weblogs as Literature." *Into the Blogosphere: Rhetoric, Community and Culture of Weblogs*. Ed. Laura J.

Gurak, Smiljana Antonijevic, Laurie Johnson, Clancy Ratliff, and Jessica Reyman. 2004. Web. 12 March 2010. <blog.lib.umn.edu/blogosphere/labyrinth_unbound.html>.

Hine, Christine. *Virtual Ethnography*. London: Sage, 2000. Print.

IDG Now! "Internauta Brasileiro Lidera Uso de Rede Social em Todo o Mundo." *IDG Now!* 15 June 2010. Web. 14 December 2010. <idgnow.uol.com.br/internet/2010/06/15/internauta-brasileiro-lidera-uso-de-rede-social-em-todo-o-mundo>.

Ito, Mimi. "Network Localities: Identity, Place, and Digital Media." *1999 Meetings of the Society for the Social Studies of Science.* San Diego, USA. Web. 15 November 2008. <www.itofisher.com/mito/publications/network_localit.html>.

Jaguaribe, Beatriz, and Kevin Hetherington. "Favela Tours: Indistinct and Mapless Representations of the Real in Rio de Janeiro." *Tourism Mobilities. Places to Play, Places in Play*. Ed. Mimi Sheller and John Urry. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.

Maclean, Ken. "In Search of Kilometer Zero: Digital Archives, Technological Revisionism, and the Sino-Vietnamese Border." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50.4 (2008): 862–894. Print.

Moody, Katharine Sarah. "The Desire for Interactivity and the Emerging Texts of the Blogosphere." *Reading Spiritualities: Constructing and Representing the Sacred*. Ed. Dawn Llewellyn and Deborah F. Sawyer. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Print.

Ramos, Silvia. "Jovens de Favelas na Produção Cultural Brasileira dos Anos 90." *'Por Que Não?' Rupturas e Continuidades da Contracultura*. Ed. Maria Isabel Mendes de Almeida and Santuza Cambraia Naves. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2007. Print.

Ramos, Silvia, and Anabela Paiva. *Mídia e Violência-Novas Tendências na Cobertura de Criminalidade e Segurança no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, 2007. Print.

Recuero, Raquel. *Redes Sociais na Internet*. Porto Alegre: Sulina, 2009. Print.

Roth-Gordon, Jennifer. "The Language That Came Down the Hill: Slang, Crime, and Citizenship in Rio de Janeiro." *American Anthropologist* 111.1 (2009): 57–68. Print.

Slater, Don, Jo Tacchi, and Peter Lewis. *Ethnographic Monitoring and Evaluation of Community Multimedia Centres: A Study of Kothmale Community Radio Internet Project*. 2002. Web. 17 October 2010. <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/8701/>.

"UPP's Concept: The Peace Police." *UPP Réporter.* Web. 17 October 2010. <www.upprj.com/en/?page_id=445>.

Viégas, Fernanda. "Bloggers's Expectations of Privacy and Accountability: An Initial Survey." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 10.3 (2005): article 12. Web. 17 October 2010. <jcmc.indiana.edu/vol10/issue3/viegas.html>.

Williams, Claire. "Ghettourism and Voyeurism, or Challenging Stereotypes and Raising Consciousness? Literary and Non-literary Forays into the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27.4 (2008): 483–500. Print.