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LOCAL USES OF GLOBAL MEDIA: ACTIVIST VIDEO FROM FLORIANÓPOLIS
ON THE CENTRO DE MÍDIA INDEPENDENTE BRASIL WEBSITE

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ABSTRACT**LOCAL USES OF GLOBAL MEDIA: ACTIVIST VIDEO FROM FLORIANÓPOLIS
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Against the backdrop of the increasing accessibility of media production technologies and the growth in the usage of Internet video websites, this thesis investigates the video work published on the activist media website *Centro de Mídia Independente* (CMI), in order to explore the uses being made of Internet video in a local context. The thesis looks at a number of new paradigms of the global in order to provide a theoretical context from which to consider the technology on which this use of video is based, the new social movements from which the videos are emerging, and how the videos are positioned in relation to the globalized networked environment of the Internet. The context for the textual analysis is provided by a discussion of narrative forms in journalistic texts, documentary and new media, and particularly, of documentary modes, tensions between journalism and documentary, the impact of digital media on documentary, and properties of digital and new media. The analysis takes the video production from Florianópolis posted to the CMI in 2005 as a case study, exploring the range of documentary modes suggested by the videos, additional styles and strategies that they make use of, and the integration of the videos with the hypertext environment in which they are posted. The thesis argues that a significant dimension of the videos is the diversity of styles and perspectives that they represent. It also argues that locality can be considered in the videos through the shared contexts of their subject matter and of the way in which they are posted to the CMI website. The thesis concludes that the multiplicity of forms of expression encountered in the videos and the multiplicity of perspectives that they provide on their subjects points to the democratic potential of websites such as the *Centro de Mídia Independente*.

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RESUMO**LOCAL USES OF GLOBAL MEDIA: ACTIVIST VIDEO FROM FLORIANÓPOLIS
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Professoras Orientadoras: Anelise Reich Corseuil and Silvana Barbosa Macedo

Tendo com pano de fundo o crescente acesso às tecnologias de produção de mídia e o crescimento no uso de websites relacionados ao uso de vídeo na Internet, esta dissertação investiga os trabalhos em vídeo publicados no website de mídia ativista, Centro de Mídia Independente (CMI), para explorar os usos de vídeo na Internet em um contexto local. A dissertação aborda novos paradigmas 'do global' para oferecer um contexto teórico onde são considerados a tecnologia usada por estes vídeos, os novos movimentos sociais de onde os vídeos estão surgindo e a forma como os vídeos são posicionados em relação ao ambiente globalizado e em rede da Internet. O contexto da análise textual é constituído por uma discussão do discurso jornalístico, do documentário e das novas mídias, e particularmente, de modos documentários, de tensões entre jornalismo e documentário, do impacto de mídia digital no documentário, e das propriedades de mídias novas e digitais. A análise traz como estudo de caso a produção de vídeos em Florianópolis de 2005, disponibilizada no website do CMI, e explora a variedade de modos documentários sugeridos pelos vídeos, estilos e estratégias utilizadas por estes e a integração dos vídeos com o ambiente onde estão disponibilizados. A dissertação argumenta que um aspecto significativo dos vídeos é a diversidade de estilos e perspectivas que eles representam. É argumentado ainda que a questão de localidade pode ser considerada nos vídeos a partir dos contextos compartilhados dos seus assuntos e da maneira que estes estão disponibilizados no website do CMI. Conclui-se que a multiplicidade das formas de expressão encontradas nos vídeos e a multiplicidade de perspectivas que oferecem em relação a seus sujeitos apontam o potencial democrático de websites como o Centro de Mídia Independente.

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- Appendix B LOCAL USES OF GLOBAL MEDIA – data CD of video archives, attached to the thesis.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A 2006 article in the newspaper *Clarín* announcing a “*nueva forma de comunicación global*”¹ (Braginski), pointed to the explosion in the use of YouTube, a website which allows users to upload and watch uploaded videos freely. At the time of publishing YouTube was being visited by 6 million users per day and 100 million videos online (Braginski), and this only a year and a half after its inception (YouTube). Since the publishing of Braginski's article YouTube was purchased by Google (YouTube), increasing publicity surrounding the website. A range of other Internet companies, such as Microsoft and Yahoo!, have also invested in their own video websites (see soapbox.msn.com and video.yahoo.com, respectively), further increasing the availability of online video services and especially those which permit users to publish content freely.

These new Internet video services and the figures cited by Braginski suggest increasing ease with the manipulation and use of digitized video and with the use of the Internet as a means of accessing and distributing audiovisual content, both of which have been permitted by the enhanced processing power of personal computers and greater access to broadband Internet. But in what ways have new technologies for the production and distribution of video on the Internet been used in practice, and how have they been taken up in different local contexts? These questions will be explored through examination of the videos hosted by the *Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil* (CMI), an activist media website that despite the relatively recent appearance of services such as YouTube, has already been providing a system for the publishing of audiovisual content freely on the Internet for a number of years, and whose stated aims are to “*dar voz à*

1 “New form of global communication”, my translation.

*quem não têm voz [sic]*² and utilize a structure that “*permite que qualquer pessoa disponibilize textos, vídeos, sons e imagens*”³ on the website (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil “Sobre o Centro de Mídia Independente”).

The CMI is the Brazilian branch of the Independent Media Center (IMC)⁴, an international network of websites founded in 1999 during the protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle (Independent Media Center “Indymedia’s Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)”). It provides news coverage alternative to that of the mainstream media, through a system of open publishing⁵. There are some significant differences between the IMC and Internet video websites such as YouTube, in that while YouTube doesn’t deal specifically with any one type of content, the IMC is primarily concerned with reportage and alternative media coverage of political issues and political actions and protests. Obvious ways in which the IMC differs from newer video sharing websites are therefore its journalistic orientation and the more politicised nature of the material it hosts. This political orientation is openly assumed on the CMI website, which states that “*A ênfase da cobertura é sobre os movimentos sociais, particularmente, sobre os movimentos de ação direta (os “novos movimentos”) e sobre as políticas às quais se opõem*”⁶ (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil “Sobre o Centro de Mídia Independente”).

2 “Give a voice to those who do not have a voice”, my translation.

3 “Allow anybody to make texts, videos, audio and images available”, my translation.

4 The distinction will be made throughout the thesis between the IMC, the international Independent Media Center network and website, and the CMI, the website (www.midiaindependente.org) and Brazilian branch of the IMC network. While the CMI forms part of the Independent Media Center network, they are distinct entities. The CMI was launched in December 2000, a little over a year after the IMC went to air (Mileno and Rhatto, “Centro de Mídia Independente – Introdução”).

5 “Open Publishing” might generally be considered a system in which anyone can upload or create content and in which editorial decisions are made transparently. The article on open publishing posted on the Wikipedia website, itself an example of open publishing, lists the following principles common to website or organizations pursuing open publishing models: “non-hierarchy, public participation, minimal editorial control, and transparency” (“Open Publishing”).

6 “The emphasis of the coverage is on social movements, particularly on direct action movements (the “new movements”) and on the politics to which they are opposed”, my translation.

Another way in which the differences between the IMC and new video sharing websites might be considered, however, is in relation to the contrast between the early utopian ideals associated with the Internet and its later but fast-paced commercialization. Graham Meikle provides a useful frame for considering these different views of the Internet through the distinction he draws between an Internet “Version 1.0” and an Internet “Version 2.0” (*Future Active* 7-13). Here Version 1.0 represents the democratic potential associated with the Internet as an “open” system and Version 2.0 represents the Internet as an increasingly “closed” and commercial system. Openness on the Internet, in Meikle's view, is not limited to earlier communicative uses of the medium but rather extends from use of the Internet for political organization and attempts to make an impact on mainstream media through to contemporary filesharing networks. The “closed” Internet, on the other hand, is the Internet dominated by huge computing and media conglomerates such as Microsoft and in which users are simply consumers and the flow of information is unidirectional.

The IMC, and by extension, the CMI, are examples of the Version 1.0 Internet in their commitment to openness, which extends from their use of open publishing systems through to the open source software on which the websites are built⁷ (Meikle, *Future Active* 90). While websites such as YouTube display some qualities of the Version 1.0 Internet, with their use forms of open publishing, user commentary and user evaluation, they also display traits of the Internet Version 2.0 in that users are limited in what they can post and there is limited editorial transparency⁸. It is of interest

7 Open source software is software for which the source code is freely available, and which can generally be freely used, modified and redistributed. The influential article “Open Publishing Is the Same as Free Software” by Matthew Arnison, one of the developers of the software on which the International IMC website is based, also draws an explicit parallel between open source software and open publishing.

8 If a video is removed from YouTube for contravening the site's terms of use, for example, a brief explanation might be given for its removal and it is no longer accessible. This contrasts to the CMI, however, on which posts deemed to contravene the site's editorial policy are simply moved to another

then to look specifically at the CMI, as a continuing example of a website representing the openness and democratic potential associated with the Version 1.0 Internet, and given the increasing accessibility of video production technologies, it is of interest to consider how they have been used in this context.

The thesis approaches the analysis of the videos by providing a discussion of the broad theoretical background against which the CMI and the videos can be discussed, and by providing a background for the textual analysis through a discussion of possible textual frames through which the videos can be considered. The discussion of the theoretical background to the use of the video on the CMI is based around different but interrelated dimensions or accounts of globalization, which include the growing importance of the paradigm of the network for new forms of social organization, the Internet and new social movements, an account of new global networks of power and resistance, and a discussion of global cultural flows and of locality. The background to the textual analysis is provided through a discussion of journalistic modes of discourse, documentary, and new media, a grouping which is made in order to account for the aims of the CMI to function as an alternative source of news, the stylistic and narrative strategies that the videos make use of as non-fiction films, and the impact of digital formats and the web environment on these strategies.

Given the the activist origins of the CMI website, as well as the intimate relationship between globalization, the Internet and the social movements with which the CMI is associated, a theoretical discussion relating solely to the textual dimension of the videos would not adequately account for their origins and for the usage of video on the CMI. Discussion of the theoretical context for the research therefore draws on

section of the site where the posts can still be freely accessed. The email archive for the committee responsible for making the decision to move posts on the CMI is also publicly available (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil “Política Editorial Do CMI Brasil”).

sources from a range of fields, including sociology, philosophy and anthropology, via the work of Manuel Castells, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, and Arjun Appadurai. Similarly, while the videos are non-fiction audiovisual texts which draw on or demonstrate clear affinities with certain documentary conventions, an analysis of the videos focused purely on their relationship to documentary would ignore the ways in which the videos relate to other forms of audiovisual production (such as journalism, or the music video or advertising), and, importantly, to the web environment in which they are posted. Hence, the discussion of the videos as both hybrid audiovisual texts, and as texts impacted by new media. While not necessarily conventional, these approaches are in keeping with the multidisciplinary of the field of cultural studies, the area of study within which the research was undertaken, in the *Programa de Pós-Graduação em Inglês*, at the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina*.

Turning to the relationship of this research to existing research, it must be noted that there is already a significant body of research relating to the Independent Media Center, from fields such as Media and Communication Studies and Sociology (the IMC website itself has an “Imc Essay Collection” web page [Independent Media Center], with links to numerous academic articles relating to the network). Little, if any, of this research, however, seems to be focused specifically on the audiovisual production associated with the IMC, and more particularly, with textual analysis of the videos being posted to the website. Similarly, while research has been undertaken into independent documentary video (see Patricia Zimmermann, *States of Emergency: Documentaries, Wars, Democracies*, and Deirdre Boyle, “A Brief History of American Documentary Video”, for example) and Brazilian activist video (see Henrique Luiz Pereira Oliveira, “Tecnologias Audiovisuais e Transformação Social: O Movimento de

Video Popular no Brasil (1984-1995)”, for example), there appears to be little in the way of research related specifically to the use of activist video as it appears and is used on the Internet, and as it is used on the Internet in a Brazilian context. The thesis therefore aims to bridge the gap between these areas of research by providing a textual analysis of the video production associated with the CMI, as it appears in a local Brazilian context. Given the increasingly widespread use of video on the Internet, and the increasing accessibility of video production tools, this is an area of research which is likely to become of even greater relevance in the years to come.

The thesis itself is divided into three principal chapters. A discussion of the new paradigms of the “global” as outlined by Castells, Hardt and Negri, and Appadurai, is the focus of Chapter 2, entitled “Paradigms of the Global”. Central to this discussion is the proposition that there is an interconnectedness between the development of information and communications technologies, global cultural flows and new global forms of domination and resistance. From Castells is drawn a discussion of the Internet and new networked social movements, from Hardt and Negri, a discussion of “Empire” as a new form of global sovereignty and of the “multitude” as a corresponding form of resistance, and from Appadurai, a discussion of global cultural flows and the production of locality in the face of the spread of global mass media.

In Chapter 3, “Journalism, Documentary and the Impact of New Media”, the thesis explores the formal and textual context against which the videos hosted by the CMI can be considered. This includes discussion of documentary modes and documentary argument, as outlined by Bill Nichols, the possible relationships between journalism and documentary, and the impact of digital media on documentary production. The chapter also considers the qualities of new and digital media, and a

number of the principles of new media put forward by Lev Manovich, such as automation, variability, modularity and transcoding, that come to bear on the videos and on the environment in which they are hosted.

An analysis of videos from Florianópolis posted on the CMI website forms the basis of Chapter 4, “Analysis of the Videos”, in which the videos will be considered in relation to documentary modes, and in relation to additional styles and strategies that they make use of. The illustrative role of some of the videos within the hypertext environment of the CMI website will be considered, as well as the interconnectedness of the videos, and the contexts from which they can be read. Lastly, the chapter will consider the issue of locality in the videos, potential tensions relating to the use of journalistic strategies, and ways in which the videos might constitute an alternative to conventional journalism or documentary.

CHAPTER 2

PARADIGMS OF THE GLOBAL

Considered in their broadest context, the videos hosted on the Independent Media Centre (IMC) websites can be considered products of global mass media along two axes: as videos they are obviously related to audiovisual mass media such as film and television, and as components of websites they also form part of the the Internet, which in turn acts as a medium for the carrying of other forms of mass media and as a new point of convergence between these media. Thus, this chapter will discuss a number of new paradigms of the global in order to provide a theoretical context from which to consider the following areas: the technology on which this use of video is based; the new social movements from which the videos are emerging; the impact of new global-local relations on the videos; and how these videos are positioned in relation to a globalized networked environment.

The paradigms which will be considered specifically in this chapter are those of the network, as elaborated in the work of Manuel Castells, of “Empire” and the “multitude”, as elaborated in the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, and of global flows and locality, as discussed by Arjun Appadurai. The paradigms present different but interrelated perspectives on the form of globalization that has taken place towards the end of the 20th Century, and especially the role that the explosion in the use of information technology (and by extension electronic and digital media) and new global networks of power have played in this process. In attempting to synthesize the complementary dimensions of these perspectives, the chapter does not intend to provide a complete account of the sources that are being drawn on, but rather to point to areas of theoretical consensus that are of relevance to a discussion of the globalizing processes

that have made possible activities such as the video production of the IMC, and of which the videos form part. This chapter thus aims to deal with particular themes which are present to varying degrees in all three perspectives, and through which these perspectives converge.

2.1 The Network Paradigm

The paradigm of the network, central to Castells' analysis of social and technological transformation at the end of the 20th Century and beginning of the 21st Century, will be discussed first because to a certain extent it frames the other ideas that will be considered in this chapter. In its simplest terms, a network can be defined mathematically as “a set of interconnected nodes” (Castells, *Network Society* 501) in which “a node is the point at which a curve intersects itself” (*Network Society* 501). Applied to social contexts, the idea of the network has been used in a number of ways, such as in the study of interpersonal relationships and in the study of social movements (Scherer-Warren 215). These uses of the concept of the network in the social sciences are not new. The idea of the network has taken on new significance, however, with the impact of information technology, and especially with the now widespread use of the Internet. Castells elaborates that “Networks are open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network” (*Network Society* 501). Traditionally, as organizational or social structures, more complex networks were unable to compete with vertically-structured organizations and hierarchies, due to difficulties in the co-ordination of functions or activities (Castells, *Internet Galaxy* 2). Castells argues that this has changed, however, with the widespread uptake of information technology and the communications based

on these technologies, which now permit networks to “deploy their flexibility and adaptability” (*Internet Galaxy 2*), thus resulting in “an unprecedented combination of flexibility and task performance, of coordinated decision-making and decentralized execution, of individualized expression and global, horizontal communication” (*Internet Galaxy 2*).

The network paradigm is also of relevance to discussion of the new social movements, and especially in relation to the anti-globalization movement⁹, the movement which gave birth to the IMC itself¹⁰. The context of Castells' discussion of the anti-globalization movement is a consideration of a number of social movements which all have opposition to some form of globalization at their core (other movements discussed by Castells include the *Zapatistas*, *al-Qaeda* and the American Militia). The anti-globalization movement stands out against the other movements, however, in that while the other movements are to a certain degree identity-based¹¹, the anti-globalization movement is based on the idea of pluralism and diversity, on the very lack of a unified identity outside of this idea of diversity. Castells cites Ruth Cardoso's play on a popular protest refrain, “*El pueblo desunido jamas sera vencido*” (*Identity 147* - “*El pueblo unido jamas sera vencido*”/“the people united will never be defeated” in the original version), to emphasize the fact that this diversity is also the movement's strength. He

9 The label “anti-globalization” is often considered to be a misnomer (see for example Wikipedia's “Anti-globalization” article) because the movements it has been applied to are not necessarily protesting against “globalization” per se, but rather against the consequences of the expansion of global capital. Also, these movements are themselves often organized globally and thus globalized to some degree, a fact that has been embraced by many groups (as can be seen in events such as the World Social Forum). While there are more appropriate names for these movements, such as the “global justice movement”, I have maintained Castells' usage (which is also that of the mainstream media) in order to avoid confusion.

10 Indymedia has its origins in the activist media centre that was organized to report on the Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization in 1999, which were also the protests that first drew significant attention to the anti-globalization movement. See the Independent Media Center's “Indymedia's Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)” page for further information.

11 Other movements discussed by Castells centre on some form of religious or ethnic identity, for example, as is the case with *al-Qaeda* or the American Militia.

suggests that “the internal cacophony of the anti-globalization movement, made up of diverse and even contradictory components, is indeed what makes it, collectively, a source of challenge to capitalist globalization. Because it is this diversity that broadens the basis of the opposition” (Castells, *Identity* 148). Facilitating this plurality is the logic of the network, as “networking means no center, thus no central authority” (Castells, *Identity* 156).

Castells points to the significant role that the Internet has played in the organization and actions of this form of social movement, arguing that as the Internet becomes fundamental to “communication and organization in all realms of activity, it is obvious that social movements and the political process use, and will increasingly use, the Internet as well” (*Internet Galaxy* 137). He argues, however, that this usage is not incidental but essential to many new social movements, for three principal reasons: firstly, as a means of communication; secondly, as a means of organization; and thirdly, as a means of taking social struggles to a global level.

In relation to the question of communication, Castells argues that power is now “primarily exercised around the production and diffusion of cultural codes and information content [and that] control of communications networks becomes the lever by which interests and values are transformed in guiding norms of human behaviour” (*Internet Galaxy* 164). Contemporary social movements are also therefore “mobilized around cultural values” (Castells, *Internet Galaxy* 140). The communication of these values through the media, and by extension via the Internet, allows these movements to “reach out to those who would adhere to their values, and from there to affect the consciousness of society as a whole” (Castells, *Internet Galaxy* 140). As the media is essential to the formation of public opinion, the anti-globalization movement, for

example, seeks to act on the media by both attempting to communicate different ideas via the mainstream media and mobilizing its own alternative media channels (Castells, *Identity* 157). In this case it is the Indymedia network and other activist websites that provide these alternative communications channels for the movement.

As an organizational tool, Castells uses the analogy of the historical importance of pubs for labour movements (in countries such as the USA and the UK, it might be assumed) to suggest that the Internet is the new “communication medium” (*Internet Galaxy* 139) and “material infrastructure” (*Internet Galaxy* 139) of network-based forms of organization, which have emerged to fill the gaps created by the “crisis of vertically integrated organizations inherited from the industrial era” (*Internet Galaxy* 140). Thus, “loose coalitions, semi-spontaneous mobilizations, and *ad hoc* movements of the neo-anarchist brand substitute for permanent, structured, formal organizations” (Castells, *Internet Galaxy* 141), which had dominated previously. Castells adds that while this form of social movement is not necessarily something new, networking via the Internet is, and this use of the Internet “allows the movement to be diverse and coordinated at the same time, to engage in a continuing debate, and yet not be paralyzed by it, since each one of its nodes can reconfigure a network of its affinities and objectives, with partial overlappings and multiple connections” (*Internet Galaxy* 142).

Beyond acting as an organizational tool and means of communication for networked social movements, the Internet permits these movements to take both aspects of their activity to a global level. Castells suggests that as “power increasingly functions in global networks, largely bypassing the institutions of the nation-state, movements are faced with the need to match the global reach of the powers that be with their own global impact on the media, through symbolic actions” (*Internet Galaxy* 142). At the

same time, however, this new global reach results in a symbiotic relationship between the global and local dimensions of the movement. Castells argues that “the most influential social movements are, at the same time, rooted in their local context and aiming at a global impact” (*Internet Galaxy* 143), and that “they need the legitimacy and support provided by their reliance on local groups, yet they cannot remain local or they lose their capacity to act upon the real sources of power in our world” (*Internet Galaxy* 143).

Returning to the context of the videos produced in Florianópolis and the protests and struggles depicted in these videos, one might question the relevance of the international anti-globalization movement to a local protest movement when there does not seem to be any international dimension to the protests themselves. In the case of the protests against increased public transport fares in Florianópolis, for example, it is unlikely that any appeal for international support would have been contemplated. There are two ways in which it could be argued that a direct relationship exists, however, between the movement involved in the protests depicted by the videos (in this case the *Movimento Passe Livre* [Free Pass Movement], and the event which became known as the second *Revolta da Catraca*¹²) and the anti-globalization movement.

The first is somewhat self-evident given the topic of the thesis: the integration of online coverage of the protests into the global IMC network. By virtue of the presence of these clips on the CMI (*Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil*) website, which is a website with content relating to the whole of Brazil, the videos already receive national distribution and exposure. However the structure of the IMC also

12 “*Revolta da Catraca*” (Turnstile Revolt) was the name given to the 2004 protests against a proposed increase in public transport fares in Florianópolis. When a proposal was made to raise public transport fares again in 2005, the ensuing protests became known as the second “*Revolta da Catraca*”. There are numerous references to these protests on the Internet (see Tavares “*Violência em Florianópolis: o Estado de Direito é Direito de Quem?*”, for example).

facilitates the integration of local nodes on the network with international nodes and users. The design of IMC websites (which may vary aesthetically from IMC to IMC, but which always follows the same basic structure) includes a menu bar running down the left-hand side of most pages with direct links to all of the national IMCs in the network. Thus while reading an article on the CMI website, one can navigate directly to the Chilean or Argentinian IMCs in one click. Many national IMCs provide translations of key articles in multiple languages (as well as translations of international articles into local languages), further encouraging international readers to browse to international IMC websites from different cities and countries. The international IMC website (www.indymedia.org) also provides a selection of international news items on its front page with translations in various languages, as well as an international “newswire” with articles selected by local editors in local languages (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

The screenshot shows the front page of the international Independent Media Center (IMC) website. At the top, the logo 'imc independent media center' is displayed in a stylized font, with a list of global locations: boston, washington dc, seattle, italy, belgium, mexico, ontario, la, philadelphia, rockymountain, uk, calgary, windsor, france, hamilton, san francisco, miami, atlanta. Below the logo is a tagline: 'Indymedia is a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage. Indymedia is a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth.'

The page is organized into several functional areas:

- Navigation:** A horizontal bar contains links for 'FEATURES ARCHIVE', 'NEWSWIRE', 'PUBLISH', 'LINKS', and 'ABOUT'.
- Main Article:** A featured article titled 'Huelga Magisterial en Puerto Rico' is displayed, including a photograph of a protest and a text snippet: 'Con alrededor de un 85% de las escuelas del país paralizadas comenzó la huelga magisterial esta pasada semana. Fueron miles los estudiantes que no tuvieron clases y cientos los maestros que acudían a las distintas líneas de piquetes en las escuelas del país para mostrar su repudio a la actuación del gobierno en la negociación.'
- Live Coverage:** A section titled 'LIVE IMC COVERAGE' provides links to live web radio from various international locations, such as 'Go to liveradio.indymedia.org for live web radio from imcs around the world in different languages.'
- Upcoming Coverage:** A section titled 'UPCOMING IMC COVERAGE' lists future events, including 'International: April - Fossil Fuels Day of Action', 'East Asia: July 7-9: 88 北京学生 游台湾 (88 Tovyato)', and 'Europe: March 22: NATO Game Over | Belgium March 29-30: Stop the Sliedre | Sluisk, Poland [1] [2] [3] [4] | Czech April 2-4: Anti-NATO Bucharest | Romania April 11-12: Souds and autonoconia 30008'.
- Search and Alerts:** A sidebar on the left includes a search bar, an 'ALERT' section, and options to subscribe to news updates via email.
- Participate:** A 'PARTICIPATE' section at the bottom left encourages users to 'post your news' and 'instantly upload your audio, video, photo or'.
- WIKILEAKS:** A section titled 'Wikileaks censored by US Court' reports that a transparency website has been muzzled with a legal injunction by a US court.

Figure 2.1 The www.indymedia.org front page.

The screenshot shows the front page of www.indymedia.org. The page is organized into several columns:

- Left Column:** Contains navigation links such as "links", "about", "contact", "support us", "get involved", "translation", "volunteer", "upcoming events", "imc video projects", and "imc video channel". Below this is an "ARCHIVE" section with "more features" and "newswire archive". Further down are "IMC'S" and "www.indymedia.org". A "Projects" section lists various regional sites like "africa", "asia", "europe", "india", "latin_america", "north_america", "south_america", "canada", "east_asia", "india", "japan", "israel", and "malaysia".
- Top Middle Column:** Features a "Wikileaks's DNS registrar" article with a sub-headline "Dynamdot to remove all DNS hosting records for the wikileaks.org domain name and prevent it from resolving to the wikileaks.org website or any other website or server other than a blank park page." Below this is a "From the imc-uk newswire" section with a sub-headline "US judge arranges summary execution of Wikileaks.org | US Court order shuts down Wikileaks.org | US court attacks web freedom enjoins Wikileaks.org out of existence | Wikileaks and Internet Censorship: a comparative study | Full correspondence between Wikileaks and Bank Julius Baer | Reports elsewhere: indybay | indymedia Ireland | About Wikileaks".
- Middle Column:** Contains a "PA Supreme Court rejects Mumia Abu-Jamal's PCRA appeal — critics say ruling is unjust" article. The sub-headline reads "On Tuesday, Feb. 19, in a ruling unrelated to the pending US Third Circuit Court decision, The PA Supreme Court rejected Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal of a 2005 ruling, which had rejected his PCRA petition on grounds that it was not 'timely' (see AP and Philadelphia Inquirer reports). Pam Africa, Robert R. Bryan, Dave Lindorff, Michael Schiffmann, and Linn Washington Jr. responded on Tuesday, saying the ruling was unjust." Below this is a "Hundreds Walking From Alcatraz to D.C. in the 'Second Longest Walk'" article with a sub-headline "On February 11, 2008, more than two hundred participants of the Longest Walk 2 embarked on a five-month journey on foot from San Francisco. They plan on arriving in Washington, D.C. on July 11, 2008. Native American tribal leaders, religious groups, environmentalists, teachers, students, and people from throughout the world are joining the walk with its 'peaceful and spiritual call to action to protect Mother Earth and defend human rights.'" Below this is a "Nottingham Hosts UK Indymedia Gathering" article with a sub-headline "On February 9th and 10th, Nottingham hosted a national gathering of the UK Indymedia network, bringing together around 40 people from as far afield as Scotland and Bristol." Below this is a "Louis Culture, nativist for constable" article with a sub-headline "2/25 Candidate for Precinct 4 Constable makes common cause with US Border Watch..."
- Right Column:** Contains a "CHOOSE A NEWSWIRE" section with a sub-headline "Carlos livre XA!! COMUNICADO DE APOIO-As amigas e amigos, familiares, vizinhos e coletivos social...". Below this is a "Hands Off Iraqi Oil!" article with a sub-headline "On Saturday 23rd February, a number of actions took place in the UK and Netherland...". Below this is a "Antwerpse brandweer voert actie" article with a sub-headline "Antwerpse brandweer voert actie...". Below this is a "The Jarama at Peace, February 2008" article with a sub-headline "Over 40 people flew out to Madrid last weekend to ...". Below this is a "Tweede Stop de Armoede aan Antwerps Stadhuis" article with a sub-headline "Tweede Stop de Armoede aan Antwerps Stadhuis...". Below this is a "Louis Culture, nativist for constable" article with a sub-headline "2/25 Candidate for Precinct 4 Constable makes common cause with US Border Watch..."

Figure 2.2 The www.indymedia.org front page, continuing from Figure 2.1

While it is difficult to judge whether the non-English and translated parts of the international Indymedia website are widely used, what is significant here is that there have been obvious attempts to make all parts of the IMC network as interconnected, global and inclusive as possible, and that the possibility exists for local IMCs to give local issues and causes direct international exposure on an international platform. And while it is difficult to know whether or not the videos being analysed did receive international exposure (due to the lack of useful statistics on usage of Indymedia websites¹³), they were, and continue to be, directly plugged in to this structure.

¹³ As stated on the "Indymedia's Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)" page (Independent Media Center), the IP addresses of people visiting Indymedia websites are not logged. It is possible to obtain the number of page hits for some Indymedia sites but this data doesn't reveal who is using the websites or from where. The reasons given for not logging IP addresses are concerns about privacy and the view that tracking user numbers "isn't that important" ("Indymedia's Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)").

A second way of considering the connection between the protests depicted in the videos and the anti-globalization movement relates to certain characteristics that the international movement and the local protests share. It was argued that new social movements are based less on formal or established organizations, and increasingly on more diverse, informal and spontaneous groupings. The first protests against the increase in bus fares in Florianópolis took on this spontaneous character and incorporated actors from diverse groups and sectors of society, such as students, teachers, workers and the disabled (see Tavares “Violência em Florianópolis: o Estado de Direito é Direito de Quem?” and Tamanduá “A Revolta da Catraca Alcança seu Objetivo” for mentions of the composition of the protests). To a degree, the local protests also share a common adversary in that many perceived problems with the public transport system in Florianópolis are attributed to the private bus companies and the privatization of the public transport system. The privatization of public utilities and services frequently forms part of economic and public policies associated with Neoliberalism¹⁴, which is an acknowledged target of the anti-globalization movement (Castells, *Identity* 152).

Castells suggests that the kind of protests embodied by the anti-globalization movement are a reaction to the social disenfranchisement resulting from new global networks of “wealth, technology and power” (*Identity* 72), which encompass the widespread “neoliberal” reforms that have taken place in the developed and developing worlds. The evolution of these networks, he argues, has also resulted in the “dramatic reorganization of power relationships” (Castells, *Network Society* 502), in

¹⁴ Neoliberalism is generally considered to be an economic or political outlook which favours minimal government regulation of economic activity. As public enterprises, from this point of view, are considered to be a form of market interference, privatization is often advocated together with other market liberalization policies (see, for example, the “Neoliberalism” Wikipedia entry).

which the “switches connecting the networks (for example, financial flows taking control of media empires that influence political processes) are the privileged instruments of power” (*Network Society* 502).

2.2 Empire and the Multitude

Hardt and Negri put forward their own account of a new, global, network-based power structure. Arguing that there has been an “an irresistible and irreversible globalization of economic and cultural exchanges” (*Empire* xi), they propose that “along with the global market and global circuits of production has emerged a global order, a new logic and structure of rule—in short, a new form of sovereignty” (*Empire* xi). They refer to this new power structure as “Empire”, and suggest that it is “the political subject that effectively regulates these global exchanges” (*Empire* xi) and a network of power relations which now “governs the world” (*Empire* xi).

While the word Empire suggests the kind of colonialism practised by nation-states in the recent past, Hardt and Negri argue that Empire should not be confused with “imperialism” (*Empire* xii). Whereas the latter was based on the extension of national sovereignty beyond national borders, the former implies a different form of sovereignty with no territorial centre and no boundaries. Instead, Empire is “a *decentered* and *deterritorializing* apparatus of rule” (Hardt and Negri, *Empire* xii sic.) composed of “a series of national and supranational organisms” (*Empire* xii), whose networked structure allows it to work with “hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges” (*Empire* xii). For Hardt and Negri, however, the concept of Empire only illustrates one side of the forces of globalization.

The counterpoint to Empire is the “multitude”, and just as Empire is based

on global networks of power, so too the multitude consists of a networked form of resistance. Whereas Empire represents a new global structures of power and order, the multitude represents new possibilities of cooperation, collaboration and encounter (*Multitude* xiii). They suggest that the multitude can be considered an “open and expansive network in which all differences can be expressed freely and equally, a network that provides the means of encounter so that we can work and live in common” (*Multitude* xiv). The multitude, therefore, is their conception of an alternative, positive potential that goes hand in hand with Empire.

Hardt and Negri take care to distinguish the multitude from ideas such as “the masses”, “the people” or the “working classes”, which, they argue, limit or reduce conceptions of potentially oppositional social formations. Whereas the “the people”, for example, might be considered a unified or unitary body, Hardt and Negri argue that the multitude is “composed of innumerable internal differences that can never be reduced to a unity or a single identity” (*Multitude* xiv). The principal difference between the idea of the “masses” and that of the multitude hinges on the “indifference” and “uniformity” associated with the latter (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* xiv). Hardt and Negri thus argue that “the challenge posed by the concept of multitude is for a social multiplicity to manage to communicate and act in common while remaining internally different” (*Multitude* xiv). And while the “working class” has occupied a privileged position in Marxist thought, Hardt and Negri point out that it has come to imply a certain exclusivity, not only from owners or capitalists but also from workers who do not fit the categories with which it is normally associated. They argue that if considered narrowly, the “working class” refers to industrial workers, and if considered more broadly, it refers to all waged workers (*Multitude* xiv). In either case this grouping becomes

exclusive because in the first understanding, the concept therefore excludes workers in the service and other sectors, and in the second, all unwaged workers, including those who might work under even more precarious conditions (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* xiv).

The great difference with the concept of the multitude then, is that it aims to be open and inclusive (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* xiv), and that it aims to embrace those who participate not only in economic production, but more broadly in social production as well. It is in this dimension of production that Hardt and Negri elaborate what they see as one of the prominent characteristics of the multitude, the production and sharing of the “the common”¹⁵. They suggest that the production of the common is one of the dominant characteristics of new forms of labour, which tend to “be embedded in cooperative and communicative networks” (*Multitude* xv), and that “communication, collaboration, and cooperation are not only based on the common, but they in turn produce the common in an expanding spiral relationship” (*Multitude* xv). Open source software and open publishing, two practices or models on which the Indymedia network is based, might be considered explicit examples of collaborative and cooperative networks which work towards this production of the common in their distribution of knowledge and information.

The other distinguishing characteristic of the multitude according to Hardt and Negri is its political organization. They argue that, looking at the history of modern resistances, there is a “tendency toward increasingly democratic organization, from

15 Hardt and Negri mention that they decided to use the term “the common” as opposed to “the commons”, to avoid associations with the historical system of land sharing that the latter refers to (*Multitude* xv). “The commons” is a term that has already been reappropriated, however, to also refer to what Hardt and Negri describe as the common. Creative Commons, for example, is the name of the well-known organization (and creative licence) that seems to make reference to the historical idea of the commons, while at the same time applying it to freely reusable and/or publicly available creative production.

centralized forms of revolutionary dictatorship and command to network organizations that displace authority in collaborative relationships” (*Multitude* xvi). And while these organizations may externally push for greater democracy they also increasingly reflect democratic relationships in their internal structures (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* xvi). Hardt and Negri see the generalized desire for democracy as the essence of contemporary resistance struggles, and thus view the multitude as the instigator of a new democratic project from within Empire.

2.3 Global Flows and Locality

Offering a different perspective on globalizing processes, Appadurai suggests that the imagination now plays a central role in “all forms of agency” (31) and also as a “key component of the new global order” (31). Communications technologies and electronic media are therefore fundamental in that they “offer new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds” (Appadurai 3). Appadurai suggests that there are five “landscapes”—ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes (33)—upon which these “imagined worlds” are built, and which represent different dimensions of global cultural flows. All of these landscapes (which also point to ethnographic, media-related, technological, financial and ideological dimensions of globalization, more generally) are interrelated. The most relevant to the videos being discussed, however, are mediascapes, which refer to “both the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information [...] which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media” (Appadurai 35). Appadurai argues that mediascapes provide

“large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapas to viewers throughout the world” (Appadurai 35), from which elements such as “characters, plots and textual forms” (Appadurai 35) can be drawn, by those who experience them.

A question raised by Appadurai is whether the result of these global cultural flows is a process of greater cultural homogenization or of greater cultural heterogeneity. He suggests, for example, that the “globalization of culture is not its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization [...] that are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free enterprise, and fundamentalism” (Appadurai 42). An opposition between homogenizing forces and forces of diversification is common to many accounts of globalization. Fredric Jameson, for example, points to the possibility of viewing globalization as either a new form of pluralism (“Notes” 57), representing the possibility of ever greater cultural diversity, or as “standardization on an unparalleled new scale” (“Notes” 57). He also suggests, however, these understandings of globalization are intertwined.

Ultimately, Appadurai argues that the “new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models” (32). Instead of simple dichotomies, the global cultural economy is better considered in terms of “certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics” (Appadurai 33), which can be explored by looking at the relationships between the five landscapes mentioned above. While tendencies to homogenization or hybridization are of special interest in relation to the IMC, which contends with the impact of mass media while at the same time proposing localized and alternative forms of media production and

consumption, Appadurai's account suggests that it is important not to reduce the discussion to a rigid consideration of either. This is especially the case when considering the maintenance of diversity and construction of locality in these videos, which circulate within national and international IMC networks.

Turning to the issue of locality itself, Appadurai suggests that locality is “a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts” (178). This dimension of locality, however, “cannot be separated from the actual settings in and through which social life is reproduced” (Appadurai 182). Appadurai uses the term “neighborhood” to refer to the social forms in which locality is realised, proposing that they “are situated communities, characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual, and their potential for social reproduction” (179). Important to this conception of neighbourhood is the idea of context, in that the production of locality is both “context-driven” and “context-generative” (Appadurai 186). For Appadurai neighbourhoods are thus paradoxical, in that they “constitute and require contexts” (186) for their production and maintenance.

As part of his discussion Appadurai also proposes a new distinction between spatial and virtual neighbourhoods, in which virtual neighbourhoods, facilitated by “new forms of electronically mediated communication” (195), are no longer bounded by “territory, passports, taxes, elections, and other conventional political diacritics” (195) but rather by “access to both the software and hardware that are required to connect to these large international computer networks” (195). As well as noting the inherent fragility of neighbourhoods (179), Appadurai suggests that the relationship between spatial and virtual neighbourhoods is becoming increasingly eroded due to

mass and electronic media, also leading to increasing disjuncture between the two (194). This fragility and disjuncture echo the discussion of the shift from place-based to networked forms of sociability, as described by Castells.

Considering the spatial dimension of community, Castells argues that it is doubtful that the highly idealized “culturally homogeneous and spatially bounded” (*Internet Galaxy* 125) community ever existed. He suggests that until the beginning of the industrial era, “place-based sociability” (*Internet Galaxy* 126) would have been an important form of interaction and support, however that this sociability would have centred not just on neighbourhoods but also on workplaces (*Internet Galaxy* 126). And while he argues that place-based sociability still exists, he suggests that a “major transformation of sociability” (Castells, *Internet Galaxy* 127) has taken place “with the substitution of networks for spatial communities as major forms of sociability” (*Internet Galaxy* 127).

While this transformation is suggested by the disjunctures between the different forms of neighbourhood described by Appadurai, the idea of the contextual interdependency of neighbourhoods evokes the idea of the network even more strongly. At the beginning of his discussion of locality, Appadurai states explicitly that he views locality as “primarily relational and contextual rather than as scalar or spatial” (178). This “relational and contextual” view of locality suggests one possible approach to discussion of the “local” in relation to the videos being analysed. Instead of looking for essentially “local” qualities, traits or markers in the videos, for example, it could be possible to consider whether the videos create an identifiable local context, both in relation to one another, and against the broader context of the IMC network.

The issue of power also enters discussion of neighbourhoods, in that there

will always be some tension between neighbourhoods and other formations which come to bear on them. Appadurai argues that "the capability of neighborhoods to produce contexts [...] and to produce local subjects is profoundly affected by the locality-producing capabilities of larger-scale social formations (nation-states, kingdoms, missionary empires, and trading cartels) to determine the general shape of all the neighborhoods within the reach of their powers" (187). Power, Appadurai suggests, "is always a key feature of the contextual relations of neighborhoods" (187).

The question of power can therefore be situated within a discussion of globalization in a number of different ways. For Castells power is exercised by those who control the switches and points of access to global networks of information and wealth. For Hardt and Negri, power lies in the new imperial order, functioning beyond territorial boundaries and outside of the traditional forms of imperialism exercised by the nation-state. And for Appadurai it is the imposition of larger social formations on neighbourhoods, affecting the reproduction of locality, in which power relations become evident. For all three points of view, however, globalization is not unidirectional. Appadurai, for example, points to the absorption and adaptation of homogenizing cultural processes in local contexts. While for Castells, and for Hardt and Negri, new networked forms of resistance have emerged, taking advantage of new communications technologies and the Internet, to propose alternative visions of the world and to push for greater democracy. It is the interplay between these dimensions of globalization which will inform the discussion of the videos hosted by the CMI.

CHAPTER 3

JOURNALISM, DOCUMENTARY AND THE IMPACT OF NEW MEDIA

In his seminal essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”, Walter Benjamin argued for the liberating potential of industrial reproduction in relation to works of art, suggesting that such reproduction would emancipate the work of art from its “parasitical dependence on ritual” (669) and thus bring it closer to the masses. What then are the implications of the shifts from mechanical to electronic, and from electronic to digital reproduction, each of which has increased the potential for reproduction, and potential access to the means of production itself, exponentially? If, as Benjamin claims, “the distinction between author and public is about to lose its basic character” (674) with the growth of mechanical reproduction, what are the implications for the world of new media?

The principal medium in question in this discussion is video, although video that has been digitized and that is distributed via the Internet. Philippe Dubois already suggests that ambiguity is one of the principal characteristics of video, in that video can be viewed from a number of different, and sometimes even contradictory, perspectives (73). Dubois questions, for example, whether video should be considered a technique or language, process or object, a means of communication or of artistic expression, or as an image or device (73). A common point of view, he suggests, is to situate video in relation to other visual arts, such as painting or photography, on the level of the image (73). Dubois argues, however, that this hides the other dimension of video as a “*sistema de circulação de uma informação qualquer*” (73) or “*meio de comunicação*” (73), in which video acts as a kind of intermediary between cinema and new information technologies.

These different dimensions of video form the basis for the consideration of possible frames for analysis of the videos hosted by the *Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil* (CMI). There is a rough parallel, for example, between consideration of video as a means of circulating information and as a means of expression, and the tendencies towards journalistic reportage and documentary in the videos on the CMI website. Just as Dubois points to the possibility of locating video at a point somewhere between cinema and new media, this chapter will consider textual frames associated with cinema while looking to the relationship between the videos and new media, as well as the possible impact of this relationship.

3.1 Journalism and Documentary

The aims of the CMI network to “*oferecer ao público informação alternativa e crítica de qualidade*”¹⁶ (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil “Sobre o Centro de Mídia Independente”) which constitutes “*uma alternativa consistente à mídia empresarial*”¹⁷ (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil “Sobre o Centro de Mídia Independente”) reveal the degree to which the network identifies itself with journalistic practice and reportage, even if alternative to commercial or mainstream media. It is not surprising therefore that many of the videos which are posted on the CMI “VÍdeo” page are of a documentary or journalistic nature. Both journalism and documentary, however, have complex relationships with ideas of “reality” or the “truth”. Statements that “The Independent Media Center is a network of collectively run media outlets for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of the truth”, for example, drawn from the international Independent Media Center's “About Indymedia” page, seem one-sided

16 “Offer quality information, both critical and alternative, to the public”, my translation.

17 “A consistent alternative to corporate media”, my translation.

when considering that the CMI also defines itself against commercial media that “*frequentemente [sic] distorce fatos e apresenta interpretações de acordo com os interesses das elites econômicas, sociais e culturais*”¹⁸ (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil “Sobre o Centro de Mídia Independente”).

Notions of truth from the journalistic perspective can be tied both to a perceived level of objectivity and to empirical support of any truth-claims made in reportage (Hanitzsch 376). Considering objectivism and empiricism as two different axes describing journalistic notions of truth, a range of positions are possible. In relation to the axis of objectivism, positions range from the argument that there is a reality completely independent of the observer that can be described objectively, to the argument that “all representations are inevitably selective and require interpretation” (Hanitzsch 376). And in relation to the axis of empiricism, truth-claims can be supported by appeals to supposedly “factual” evidence or, at the other end of the spectrum, through opinion or analysis, in which case the force of any given claim might rest in the rhetorical power of a given text (Hanitzsch 376).

Similar issues come to bear on the documentary, in which the nature of “reality”, and the way in which it is represented, can also be questioned. Bill Nichols argues that while some scholarship has been devoted to the notion that documentary, like fiction, relies on narrative to reference constructed realities based on signifying systems (*Representing Reality* 107), there are firm distinctions to be made between the two. One principal way in which Nichols makes the distinction is by pointing out that while documentaries are texts and are thus, like fiction, also constructed, they make reference to the shared historical world, rather than imagined worlds (*Representing*

18 “Frequently distorts facts and presents interpretations in accordance with the interests of economic, cultural and social elites”, my translation.

Reality 110). Another is the distinction that Nichols makes between offering an imitation of the world, and, in the case of documentary, offering a representation of it (*Representing Reality* 110).

Ultimately, Nichols argues, a documentary will make some argument about the world or try to convey a particular point, using the material that it presents (*Representing Reality* 125). Here, argument does not necessarily refer to overtly “argumentative” texts but rather “the agency of representation or exposition, that process whereby a documentary addresses some aspect of the world, allowing us to reconstruct an argument it proposes” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 113). This argument forms what Nichols describes as the “narrative coherence” or “documentary logic” (*Representing Reality* 125) which gives shape to the documentary. Documentary logic bases itself on the evidence that documentary provides through its “*indexical* relation to the historical world” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 116), and which, once placed within the frame of an argument, moves filmed material from the realm of simple factual evidence to “the construction of meaning” (*Representing Reality* 117).

Nichols suggests that argument can be discussed in the documentary in two different dimensions, commentary and perspective (*Representing Reality* 118). Commentary can include commentary in the literal sense, through narration or interview for example, but it also incorporates other stylistic or narrative devices that break the expectations established by a text in order to present a more distanced statement about the material being dealt with. Commentary can therefore be considered the way in which the documentary “offers a particular statement about the world or about the perspective it has tacitly presented” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 118). Perspective, on the other hand, is the “way in which a documentary text offers a particular point of view

through its depiction of the world” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 118). Through the perspective of a documentary, the argument is therefore “implied, sustained by rhetorical strategies of organization” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 118).

An important point that Nichols makes is that the presence of perspective, and by extension argument, is what makes the difference between raw film footage and a text (*Representing Reality* 127). Some videos posted to the CMI website are short single takes of protest marches in which the presence of a particular perspective cannot easily be construed from the videos on their own. For this reason, it could be argued that some videos do not constitute texts by themselves, but rather, form part of larger texts based around web pages on the CMI website that incorporate a range of media objects. To consider the issue of perspective in these cases it is therefore necessary to look at the contents of the web pages from which the videos are posted as well.

Aside from documentary argument, the manner of representing the world in documentary can also be considered in relation to a number of “modes” of documentary production, which also provide useful frames for textual analysis. Documentary modes, as defined by Nichols, “identify major historical and formal divisions within the institutional and discursive base in a way that complements studies of style but also grounds them in material practices” (*Representing Reality* 23). He argues that “Modes are something like genres, but instead of coexisting as different types of imaginary worlds[...]modes represent different concepts of historical representation” (*Representing Reality* 23). Nichols outlines four dominant representational modes: “expository, observational, interactive, and reflexive” (*Representing Reality* 32), each of which deserves a brief description here.

The expository mode of documentary relates to the documentaries that aim

to expound upon a given topic, often employing some form of narration (either through voice or titles) independent to the events or subjects being dealt with. A principal characteristic of the expository mode is the direct address to the viewer, and Nichols gives the so-called “voice of god” commentary (*Representing Reality* 34) as a common example of this. Another example that Nichols mentions is that of the newsreader or news reporter speaking directly to the camera (*Representing Reality* 34). In the mode overall, there is an emphasis on “the impression of objectivity and of well-substantiated judgement” (*Representing Reality* 35).

The observational mode, by contrast, relates to the documentary in which the camera acts as a kind of invisible observer, not participating in the events depicted and thus creating a certain illusion of invisibility. The emphasis therefore is on “nonintervention” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 38) and the unobtrusiveness of the filmmaker. Nichols argues that in the observational mode, the “presence of the camera 'on the scene'” (*Representing Reality* 40) strengthens the connection between the documentary and the shared historical world. This connection is strengthened even further by the sense of the lack of any mediation or intervention. The American direct cinema of the 1960s and 1970s, pioneered by directors such as Robert Drew and Albert and David Maysles, is the current of documentary filmmaking which most exemplifies this mode.

The counterpoint to the observational mode of documentary is the interactive mode, in which the documentarist interacts with the subject of the documentary or participates in the events being filmed. Instead of creating the illusion of being passive observers, the filmmakers can therefore be participants or even instigators. Nichols suggests that the interview is often a central device of interactive

documentary (*Representing Reality* 47). Nichols thus gives Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un été*, in which the filmmakers discuss a range of topics with youths in Paris, as a prominent example of this mode (*Representing Reality* 44). As the filmmaker (and therefore the production process) intrudes further into the documentary in the interactive mode, compared to the expository or observational modes, audience expectations also differ. Whereas the previous two modes might produce some illusion of objectivity, the interactive mode is more likely to produce expectations of “conditional information and situated or local knowledge” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 56).

The fourth mode of documentary discussed by Nichols, the reflexive mode, relates to those documentaries that incorporate reflexive strategies or structures. Documentaries utilizing this mode, Nichols suggests, either make use of political reflexivity or formal reflexivity (*Representing Reality* 69). Here political reflexivity can refer to work which aims to decenter or raise the consciousness of the viewer (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 69). Formal reflexivity, on the other hand, can incorporate a number of different textual strategies (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 69), ranging from stylistic and deconstructive forms of reflexivity to the use of parody and satire. Stylistic reflexivity can be created through the use of non-conventional stylistic devices which draw attention to themselves, while deconstructive reflexivity is produced through the deconstruction of dominant codes of documentary representation, usually in a documentary's structure (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 72). Parody and satire also create reflexivity in that they too can “provoke a heightened awareness of a previously taken-for-granted style, genre, or movement” (Nichols, *Representing Reality* 74). Overall, the reflexive mode draws attention to the text as text more strongly than the

other modes.

Considering the videos hosted by the CMI against these modes, a number of videos tend towards the observational mode, however others also draw attention to the agency of the videos' producers in a way that evokes the interactive mode. And while on the surface, the reflexive mode seems to be absent from the videos, as many of the videos do not appear either to question the politics of the messages they convey, or the form in which they convey these messages, upon closer analysis a number of the videos, such as *Floriprotesto*, do reveal a level of reflexivity in relation to their form or contents. This question of the presence or not of some degree of reflexivity in the videos is relevant to discussion of the IMC's relationship to mainstream media (and the degree to which it differentiates itself from this media, in which reflexivity is usually absent), because it can provide some indication of reflection on these practices.

One issue that relates to the question of perceived impartiality in the videos' representation of events and subjects, from the point of view of documentary practice, is the degree to which the videos obscure the presence of the videos' producers. In considering misleading definitions of "documentary", Nichols points to the problems with the idea that one of the documentary's principal characteristics is lack of control over certain production variables or over its subjects (*Representing Reality* 13). One of the examples he gives is that of the aforementioned direct cinema (*Representing Reality* 13) in which filmmakers attempted to minimise the impact of their presence during shooting but in trying to remain unnoticeable simply ended up exercising a different kind of control (this is not to mention the control exercised afterwards in post-production).

Brian Winston argues that it is precisely this illusion of non-intervention that

the advent of digital video has reinforced in the contemporary documentary (21). According to Winston, an outcome of this type of filmmaking has been a blurring of the distinctions between documentary and journalism. In making this argument, Winston draws on John Grierson's assertion that documentary is the “creative treatment of actuality” (cited in Portuguese translation by Winston 16, citation in English from “Documentary Film”). The implication of Grierson's assertion is that other non-fiction forms of filmmaking, such as journalism, do not presuppose this creativity. As previously mentioned, a number of the videos posted on the CMI website, produced using digital video cameras, do incorporate observational forms of video work (see the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior*¹⁹ clips, for example), that Winston likens to journalism. Many clips, however, also take more creative approaches to the treatment of their subjects, by making use of surveillance camera footage (see *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso*²⁰), for example, or utilizing digital filters to imitate the appearance of aged film (see *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*²¹). This mixture of modes reflects the variety of forms of video posted to the CMI.

Another implication of Winston's argument is that in promoting a more observational style of filmmaking, digital video does not signify a radical shift for documentary filmmaking. Winston argues that the hand-held camera work made possible by the light weight and portability of the digital video camera has been present in documentary films since as far back as World War II, but more prominently since the late 50s and early 60s when cameras and sound recording equipment became more portable (17). He does mention in passing, however, the ease of use and lower cost of

19 *Tomorrow Is Going to Be Bigger*, my translation.

20 *New Video Clips of the Catracasso*, my translation. The word *catracasso* can refer either to the protests in general or to the practice of holding the back doors of buses open so that commuters can enter behind the turnstile where fares are collected and thus avoid having to pay.

21 *A Bus Terminal Cannot Be Built Over a Schoolyard*, my translation.

digital video, two issues of importance when considering the question of its general accessibility. Another issue which is not brought up in Winston's article is the relative ease with which digital video can be edited, manipulated and compressed for Internet distribution. It is this, in combination with the other two factors, that makes greater consumer use of digital video and international distribution via websites such as the CMI possible.

3.2 Digital and New Media

This digitization of video can have other consequences, beyond facilitating and improving access to audiovisual production. Patricia Zimmermann, for example, suggests that with digitization “images and words can be endlessly mutated, copied, revised, manipulated, and distributed, eradicating the differences among producers, creators, artists, users, and spectators” (*States of Emergency* 171). In the context of the videos hosted by the CMI this blurring of the boundaries between users and producers and the possibility of manipulating existing material can be seen, for example, in the reuse of found or existing footage for the creation of new clips (see *Trecho da Transmissão TV Floripa*²²).

A different point of view from which the growing impact of digital formats can be considered is that of new media. Lev Manovich suggests that new media encompasses “new cultural objects enabled by network communication technologies [and] all forms of computing” (“New Media” 16), some of whose characteristics are “the existence of potentially numerous copies[...]; the collective; collaborative authorship; and network distribution” (“New Media” 14). Aside from the shift between analogue and digital medias, Lev Manovich argues that new media works can also be

²² *Clip from the TV Floripa Broadcast!*, my translation.

considered in the light of a number of analogies drawn from computing. While these principles are of varying relevance to discussion of the videos published on the CMI website, it is useful to mention them here because they provide a different perspective from which to consider the context in which the videos are published—that of the Internet, hypertext and multimedia—as well as the possibility of considering the website and the videos as a unified text.

The first principle discussed by Manovich is numerical representation (*Language 27*), which relates directly to the discussion of differences between digital and analogue media. Any digital media object is represented numerically, at the most basic level in the form of sequences of 0s and 1s. The implications of this are that any digital media object can be described mathematically, and that consequently they can be subject to manipulation through the application of mathematical algorithms (Manovich, *Language 27*). A simple example of this form of manipulation is the application of filters to images in image editing programs such as Adobe Photoshop or Gimp.

The second principle described by Manovich is modularity (*Language 30*), which refers to the composition of new media objects through the combination of discrete new media elements, or independent and atomic parts. An important result of this modularity is that new media objects are more easily extensible, i.e. they can be added to or modified. And while the modification or deletion of modular elements can prevent the whole from functioning, in the case of a piece of software for example (Manovich, *Language 31*), modularity generally allows for the customization of objects through the swapping or alteration of elements without having to modify the overall structure (Manovich, *Language 30*). Web pages are good examples of modular new media in that they can be composed of various media elements, images, text, hyperlinks,

animations and sound, which are stored independently and can be easily swapped or changed without having to change the structure of the web page overall (Manovich, *Language* 30).

The third principle discussed by Manovich is automation, which is made possible by the first two principles, the numerical encoding and modular structures of new media objects (Manovich, *Language* 32). Automation can take place on many levels, from the automation of simple tasks and processes to the automation of intelligent responses to human input via artificial intelligence systems, and can be applied to media “creation, manipulation, and access” (Manovich, *Language* 32). Using templates or algorithms, for example, a user can generate or manipulate images or sounds. The creation of video titles or graphics in the videos hosted by the CMI are therefore an example of this. One basic example of a form of automation relevant to IMC websites more generally is the use of cascading style sheets (CSS), which permits styles to be defined for an entire website (or specific sections of it) independently of content. The appearance of a website can therefore be modified without having to edit each individual page, thus automating what would otherwise be a manual task. Another form of automation relevant to the IMC network is the automation of access to media objects. Manovich gives the example of the Internet itself as an enormous distributed database (*Language* 35). The IMC network then similarly functions as a repository of news items, text, images, audio and video, with its own search engine to automate the process of information location and retrieval.

Variability is the fourth principle discussed by Manovich and refers to the possibility of media objects existing in variable forms. This is again a consequence of the modular and digital nature of new media (Manovich, *Language* 36), which might

manifest itself in the application of algorithms through filters, or the swapping or modification of modular components. This variability can be seen in videos hosted by the CMI, most obviously in cases of the reutilization or remixing of existing video material. A similar form of variability is the “scalability” of media objects (Manovich, *Language* 38), and the ability to create multiple versions of media objects at different sizes or resolutions. This is evident, to a certain extent, in the use of multiple codecs²³ for compression of the videos posted on the CMI, and more generally on the Internet, in the possibility of downloading different versions of the same video encoded with different codecs and with different frame sizes in order to provide varying degrees of quality. Interactivity provides yet another form of variability, as it permits users to experience media works in different ways. Variability is therefore present in the different paths that users might take in navigating through the hypertext environment of different IMC websites, for example.

The last principle described by Manovich is the principle of transcoding, understood here in both a material and cultural sense. In explaining the idea of transcoding, Manovich makes a distinction between two layers of any experience of interaction with a computer. The first is the “computer layer” (Manovich, *Language* 46) which refers to the dimension of media objects that follows computer logic and which makes sense purely from a computational point of view (the code which underlies any given piece of software, for example). The second layer is the “cultural layer” (Manovich, *Language* 46), which refers to the cultural meaningfulness of media objects to humans. While these layers are, for most people, abstracted from one another, Manovich argues that they mutually influence one another, and that there is therefore a

²³ Codecs are compression and decompression algorithms for digital media, which, in the context of the discussion, make it possible to reduce the size of video files so that they can be more easily distributed via the Internet.

form of transcoding that takes place from one layer to the other. He argues that while new media can be understood by considering it in relation to “old” media, this understanding would be incomplete if it did not also take into account a certain computer-based logic which has come to bear on new media production through the transcoding process.

While this logic can be contemplated in a number of different ways, one prominent example discussed by Manovich which is of relevance to the discussion of the use of video on the CMI is a certain shift from narrative logic to the logic of the database in new media works. Narrative, which has been privileged by fictional cinema and which is also of relevance to documentary production, generally implies sequential structures with cause and effect relationships between narrative elements and a beginning and an end. A database, on the other hand, which Manovich defines as “a structured collection of data” (*Language* 218), is a group of items “with every item possessing the same significance as any other” (*Language* 218). While there are many different types of database, websites on the IMC network (as mentioned previously) clearly function as databases in that they provide collections of news and media items which can be retrieved independently without (like newspapers, for example) a sequential form of access being imposed.

But what then is the relevance of database logic to discussion of the videos hosted by the CMI themselves? The videos are clearly videos, independently of the method or format of distribution, but does the fact that they are digital, rather than analogue, and distributed via the Internet mean that they can also be considered new media? “New media”, like “post-modern” (or even “modern”), is a slippery term, in the sense that it always suggests the new and contemporary, a terrain that is shifting from

day to day, especially in relation to media technologies and uses. The framework outlined by Manovich provides more solid ground by suggesting that computer mediation and the transcoding of computer logic in new media works can form the basis for discussion of new media. I would suggest that the fact that the videos are digital in itself does not provide sufficient basis for consideration of these works as new media, because much of the image manipulation that takes place with digital video was already possible with analogue video, and the forms of observational documentary discussed by Winston were already well established in film and analogue video documentary.

The videos do, however, make use of compositing, compression, and other forms of digital manipulation, they reuse existing material, and they present variability in the varying formats in which they are available. But possibly more important to the discussion is the context in which the videos appear. The way that the videos are presented for download via the CMI “Video” page, or linked to alongside links to other other media objects and portions of text on the pages of news articles, suggests not only the modularity previously discussed, but also the logic of the database, in which individual items can be accessed independently, on demand, and where each item has no greater importance than any other. From the point of view of the user, this suggests that each video may not necessarily be viewed as complete in itself, but rather as a “byte” or snippet, to be accessed in conjunction with other media items (which might include other videos) and considered contextually. The videos therefore potentially function as support for other media items or in themselves call for the support of other items. It is with these issues in mind then that the videos will be analyzed in Chapter 4. They will therefore be considered as works of video, informed by journalistic and documentary forms of representation, but also as works impacted by new media.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE VIDEOS

There are a number of possible ways of approaching the role of the Independent Media Center (IMC), depending on whether emphasis is placed more on the production or consumption of the material it publishes, on the connection between the IMC to social movements or on the IMC as an independent entity. Emphasizing the IMC as a means of producing media content, for example, might suggest a view that focuses on the open publishing dimension of the IMC and the democratic potential for different voices to make themselves heard. Focusing on the consumption of media content on the IMC network on the other hand, emphasizes the IMC as a source of information, which in turn might reflect a supposedly journalistic, unbiased approach or, alternatively, a partisan approach, aiming to persuade and to influence public opinion in favour of the social movements involved in each issue or action being covered. These last two possibilities reflect tensions between the aims of the IMC to function as an alternative source of news and as an outlet for activist media.

Each of these approaches has different implications for the analysis of the videos published on the *Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil* (CMI) network and for analysis of the ways in which these videos deal with their subjects. Some videos convey an opinion or point of view overtly, whereas as others do not communicate any obvious point of view beyond what can be read from the contexts in which they are found. A certain tension between journalistic and activist practices, between the objective to inform and the objective to convince, might in part explain these differences. However in this context another possible explanation is the presence of both a “documentary logic” in the videos themselves and a database logic (as discussed in Chapter 3) in the

organization of the videos within the website, for which each video may not necessarily be a complex text but rather part of a relational text which encompasses written articles and other media such as images and audio recordings.

As a case study, this chapter will look specifically at videos from Florianópolis posted on the CMI website in 2005. The choice of the origin and year of production of the videos was made because a large number of the videos relating to Florianópolis available on the CMI website were posted in 2005, and because this group of videos encompasses a broad variety of styles. While it is impossible to argue that this selection is representative of all video posted to CMI, the variety present in the selection does at least make it possible to consider a number of potential uses of video on the CMI and IMC networks. Forms of video work notably absent from the present selection, however, are the “newsreals” (downloadable compilations of video clips and video news items from around the world, which are also broadcast live on community television networks or screened locally), and videos that delve more deeply into the possibilities of the remixing and reuse of existing material (see *A Mídia Que Vos Fala*²⁴, for example).

Selecting videos from a single location also makes it possible to consider the idea of the local in relation to the global IMC network. This is of interest because just as Castells argues that global movements depend on the “legitimacy and support provided by their reliance on local groups” (*Internet Galaxy* 143), so too the IMC network depends on the contribution of numerous local IMCs for its content and functioning. While there are a number of regional and national IMCs (such as the CMI) which aggregate news from smaller collectives, the international IMC website is still somewhat US and English-language-centric, thus making it more difficult for items

²⁴ *The Media That Speaks to You*, my translation.

from smaller non-English-speaking locations to receive the same international attention. It is of interest then, to consider how locally produced works dealing with local issues function in this network.

In total there are 24 videos which will be discussed. While on the surface the corpus might seem quite large, a number of clips are from multiple postings on the same page²⁵, and can almost be considered as single works due to the similarities in style and subject matter. Some of these videos are also listed explicitly as parts of individual works (as indicated by titles such as *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior Parte 1: Segunda-feira 30 de Maio*²⁶). Half of the clips in the corpus can be grouped in this way, comprising four larger video works. It is also worth noting that individually, the videos are all short, ranging from five seconds to twelve minutes in length. Due to these durations, the degree to which each video is able to elaborate on its subject matter is generally limited, thus making it useful to discuss the videos in groups according to their stylistic characteristics and argumentative strategies.

All of the videos, with the exception of *Chega de Reclame! Spray Anti-Propaganda - Vídeo*²⁷, *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio!* and *Moradores Fazem Intervenção na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis*²⁸, relate in some way to the second “*Revolta da Catraca*”, the protests against the increase in public transport fares that took place in Florianópolis in 2005 (see Chapter 2, footnote 4, for further mention of these protests). Of the three videos not associated with the protests, *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio!* still relates to

25 The videos listed on the CMI “Video” web page have their own separate web pages on the website, and are not downloadable directly from the “Video” page itself, but from these separate web pages. Some of the videos, such as the *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes* videos and the *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso* videos, have been posted in groups on these separate web pages.

26 *Tomorrow Is Going to Be Bigger Part 1: Monday 30 May*, my translation.

27 *Enough with the Ads! Spray Anti-Advertisement - Video*, my translation.

28 *Residents Protest in the Florianópolis Town Hall*, my translation.

the struggles of community groups with the public transport system in Florianópolis, and *Moradores Fazem Intervenção na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis* also relates to community protest, albeit over a different issue. Nearly all of the clips were posted in June, during or shortly after the protests, with no clips from Florianópolis posted to the CMI website for the rest of the year. The number of videos posted relating to the protests and the date of the posts seems to support Castells argument that many contemporary social movements mobilize semi-spontaneously and around specific events (*Internet Galaxy* 141). This is especially the case if we assume that most of the videos' posters were also involved with the *Movimento Passe Livre* or the protests in some way.

An additional consideration in undertaking analysis of these videos is the context, both formal and content-related, in which they are found. Due to the difficulty in attempting to create an accurate sample by drawing videos from news articles that link to them²⁹, the selection of the videos was made from the CMI's "Vídeo" web page (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil). This page, however, is not the only way of accessing audiovisual content on the CMI. Audio and video files, as well as supporting documents and external links, are often attached to news items. Thus while it is possible to access pages for the individual videos directly through the "Vídeo" web page and view them in isolation, this is not the only possible way of coming across the videos on the website, and may in fact not even be the most common. An example of a news article from which some of the videos are linked, and through which these videos are integrated with other media objects, will therefore also be discussed.

Another issue relating to the way in which the videos are posted on the CMI

²⁹ This difficulty was due to the sheer volume of articles published on the CMI website, and problems inherent in trying to create a definitive sample through the use of searches on the website.

website is the problem of documenting the videos. The IMC, and by extension the CMI, allows anonymous posting of content to its websites. The majority of users, conscious of privacy issues or even of political repression, post under false names or pseudonyms. Attributing authorship for each video in any meaningful way is therefore difficult. The one prominent exception to the lack of attribution of authorship is the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* group of videos, for which a list of the names of the videos' authors is given both in the credits of the final video and on the first page from which the videos are linked. *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* is one of the larger and more complex of the video works being considered, and has been screened publicly as a single film. This suggests that it might have been produced independently of any intention to post it on the CMI website, and that attribution of authorship was more important to the videos' producers.

The lack of any standard way of determining the titles of the videos was the other difficulty in the documentation of the video works posted on the CMI. The majority of the videos do not contain titles so it is necessary to draw the titles from the pages from which the videos can be downloaded directly. These pages, however, contain two titles: one for the article under which the video has been posted and one for the download link. Due to the open publishing system employed by the CMI website and the lack of editorial intervention in the posts, the use of each of these titles varied greatly. For the sake of clarity I have used the article titles for the title of each video. In cases where there were multiple videos posted on the same page, I have added relevant information from the link titles in order to distinguish between the different videos.

Discussion of the videos will be divided into a number of sections. Sections 4.1 to 4.5 will discuss the videos individually and group them according to their dominant characteristics. The videos will briefly be considered in relation to the predominant

documentary modes, to the mixing of these modes and to other characteristics that fall outside the discussion of modes, principally the use of more creative approaches to subject matter, such as the use of filters and effects. In section 4.3 the videos will also be considered in relation to the online environment in which they are posted through discussion of a web article from which some of the videos are linked. Section 4.6 will consider the question of locality in the videos, and section 4.7 will consider the issue of how the videos differ from mainstream media, and how they might constitute alternative channels of media communication.

4.1 Observational and Interactive Video

While the majority of the videos posted on the CMI website cannot be neatly categorized according to the documentary modes outlined by Nichols, in a number of videos particular modes predominate. The most frequently encountered modes are the observational and interactive modes, which potentially fit with the objectives of the CMI to function as a source of information or news. Observational footage does this by providing supposedly objective footage of events related to the protests. Interactive video, in the form of interviews with, or comments from, those involved and observers, can function complementarily to provide different points of view on the events documented. Interactive video can also stand out more strongly, however, when there is more direct interaction between the camera and its subjects.

The observational mode, as mentioned in the previous chapter, emphasizes non-intervention and thus lends itself well to creating the impression of impartiality. The forms of argument that the more observational videos therefore employ tend towards the offering of a particular perspective rather than an explicit rhetorical

argument, even if there is little ambiguity as to the perspective being offered (in this case aligned with that of the protesters). In the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* and *Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem*³⁰ videos, for example, the use of sensational footage of confrontations between the police and protesters makes an emotive case for the excessiveness of the police response to the protests.

If the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* videos are taken as a single work, they constitute the longest video in the sample (at almost 28 minutes in length), as well as providing the most extensive observational footage of the protests and confrontations with the police. *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* is composed of five videos, each dealing with one day of protests from the 30th of May to the 3rd of June 2005. The clips are generally based around observational footage of the protests in the streets, of groups of armoured police marching, firing rubber bullets and throwing gas bombs, and of protesters being arrested. Part of this footage consists of protesters addressing the camera, most frequently to complain about the heavy-handed tactics being employed by the police, or to show injuries inflicted by rubber bullets and gas bombs. The videos are also framed by titles, which give the date of each clip, and in all but one of the videos, ironic quotes from the mayor of Florianópolis and the Governor of Santa Catarina, which are directly contradicted by the footage shown beforehand or afterwards. In the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior Parte 1: Terça-feira 31 de Maio*³¹ clip, for example, the final quote from the Governor of the time, Luis Henrique da Silveira, is “*No meu governo, polícia não vai bater em estudante*”³². The same video incorporates footage of police beating an already subdued student protester until he is unconscious.

30 *Florianópolis and the Ticket Revolt*, my translation.

31 *Tomorrow Is Going to Be Bigger Part 1: Tuesday 31 May*, my translation.

32 “In my Government, the police will not beat up students”, my translation.



Figure 4.1 Footage of a policeman throwing a protester to the ground and beating him contradict the quote from the Governor in *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior Parte 1: Terça-feira 31 de Maio*.

Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem is similar to the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* videos in that it too is comprised principally of observational footage, much of it of violent confrontation between protesters and police and of the forcible detention of protesters. Again the observational footage is mixed together with comments to the camera from passers-by and protesters, although the tone is at times more interactive in that the person behind or accompanying the camera participates in some of the verbal exchanges. As with the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* clips, *Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem* is framed by titles which contextualize the footage by placing it within a particular struggle, that of the protests against the increase in bus fares. These titles reiterate a perspective present in the footage of the confrontations, that the protesters were unjustly targeted by the police. They do this by stating that the protesters brought the city to a halt “*de forma pacífica*”³³, at the beginning of the video, and then listing the number of protesters arrested, as well as the possible consequences of their arrest, at the video's end.

³³ “Peacefully”, my translation.



Figure 4.2 Police actions in *Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem*.

To begin with, *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte I*³⁴ takes a somewhat observational approach in the way it accompanies a group of protesters who occupy the *Secretaria Municipal dos Transportes e Terminais*. The camera follows a group of protesters as they enter the offices, chain themselves to chairs and desks, and read a manifesto. Due to the proximity of the camera to its subjects, the movements of the camera, and a number of interviews with protesters, however, the video becomes increasingly suggestive of interactive documentary, even coming to interact with its subjects directly. In one moment, for example, one of the employees at the office asks if he can close the door to a room that the camera is about to enter, to which the camera operator responds “*pode*”³⁵. In another moment, the camera tilts up from a protester reading a manifesto to settle on a worker who is trying to ignore the protesters but has paused in her work, as she listens distractedly to the reading. When she realizes that the camera is filming her, she turns back to her work and begins to turn over papers as if she had not stopped. This form of close interaction with subjects, to the point where attention is drawn to the camera itself, is lacking in the videos previously discussed.

³⁴ *Occupation of the Transport Department: Part I*, my translation.

³⁵ “You can”, my translation.

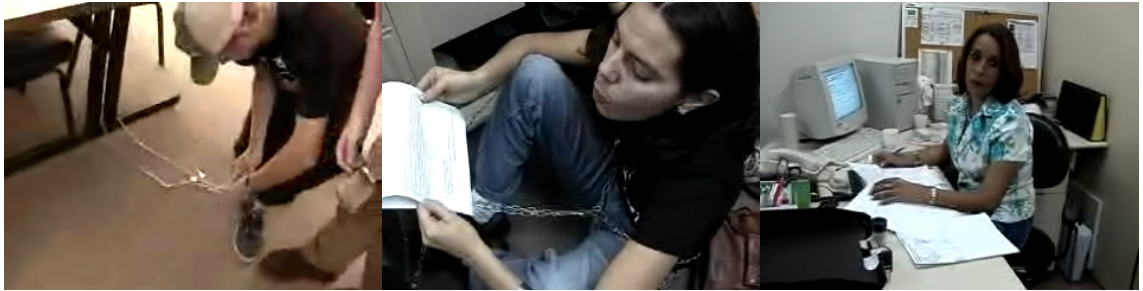


Figure 4.3 Chained protesters, and the office worker listening to the reading of the manifesto in *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 1*.

Chega de Reclame! Spray Anti-Propaganda - Vídeo is a short video of 28 seconds duration, which stands out from most of the other videos being considered, both for its subject matter and for the different type of message it appears to convey. *Chega de Reclame! Spray Anti-Propaganda - Vídeo* is one of the few videos unrelated to the protests against the increase in public transport fares, and does not seem to be related to any identifiable protest movement at all. The video depicts two people graffitiing the message “*Foda-se Marketing*”³⁶ over an advertisement in a bus shelter. The video is humorous in that one of the graffiti writers is unsure whether the word “marketing” has the letter “g” at the end, and after consulting with the other writer has to add it quickly before they both walk out of the frame. While the video appears to be observational due to the way in which the camera simply observes the writing of the graffiti, as soon as the words have been written the person behind the camera hurriedly asks the writers to “*Sai! Sai! Sai!*”³⁷, before moving in to frame the graffiti in close-up. Both the request and the movement of the camera indicate a complicity which also becomes more reflective of interactive documentary.

³⁶ “Fuck marketing”, my translation.

³⁷ “Leave! Leave! Leave!”, my translation.

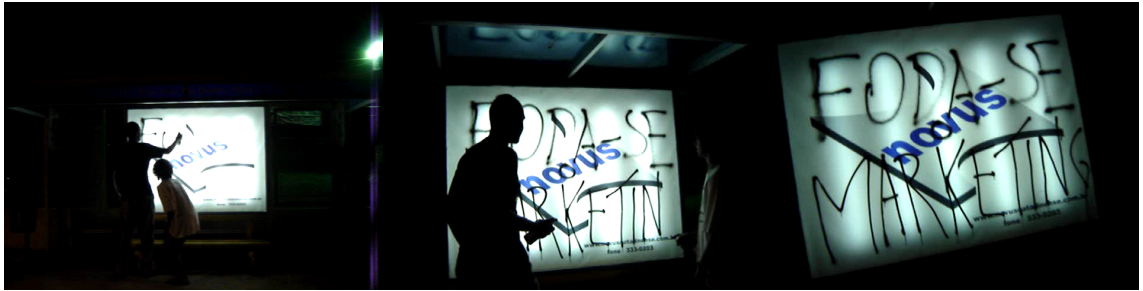


Figure 4.4 The graffitiing of the bus shelter in *Chega de Reclame! Spray Anti-Propaganda - Vídeo*.

An important dimension of *Chega de Reclame! Spray Anti-Propaganda – Vídeo*, and of the other videos discussed here, is the fact they all document, and provide a form of testimony to, events and actions taking place. Whether the objectives are to denounce (as is the case the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* videos and *Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem*) or provoke (as with *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 1* and *Chega de Reclame! Spray Anti-Propaganda – Vídeo*), they all capture events on location, as they are happening. This creates a sense of immediacy in these videos which stands in contrast to the interview videos, and even more so in relation to the expository and more creative videos, which create a more distanced relationship with the viewer.

4.2 Interview-Based Video

As well as acting as an alternative source of news and information, the CMI also aims to represent points of view normally excluded from the mainstream media. This is the apparent function of many of the videos which incorporate, or are based on, interviews with participants, uninvolved citizens and other relevant parties. Interviews are employed by a number of clips in two principal ways. The first is through solicited

or spontaneous comments to the camera by protesters and passers-by, in which subjects either approach the camera or are accompanied by the camera, on location. This form of interaction appears in the videos such as the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* clips and *Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem*, discussed previously, in which interview sequences are cut with observational footage of the protests and corresponding police actions. The second way in which interviews are employed is through extended interviews with single subjects, in which the camera is usually fixed on a subject framed in a medium shot. Such is the case with *OAB-SC Entra com Recurso para Suspender o Aumento da Tarifa*³⁸, *O Brasil Precisa Parar*³⁹, and *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 2*⁴⁰, which will be discussed here.

The longest of the interview-based videos, *OAB-SC Entra com Recurso para Suspender o Aumento da Tarifa*, consists of an interview with the president of the *Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil de Santa Catarina* (OAB-SC), filmed in a single continuous take. In the interview, the president of the OAB-SC responds to questions asked by the person operating the camera and another interviewer, who partially appears at the end of the interview. The questions relate principally to the actions of the OAB-SC to challenge the increase in bus fares which provoked the *Revolta da Catraca* and provide legal assistance to a number of student protesters who were arrested, and to opinions of the president of the OAB-SC in relation to the police response to the protests.

38 *The OAB-SC Appeals to Suspend the Fare Increase*, my translation.

39 *Brazil Needs to Come to a Halt*, my translation.

40 *Occupation of the Transport Department: part 2*, my translation.

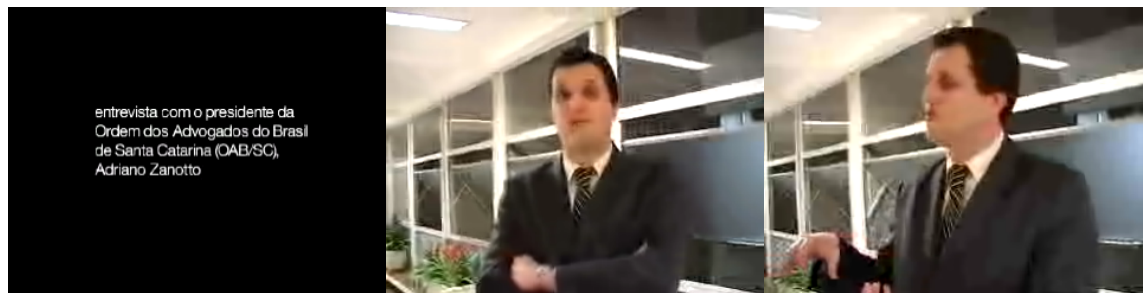


Figure 4.5 Opening title, and images from the interview with the president of the OAB-SC in *OAB-SC Entra com Recurso para Suspender o Aumento da Tarifa*.

This form of interview, the interview with the expert or specialist, evokes both the expository mode of documentary, where the interviewee provides support for some proposition being made, and television news reports, where the interviewee provides some professional perspective on a given issue. In this clip, however, the interview appears on its own, and not edited together with additional material. While this does not prevent the interview from conveying a message, again that the police used excessive force in their suppression of the protests and that bus fares should not be raised (by extension that the protests were legitimate), it also points to the importance of the context in which the videos are posted. In this case, the *OAB-SC Entra com Recurso para Suspender o Aumento da Tarifa* video was posted at a date close to the posting of many of the other videos in the sample. It thus contributes to the messages about the protests being communicated across a number of the videos, relating to the excessiveness of the police actions against the protesters.

Another single-interview-based clip is *O Brasil Precisa Parar* in which a bus fare collector is interviewed while he is at work on a bus. The video consists of two shots, the first a tilt from inside the bus down to a black safe underneath the fare collector's feet (a likely reference to statements made by the mayor at the time, about

opening the “black box” on corruption relating to the handling of the public transport system by the previous administration⁴¹), and the second a continuous shot of the fare collector as he responds to questions from an interviewer. The fare collector speaks about his views on the protests and the actions of the government in relation to the increase in public transport fares, eventually making one of the statements, “*deveria parar é o Brasil todo...*”⁴², from which the title of the video is drawn.



Figure 4.6 Images from the opening shot of *O Brasil Precisa Parar*, and of the fare collector.

In this video, the camera operator and the interviewer don't appear on camera, but ask questions from behind it. The video suggests the interactive documentary mode because the voice of the interviewer is clearly present and audible (frequently more so than the voice of the fare collector, due to the background noise of the bus), and because of the conversational character of the exchange between the interviewer and the fare collector, who continues to work while he speaks. While *OAB-SC Entra com Recurso para Suspender o Aumento da Tarifa* gives the point of view of an expert, *O Brasil Precisa Parar* gives the point of view of an uninvolved but affected party, adding another form of commentary on the protests when considered together

⁴¹ See Dario Berger, “Berger: desenvolvimento desordenado é o maior problema de Florianópolis”, for example.

⁴² “It's the whole of Brazil that should stop”, my translation.

with the other videos. It therefore contributes to the sense of the videos presenting a range of points-of-view overall, again suggesting forms of television news reportage.

A third single-interview based video is *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 2*. The video consists of a brief interview with the Transport Secretary, who speaks about the rise in public transport fares as a national trend, the cost to the government of a proposal for temporarily freezing public transport fares, and the current cost of maintaining the public transport system. Differently to the other interview videos, the interview is divided into three sections, the second two according to topics (which are announced by titles). Despite being introduced as an “*entrevista coletiva*”⁴³ by the opening title, the protesters or interviewers cannot either be seen in the frame or heard asking questions, and due to the editing and the titles, which guide the reading of the interview, the video takes on a more expository character than the other interview videos. The condensed format of the video, which does not allow the Transport Secretary to go into any depth on the topics that he speaks about or contextualize them, also points to the way in which the video functions as a complement to the other videos with which it was posted.



Figure 4.7 A title presenting one of the sections of *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 2*, and images of the Transport Secretary talking about the cost of operating bus terminals.

⁴³ “Collective interview”, my translation.

Part 3 of the *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes* videos also centres on an interview, although in this case the interview is framed by observational footage. The main interview is with two representatives of the protesters occupying the *Secretaria Municipal dos Transportes e Terminais*. It quickly becomes clear, however, that the interview itself is not for the benefit of the video camera, but is instead a press interview (this becomes evident through the flashes of photographic cameras, and the way in which the two representatives address different interviewers standing around the camera). This situates the camera less as an interlocutor and more as an observer, in keeping with the more observational moments of the first *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes* video. The interview is framed by footage of a group of protesters chanting in a corridor at the beginning of the video, and of a chained protester making a comment to another protester, and possibly to the camera, at the end. These framing sequences serve to locate the interview at the site of the occupation, however they do little to contextualize the interview, again pointing to the importance of the other videos with which *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 3*⁴⁴ was posted, and the web page from which it was linked, in providing this context. In this sense *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 3*, like the other interview-based videos discussed here might be considered a video that functions to illustrate or complement other videos or documents, rather than be viewed on its own as a self-contained work. This illustrative use of video shall be discussed further in relation to the *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: "Vem, vem, vem pra luta vem, contra o aumento!"*⁴⁵ and *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: Carros entram na manifestação fazendo um buzinaço*⁴⁶ videos.

44 *Occupation of the Transport Department: Part 3*, my translation.

45 *Protest in Trindade Friday: "Come, come, come join the fight come, against the increase!"*, my translation.

46 *Protest in Trindade Friday: Cars join the protest with a honking parade*, my translation.



Figure 4.8 Interview with representatives of the protesters and the protesters chanting in a corridor, in *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 3*.

4.3 Illustrative Video, the Use of New Media and Hypertext

Of all of the videos in the sample, *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: "Vem, vem, vem pra luta vem, contra o aumento!"* and *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: Carros entram na manifestação fazendo um buzinaço* are two videos which clearly do little more than document the march that is their subject. They are the shortest of the videos being discussed, at 5 and 10 seconds respectively. Both clips are simple, single-shot clips which relate to a street march. *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: Carros entram na manifestação fazendo um buzinaço* is a hand-held tracking shot of banked up traffic along a main road, with the horns of cars (presumably stranded because of the protest documented in *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: "Vem, vem, vem pra luta vem, contra o aumento!"*) clearly audible. *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira: "Vem, vem, vem pra luta vem, contra o aumento!"* reveals a group of protesters gathered together and chanting on the other side of a road, also in a brief hand-held shot.



Figure 4.9 The protest march in *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira*:
"Vem, vem, vem pra luta vem, contra o aumento!"

While the *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira* videos are obviously not texts which can be subjected to the same kind of reading as other, more complex, videos, they are of interest because they demonstrate the potential use of video on the IMC network as illustrative audiovisual material rather than as works with self-contained narratives or arguments. In this capacity, however, they still form part of more complex hypertexts, incorporating video, images, audio recordings and written articles, as illustrated by the web page for the editorial “Manifestações Completam Duas Semanas” (Floripa), for example, shown in Figure 4.10.

The screenshot shows the CMI Brasil website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with icons for 'sobre o cmi', 'ajuda', 'contato', 'seja voluntário', and 'política editorial'. Below this, there are language options (português, espanhol, english, esperanto) and a search bar. The main content area features the article title 'Manifestações completam duas semanas' by FLORIPA, dated 11/06/2005. The article text describes protests against a 8.8% increase in bus fares in Florianópolis. A sidebar on the left contains various links and sections like 'Brad Will', 'rádio cmi', 'impressos', 'vídeos e documentos', 'Publique!', 'Notícias', 'Política Editorial', 'Seja um voluntário', 'Contato', 'Ajuda', and 'Sobre o CMI'. A right sidebar includes a photo of a protest and a list of related links.

Manifestações completam duas semanas
Por FLORIPA 11/06/2005 às 11:33

Continuam as manifestações contra o aumento de 8,8% nas tarifas de ônibus em Florianópolis. Várias manifestações foram realizadas nesta quinta-feira, 9 de junho. Pela manhã, cerca de 150 estudantes marcharam do Continente à Ilha. Às 15h, mil pessoas participaram de um ato pela redução das passagens e contra a repressão política. Manifestantes improvisaram uma festa junina, e, vestidos a caráter, dançaram quadrilha, em resposta às acusações de formação de quadrilha contra militantes do movimento. O ato seguiu em passeata em direção à prefeitura. Lá, manifestantes abriram uma caixa-preta e despejaram balões com urina - em alusão aos discursos do prefeito Dário Berger (PSDB), de que abriria a "caixa-preta do transporte coletivo" e de que ninguém "mijaria" em sua perna.

Às 18h, a manifestação se dirigiu ao Terminal de Integração do Centro (Ticen). Após uma assembléia, as cerca de quatro mil pessoas decidiram paralisar a avenida Gustavo Richard, em frente ao Centro Sul, que dá acesso à ponte Colombo Salles. A Polícia Militar impediu o avanço para a ponte, mas não houve confronto.

A prefeitura mantém o discurso de que a revogação do decreto que autoriza o aumento "quebraria o equilíbrio financeiro das empresas de transporte". E na quarta-feira o Tribunal de Justiça deu parecer negativo ao pedido de suspensão do aumento, feito pela OAB nesta semana.

leia mais: [População de Florianópolis se revolta contra aumento nas passagens de ônibus](#) | ["Tarifést" - a farra da tarifa](#) | [Para onde vai o movimento?](#)

relatos direto do centro, na quinta-feira: [17h33](#) | [18h16: manifestantes urinam na prefeitura](#) | [18h47: formação de quadrilha](#) | [20h07: assembléia com mais de 4 mil pessoas](#)

fotos: [sexta-feira 10/06: manifestação em Trindade](#) | [quinta-feira 09/06: 1: a real formação de quadrilha](#) | [2: pessoas urinam na prefeitura](#) | [3 | 4 | 5 | 6: pela municipalização do transporte](#) | [7: + do Dia do Mijo e da Formação de Quadrilha](#) | [8: concentração e ocupação de vias](#) | [9: pessoas correndo das bombas](#) | [quarta-feira 07/06: 1](#)

áudios: [vem, vem pra luta vem - contra o aumento!](#)

vídeos: [Sobre mudanças \(declaração de amor para floripa\)](#) | [O Brasil precisa parar \(conversa com cobrador de ônibus\)](#) | [manifestação em Trindade na sexta-feira \("buzinasso"\)](#)

documentário coletivo ["Amanhã vai ser maior"](#), sobre a primeira semana: [parte 1](#), [parte 2](#) e [parte 3](#)

editoriais anteriores: [08/06 - Movimento convoca ato decisivo para quinta-feira](#) | [04/06 - Movimento permanece mobilizado até que as passagens sejam reduzidas](#) | [03/06 - Prefeitura dá o primeiro sinal de recuo](#) | [02/06 - Movimento convoca um grande ato para esta quinta-feira, 2 de junho](#) | [31/05 - Denuncie perseguição política contra militantes do MPL Florianópolis](#) | [28/05 - Novo aumento faz Florianópolis ter a tarifa mais cara do país](#) | [2004 - A Revolta da Catraca](#)

[>>Adicione um comentário](#)

Figure 4.10 The web page for the editorial “Manifestações Completam Duas Semanas” (Floripa).

The *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira* videos are linked via the “*manifestação em Trindade na sexta-feira*” hyperlink, alongside and above links to a number of other videos. The web page also contains links to an audio archive, images, editorials, direct reports from the protests, and other articles relevant to the protests. Anchoring the page is an article about developments relating to the *Revolta da Catraca*, which provides the broad context for the rest of the material listed. In this environment the *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira* videos function more as supporting material which can be navigated to from the article, which functions as hub. Emphasis thus shifts from self-contained narratives in the videos themselves to the videos as components of the textual and audiovisual database that the CMI website comprises. Short illustrative videos, such as the *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira* videos, therefore demonstrate

the possibility of viewing the videos according to a database logic, as a compliment, or alternative, to a narrative-based or documentary logic.

A third short video, *Trecho da Transmissão TV Floripa*, which features an act of police violence against a protester, takes up this illustrative function as well. The clip is a single take attesting to the act of police violence, against the backdrop of a police advance on a group of protesters who retreat between traffic and through clouds of gas. The act of violence, which is the focus of the clip, takes place as police run towards a lone protester who is standing in front of a group of cars. One policeman throws him to the ground and beats him while he is pinned down, apparently already incapacitated, and a group of policemen then drag him to the median strip, unconscious. Like the *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira* videos, *Trecho da Transmissão TV Floripa* is a short clip of a single event that in part draws its significance from the context of other audiovisual and textual material relating to the *Revolta da Catraca*.



Figure 4.11 Reuse of footage of police beating a protester in *Trecho da Transmissão TV Floripa*.

Trecho da Transmissão TV Floripa also demonstrates the variable quality of new media (as discussed in Chapter 3), which is important in the use of video on the CMI and international IMC websites more generally, especially in relation to the

practice of remixing or reusing existing material for the purposes of creating new works. The video was recorded from television to analogue video (as suggested by the quality of the image), and converted to a digital format in which it could be posted to the CMI website. The footage is also part of the video *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior Parte 1: Terça-feira 31 de Maio*, from which it possibly originated. The fact that this sequence of video was posted in different formats, using different video codecs, with different resolutions and different colour and texture, emphasizes the potential variability of new and digital media objects, as well as their enhanced reproducibility.

4.4 Expository Video

Videos suggesting the expository mode of documentary (discussed in Chapter 3) are less common than other forms of video discussed, which often have a tendency to be more ambiguous in their intent and make less use of organized narrative. The one video in the sample that clearly reflects an expository mode of documentary is *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*, which relates the struggle of a community to prevent the construction of a privatized bus terminal on top of a schoolyard. Of all of the videos in the sample, *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio* has the most well-defined, linear structure. The video uses a direct narration, given in titles, to describe a conflict between a community and the local government over the construction of a bus terminal in an area functioning as the yard of a local school. The video contains no live action video footage and is instead composed exclusively of black and white still images and titles. Along with the titles and stills, the video makes use of visual effects which mimic the appearance of aged film, such as jumping frames, fake scratches and film grain, and jazz music, to give the impression of

silent cinema. The laid back jazz soundtrack, while not necessarily in keeping with the feel of silent cinema because of the different period that it suggests, nonetheless gives the impression of age.



Figure 4.12 The use of filters in *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*.

The overall effect of the stylistic devices used in *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*—the use of titles instead of narration, visual effects suggesting silent film, still images instead of live action video, and jazz music—is to give the impression that the events dealt with by the video have happened in the past, which in turn creates a sense of distance. Stylistically, the video sets itself up as a historical text, even if the form references a period completely asynchronous with the period of the events depicted. While most of the other videos suggest a certain immediacy, through the use of observational footage filmed in the streets or on location at the sites of protests, *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio* creates a more abstracted relationship to its subject, and makes its argument more directly. Even if the video appears to be as interested in telling a story as making a point, it imposes its point of view, that of the possibility of effecting change through community action, directly.

While not expository in as strict a sense as *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*, another video that incorporates expository elements is *Moradores Fazem Intervenção na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis*, which deals with a presentation to the *Câmara dos Vereadores* on behalf of residents of a community who are occupying land owned by the *Banco Santander* and who are being threatened with forced removal from their dwellings. The majority of the video covers a speech by the president of the community residents' association, and in this sense the video could also potentially be considered an archival or illustrative clip, acting as either a record of the event or document complementary to other material. The clip begins, however, with a sequence composed of an address to the camera by an activist in the street and a series of images of protesters inside the hall. While the activist describes the presentation, the video cuts to the images of the protesters which illustrate his words, and then returns to him, before cutting to the speech. This sequence directs the attention of the viewer and reduces the ambiguity normally present in the less directed observational and interactive sequences found in many of the other videos.



Figure 4.13 Activists inside and outside the town hall in *Moradores Fazem Intervenção na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis*.

4.5 Humour, Special Effects and Mixed Approaches

While a number of other videos make use of observational and interactive modes, in many cases their use of these modes is more ambiguous. This is especially the case with videos that make use of non-standard video footage, special effects, or humour. These videos go beyond documentation of the protests or interviews, to suggest other audiovisual forms such as advertising and the music video. In doing so, they move beyond the bounds of reportage to more creative forms of non-fiction audiovisual production. At the same time, however, they point to an alternative range of audiovisual influences, and different uses of the medium.

The one video that is clearly humorous is *Floriprotesto*, in which a group of protesters re-enact violent confrontations with the police, some pretending to be policemen but with hats and batons made out of newspaper. The video consists of two principal shots, one of the protesters posing with their newspaper props, and the other of a re-enactment of a police charge. The first shot begins with the person behind the camera saying “*pode começar bater*”⁴⁷, at which the protesters playing policemen pretend to attack the protesters playing protesters, all of which have their arms in casts which fix their middle fingers in the air (making the well-known obscene gesture). The second shot is of the policemen yelling, charging the mock protesters, and beating them with their newspaper batons.

47 “You can begin to hit them”, my translation.



Figure 4.14 Mock policemen and protesters in *Floriprotesto*.

Through humour, the performance of the protesters neutralizes the threat of real violence in confrontations between with the police. The protesters satirize the police, lampooning their sense of authority by dressing in paper hats which would normally be used by children. In the first shot one of the mock policemen yells “*moreninho, eu te vi ali moreninho, eu te vi ali*”⁴⁸, also possibly suggesting racism on the part of the police. The nature of *Floriprotesto* and the direction of the voice from behind the camera give *Floriprotesto* a somewhat interactive feel. Drawing on the text accompanying the video, it is also possible to judge that the re-enactment was not staged purely for the camera, but that the protesters were already using this performance publicly, as a form of denunciation. In some ways then, *Floriprotesto* draws on the observational documentary mode (in documenting this dimension of the protest actions), as well as the interactive mode.

Two videos that take a stylistically more creative approach to their material are *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Vídeo - 1 Junho 2005*⁴⁹ and *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Vídeo - 2 Junho 2005*⁵⁰, which make use of closed-circuit camera footage from the central bus terminal in Florianópolis to create video clips of

48 “Darky, I saw you over there darky, I saw you over there”, my translation. While the word “*moreninho*”, literally “a little bit dark”, does not necessarily have the same racist connotations as the word “darky”, it is possible to interpret it this way in this context.

49 *New Video Clips of the Catracasso: Vídeo - 1 June 2005*, my translation.

50 *New Video Clips of the Catracasso: Vídeo - 2 June 2005*, my translation.

confrontations and chases between protesters and policemen in the terminal. The use of this form of video footage makes these videos stand out against videos filmed in other digital video formats because of the different quality of the image, which is more grainy and washed out, and because of the different frame rate, which affects the appearance of movement in the image. Due to the dominance of the music, which guides the rhythm and duration of the footage, the videos also take on the character of music videos. While both clips are composed of technically similar material (this footage from the surveillance cameras edited together with heavy metal music) and were posted together on the same page by the same user, there are still significant differences between the two.

The first video, *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Video - 1 Junho 2005*, combines footage from five different cameras inside the terminal and sets the footage to the song “Blitzkrieg” by American heavy metal band Metallica. After titles announcing the date, time and location of the events depicted, the video begins with footage of the entry to a platform and the arrival of a large group of protesters that numerous security guards try to keep at bay. The video then moves to other cameras at the side and centre of the terminal, showing the flux of protesters and police through the space, and eventually to sequences which appear to depict mass chases between the police and the protesters up and down the platform. The overall effect of the altered frame rate on this video is to give the clip the appearance of a silent film. Contributing to this effect is the editing together of sequences of large groups of protesters moving through the platform with squads of police in pursuit, which gives the video the feel of slapstick comedy. There is no confrontation between the police and the protesters, just the pursuit, with the police and protesters running from one side of the frame to the other. Adding to the

slapstick feel of this video is the inclusion of footage of a uniformed guard, unlocking the door to a booth (or maybe even a toilet) and entering, as if he were hiding from the protesters and the police. At one point the guard re-enters the room just before a line of police runs past, opening the door after a while, as if to check if it is safe to leave. Despite the warlike connotations of the title of the song that the video is set to, the music serves less to create a feeling of violence than to provide a complementary rhythm for the stilted movement of human figures through the frame.



Figure 4.15 Police and protesters run back and forth over the terminal in *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Vídeo - 1 Junho 2005*.

The second video, *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Vídeo - 2 Junho 2005*, has quite a different feel to the first due to the different content of the video footage. The second video uses footage from two cameras, one at the entry to a platform and one from outside it. This video again shows the ebb and flow of a groups of protesters running onto and then out of a platform, however the groups this time seem larger and more mob-like, an impression that is enhanced by the more open spaces from which the images are captured. The dominant feeling of the second video is one of confrontation, and the contrast between the two spaces, one inside the platform occupied by the police and the other outside occupied by the protesters, already sets this

up visually. The video shows both violent confrontation between security guards and protesters (one protester appears to be beaten up by a group of security guards wielding batons), and the vandalism of part of the terminal on the part of the protesters. In one shot, protesters throw objects at the guards, set off firecrackers or small explosives, and kick over a bin. In another shot, protesters throw a sign and repeatedly try to smash windows of the terminal. The song used as the soundtrack for the second video is “Guerrilla Radio” by Rage Against the Machine, an American rock group well known for its strong anti-capitalist views. While the song is also a form of heavy metal, the lyrics of the song are rapped aggressively rather than sung melodically, thus adding to the sensation of violence and confrontation.



Figure 4.16 Confrontation at the entrance of a terminal in *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Vídeo - 2 Junho 2005*.

While the two *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso* videos bear some resemblance to music videos, two other videos, *Sobre Mudanças*⁵¹ and *Da Violência da Polícia*⁵², instead resemble advertising in that they make direct statements, given at the end of each video in titles. The videos also have strong stylistic similarities, in both cases making use of slow motion and melancholic music for their soundtracks. *Sobre*

⁵¹ *About Changes*, my translation.

⁵² *On Police Violence*, my translation.

Mudanças begins with the almost apocalyptic image of a burning turnstile at night, with a number of protesters in the background. There is a form of ellipsis, and shots of the turnstile at different moments are faded in to each other. In the first, a protester jumps over the turnstile, in the second a protester cycles past, and in the third, a boy claps as he walks past. The image of the turnstile is followed by the image of a ticket booth which is zoomed in to slowly, and which then fades in to a close-up of part of the window that has been smashed. The last shot is a continuous hand-held shot of cars stuck in traffic, some of which reverse and drive away in a different direction. This shot is intercut with the titles, “*as pessoas mudam as coisas*”, “*floripa junho de 2005*”, “*aconteça o que acontecer*”, “*já valeu a pena*”⁵³.



Figure 4.17 The effects of the protests in *Sobre Mudanças*.

What the three different images, the burning turnstile, the broken window and the paralysed traffic, have in common is that they all reflect the effects of the protests. This, however, results in a somewhat ambiguous message. The titles at the end of the video suggest that people can effect change, but what stands for change in the first two images could be construed as vandalism. The images of the cars also suggest that people are not using public transport, and the tone of the music is at odds with what

⁵³ “People change things”, “floripa June 2005”, “come what may”, “it was already worth it”, my translation.

is essentially an affirmative message: that it is possible to effect change. The message makes more sense if the image of the cars is intended to suggest complacency, isolation and non-engagement with the world, in which case the opening images suggest the material impact of political action. Either way, however, the message remains ambiguous.

Da Violência da Polícia consists of a single continuous shot and a group of titles. In the principle shot of the video, the camera slowly zooms in on a busy pedestrian crossing, resting on a performance by a group of protesters which becomes visible behind the pedestrians, and then slowly zooming out again. The groups of protesters is the same one which appears in *Floriprotesto*, and their performance is again a re-enactment of confrontations between protesters and the police, with the protesters representing policemen using newspaper hats and newspaper batons. The titles at the end of the video read, “*não finja que você não está vendo*”, “*condene a violência da policia*”⁵⁴ and finish with contact details for the governor and the secretary of public security.

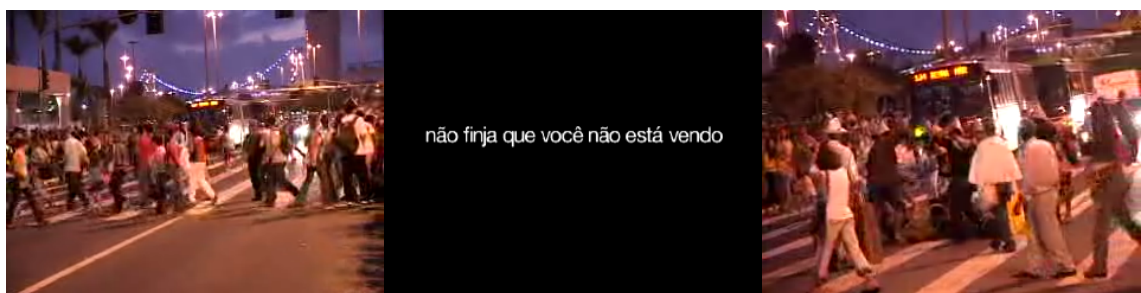


Figure 4.18 Pedestrians, title, and the mock beating of protesters in *Da Violência da Polícia*.

⁵⁴ “Don't pretend that you aren't seeing it”, “condemn police violence”, my translation.

As in *Sobre Mudanças*, the music is melancholic, although this time guitar instead of piano-based. Like *Sobre Mudanças*, the message conveyed by the video is ambiguous. While in this case, the tone of the music seems appropriate to the theme, the playfulness of the protesters' performance seems at odds with the seriousness of the rest of the video. This seriousness is created in part by the way the camera lingers on the anonymous pedestrians passing through the frame, who, the video seems to suggest, are either potential victims of police violence or part of the blind masses who choose to ignore, or simply do not see, the problem.

The videos *Nos Vemos nas Ruas*⁵⁵ and *Apoio Popular ;)*⁵⁶, which deal with a particular dimension of the protests, the response of onlookers from the windows of apartment buildings, also make use of slow motion effects which have quite different results in each video. *Apoio Popular ;)* incorporates a number of shots of different individuals and groups of individuals watching the protests from various apartment windows, set to the chant of the protesters, “*vem pra luta, vem contra o aumento, vem, vem*”⁵⁷. Some of these protesters look on with what almost seem to be fearful expressions, while others clap along with the chants of the protesters. The video gives an overview of different responses to the protests from those looking on, and as the title suggests, this impression is ultimately positive.

⁵⁵ *We Will See Each Other in the Streets*, my translation.

⁵⁶ *Popular Support ;)*, my translation.

⁵⁷ “Come and join the fight, join against the increase, come on, come on”, my translation.



Figure 4.19 People watching from windows in *Apoio Popular* ;).

Nos Vemos nas Ruas, by contrast, is a single shot of a window that the camera slowly zooms in on. The window is protected by metal bars, and in front of the window is a rose bush. Looking out from the window are two women, one a young or middle-aged woman clutching a poodle, and the other an elderly woman who appears to be wearing a gold necklace. As the camera zooms in it also becomes apparent that the protesters (supposedly those heard chanting in the soundtrack even though the speed of the soundtrack and image are not synchronized) are reflected in a mirror behind the women. By the end of the clip this reflection is framed next to the elderly woman's face in close-up.



Figure 4.20 A zoom in on a window, revealing the shadows of the passing protesters in *Nos Vemos nas Ruas*.

The combination of the bars, the roses, the poodle and the necklace suggest that the residents of the apartment are middle class, and the way in which they peer out from the window, the lights of the room behind them switched off and with what sometimes appears to be a scared expression on their faces, suggests a certain fearfulness of the protesters. The title of the video, which in a different context would be considered a friendly invitation to join the protesters in the streets, in this context presents itself as a possible challenge, both personal and class-based, to the onlookers. The reflection, however, also suggests a more playful explanation for the title—that of the protesters seeing themselves—and this leaves interpretation of the video open.

Nos Vemos nas Ruas, like the other videos discussed here, reveals a level of ambiguity, which, intended or accidental, brings into question the messages that it intends to convey. Thus in *Nos Vemos nas Ruas* it is unclear whether the video is interested in the reflection of the protesters or in criticism of the women looking on from the window, and in *Apoio Popular* ;) there is some ambiguity as to the reason for including images of people who look on without applauding when the video seems to interested in demonstrating the support of onlookers for the protests. In *Sobre Mudanças* the melancholic tone of the music and imagery is at odds with what appears to be a positive message about the impact of the protests; in *Da Violência da Polícia* the playfulness of the mock confrontation between police and protesters does not seem to fit with the seriousness of the message that it tries to convey; and in *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso: Video - 1 Junho 2005* the somewhat comic, slapstick feel of the video undermines more aggressive undertones suggested by the choice of music. Nichols suggests that excess in documentary is precisely that which “escapes the grasp of narrative and exposition” (*Representing Reality* 142), and which “stands outside the

web of significance spun to capture it” (*Representing Reality* 142). This ambiguity can therefore be regarded as a form of excess in the videos in that it allows for readings or interpretations of the videos that exceed the arguments that they appear to put forward.

Ambiguity can also be viewed in the videos more generally, however, as a tension between the aims of the website to function as an alternative source of news or information, and the expressive potential of the medium. This brings us back to Dubois' suggestion that ambiguity is an inherent characteristic of the video medium (73), especially in relation to the contrasting ways of approaching video, either in relation to its aesthetic possibilities or in relation to its function as a means of communication. On the surface there seems to be a tension between these dimensions of the videos discussed, in that the messages the videos aim to communicate sometimes seem at odds with their stylistic choices, as is the case with *Sobre Mudanças*, for example. It can also be argued, however, that the variety of forms of expression permitted by the medium of video, and by the possibilities afforded by digital video production tools, are important to the videos as a means of communication, as will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

4.6 The Question of Locality

Nichols also points to the local in documentary as a form of excess through its “very ability to elude more global or contextualizing description” (*Representing Reality* 144), suggesting that the “material dimensions to lived lives form a reticulated web of complex interrelationships which, even if they can be represented by visible evidence, are seldom exhausted by it” (*Representing Reality* 145). While the emphasis in the videos is more on events and social struggles than on individuals, this assertion

remains relevant. In the case of the videos relating to the *Revolta da Catraca*, such as *Florianópolis e a Revolta da Passagem* and the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* videos for example, as well as in *Moradores Fazem Intervenção na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis*, some frames of contextualizing text, remarks from activists, and images of protests cannot convey the complexities of any given social conflict, such as the needs and demands of the relevant stakeholders. In short, the historical-material dimension to the events being dealt with is something that exceeds their representation in the videos.

While this dimension of the events depicted in the videos might exceed what can be read in the videos, the contextual understanding of the local proposed by Appadurai suggests a way of approaching this issue by looking at the way that the videos themselves, through the networked environment in which they are posted, are able to create their own local context. While the videos may not relate to a community or neighbourhood in the sense discussed by Appadurai (see Chapter 2), but rather to social movements and protests, it is still possible to consider the way that they fit into specific contexts and contribute to the creation of these contexts in the online environment. The most obvious context within which the videos can be considered is that of the *Revolta da Catraca*, given that 21 of the 24 videos in the sample related to these protests in some way. The interrelatedness of the videos extends from videos providing different footage of the same protests, to reuse of exactly the same footage of the protests (as is the case with *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior Parte 1: Terça-feira 31 de Maio* and *Trecho da Transmissão TV Floripa*), and from the provision of different points of view through stylistic choices (from *Floriprotesto* to *Apoio Popular*, and from *Sobre Mudanças* to the *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso* videos) to the provision of

different points of view through different forms of commentary on the protests (through the interview-based videos or videos which incorporate comments from protesters and passers-by to the camera). This variety of approaches to the subject establishes connections between them.

The relationship between the videos is set out more explicitly in the way that the videos are linked together on the CMI website. All of the videos are linked via the CMI's "VÍdeo" page (Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil), which contains descriptions that reference either Florianópolis or the *Movimento Passe Livre*, the movement behind the organization of the *Revolta da Catraca* protests. However, many of the videos are also linked from editorial articles, such as the "Manifestações Completam Duas Semanas" article, discussed previously. On these article pages, the combination of text and links to other media provide additional connections between the videos, as well as further contexts for reading them.

The three videos unrelated to the *Revolta da Catraca* can also be related to the rest of the videos through the broader contexts of their settings and political orientation. Like the other videos, *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*, *Moradores Fazem Intervenção na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis* and *Chega de Reclame!* are identified as being from Florianópolis both in the links posted on the CMI "VÍdeo" page and on the individual pages for each video, and the former two also share a common context of community protest. While *Chega de Reclame!* may not relate to community protest it can still be placed within a broader category of anti-capitalist protest as well. While these videos may not offer different perspectives on the same protests then, they do offer different perspectives on community activism in Florianópolis, and, in *Chega de Reclame!*, on different forms of protest taking place in

Florianópolis more generally. It is this variety of perspectives which also points to a significant way in which the videos can be distinguished from the mainstream media to which they provide an alternative.

4.7 The Videos as Alternative Media

In relation to the anti-globalization movement, Castells suggests that an important dimension of protest actions is the possibility of generating media coverage in order to be able to influence public opinion (*Identity* 157). He also points out that the mere presence of protesters is not enough to generate this kind of coverage, and that therefore some kind of action is normally required to generate media attention (*Identity* 157). In undertaking protest actions some form of corresponding police response is almost guaranteed, and a common result is violent confrontation, which ensures media coverage but risks alienating potential supporters (Castells, *Identity* 157). The majority of protesters, however, advocate nonviolent civil disobedience, which often takes on a theatrical character and places greater emphasis on the celebratory and the carnivalesque than on violence (Castells, *Identity* 157). These two dimensions, of violence and of carnival, are often present in anti-globalization protests. In both cases the result is some form of spectacle, which, according to Kelly de Souza Prudêncio does not necessarily imply that the protest actions are devoid of political content (125), but rather indicates a strategy, on the part of the movement, for creating space in the mainstream media (172).

In considering the role of violence in the videos, it is interesting to look at the use of music, because music places even greater emphasis on the emotive and spectacular in a number of videos, especially in the videos containing footage of more

violent confrontations between protesters and police. Two obvious examples are the two *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso* videos, which, as previously discussed, set footage of chases, confrontations and vandalism of the bus terminals to fast-paced and aggressive songs by Metallica and Rage Against the Machine. While the effects are different in each video (almost comic in the first video, and more aggressive in the second), in both cases sensation is privileged over more reflective approaches to the material. *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior Parte, 5ª feira: Quinta-feira 02 de Junho*⁵⁸ also makes use of aggressive rock music during a violent sequence towards the end of the video. The music is used during a part of the video that includes sequences of protesters throwing rocks at the headquarters of COTISA (the company responsible for the operation of bus terminals in Florianópolis⁵⁹) and invading the town hall, possibly also having started a fire that burns from a first floor window. The central refrain of the song is “*Veneno, veneno no juízo*”⁶⁰, which suggests either that the actions of the protesters have become out of hand or that the situation in general has become out of control. Due to the connotations of the word “*veneno*” (poison), however, the lyrics also function to emphasize the violence itself, as well as the perceived rage of the protesters, to a degree de-emphasizing the role of the lyrics as a more distanced comment on the events depicted.

Aside from the violent spectacle present in some of the videos, a different association between the videos and mainstream media is the way in which the videos sometimes make use of approaches which bear some resemblance to conventional reportage. Given Castells argument that in order to “influence the media it is necessary

58 *Tomorrow Is Going to Be Bigger, Thursday: Thursday 2 June*, my translation.

59 See the CMI article “Historinha da Cotisa” (Madera), for mention of the role and composition of COTISA.

60 “Poison, poisoned judgement”, my translation.

to speak the language of the media” (*Identity* 157), it makes sense that some of the videos would make use of such strategies in order get their message across. More specifically, however, taking credibility as a factor in the persuasiveness of messages communicated in the media, Prudêncio argues that perceived objectivity can grant this credibility in journalistic practice (69). In the videos, the two principal strategies which suggest more conventional reportage both relate to the creation of the impression of objectivity. One strategy is the use of observational footage, which, as discussed in Chapter 3, suggests objectivity in that it conveys the impression of non-intervention. The other strategy is the use of interviews with experts, activists and bystanders, which suggest objectivity through the provision of multiple points of view on the protests. As was discussed earlier in the chapter, the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* videos are an example of the former in their extensive use of observational footage, and the interview-based videos *OAB-SC Entra com Recurso para Suspender o Aumento da Tarifa* and *O Brasil Precisa Parar*, as well as the videos which incorporate comments from protesters and bystanders, might be considered examples of the latter.

Despite making use of these strategies, however, the videos are still clearly different to conventional reportage, and a way of considering this difference is to look at the use of reflexivity in the videos. While it is impossible to ascribe any unambiguous form of reflexivity to the videos, it is nonetheless possible to detect forms of reflexivity in some of the videos, and one way in which a number of the videos reveal a level of reflexivity is through the use of humour, generally orientated towards the videos' subjects, or their object of criticism. The carnivalesque nature of the humour in *Floriprotesto*, for example, with its satirizing of police violence, suggests a certain reflexivity in relation to the conflict between the protesters and the police and state,

through the absurdity of the staged confrontation. Similarly, the *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior* videos reveal a degree of reflexivity in the way that they pose quotes from public officials against footage directly contradicting the quotes. At one point in *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio* the video humorously comments on one of the still images from which it is composed. The image is of a group of students standing behind what appear to be public officials, and it is preceded by the title ““é melhor você arquivar esse projeto...!” , diz o olhar da garota...”⁶¹, which makes a humorous comment on an otherwise serious image.

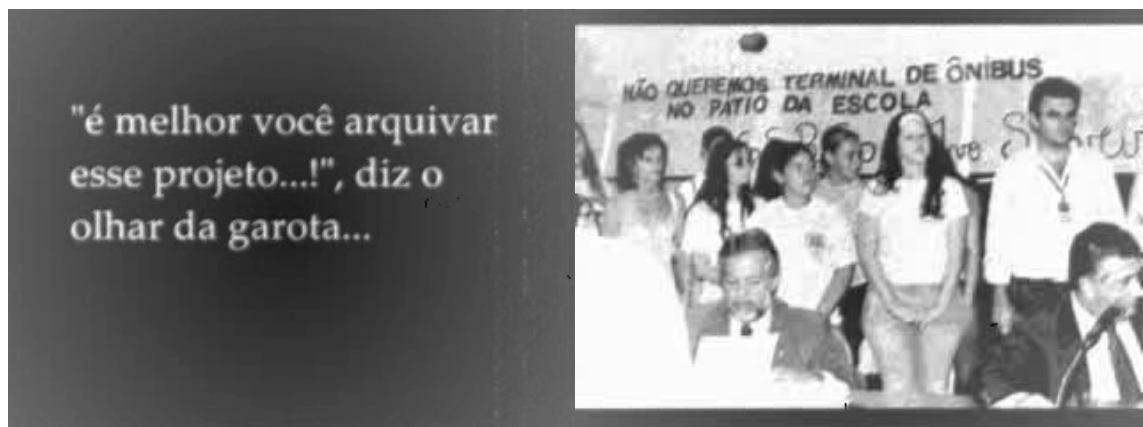


Figure 4.21 Titles comment humorously on one of the images in *Um Terminal de Ônibus não Pode Passar por Cima do Pátio*.

In a number of videos there are also reflexive moments when the videos draw attention to themselves as audiovisual constructs. *Floriprotesto* therefore also reveals a certain reflexivity when the videographer verbally intervenes in the scene being filmed to direct the mock policemen to begin beating up the protesters. In *Chega de Reclame!* as well, the person behind the camera intervenes when he urgently requests that the graffiti writers leave the scene so that he can film their work or so that they can

61 ““It would be better if you shelved that project...!” , says the girl's look...” , my translation.

escape. This more stylistic reflexivity can also be perceived in some of the more interactive videos, in which the camera plays with its subjects. This is especially the case in *Ocupação da Secretaria de Transportes: Parte 1*, in which the camera (and the person behind it) interacts with the people it is filming, especially the employees of the office, to the degree that it draws attention to itself quite obviously. The two examples of this interaction mentioned previously in discussion of this video, are the moments when a man asks the person behind the camera if he can close the door to his office, and when an office worker listening to the reading of the protesters' manifesto becomes aware of the presence of the camera and hurriedly returns to work.

Discussion of reflexivity suggests another way in which it could be argued that the videos differ from conventional reportage, and that is through creativity. Returning to Grierson's assertion that documentary is the “creative treatment of actuality” (“Documentary Film”), it is evident that the videos discussed do approach their subjects creatively. Even if some videos make use of journalistic strategies, the videos overall are unconventional by journalistic standards, and, with the exception of the *Manifestação na Trindade Sexta-feira* videos, exceed any straightforward attempt to provide information about the protests or protest actions that they deal with in their varied approaches to their subjects. This is most obviously the case with videos such as the *Video Clips Inéditos do Catracasso* videos, *Apoio Popular ;)*, and *Da Violência da Polícia*, which, while remaining non-fiction films, suggest completely different forms of audiovisual production. Creativity is also suggested, however, by the great variety of styles adopted by the videos overall and the degree to which each video differs from the others.

This multiplicity of styles and multiplicity of perspectives on the *Revolta da*

Catraca, and on forms of community protest and direct action in Florianópolis more generally, points to yet another way in which it could be argued that the videos diverge from their mainstream media counterparts, and that is in their complexity. Nichols comments that “loss of complexity, the hemorrhaging of excess, is a standard complaint about television news and, sometimes, journalism generally” (*Representing Reality* 147). While it is impossible to argue that all of the videos are complex in the sense of being elaborate texts, the points of view that they provide, sometimes individually, and certainly together as interconnected texts, contribute to an overall complexity exceeding that which would be expected of conventional reportage. It could also be argued that complexity is suggested by the ambiguity present in a number of the videos, as it prevents the videos from being narrowly interpreted. It is the multiplicity of approaches and of voices, however, that most strongly gives the videos a collective sense of complexity and that most strongly differentiates them from the media to which the CMI aims to provide an alternative.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

During the writing of this thesis, the “Video” page on the *Centro de Midia Independente Brasil* (CMI) website appeared to have fallen into disuse⁶². It is no coincidence that during this same period YouTube made its first appearance and quickly achieved a staggering level of popularity. What these developments seem to indicate is that the model being employed by the Independent Media Center (IMC) network of static linking to videos as add-ons to textual news reports or posts, or as downloadable media files, was losing favour to the new model of streaming video playing inside the browser itself. During 2006 and 2007 a number of posts on the IMC-Video email list queried the possibility of developing YouTube-like systems for delivering streaming video content via the Independent Media Center network⁶³, and there was even discussion relating to the development of an “IndyTube”⁶⁴. These developments suggest that the issue of technical ease of use is of great importance.

The limitations on access to the audiovisual content published by the CMI can be severe, not only because of the requirement of access to computers with Internet connections, but also because of the knowledge of video codecs and software necessary to be able to play back the videos. Within the sample, five different container formats⁶⁵ were used, and an even greater number of video and audio codecs. While in part this is a problem inherent in video production being undertaken on a variety of operating

62 While there were 64 listings on the CMI's “Video” page for 2005, there were only 7 for 2006 and for most of 2007 no new videos were added. Late in 2007 or early in 2008, however, 17 new listings were eventually added to the page.

63 As mentioned in emails from Cat-Vpro (“Re: [IMC-Video] It's Our Web!”) and from Doug (“Re: [IMC-Video] It's Our Web!”), for example.

64 As mentioned in an email from Anna (“[IMC-Video] Indytube Email List and Project Page”).

65 To quote Anna Helme, Andy Nicholson and Andrew Lowenthal, “A *container format* [sic] encapsulates raw compressed audio and video data and allows the interleaving of audio and video data inside a single convenient format” (55). Container formats can make use of different audio and video codecs, and some also have additional features, such as the possibility of including multiple subtitles. Two of the most common container formats are Microsoft .avi and QuickTime .mov formats.

systems, this problem is also undoubtedly due to the lack of standardization built in to the CMI's open publishing system, and ironically, in this case, the openness of the system has come to limit its usability.

This raises an issue faced by open publishing systems more generally: how to balance openness with usability or accessibility. For an open publishing system to be truly open there should be little or no editorial intervention. If there is no intervention, however, how is it possible to maintain some sense of order so that the website can remain accessible for users. This issue is of importance in countries such as Brazil, where access to the Internet is not the only barrier to use of websites such as the CMI, and digital literacy, the ability of those who are new to computers and the Internet to access and make use of websites such as the CMI, must also be taken into consideration. While there have been attempts to overcome the problem of access to the Internet through the expansion of the CMI's activities into the production of traditional media, such as print and radio (Ortellado "Combining Digital Technology and Traditional Media"), the problem of usability is an issue that activists involved with the CMI and IMC have been keen to address through the consideration of the alternative models for the publishing and distribution of video mentioned above⁶⁶.

In spite of these limitations, however, analysis of the videos not only revealed a number of ways in which video had been used on the CMI in practice, but also illustrated the significance of this use of video more generally. In order to revisit the analysis, let us return to the points touched on by the thesis. The thesis began by investigating a number of global paradigms, against which to consider the CMI and the videos which it hosts. The idea of the network was discussed, from its basic definition

66 As is discussed in emails from Videohackers ("[cmi-brasil-video] melhor que o youtube, e livre."), and Costanza-Chock ("Re: [IMC-Video] flash player recipe"), for example.

to its sociological implications for forms of social organization. The anti-globalization movement was considered as an example of a new network-based social movement, and the importance of the Internet for new social movements was also considered, as a means of communication, as an organizational tool, and as a means for taking their struggles to the global stage. This discussion of networks, the Internet and new social movements provided an important base from which to explore the relationship between the local and global components of the IMC network in practical and in theoretical terms, through a consideration of the importance of local bases of support for global movements, and through a discussion of the linking together of local, regional and international IMC websites on the global IMC network. It also provided a base from which to consider the relationship between new social movements and the media, both through the importance of the media for attempts by social movements to influence public opinion, and through the impact of this relationship on the representational strategies utilized by the videos themselves.

Building on the network paradigm, Empire was discussed as a new decentred, network-based power structure and global form of sovereignty, alongside its counterpoint, the multitude, a new networked form of resistance and oppositional social formation. The multitude was discussed as a body consisting of “innumerable differences” (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* xiv) irreducible to a “single identity” (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* xiv), which is notable for its openness, inclusiveness and drive towards production and sharing of the common, as well as for a tendency towards increased internal forms of democracy in parallel with external struggles for greater democracy. While the idea of Empire provided an additional perspective on the the implications of the network paradigm for discussion of globalization, the idea of the

multitude provided an important compliment to the discussion of the IMC and of the new social movements involved in the protests depicted in the videos. It was noted that the openness suggested by the idea of the multitude, for example, is reflected by the form of open publishing system employed by the IMC network. The diversity embodied by the multitude, as will be discussed further, also provides a strong parallel to the variety of voices articulated by the videos themselves.

A different perspective on globalization was provided by the discussion of various imagined landscapes (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes) as different dimensions of global cultural flows. Drawing on the discussion of these landscapes it was argued that the local-global relations in the global cultural economy can be more usefully discussed in relation to disjunctures between the different dimensions of global cultural flows than through rigid notions of cultural homogenization or heterogenization. It was suggested that the implication of this argument for discussion of the videos was that the videos should not be considered rigidly according to processes of cultural homogenization or heterogenization. Locality itself was discussed as a “complex phenomenological quality” (Appadurai 178), constituted in neighbourhoods relationally and contextually. This conception of locality, which also evokes the network paradigm in the connections it suggests between neighbourhoods and between different local contexts, provided a base for the later discussion of locality in the videos through the shared contexts of their subject matter and in the way that they are posted on the CMI.

In addition to the broad theoretical discussion, a number of areas relevant to textual analysis of the videos were investigated. The thesis looked at the medium of video itself, and to certain ambiguities it embodies as both a means of artistic expression

and as a means of communication. These ambiguities were later seen to be reflected by tensions between the aims of the CMI to function as a news source and the creativity evident in many of the videos being considered. Journalistic notions of truth were also discussed, alongside a consideration of the relationship between documentary and reality. The discussion of documentary drew on the concepts of documentary argument, as an organizing principle of the documentary that incorporates commentary and perspective, and documentary modes, as documentary equivalents to genre which identify different forms of historical representation. These documentary modes, combined with aspects of documentary argument, provided the basis for the analysis of the videos and the representational strategies they utilized, through discussion of their varying uses of strategies evoking observational and interactive documentary modes, the expository mode, and later in the analysis, their use of forms of reflexivity. It was also through discussion of strategies associated with some of these modes that certain journalistic tendencies were identified in a number of the videos.

An exploration of different dimensions of digital and new media provided another component of the discussion of frames for the textual analysis of the videos. The impact of digital video on documentary production was discussed, as well as the possible tensions this new use of video raised between documentary and journalistic practices, through an increased emphasis on non-intervention in digital documentary. Various qualities of new media were also considered, along with the impact of computer-based logic on new media production. It was suggested that in relation to new media works, one consequence of this computer logic is a certain shift from narrative logic to a database logic, in which instead of information being organized sequentially according to cause and effect relationships, information is organized in structured

collections. The thesis argued that while the videos may not constitute new media in themselves, the impact of new media can nevertheless be felt through qualities such as variability (in the variety of video formats used, for example) and modularity (considering the videos as modular components of web pages, for example) that the videos demonstrate. The notion of database logic was taken up later in the analysis, through discussion of the CMI website as a form of database of which the videos form part.

In the analysis of the videos, the thesis explored the videos in the sample according to various documentary modes, in relation to illustrative uses of video on the CMI, in relation to the integration of the videos with the CMI website, and in relation to additional styles and strategies that the videos utilize. Videos were discussed in relation to observational and interactive modes of documentary, and it was noted that these modes can function complementarily to support the role of the CMI as an alternative source of news by creating an impression of objectivity. It was argued that the observational and interactive modes can create this impression by providing observational (and therefore supposedly unmediated) footage of protests and events, and by providing a variety (and potentially a balance) of points of view on these events through comments to the camera. The analysis also looked at videos composed primarily of interviews, noting that these interviews, in conjunction with other videos or texts, could again contribute to the impression that a range of points of view were being considered in relation to the videos' subject matter. It was also observed, however, that the interview-based videos are generally lacking in contextualizing information, which points to their potential use as illustrative videos on the CMI, in complement to other texts.

The illustrative use of video was discussed in relation to the shortest videos of the sample, whose integration with other media objects and text in an editorial article on the CMI website was examined. This discussion of illustrative video formed the basis for the observation that the videos can be considered as components of more complex hypertexts, and also that the videos can be viewed according to a database logic, complementarily or alternatively to discussion of the videos according to narrative or documentary logics, due to the way that some of the videos rely on contextualizing information from other sources (such as videos, texts and media objects with which they are posted) to give them meaning. The analysis also considered additional styles and strategies that the videos utilized, including the use of humour, the use of special effects and the use of other generic forms such as those of the music video and advertising. It was argued that the videos using these styles and approaches have some form of ambiguity in common, which, intended or not, could be considered a form of excess. It was also suggested that this ambiguity reflects tensions between the potential use of video as a means of communication and as a means of expression, and, in the context of the CMI, between the aims of the CMI to function as a news source and the expressive potential of the video medium.

In concluding the analysis of the videos, the issues of locality and of the videos as alternative forms of media were raised. In relation to the question of locality, it was argued that while the local can also be viewed as a form of excess in the videos in that it exceeds that which can be represented by filmed material, it is nevertheless possible to consider locality in the videos from a relational and contextual point of view, by looking at the ways in which the videos collectively deal with similar or the same subjects. It was suggested that this sharing of points of view is augmented by the

connections that can be drawn between the videos through the way they are posted to the CMI website, either through shared textual references to Florianópolis, to the *Movimento Passe Livre* or to the *Revolta da Catraca* protests in the listings for the videos on the CMI's "VÍdeo" page, or through the grouping of links for the videos on editorial article pages. A possible implication of this argument (relating to the interconnectedness of the videos through the shared context of the subject matter within the videos, and through shared references to Florianópolis and to specific protests externally, on the web pages from which the videos are linked), is that the videos also provide their own local context of video production from Florianópolis, which distinguishes them from other national and international video production posted to the CMI. While this body of production is highly diverse, no two videos utilizing the same representational strategies in the same way (with the possible exception of some of the videos that were posted together in the same listing), the contexts shared by the videos creates a strong connection between them.

In relation to the discussion of the videos as alternative media, it was argued that the videos make use of certain strategies that bring them closer to the mass media, but that in the context of social movements, these strategies can be used deliberately in order to successfully communicate their messages in the media. One of these strategies is the use of violent spectacle as a means of creating attention, and this was discussed particularly in relation to videos which accompanied footage of violent confrontations with rock and heavy metal music. The other strategy is to attempt to create a sense of journalistic credibility by giving the appearance of objectivity. This was discussed in relation to the use of observational footage and interviews, in the way that they can suggest non-intervention and the provision of balanced points of view, respectively. It

was also argued, however, that overall, the videos differ significantly from conventional reportage, through their incorporation of forms of reflexivity, through their creativity, and through their complexity. Importantly, it was argued that while the videos might not necessarily be complex texts in themselves, collectively they provide a sense of complexity in the multiple approaches they take to the shared subject matter of protests and direct actions in Florianópolis. Similar to the discussion of locality in the videos, it is the combination of the videos' simultaneous diversity and sharing of contexts (of subject matter, and through semantic connections between references to the videos on the CMI website) which is of significance.

Ultimately, this multiplicity of perspectives and approaches represented by the videos, coming together around the common context of the *Revolta da Catraca* and of protest actions in Florianópolis more generally, brings us back to Hardt and Negri's discussion of the multitude. Hardt and Negri draw a parallel between literary polyphony and the organization of anti-globalization protests, arguing that “In political organization as in narration, there is a constant dialogue among diverse, singular subjects, a polyphonic composition of them, and a general enrichment of each through this common constitution” (*Multitude* 211). In their own way, the videos demonstrate a similar form of polyphony in that they are all distinct works, but works that share a common context and that inform the reading of each other. Just as the organization of the multitude can be “based on the freedom of singularities that converge in the production of the common” (211), so too the videos, grouped or ungrouped, are singular works that converge on common contexts and uses. The videos therefore provide an example of the way in which the CMI, and the IMC more generally, function as systems

that allows for “the differences of expression of the multitude in a democratic process of communication” (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude* 305).

This democratic potential points to the importance of projects such as the CMI for extending the potential uses of video, and for expanding the potential of the Internet as a means of distribution of audiovisual content. Despite the limitations discussed in relation to the CMI website itself, use of video on the Internet is undergoing constant change, and as broadband Internet becomes more widespread, computers with video editing capabilities become more commonplace, and new systems for distributing video via the Internet are employed, the use of video on websites such as the CMI, both for publishing and for consumption, is likely to become more accessible. As mentioned in the introduction, the aims of this thesis were to bridge current research on the IMC and research on activist video in Brazil, by investigating the uses of video on the CMI and undertaking a textual analysis of these videos. An obvious extension of this research would be to look at the use of video on the IMC network more broadly, and to investigate the use of video on the network in other local and national contexts, and internationally. Given the current changes in the usage of video on the Internet brought about by services like YouTube and by changes in technology, however, new activist uses of video on the Internet, and new uses of video on the Internet more generally, will also undoubtedly provide fertile areas for future research.

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